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SCRIPTABLE

A Bispectral Review of Recent Books



Robert Tenor, editor
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EDITORIAL

[Scriptable](#) is an irregular review of what was once called the belles-lettres, where we essay upon a wide assortment of current books and articles with an eye open for “the beautiful jumble of discordant congruencies” derived from the authors and titles under discussion. We cast a wide academic net through the social sciences and humanities, with a strong orientation toward current events, social theory, religious and cultural studies.

With this number we move away from simple reportage of current scholarship to something more ambitious. The body of each issue includes editorial essays examining themes inspired by the works under consideration. Our [Annotated Bibliography](#) will review, list and link the titles under discussion, providing a faithful summary of its content and audience.

Our purpose is to inform and entertain. Through the review essays we hope to visit new and timeworn places through unsettled ideas in currency newly minted. Perhaps to see the outlandish as intimate and to show up the familiar as stranger than before thought.

Each issue should surprise.



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T-MINUS AI: HUMANITY'S COUNTDOWN TO ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE NEW PURSUIT OF GLOBAL POWER by Michael Kanaan [BenBella Books, 9781948836944]

"Mike Kanaan is an influential new voice in the field of AI, and his thoughts paint an insightful perspective. A thought-provoking read." **Eric Schmidt, former CEO and executive chairman of Google**

Late in 2017, the conversation about the global impact of artificial intelligence (AI) changed forever. China delivered a bold message when it released a national plan to dominate all aspects of AI across the planet. Within weeks, Russia's Vladimir Putin raised the stakes by declaring AI the future for all humankind, and proclaiming that, "Whoever becomes the leader in this sphere will become the ruler of the world."

The race was on. Consistent with their unique national agendas, countries throughout the world began plotting their paths and hurrying their pace. Now, not long after, the race has become a sprint.

Despite everything at risk, for most of us AI remains shrouded by a cloud of mystery and misunderstanding. Hidden behind complex technical terms and confused even further by extravagant depictions in science fiction, the realities of AI and its profound implications are hard to decipher, but no less crucial to understand.

In **T-MINUS AI: HUMANITY'S COUNTDOWN TO ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE NEW PURSUIT OF GLOBAL POWER**, author Michael Kanaan explains the realities of AI from a human-oriented perspective that's easy to comprehend. A recognized national expert and the U.S. Air Force's first Chairperson for Artificial Intelligence, Kanaan weaves a compelling new view on our history of innovation and technology to masterfully explain what each of us should know about modern computing, AI, and machine learning.

Kanaan also illuminates the global implications of AI by highlighting the cultural and national vulnerabilities already exposed and the pressing issues now squarely on the table. AI has already become China's all-purpose tool to impose authoritarian influence around the world. Russia, playing catch up, is weaponizing AI through its military systems and now infamous, aggressive efforts to disrupt democracy by whatever disinformation means possible.

America and like-minded nations are awakening to these new realities, and the paths they're electing to follow echo loudly, in most cases, the political foundations and moral imperatives upon which they were formed.

As we march toward a future far different than ever imagined, **T-MINUS AI** is fascinating and critically well-timed. It leaves the fiction behind, paints the alarming implications of AI for what they actually are, and calls for unified action to protect fundamental human rights and dignities for all.

Review

"Mike Kanaan is an influential new voice in the field of AI, and his thoughts paint an insightful perspective. A thought-provoking read."

—**Eric Schmidt, former CEO and executive chairman of Google**

"Too many discussions of artificial intelligence are dominated by idealists and cynics. Mike Kanaan is neither: He's a realist with a wealth of insight on how smart machines are shaping the future. This is one of the best books I've read on AI."

—Adam Grant, *New York Times* bestselling author of *Originals* and *Give and Take*, and host of the chart-topping TED podcast *WorkLife*

"Kanaan's book makes us aware of the urgent need for international understanding and a formal agreement on AI. Without binding commitments, the future will pose threats, both military and social, that risk our very survival. AI may be a blessing, but it can also be the ultimate curse. The world must agree to draw a red line between the two, and make sure that no one crosses it."

—Muhammad Yunus, Nobel Peace Prize winner, father of microfinance and social business, recipient of US Presidential Medal of Freedom and US Congressional Gold Medal

"Never have I read a book that did a better job of putting the challenges and prospects of artificial intelligence into context. It's an exceptionally rich context, involving science, history, technology, and our current geopolitical situation. Reading this book will not only help you understand what AI is all about, it will help you understand how it fits into the world today and into the future."

—Sean Carroll, theoretical physicist at the California Institute of Technology, host of *Mindscape* podcast, and *New York Times* bestselling author of *Something Deeply Hidden*

"Kanaan recounts the history of AI and why its rapid advance prompts both hopes and fears. He offers a valuable and distinctive perspective on the international tensions it may create."

—Martin Rees, UK Astronomer Royal and former president of the Royal Society of London

"Mike Kanaan is a driving new voice in the field of AI. His explanations, insights, and perspectives are trustworthy and brutally intelligent. He's the voice of reason in the room, the one to look to."

—Jeremy Bash, NBC News analyst and former chief of staff for the CIA and Department of Defense

"As a tech venture capitalist, I know how critical it is that people understand artificial intelligence. *T-Minus AI* explains what we all need to know—not only what AI is, but also the great implications going forward. Eye opening and extremely entertaining."

—Joe Montana, tech investor, founding partner of Liquid 2 Ventures, four-time Super Bowl champion, and NFL Hall of Fame quarterback

"**T-MINUS AI** is enormously illuminating—a fascinating deep dive into one of the most important issues of our day by a leading expert in the field—who also happens to be a riveting writer. I haven't learned so much from a book in ages."

—Amy Chua, Yale Law professor and *New York Times* bestselling author of *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* and *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations*

"If we are going to prepare our students to lead the next generation, every educator needs to understand the impact of AI on our society. Kanaan's work is the perfect resource to bring you up to speed and to understand the history, scope, and future of AI technology. Leaders and teachers at all levels of education, along with their students, need this book on their reading lists."

—Jeff Charbonneau, former US National Teacher of the Year and former finalist for the Global Teacher Prize

"What is AI? If you're mystified by the hype, high hopes, and conflicting predictions of the power and danger of Artificial Intelligence, this book is for you. It offers a gentle introduction into the history of intelligent machines, the strengths and the dangers that they pose, the different ways that selected world powers make use of (and misuse) these technologies, and what kinds of policies and laws might help. Mike Kanaan offers a fresh new voice."

—Don Norman, professor and director of The Design Lab, University of California, San Diego, and bestselling author of *The Design of Everyday Things*

"**T-MINUS AI** is a must-read about the technology that will drive massive social and political change in the future. If you want to understand AI and its impending impact on the world, this is the book to read!"

—Jordan Harbinger, creator and host of *The Jordan Harbinger Show*

"Part explainer. Part call-to-arms. Kanaan's book makes AI understandable and with that it also makes something clear: AI is both a threat and opportunity. A perfect hybrid of educational and thrilling, **T-MINUS AI** is an essential read."

—Allen Gannett, author of *The Creative Curve*

"For an accessible and sober explanation of today's most transformative technology, this is THE book to read. **T-MINUS AI** will be part of a new canon."

—Kara Frederick, technology and national security fellow at Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

"**T-MINUS AI** is a thought leading gem that explains the underlying technology and geopolitical power of AI. Brilliantly written, immensely informative, and as entertaining as a great novel!"

—August Cole, coauthor of *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War* and *Burn In: A Novel of the Real Robot Revolution*

"It takes rare talent and a sharp mind to make complex technical topics like artificial intelligence and machine learning sound both accessible and beautiful. Kanaan has done both. This is an exceptionally well-written, thoroughly researched book. Read it. It will make you smarter!"

—Dr. Margarita Konaev, fellow at Center for Security and Emerging Technology (CSET), Georgetown University

"Artificial intelligence is the next wave that everyone and every business *must* understand. Mike's leadership in the field is powerful, and his explanation of the topic is second-to-none. Read this book!"

—Jordan Katzman, cofounder of SmileDirectClub

"At a critical time for humanity, this captivating book is a must-read for anyone wanting to understand how AI works, how it can be used, and how it will affect us all."

—Lindsey Sheppard, international security fellow at Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

About the Author

Michael Kanaan was the first chairperson of artificial intelligence for the U.S. Air Force, Headquarters Pentagon. In that role, he authored and guided the research, development, and implementation strategies for AI technology and machine learning activities across its global operations. He is currently the Director of Operations for Air Force / MIT Artificial Intelligence. In recognition of his fast-rising career and broad influence, the author was named to the 2019 Forbes "30 Under 30" list and has received numerous other awards and prestigious honors -- including the Air Force's 2018 General Larry O. Spencer Award for Innovation as well as the US Government's Arthur S. Flemming Award (an honor shared by past recipients Neil Armstrong, Robert Gates, and Elizabeth Dole). Kanaan is a graduate of the US Air Force Academy and previously led a National Intelligence Campaign for Operation Inherent Resolve in Syria and Iraq.

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The countdown to artificial intelligence (AI) is over. Early AI and machine learning applications have launched from platforms across the globe, and they are already influencing our lives in ways far greater than most people realize.

This book isn't meant to be an excited portrait of a utopian future, nor a dark and dystopian sketch of all we could fear. It is instead offered as an explanation of an incredible evolution in technology, and of a resulting capability that will forever change our information, opportunities, and interactions.

How well we understand the rudiments and real potential of AI, anticipate its social and geopolitical implications, and coordinate the course ahead are imperative matters. Conversation is critical. But, for the dialogue to be meaningful, we must have a common understanding of AI, a common appreciation of its potential, and a common recognition that, like all powerful tools, it will be put to use by organizations and nations with distinctly different agendas and for ideologically opposed purposes.

Some applications of AI will be consistent with Western standards and expectations. Others will be completely contrary. Some we will consider democratically acceptable. Others will shake the foundations of our societies and undermine our core ways of life. Some we'll be able to insulate and secure ourselves from, but others will infiltrate our institutions through methods and means we might not even detect or perceive.

Our focus now must be to openly address the current realities of AI to ensure, as well as we can, that it is implemented only in ways consistent with fundamental human dignities . . . and only for purposes consistent with democratic ideals, liberties, and laws.

My hope is that this book will help enable and inspire that conversation.

...

Before closing this book, I thought it would be an appropriate experiment to informally test GPT-2 myself. On the very first page of this book, in the short Author's Note just before the Prologue, I wrote:

Our focus now must be to openly address the current realities of AI to ensure, as well as we can, that it is implemented only in ways consistent with fundamental human dignities . . . and only for purposes consistent with democratic ideals, liberties, and laws.

At this point in your reading, I trust you know how convinced I am of those words. They seemed a perfect choice to test GPT-2, an appropriate sample to see what kind of "continuation" the program would produce.

When I typed and submitted them into the program, its generator displayed a response almost immediately. The words the algorithm created, on its own and in less time than it took to lift my fingers from the keyboard, are shown as the epigraph at the start of this chapter. They're so cogent to the entirety of this book that they bear repeating. So, here they are. This is from an algorithm familiar with eight million web pages. but prompted only by my 43 words:

Our job is now to convince the public in particular that using AI to achieve these aims is a necessary and desirable part of our society, but we cannot afford to do so unless we know how it will best be used and when. But in the end, the future demands we make moral decisions as we begin to build a world that is truly safe and sustainable, one where humans and AI can truly coexist together.

Impressive? I think so. And I couldn't have said it better myself. In fact, in an instant and in those two sentences, an artificially intelligent program captured the essence of what I've endeavored to make clear through out this book. <>

INVOKING HOPE: THEORY AND UTOPIA IN DARK TIMES by Phillip E. Wegner [University of Minnesota Press, 9781517908850]

An appeal for the importance of theory, utopia, and close consideration of our contemporary dark times

What does any particular theory allow us to do? What is the value of doing so? And who benefits? In **INVOKING HOPE: THEORY AND UTOPIA IN DARK TIMES**, Phillip E. Wegner argues for the undiminished importance of the practices of theory, utopia, and a deep and critical reading of our current situation of what Bertolt Brecht refers to as finsternen Zeiten, or dark times.

Invoking Hope was written in response to three events that occurred in 2016: the five hundredth anniversary of the publication of Thomas More's *Utopia*; the one hundredth anniversary of the

founding text in theory, Ferdinand de Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics*; and the rise of the right-wing populism that culminated in the election of Donald Trump. Wegner offers original readings of major interventions in theory alongside dazzling utopian imaginaries developed from classical Greece to our global present—from Theodor Adorno, Ernst Bloch, Alain Badiou, Jacques Derrida, Fredric Jameson, Sarah Ahmed, Susan Buck-Morss, and Jacques Lacan to such works as Plato's *Republic*, W. E. B. Du Bois's John Brown, Isak Dinesen's "Babette's Feast," Kim Stanley Robinson's *2312*, and more. Wegner comments on an expansive array of modernist and contemporary literature, film, theory, and popular culture.

With **INVOKING HOPE**, Wegner provides an innovative lens for considering the rise of right-wing populism and the current crisis in democracy. He discusses challenges in the humanities and higher education and develops strategies of creative critical reading and hope against the grain of current trends in scholarship.

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In contradistinction to the facile characterizations offered by contemporary moralizing critics, engaged younger critical readers such as Robert S. Lehman and Ciccariello-Maher, the latter one of the first academics to fall victim to our current political nightmare, remind us that at its best—and one of my absolute presuppositions in what follows is that we should always begin from the best and most successful examples of any practice—critique was never simply "assessment," "attack, disapproving analysis, or attempt to replace" but rather always already "an interrogation of the conditions of possible experience" and a delineation of "both the usefulness and limitations" of the texts under examination." This is akin to the double work of what Jameson refers to as analysis—"the peculiar and rigorous conjuncture of formal and historical analysis . . . the investigation of the historical conditions of possibility of specific forms," which involves "a very different set of operations from a cultural journalism oriented around taste and opinion"—and evaluation—"assessments of a sociopolitical kind that interrogates the quality of social life itself by way of the text or individual work of art, or hazard an assessment of the political effects of cultural currents or movements." Critique understood in this expanded sense—aiming for not the uncovering of error, sin, and evil but rather the dialectical grasp at once of limitations and possibilities—offers a way beyond the deadlock of dominant moralizing ethical criticism.

In a discussion of earlier antireading and antitheory polemics, Jameson observes that its founding gesture is one of prohibition, an inaugural No: "We feel very strongly that we are being told to stop doing something, that new taboos whose motivation we cannot grasp are being erected with passionate energy and conviction." Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari similarly maintain that in the domain of philosophy, "those who criticize without creating, those who are content to defend the vanished concept without being able to give it the forces it needs to return to life, are the plague of philosophy. All these debaters and communicators [and polemicists] are inspired by resentment."

However, Nietzsche's Zarathustra proclaims that for "the game of creation . . . a sacred 'Yes' is needed: the spirit now wills his own will, and he who had been lost to the world now conquers his own world."

In the pages that follow, I take up Nietzsche's challenge and thereby express my preference to not-engage in a moralizing ethical critique that would be satisfied with an uncovering of the failures of reading or listening that are part and parcel of such polemics.¹ As necessary as I believe such engagements remain (and to be clear, I am fully aware of the fact that the preceding paragraphs in part engage in an ethical critique, an antiethical critique), I prefer instead to listen deeply to the reminders of such earlier postmoralizing thinkers as William Blake, who writes in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790) in one of the "Proverbs of Hell"—also cited by Xebeche, "Nobody" (Gary Farmer), in Jim Jarmusch's great film *Dead Man* (1995)—"The eagle never lost so much time, as when he submitted to learn of the crow" and Martin Luther King Jr., who opens his "Letter from Birmingham Jail" (1963) noting, "Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all of the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of a day, and I would have no time for constructive work."

Thus, I aim in this book to persuade the attentive reader of the undiminished value of reading, theory, and utopia through such constructive work—that is, by way of practicing reading theory and utopia. Another of the underlying absolute presuppositions of this book, which I will elaborate in more detail in chapter 2, is that all reading is writing, and all writing a creative act. One of the great lessons of the revolution in the humanities that is theory is that it is our first duty as teachers not to order students' minds, or inculcate certain beliefs "by way of the systematic cultivation of capacities for value"—"Who is the greatest Italian painter?" Leonardo da Vinci, Miss Brodie: "That is incorrect. The answer is Giotto, he is my favorite."—or even to enlighten them to the pleasures to be obtained from art and literature—"Good Lord, we would be happy precisely if we had no books, and the kinds of books that make us happy are the kinds we could write ourselves if we had to. But we need the books that affect us like a disaster, that grieve us deeply, like the death of someone we loved more than ourselves, like being banished into the forests far from everyone, like a suicide." Literature understood in this last sense functions as part of the more general project of critique that Ahmed defines as that of the feminist killjoy: "She kills joy because of what she claims to exist. She has to keep making the same claim because she keeps countering the claim that what she says exists does not exist." Our task is both to expose our students to as many and diverse cultural practices as possible, which, of course, will only ever represent a minuscule fraction of what Pierre Bayard, in a book I take up in some detail in chapter 2, terms our global "collective library," and to empower them thereafter to engage—"Can you work the second for yourself?"—in the practice of what I refer to as creative reading.¹ By maintaining a deep fidelity to these values and practices, I hope I might contribute in some small way to what Slavoj Žižek refers to as a "repeating" of the grandly ambitious, interdisciplinary, and even utopian project of humanistic scholarship, interpretation, and teaching that flourished not so very long ago in a galaxy not very far away."

...

In *Anti-Oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari describe the more general situation of capitalist modernity in a way that has special applicability to our current moment:

The social axiomatic of modern societies is caught between two poles, and is constantly oscillating from one pole to the other. Born of decoding and deterritorialization, on the ruins of the despotic machine, these societies are caught between the *Urstaat* that they would like to resuscitate as an overcoding and reterritorializing unity, and the unfettered flows that carry them toward an absolute threshold. They recode with all their might, with world-wide dictatorship, local dictators, and an all-powerful police, while decoding—or allowing the decoding of—the fluent qualities of their capital and their populations.

They subsequently note, "How things turn fascist or revolutionary is the problem of the universal delirium about which everyone is silent." The time for such silence has again passed. One of my further absolute presuppositions throughout this book is that utopia and theory are akin in that both aim to reeducate collective desire for other ways of being and doing in the world. Hence our efforts to creatively read theory and utopia, to develop creative theories of utopia and reading, and to think the creative utopias of reading and theory will contribute significantly to the chances that we "shall emerge from the flood" ("auftauchen werdet aus der Flut") this time.'

As I suggested above, a consideration of the form of any theoretical or literary critical narrative is as important as of its contents, and the book that follows offers a number of possible decodings of its form. I leave it to my non-readers to move down the paths they find most productive. The first three chapters make appeals for continued efforts to foster more effective and creative practices of reading and of creatively reading theory and utopia. Chapter 1 continues to build upon my recent work with A. J. Greimas's semiotic square in order to develop a strategy of reading for the concrete utopian horizons illuminated in an unlikely collection of texts: a conversation overheard on Athens's Acropolis in the midst of Greece's ongoing austerity crisis, the Brexit vote, and the U.S. presidential campaign; early essays in the New Criticism; Alain Badiou's daring 2012 hypertranslation of Plato's Republic; and Kojin Karatani's *Isonomia and the Origins of Philosophy*, also from 2012. These interventions remind us, I maintain, of the tremendous danger of allowing education to be transformed, as is currently the agenda in the United States, exclusively into an economic good. My next chapter takes up Pierre Bayard's notion of non-reading and compares responses to Bayard's book *How to Talk about Books You Haven't Read* (2007)—one prominent critic dismissing it as advocating for a "non-reading utopia"—to those in the long history of non-reading Thomas More's *Utopia*. I argue that More locates his concrete utopia in the form of his book, an open-ended dialogue that requires both a speaker and, even more significantly, one who listens deeply. I conclude the chapter by touching on other versions of the utopian practice of deep listening offered in a surprisingly diverse range of texts, including the film *Fight Club* (1999), Theodor Reik's *Listening with the Third Ear* (1948), and Thich Nhat Hanh's *Silence: The Power of Quiet in a World Full of Noise* (2015). Concluding this first section, chapter 3 returns to the issue of a moralizing ethical criticism in revisiting a debate in the early twentieth century between Henry James and one of the century's great utopian thinkers, H. G. Wells, concerning the future of the novel. In this chapter, I elaborate further on Jameson's strategy of a "posthumous" creative reading and set it to work in assessing the very different practices made available by each writer and their undiminished value in our increasingly global world.

The next four chapters build on a project of reading first broached in my book *Shockwaves of Possibility* on what I theorize—drawing deeply upon Jacques Lacan's mapping of the knot of the four discourses (master, hysteric, analyst, and university) and Badiou's articulation of the conditions of truth (politics, art, love, and science)—as four interrelated eventual genres. In *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (1981), Jameson theorizes all genres as "literary institutions or social contracts between a writer and a specific public, whose function is to specify the proper use of a particular cultural artifact." Similarly, the notion of the "heuristic genre" I deploy in these chapters—heuristic as opposed to historical or institutional genres—is as a device produced by the theorist aimed at encouraging the creative, and from a certain perspective deeply improper, reading of not only unknown texts but familiar ones in new ways.

These four chapters unfold in chronological order in terms of the specific events upon which each chapter's central text focuses and build upon each other in fleshing out a theorization of the eventual genres. Chapter 4 takes up Susan Buck-Morss's heuristic genre of the universal history in order to read W. E. B. Du Bois's masterful biography, *John Brown* (1909). Du Bois's book offers a pointed challenge to the assumptions about Brown and his actions then being set into place by liberal and even progressive white historians and writers who would locate Brown's efforts as those of an

isolated individual and an evil extreme along a continuum of white abolitionist activities. Instead, Du Bois reframes them within the context of multiracial, collective, and transnational actions to overturn the monstrous global structure of repression, violence, and exploitation known as slavery—a system that in Du Bois's view continues into his, and our own, present. The following chapter similarly reads the Danish writer Isak Dinesen's brilliant and underappreciated short story "Babette's Feast" (1950) through the lens of Ernst Bloch's landmark essay on the utopian practice of the *Kunstlerroman* or artist narrative. I do so in order to recover a double fidelity in the story, one effaced in the more well-known 1987 film adaptation, both to the work of the artist and to the radical possibilities of what Kristen Ross calls "communal luxury," which come into being in one of the most significant political events of the late nineteenth century, the Paris Commune of 1871. I conclude with reflections on the story's intervention in a postwar context, which, as I also suggest in chapter i, has significant parallels with our own. Chapter 6 uses Stanley Cavell's influential notion of the popular comedy of remarriage to read in the contemporary Hollywood film *so First Dates* (2004), an unexpectedly rich and profound meditation on the day-by-day labors, the unending processes of remaking, renewal, and reinvention, that are required in any authentic condition of love, and hence in all of the conditions of truth.

The concluding this section, chapter 7 explores the underappreciated role of the romance plot in two of the most significant science fiction utopias of the twenty-first century, Kim Stanley Robinson's *2312* (2012) and Karen Lord's *The Best of All Possible Worlds* (2013). I do so to underscore the claim that what is distinctive about the modern utopia as a genre lies in the figures of events it develops in all four of Badiou's Conditions. In this way, utopia contributes to an education in hope, of a collective desire for a world very different from the one we currently inhabit. The strategy of creative reading I develop here promises to transform how we understand utopian narratives, ranging from the obvious cases, like Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), to those that may be less expected, such as James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922).

The concluding chapter reads the very different dialectics of optimism and pessimism found in David Mitchell's monumental novel *Cloud Atlas* (2004) and its 2012 film adaptation, directed by the great left popular auteurs Lana and Lilly Wachowski and Tom Tykwer. An important aspect lost in the film adaptation is the way Mitchell's formal structure echoes the plot of one of the founding works of modern science fiction, Wells's *The Time Machine* (1895). However, Mitchell's narrative borrows more than its formal structure from Wells's work, and in order to tease out these connections I recall the still vitally important lessons Antonio Gramsci has to teach us, especially in light of the proliferating intellectual pessimisms that mark our dark times. To paraphrase Mitchell's narrator, Daniel Ewing, and invoking Brecht one final time, all the works examined in this book teach us that a life spent shaping a world we want "those born after" to inherit, and not the one we fear they shall inherit, is truly a "life worth the living." <>

THE ADVANCEMENT OF CIVILISATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD (3 Volume Series) by Brian Hodgkinson [Shepherd-Walwyn Ltd, 9788184541922]

Ancient tradition challenges the view that mankind is ever progressing from ape-like origins towards an apotheosis of humanity. The study of history tends to confirm the contrary thesis of a gradual descent from a golden age to an age of iron. Yet throughout history there have arisen societies that rise above decline to exhibit the characteristics of a high civilisation, where knowledge and art flourish and inspire later generations. **THE ADVANCEMENT OF CIVILISATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD** seeks to portray these exemplary times of human genius, whilst showing them against the background of oft-recurring times of darkness.

Author: **Brian Hodgkinson** qualified as a Chartered Accountant, before reading Philosophy, Politics and Economics at Balliol College, Oxford. During a long teaching career at Sussex University, Dulwich College and St James Schools in London, he developed a strong and diverse interest in writing, which involved studying Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy and epic literature, as well as the continued pursuit of Economics and History.

In all of these he has sought to find the underlying laws that govern the development of both individuals and societies, following Pope's famous principle 'The proper study of mankind is man'.

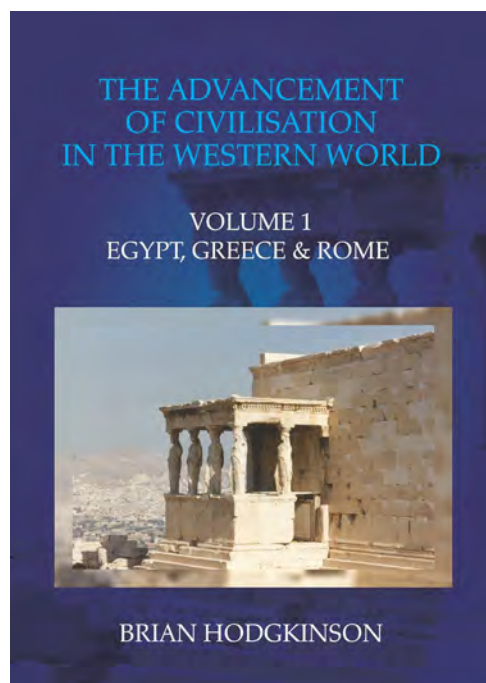
Brian's latest work is a 3 volume History book series which charts the advancement of civilisation from Ancient Egypt to the 20th Century through the study of great individuals or of ordinary people touched for a moment by a vision of greatness.

Individual Volumes:

THE ADVANCEMENT OF CIVILISATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD VOLUME I: EGYPT, GREECE & ROME by Brian Hodgkinson [Shepherd-Walwyn Ltd, SBN: 9788184541939]

The general plan of the book traces the rise of three civilisations. The account of Egyptian civilisation seeks to outline some of the chief features that enabled it to survive with remarkably little variation for almost three thousand years. Graeco-Roman civilisation, from its obscure beginning in the world of Homer to its collapse in the fifth century AD, revealed much greater diversity, whilst its final centuries are seen as simultaneous with the rise of the third civilisation, in which we still live, that of

Christianity. Every civilisation contains a philosophy, a way of life, that touches the very depths of human experience. Such was the teaching of Hermes Trismegistus in Egypt, of the early philosophers of Greece and of Jesus Christ in Israel.



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A Vision of Hidden Things

The Philosophy of Unity

SECURITY FROM EXTERNAL AGGRESSION, a prosperous society, the freedom of individual citizens and the intelligent leadership were the conditions which enabled the great cultural movement of the fifth century to take place. One essential cause was present also: a practical philosophy which had entered Greece by the time of Pythagoras at the latest. In Plato's dialogue, *Protagoras*, it is said that the art of the sophists was of great antiquity; that these teachers disguised themselves and included among them were Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, Agathocles, who pretended to be a musician, and Pythocleides the Cean. In this instance, the real meaning of sophist is a wise man, and not the meaning acquired in the late fifth century, when sophists were professional teachers of rhetoric, much criticised by Socrates and by Plato himself.

One of Agathocles' pupils was Damon, an expert on rhythm, who taught, according to Plato, the doctrine that "when modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them."¹ Damon was a friend, and perhaps a teacher, of Pericles; moreover, he taught music to no less a person than Socrates. Pythocleides the Cean was an associate of Pericles also. The link between the circle of Pericles and that of Socrates can be drawn closer. Pericles' mistress, Aspasia, taught Socrates rhetoric, a fact confirmed by his remark in Plato's *Menexenus* that she had composed the great funeral oration of Pericles. Since she came originally from Miletus, she may have met the Milesian teaching, exemplified by Anaxagoras, the philosopher who most influenced Pericles.

Although Socrates later rejected Anaxagoras' view of the central role of mind in the universe, he was an admirer of Pericles' political ability, calling him magnificent in his wisdom and the only educated man in political life. A pupil of Anaxagoras, called Archelaus, taught Socrates and was the first Athenian-born philosopher in the tradition of the Ionian school. Probably as influential as the Ionians, however, were two philosophers from Elea in Southern Italy, Parmenides and his follower, Zeno; the latter went to Athens and taught possibly Socrates and certainly Callias, a friend of Pericles and the man who negotiated the peace with Persia in 449 BC.

But what had these various philosophers from Ionia, Magna Graecia and Athens in common? Were they as diverse in their ideas as might appear from the arguments recorded later by Plato and others? If so, they could not have caused such a profound expression of thought and emotion as occurred in Athens in the ninety-odd years after the battle of Marathon. Only fragments of their teaching survive; amongst the fragments there is great diversity. Yet it is the diversity of a mosaic, of which each fragment is a part.

Anaxagoras, for example, writes that sensible appearances are "a vision of hidden things" and that the original cause of the change from infinite, unchanging Being is "separation by Mind, or Nous." This places Anaxagoras firmly in the school of Parmenides, a key figure in the line that stretches from Pythagoras to Socrates. Parmenides taught that the single, eternal reality of Being appears as multiplicity of changing forms, so that "all is one" and the belief that there is any real change is illogical. His pupil, Zeno, supported this fundamental monism by attacking the opposite view, that multiplicity and change, or motion, are real. Basically, Zeno argued that, if multiplicity were real, then the units that comprise it must be either divisible or indivisible. If divisible, then each one must be infinitely divisible, because a homogenous unit cannot be divisible only at certain points. If indivisible, then how could each unit have magnitude, which in principle must be divisible? Therefore, in the first case, there must be infinitely small parts of units and, in the second, there must be units of no magnitude. In neither case could there be a universe made up of a real multiplicity of finite sense objects. His paradoxes about change, or motion, of which "Achilles and the tortoise" is justly famous, are similar, for they try to prove that, because an apparently moving object must pass

through an infinite series of points, it can never get to any distant point in a finite time. Zeno relies upon an intuitive recognition that the idea of infinity shows that all seemingly finite experience is unreal; hence the conclusion, following Parmenides, that what is real must be non-sensible and infinite i.e. Being.

Parmenides himself used an argument about time to prove that Being is eternal:

“How might what is then perish?
How might it come into being?
For if it came into being it is not,
nor is it if it is ever going to be.”²

Parmenides’ explanation of the apparent existence of multiplicity is that men impose names upon the one indivisible Being:

“Hence all things are a name which mortals lay down and trust to be true - coming into being, perishing, being and not being, and changing place and altering bright colour.”³

Hence Anaxagoras could conclude that “separation by Mind”, or naming, is the cause of the apparent change from Being to multiplicity.

Common to all these philosophers, to Parmenides, Zeno, Anaxagoras, Archelaus and, no doubt, to Agathocles, Damon, Pythocleides and Aspasia, was the realisation that the world of the senses is unreal and transient - whilst reality is one and unchanging. Pythagoras had taught the same and Socrates was to teach it again with an unsurpassed conviction. Meanwhile, it remained to enlighten a few generations of Athenians, and probably many more Greeks whose achievements are less vaunted. For the philosophers explained the source of that peace within action which was the hallmark of fifth century Athens. There is no peace in multiplicity and change, only in unity and stillness. But where are these to be found, if not within oneself? The world contains only things in movement. Hence the ancient words inscribed at Delphi, “Know Thyself” were understood afresh in the light of the teaching that the only reality is hidden behind the world of sense objects in one Being. For some, at that time, the connection was made: the one Being is Oneself; the shackles that bind men to the idea of a separate individual self were broken. “I enquired into myself, said Heraclitus.”⁴

The influence of Pythagoras ensured that the doctrines of Parmenides and his followers did not become merely theoretical, for the Pythagorean schools taught self-discipline, through moderation in the use of the senses and other practices. Orphism, too, was a potent force in the fifth century, connected not only with the Pythagoreans, but also with the Eleusinian mysteries. For many Athenians, including women, metics and even slaves, the rites of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis were the means for evoking the ancient truths of the culture, reaching back to Apollo, the soul of the world. Every year, in September, the initiates went down to the sea-shore and cleansed themselves in the warm sea. Carrying the image of Iacchus, or Dionysus, they walked in solemn procession along the Sacred Way, over Mount Aegaleos to Eleusis, where they entered the temple of the two goddesses, late at night, by the light of hundreds of torches. A great new telesterion, or Hall of Initiation, was built in the time of Pericles and here the rites would be enacted, recalling the rebirth of the soul within the tomb of the body, the awakening of consciousness from the dream of the world.

Such a teaching is implicit in the work of the greatest Athenians. It underlay the work of the sculptors of the serene style and of the marvellous poised figures of the Parthenon frieze. It gave to the architects on the Acropolis a pure harmony of form and absence of all excess. From it the tragic playwrights could draw their understanding of the inexorable working of Man’s nature, of the need for justice, even of reincarnation into a life predetermined by previous embodiments. Above all, it inspired all those who lived by it with a self-confidence which could disregard the perils of the age -

the harsh experience of war, the agony of the plague, the torment of failure and ridicule in politics or art - and rise to the contemplation of life as no more than a dramatic illusion.

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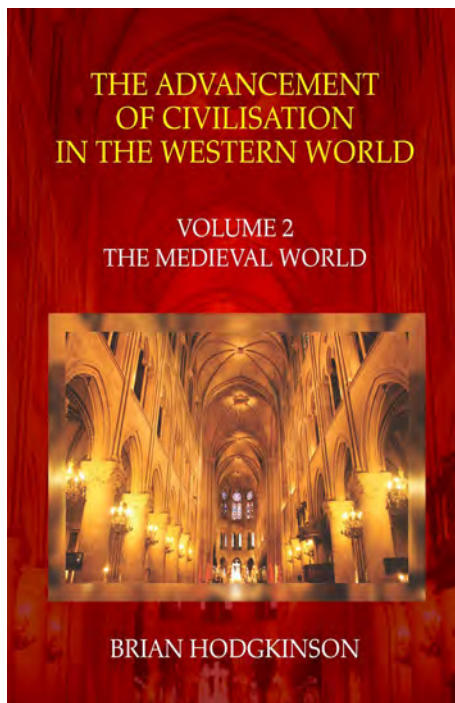
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THE ADVANCEMENT OF CIVILISATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD VOLUME 2: THE MEDIEVAL WORLD by Brian Hodgkinson [Shepherd-Walwyn Publishers, 9788184541946]



The Middle Ages saw the flowering of a Christian civilisation that had its source in the life and teaching of Christ, but took centuries to become established in the form of a new culture. Chief amongst the characteristics of the Middle Ages was the quality of devotion. Inspired by the example of Christ, such men as Benedict, Gregory, Alcuin, Erigena, Anselm and Francis of Assisi offered unique models of Christian virtue that could be emulated by men and women from emperors and kings to monks and peasants. Devotion found expression in many forms: in love for Christ and the Church, in creating astonishingly beautiful art exemplified by the great cathedrals, and in men of action like those who became soldiers of Christ in the crusades. Three times a cultural renaissance of thought, religion and social and economic principles renewed its authority over all levels of society, despite endemic poverty, disease and warfare.

Ancient tradition challenges the view that mankind is ever progressing from ape-like origins towards an apotheosis of humanity. The study of history tends to confirm the

contrary thesis of a gradual descent from a golden age to an age of iron. Yet throughout history there have arisen societies that rise above decline to exhibit the characteristics of a high civilisation, where knowledge and art flourish and inspire later generations. **THE ADVANCEMENT OF CIVILISATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD** seeks to portray these exemplary times of human genius, whilst showing them against the background of oft-recurring times of darkness.

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The Land which He had Promised Them

Economic Revival in the Twelfth Century

FEUDALISM HAD ARISEN SLOWLY from the condition of society when the Roman empire in the west collapsed and had developed apace during the struggle against the invaders of the ninth and tenth centuries. By the end of the first millennium AD it was entrenched. Almost everywhere men were subject to tenurial lords, a few on honourable terms as soldiers or churchmen, most on servile terms as labourers.

The Germanic concept of folcland, held by the king for the use and benefit of all, was everywhere eclipsed by the concept of bookland, or private rights of property in land, which led inevitably to serfdom. Though some societies, like Normandy and Ottonian Germany, acquired modest wealth, the general condition was of the poverty consequent upon a lack of free men and free land.

In the early twelfth century came a gradual release from these economic constraints. A new vision of Man unloosed creative energy at all levels of society. No longer did the Church teach that only a few were saved. Each was made in the image of God and all found their true manhood equally in Christ. Yet the natural hierarchy of the celestial orders was mirrored on earth in a natural order of society, wherein each found creative function. The earth was for the use of all, for had not Christ commanded the elements and atoned for the sin of Adam?

The idea of Man redeemed by Christ from servitude to sin spread throughout western Europe; the realisation of free men and free land - albeit partial and local - yielded a rich harvest. Economic growth made possible the production of cathedrals, monasteries, royal palaces, municipal buildings and city walls, thousands of new parish churches, baronial castles, and works of art which embellished these for the glory of God and Man. The fundamental condition was access to land. From the late eleventh century fresh land was opened up for use in many parts of Europe and there was also an improvement in the terms of land tenure. Fresh land came into use in three ways: firstly, villagers made assarts into woodland or heath around the village; secondly, lords or ecclesiastical holders of land organised cultivation of previous wastelands; thirdly, new areas were colonised. Improvement of tenure enabled production to rise, as men became freer to work the land beneficially. The gradual reduction of slavery, condemned by churchmen like Anselm, contributed to this freedom, but so, too, did an easing of conditions of serfdom. Naturally, these two movements, towards more available land and freer men, interacted, for freemen are enterprising and more land makes it harder to keep men unfree.

The most common method of arable farming in medieval Europe was the open field system, with two or three large fields around a village being used in rotation and one fallow each year. They were sown, ploughed and reaped communally, but each peasant held strips of varying quality in each field, the produce of which belonged to him. Thus work was shared, but distribution was individual. Strips were demarcated by larger furrows or lines of stones. Under the prevailing feudal system most peasants would be obliged to work for a certain number of days on a lord's demesne land. The great arable lands of France, lowland England and north Germany were most suited to the open field system. In fact, most farming was mixed, for peasants could allow their livestock to graze on the stubble of the open fields, as well as on adjoining common pasture. Woodland was especially useful for pigs, which could live on mast, and of course as a source of fuel and timber for building - hence the fierce resentment at the forest laws of such lords as the Anglo-Norman kings, who enclosed forests for their private use. Whilst this basic agricultural and pastoral system did not change in the twelfth century, it was modified greatly by the extension of farming to new land and an easing of feudal law.

At the year 1000AD western Christendom lay within borders determined roughly by the limit placed upon the expansion of its enemies in the tenth century. In the west, Islam had been pushed back about half-way down the Iberian peninsula; in the north the Vikings were contained in Scandinavia, or converted to Christianity where they had settled in England and Normandy; in the east, the Hungarians became Christian and the indefinite border with the Wends and Slavs was marked by bishoprics like Gniezno and Cracow. By the mid-twelfth century, serious colonisation of the Iberian plateau and of the German plain east of the Elbe was taking place. A striking example occurred south-east of Kiel in the 1140s. Count Adolf of Holstein, after defeating the Slavs, rebuilt and fortified the town of Lubeck, then:

“he sent messengers to every country, to Flanders and Holland, Utrecht, Westphalia, Friesland, to invite anyone who was suffering from land-hunger to come with his family to receive a very ‘good land and a large’, fertile, well-stocked with fish and flesh and good pasture for cattle At his words a vast multitude of peoples rose up, and taking their households and their possessions with them came to the land of the Wagrians to Count Adolf, to possess ‘the land which he had promised them’ ”

The German Drang nach Osten, begun by the Ottoman kings, was once more under way. Lubeck became a focus for the trade of the region, exporting its surplus agricultural produce and importing what was needed by the settlers. The princes of east Germany also favoured monastic settlement, especially by Cistercians. Both lay settlers and monks were prepared to work the soil with their own

hands. A greater expanse of the German plain came to life, as spade and plough reshaped the earth and new villages were built from the felled timber of the northern forest.

In Flanders land reclamation had begun in the late eleventh century under such lords as Count Baldwin V. In 1067, for example, he gave a charter to the Benedictines at Bergues-Saint-Winnoc to develop reclaimed land. Peasants there were exempted from seigneurial obligations - the *taille* or tax, the ban or summons to arms, and service to the count. Each settler had to pay a mere sixpence per annum for his land, which was passable to his heirs. Many such agrarian settlements sprouted in Flanders at this time. Count Robert II gave land south-east of Ypres on similar conditions of tenure and with power to elect a magistrate. At the mouth of the Yser polders were created at Nieuport. Later, in 1163, Count Thierry founded a *ville neuve* with bourgeois privileges, and especially on the banks of the river Zwin, between Bruges and the sea, new agrarian communities developed. Near the Scheldt both communities of free peasants and new ports grew up, some with dyke associations with officers and regulations. As towns were established to deal with the trade of these areas - Dunkirk, Ostend and Blankenberge, for example - urban guilds became counterparts of peasant organisations. In St Omer and Bruges such guilds eventually led to the self-governing communes of the thirteenth century. How effective all this was in enhancing the freedom of the people of the region was shown in 1252, when the Countess Margaret virtually proclaimed the end of serfdom in the county of Flanders. Available land and freer men were more than a match for the seigneurial system of labour services. Maritime Holland similarly developed free from the excesses of exploiting landlords. The stage was set in the twelfth century for the great outburst of economic growth that made the Low Countries amongst the wealthiest areas of Europe for centuries.

At that time were sown the seeds of the bright green borderlands, the lovely red-bricked towns, the timber windmills and, above all, the exuberant energy of the people of the lowland coast:

In France, also, the early twelfth century saw the bringing into use of land previously waste or burdened by economic injustice. A striking example occurred at Maison-en-Beauce, near Chartres, where land held by the abbey of Morigny had become a wilderness owing to the depredations by robbers. The monks put the land in the charge of a remarkable man called Baldwin:

“He brought into cultivation the place so long untilled; he uprooted briars and thistles, ferns and brambles, and other weeds and rubbish, with ploughs and mattocks and other farmers’ tools. He collected about eighty peasant settlers there. Some wicked men, seeing the place flourish, began to chafe and to raise claims on it. Some with threats demanded a bran tax for their hounds, others a chicken tax, others a tax for ‘protection’; ‘the jurisdiction there is mine’, said one . . . he resisted their attacks by going to law, by paying money. One harvest time he had such pain in legs and feet that he could travel neither on foot nor horseback, but he put a bold face on it and was not ashamed to tour Beauce in a two-wheeled farm cart.²

From the honest labour of such men as Baldwin in Beauce the wealth was acquired which enabled Chartres Cathedral to be built. “The spirit of the living creature was in the wheels”. The grey silhouette that rose so splendidly to dominate the plain between Chateauden to the south and Dreux to the north repaid with its spiritual presence the labour that every year planted and harvested the vast fields of golden wheat.

Under Louis VI charters were granted to small farmers which became models for the later development of thriving rural communities. One such was given to the commune of Lorris in the Ile de France. It provided for the payment of sixpence a year to the king for a house and for each acre of land. No tax was to be levied on produce of land. Military service by the farmers was negligible. The roads to local market towns were to be free of tolls. The king gave protection to people travelling to local fairs and markets. Forced labour (*corvée*) was forbidden, except the minimal task of carrying the king’s wine twice a year to Orleans. Anyone who dwelt in Lorris for a year and a day

was allowed to remain freely, provided he was not escaping some claim or charge. Such a charter gave men access to land under tolerable conditions and left them free to work, more or less under their own choice of organisation.

Both Louis VI and his son Louis VII founded many *villes neuves* with charters like that of Lorris. Notably, they built them near the road from Paris to Orleans, which was the central axis of the royal domain. Often their names suggested royal influence or their economic function: Bourg-la-Reine, La For et-le-Roi, Chalon Moulineux, Acquebouille, Villeneuve. South-east of Sens in Burgundy showed a different kind of development, less under royal or even seignorial control. Earlier settlement in that region had followed river valleys and existing roads. Now scores of new settlements were made in forested areas, such as the forest of Othe, by individual peasants encroaching piecemeal on the wooded uplands. An increase of up to one-third in cultivable land in France was made in the twelfth century by this initiative on the part of men galvanised by greater freedom and a new energy.

At this time, also, the great trade fairs of Champagne developed to meet the needs of the increase in trade. Primarily they acted as local markets for agricultural products of the region, but in the twelfth century they became key international positions on the major routes between northern Italy and the Mediterranean coast of France in the south and Paris and Flanders in the north. At Troyes, Provins, Bar-sur-Aube and Lagny the merchants from the cities of the Po Valley or Arles, Marseilles and Narbonne would buy Flemish cloth in exchange for goods from the Orient, which had been imported through Venice, Genoa and Pisa. These so-called “spices” included such things as almonds, coconuts, cotton, dates, gum-arabic, linseed-oil, pearls, quicksilver, silkworm eggs and sugar, as well as the spices used throughout Europe to flavour food, such as ginger, nutmeg and pepper. The Italian merchants would usually travel through Pavia and then climb through the high passes of Mont Cenis and the Great St Bernard to join merchants who had come up the Rhone valley. Only between November and January did the cycle of Champagne fairs cease, when the Alpine passes were locked in winter snow.

Twelfth century Italy underwent a revival of interest in ancient Rome. At Bologna, the study of Roman law influenced both the cities of the north and the German imperial power which lay claim to the inheritance of Rome and control of the peninsula. In Pisa, about 1080, a commune of consuls was formed, which became a model form of government for other cities of the Po valley, Tuscany and Umbria. Bishops were set aside in favour of committees of consuls, mainly men of commercial interests, holding land in the city or its contado and engaging in trade through the ports and in northern Europe. By the mid twelfth century the powerful Emperor Frederick Barbarossa set his sights on the emerging wealth of Lombardy and claimed his imperial rights there, particularly in the greatest of the cities, Milan, once a seat of Roman emperors. In 1158, he held a diet at Roncaglia where representatives of all the cities heard him define his regalia:

“... dukedoms, marches, counties, consulates, mints, market tolls, forage-tax, wagon-tolls, gate-tolls, transit-tolls, mills, fisheries, bridges, all the use accruing from running water, and the payment of an annual tax, not only on the land but also on their own persons.”³

When Barbarossa’s imperial Podesta (chief magistrate) at Milan also imposed further excessive taxes, including a poll tax and forced labour, the city revolted for the second time. The emperor’s army razed it to the ground and dispersed the inhabitants in four villages.

Lombardy was not, however, to be cowered. By 1167, sixteen cities, including Venice, Vicenza, Verona and Padua, had formed a league against the emperor, with the consuls of each taking an oath, repeated later by every citizen, to unite for the recovery of their common liberty. Contingents from the cities even set to work to rebuild Milan. For some years Barbarossa was tied down in Germany by imperial problems. When he returned to Italy in 1176, significantly without his powerful cousin, Henry the Lion of Saxony, head of the house of Guelf, he was defeated decisively at Legnano by the forces of the Lombard league. The German emperors were never to recover their position in

northern Italy, despite their control of the south. Freed from excessive imperial tribute, especially the taxes on labour and trade, the cities thrived on the skill of merchants and craftsmen, aided by the commercial interests of Venice, Genoa and Pisa and in Christian states of the Orient created by the first crusade. Venice, in particular, acquired a dynamic new oligarchy in the mid-twelfth century, which sustained its maritime and cultural success for centuries. A mark of this was the development of a large Venetian cotton manufacturing industry. Yet in Tuscany the little city of San Gimignano proved that prosperity was still the fruit of intelligent use of land, for its lofty towers were financed by the local production of wine and saffron.

The republican initiative of Lombardy contrasts with the role of a great family like the Dukes of Zähringer, north of the Alps. In the Black Forest, the Zähringers, after about 1075, fostered the development of land beyond the already settled valley of the Rhine. Monasteries under their control, such as St Peter and St Georgen, helped in this process. It was completed when the ducal family founded the towns of Freiburg, Villingen and Offenburg, dominating the routes through the forest. As in the hills of Burgundy, the clearance of forest in the uplands brought into productive use large areas of land. Nearby, under the shadow of the Alps, the Zähringers founded nine towns, which grew to flourish in the Switzerland of the later Middle Ages, including Bern, Thun and Laupen. Such enterprise hastened the growth of the Rhineland as a great trade thoroughfare. Cologne, near where the Rhine valley broadens into the lowland plain, became in this period the greatest city of Germany. The Roman walls of the old city were outflanked by the spread of the eleventh century market area by the river, and in 1106, and again in 1180, extensive new walls were built to protect expanded housing. The latter wall of 1180 was the city boundary until the 19th century.

A new spirit of co-operative effort appeared in the towns of the twelfth century, reflected in the growth of guilds to protect standards of work and remuneration and in the pride of burghers in their municipal buildings and services. England was at the forefront of this development; between 1066 and 1190 more than a hundred new towns were founded throughout England and Wales, many by royal charter. The customs of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, probably a chartered town, included the provision that:

“If a villain come to reside in a borough, and shall remain as a burgess in the borough for a year and a day, he shall thereafter always remain there, unless there was a previous agreement between him and his lord for him to remain there for a certain time.”⁴

Such a condition encouraged men to see chartered towns as havens of freedom from baronial oppression, where individual initiative would be welcomed. It matched the provision in Henry II's laws, as stated by Ranulf de Glanville, that a villain who claimed status as a freeman could obtain a writ to present his plea before a royal judge. In this, as elsewhere, the monarchy played its part at this time in whittling down the power of the great landholders to control the lives of those dependent upon them, to the benefit of individual liberty and economic progress.

That the humbler ranks of artisans and traders began to thrive is reflected in such details as the use of a town bell to warn of fires, floods, approaching enemies or other calamities:

“Concerning our bell, we use it in a public place where our chief bailiff may come as well by day as by night, to give warning to all men living within the city and suburbs. . . . And in these cases aforesaid, all manner of men abiding within the city and suburbs and liberties of the city, of what degree soever they be, ought to come at any ringing, or motion of ringing, with such weapons as fit their degree”.⁵

Invention, innovation and enterprise were both cause and effect of the freeing of land and men in this period. Windmills appeared in Europe for the first time in the twelfth century; so did fulling mills, spinning wheels, the trebuchet and a padded collar for draught-horses which made them superior to the ox. Ship design improved, as did that of wagons, and many bridges were built throughout Europe. Moneylending grew apace through the initiative of Jews, such as the famous Jew

of Lincoln with his fine city house. The drainage of land was a vital innovation and transformed maritime areas like the Fens, the Thames estuary and Romney Marsh as well as Flanders and Holland. Rulers began to protect roads - in England any road to a port or market became a royal road. The sea became a highway for heavy goods, especially when Muslim depredations were reduced by the power of the Italian fleets in the Mediterranean. Durham cathedral was built with stone from the great limestone quarries of Caen several hundred miles away. Wool was fast becoming a prime commodity under the impetus of efficient Cistercian farming, with the growing towns of Flanders - Ghent, Tournai, Bruges, especially - importing English wool and producing cloth for the Champagne fairs. Profits from wool helped the Cistercians to build water supply systems that surpassed anything since the decline of Rome. The generosity of lords to the Church in the twelfth century was far-reaching. Monasteries and parish churches sprang up at an amazing rate. In England alone about 500 religious houses were founded between 1066 and 1154.

All such growth rested upon the availability of land. Many men remained serfs in the twelfth century - far fewer were slaves - but the conditions of serfdom were alleviated when lords made substantial grants of land in order to retain serfs. Even peasants forced to remain attached to a plot could produce a surplus for sale in a local market; the richer ones even employed labourers of their own. Free communities of farmers were slowly undermining serfdom as a system; in Flanders, Holland, the Thames estuary, Picardy, Artois and Normandy such communities were a beacon to unfree men around them; just as the free burghers of the Italian cities attracted the inhabitants of the contado and beyond. It was a time when men could glimpse the meaning of the psalmist: "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof".⁶

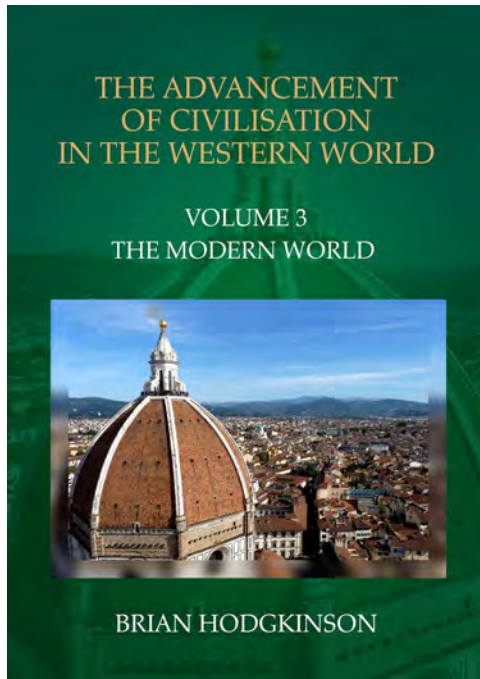
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THE ADVANCEMENT OF CIVILISATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD VOLUME 3: THE MODERN WORLD by Brian Hodgkinson [Shepherd-Walwyn Publishers, 9788184541953]

In the beginning of the Modern Age, in the Florence of Marsilio Ficino, the finest minds were sufficiently enquiring and creative to produce great art and literature and the development of scientific ideas free from perversion into destructive and trivial ends. Slowly the natural deterioration of men and institutions, however, has wrought declining standards of conduct and government. For the modern age has seen land enclosure, industrial revolution, extremes of wealth and destitution, nationalism and political revolution. Yet once again great qualities have emerged

within individuals: in recent times the compassion of Florence Nightingale, the genius of Van Gogh and Einstein, and valiant leaders like Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill. So this book continues the study of charismatic individuals as beacons of light within a declining civilisation.



Ancient tradition challenges the view that mankind is ever progressing from ape-like origins towards an apotheosis of humanity. The study of history tends to confirm the contrary thesis of a gradual descent from a golden age to an age of iron. Yet throughout history there have arisen societies that rise above decline to exhibit the characteristics of a high civilisation, where knowledge and art flourish and inspire later generations. *The Advancement of Civilisation in the Western World* seeks to portray these exemplary times of human genius, whilst showing them against the background of oft-recurring times of darkness.

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Sample Chapter 9

The Seven Sounding Harmony

The Origins of Modern Science

“...the divine gift of Apollo who receives the adoration of all; whence arise on all sides peace and concord through the mysteries of harmony and symphony in which all the concords of the heavens and the elements are linked together. The whole universe must perish and be reduced to nothing in warring discord should these consonances fail or be corrupted.”¹

EVEN BEFORE HE TRANSLATED THE works of Plato, Marsilio Ficino, at the instigation of Cosimo de'Medici, had translated two books of the Egyptian sage, Hermes Trismegistus. These profoundly influenced Ficino's own thought, and when he wrote his “Three Books on Life” (published in 1489) he based his ideas on astrology and medicine upon the Hermetic principle of cosmic unity:

“Assuredly, the world's body is living in every part, as is evident from motion and generation. The philosophers of India deduce its life from the fact that it everywhere generates living things out of itself. It lives therefore, through a soul which everywhere attends it and which is entirely accommodated to it”.²

Before Ficino was active, of course, scientific development was proceeding apace, particularly in Florence. Brunelleschi, Masaccio and Piero della Francesca had advanced the study of geometry and optics in developing perspective; Nicholas of Cusa had presented the theory that the earth revolves around the sun and that the universe is infinite; Georg von Peurbach and Johann Regiomontanus had made important steps in trigonometry.

The Three Books on Life, however, were remarkably popular in the Renaissance, and gave to scientific studies a direction which they have never entirely lost, even though Ficino's approach to science was increasingly ignored after the mid seventeenth century. His principle - present also in Plato and medieval thinkers like Thierry of Chartres - that the universe was a living unity with a world-soul, made it possible to envisage a set of interconnected laws which were comprehensive and consistent, a proposition which could inspire scientists to empirical observation on a scale and with a persistence unknown before. Moreover, for Ficino, who taught that Man's nature was unlimited and that eventually Man was in no way separate from God Himself, the aim of all study and exploration of the natural world was to benefit Man. Hence science had as its ultimate purpose the establishment of “a healthy mind in a healthy body” (a phrase used in the Three Books), since these are a precondition for that unity with the Godhead which is Man's final end.

A bewildering range of learning was displayed in Ficino's knowledge of medicine and astrology. He drew much upon ancient and traditional sources, using such material as an Arabic compilation of Hellenistic writings made in eleventh century Spain, called the Picatrix, though he eschewed aspects of it which precluded free will. Ficino's recommendation for example, for dealing with dullness and forgetfulness caused by phlegm included: honey of cashews, honey of chebule myrobalans, sweet flags, galengales, amber, musk, diambra, plisarchoticon, diacoron, incense, marjoram, fennel, nutmeg, rue and clove! To obtain a favour from Saturn one should use materials that are earthy, dusky and

lead, like smoky jasper, lodestone, cameo, chalcedony, gold and golden marcasite; from Mars, fiery or red materials, like red brass, sulphurous things, iron and bloodstone. On the powers of the fixed stars, Ficino writes, for example, that astrologers say that diamond and mugwort are under the star Algol, which promotes boldness and victory, and that ruby, spurge and woodruff are under Aldebaran, which increases riches and glory:

All such causal connections depended upon the central principle that the world was the living body of a world-soul:

“The life of the world, innate in everything, is clearly propagated into plants and trees, like the body-hair and tresses of its body. Moreover, the world is pregnant with stones and metals, like its bones and teeth. It sprouts also in shells which live clinging to the earth and to stones. For these things live not so much by their own life as by the common life of the universal whole itself”.³

According to Ficino, natural magic was the study of how qualities operated on one another, usually by attraction following upon likenesses or opposites. Natural magic, of which alchemy was one form, depended upon the existence of a realm, or realms, higher or finer than the physical. Operations in the physical world were associated with transformations taking place on these finer levels. If these realms are ignored, the operations appear meaningless. The strange correlations which Ficino draws upon were not in principle different from the way in which a natural object, like a flower or a diamond, may have an effect upon the human mind or emotions. There may be physical effects also, but ‘finer’ effects are more significant and could in principle be systematised. By Shakespeare’s time natural magic had penetrated educated thought throughout Europe:

“There’s rosemary, that’s for remembrance; pray love, remember: and there is pansies, that’s for thoughts”.⁴

Likeness (or opposition) inspires love in which there is mutual attraction, as between fire and water. An analogy Ficino uses to elucidate this cosmic love is the sympathetic vibration of two lutes. The world indeed is a harmony, or *musica mundana*, and the celestial realm acts as a kind of mediator between the intelligible and the terrestrial, the dwelling place of Man and the elements. It is because of this harmony that celestial influences act upon Man, making astrology, as a form of natural magic, a genuine study beneficial to human life:

“Since the heavens have been constructed according to a harmonic plan and move harmonically and bring everything about by harmonic sounds and motions, it is logical that through harmony alone not only human beings but all things below are prepared to receive, according to their abilities, celestial things”.⁵

These two fundamental principles of Ficino, that the world is both a living and an harmonic unity, offered a direction to scientific investigation in the new culture of the Renaissance.

Even before Ficino, Florentine artists like Masaccio had broken with the late medieval idea that the world is essentially evil. They had begun to look outwards, to observe nature and man-made objects on the assumption that they were an expression of the goodness of the Creator and worthy of representation. Moreover, study of the world -in the field of visual perception, for example - revealed the beauty of the Creator’s laws. By the late fifteenth century this study was developing new characteristics, notably in the work of Leonardo da Vinci. His painting reached an unprecedented level of refinement in the immaculate brushwork, the use of colour to express distance and, especially, in the divine nobility of his figures. At the same time the acute observation

of nature that this refinement required, led him to an overwhelming interest in nature itself - how it operated in any and every field. Inevitably, such interest needed the use of mathematics. In studying the proportions of the human body, for example, Leonardo made empirical observations from real models, and then worked out the mathematical relationships precisely:

“The foot from where it is attached to the leg to the tip of the great toe, is as long as the space between the upper part of the chin and the roots of the hair, and equal to five-sixths of the face”.⁶

Such investigations gained an impetus of their own beyond that required for purely artistic purposes. New questions presented themselves in anatomy, physics, engineering and so on, so that in Leonardo the first signs of empirical science in its modern form are discernible. The use of applied mathematics was especially dear to Leonardo’s mind. Influenced by his friend, the Florentine mathematician Luca da Pacioli, he wrote: “No human enquiry can be called science unless it pursues its path through mathematical exposition and demonstration”. In his quest for beauty in the natural world, which inspired him to produce drawings and paintings of a uniquely fine quality, he was driven to seek explanations of the structure and appearance of things. “The scientist in Leonardo is always treading on the heels of the artist”⁷. Examples abound of the brilliance of his observation of nature, seen with the eye of a scientist and yet portrayed with the hand of a supreme draughtsman. Human anatomy - muscles, internal organs and the skull, revealed in dissections of corpses - plants, animals, especially the horse, the action of water in movement, clouds, land forms, storms, all are drawn with meticulous accuracy and accompanied with notes to penetrate behind the surface appearance. Observation through the senses of what is presented before him was Leonard’s cardinal rule, a practice which at once rejected medieval concepts of representation and heralded the future growth of scientific method.

Leonardo was equally fascinated by the application of empirical knowledge. In the employment of the Duke of Milan and of Cesare Borgia, he invented military machines of great ingenuity, if not entire practicality, such as a steel umbrella to protect infantry against cavalry, a quick-firing machine for arrows, an “armoured car, safe and unassailable”, and a giant crossbow. Flying machines fascinated him, notably helicopters, and his engineering projects included a great number related to the movement of water - such as canals, dams, suction pumps and water wheels. Many of Leonardo’s projects remained on the drawing board. He stands, however, as a magnificent first representative of the new attitude to observation and experiment that was to govern the development of science in the following centuries. For Leonardo, the world of nature was never merely lifeless matter; his drawings of rocks and other earth features, for example, turned to “the anatomy of the earth, studying its rocks as he had the human bones”⁸. It is not difficult to see in his drawings that things live “by the common life of the universal whole itself”.

Indeed, the immense curiosity of Leonardo towards all things in nature is infused with the spirit of the writings of Hermes Trismegistus:

“Think, my son, how man is fashioned in the womb; investigate with care the skill shown in that work, and find out what craftsman it is that makes this fair and godlike image. Who is it that has traced the circles of the eyes, that has pierced the orifices of the nostrils and the ears, and made the opening of the mouth? Who is it that has stretched the sinews out and tied them fast, and dug out the channels of the veins? Who is it that has made the bones hard, and covered the flesh with skin? Who is it that has separated the fingers, and shaped the broad surface of the soles of the feet? Who is it that has bored the ducts? Who is it that has shaped the heart into a cone, and joined the sinews to it, that has made the liver broad, and the spleen long, and hollowed out the cavities of the lungs, and made the belly capacious?”⁹

Such ideas were the inspiration behind Leonardo's magnificent scientific drawings and, at root, gave impetus to the later enquiries into anatomy and physiology by such men as Andreas Vesalius and William Harvey.

Book XVI of the writings of Hermes, entitled "An Epistle of Asclepius to King Ammon" contains a remarkable passage about the sun, which Hermes regarded as the Demiurgus, or Creator of the world and of Man:

"the Demiurgus brings together heaven and earth, sending down true being from above, and raising up matter from below, for he is stationed in the midst, and wears the Kosmos as a wreath around him. And so he lets the Kosmos go on its course, not leaving it far separated from himself, but, to speak truly, keeping it joined to himself; for like a skilled driver, he has made fast and bound to himself the chariot of the Kosmos lest it should rush away in disorder. And the reins with which he controls it are his light rays ... And round about the Sun, and dependent on the Sun, are the eight spheres, namely, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the six planet-spheres, and the sphere which surrounds the earth..."¹⁰

Ficino himself wrote eloquently about the power and magnificence of the Sun - even saying that in the Sun visible light is created from the light of consciousness - and so reinforced the effect that such passages in Hermes were having upon Renaissance scholars. Thus when the Polish student of astronomy, Nicolaus Copernicus, went to Bologna and Padua Universities between 1497 and 1503, he would have met some of the ideas generated from these sources. Dissatisfied with the existing state of astronomy, Copernicus developed a revolutionary new theory after about ten further years of study.

At Bologna he had studied philosophy, astronomy and Greek medicine. He was thoroughly versed in the Ptolemaic astronomy which- dominated the Middle Ages, and did not reject many conservative ideas, particularly that circular motion is proper to celestial bodies. What he did, however, following - he believed - the Pythagoreans, was to place the Sun at the centre of the planetary system and to assign diurnal rotation on its own axis to the earth, on the grounds that the mathematical explanation of heliocentricity was simpler, more elegant and more in accordance with observations. Astronomy thereby dropped the division, dear to the Middle Ages, between the gross earth at the centre of the universe and the celestial regions which exhibited a divine perfection. Copernicus, following Ficino, returned to the unified cosmos of the early Greeks.

The opposition to his new system made him reluctant to publish it. He is said to have been given a printed copy of his Six Books on the Revolution of the Celestial Orbs on his deathbed in 1543. He feared the dogmatic opposition of the Church, which insisted that scripture proclaimed that the earth did not move; for example, Calvin quoted Psalm 93: "the world also is stablished, that it cannot be moved". Moreover, there were weighty scientific objections to his theory. Firstly, Aristotelian physics argued that objects all moved towards the centre of the earth, because that was at the centre of the universe itself. A heliocentric view left the problem of gravity completely unanswered. Secondly, it failed to explain why a falling object did not reach the earth behind its starting point, since the revolution of the earth would leave it slightly behind. Thirdly, the problem of parallax also required a solution if the earth in fact moved around the Sun. This arose from the fact that the fixed stars would change their observed spatial relationships as viewed from a moving earth, whereas they were seen not to so move.

These objections were not entirely dealt with until the time of Newton over a century later, but the question of parallax was largely answered by Copernicus himself, who argued - correctly - that the universe was enormously larger than previously thought, so that the effect of parallax was

indiscernible. Furthermore, diurnal rotation by the earth avoided the problem of the celestial spheres revolving at incredible speed. Indeed, Copernicus felt that his system enhanced the majesty of the heavens by showing that they were at rest.

Undoubtedly, the Copernican system gave a simpler mathematical explanation of planetary motion than the Ptolemaic. In particular, it removed the need for many epicycles to explain the apparent regression of the planets caused by the differing frequencies of their solar cycles in relation to that of the earth. (Not that Copernicus got rid of all the epicycles: some were needed to preserve the notion that cycles were perfect circles with each planet embedded in a crystalline sphere.) Apart from mathematical advantages, however, Copernicus struck a note which accorded with ideas central to the Renaissance. His description of the Sun is remarkably like that of Hermes:

“In the middle of all sits the Sun enthroned. How could we place this luminary in any better position in this most beautiful temple from which to illuminate the whole at once? He is rightly called the Lamp, the Mind, the Ruler of the Universe. So the Sun sits as upon a royal throne ruling his children the planets which circle around him. Trismegistus calls it the invisible god.” I I

Above all, the Copernican system showed the cosmos to be a unity, rather than a dualistic entity in which the heavens were separated from the earth. Such unity confirmed the principles of Renaissance philosophy, and was the ground upon which Newton would later build his universal theory of gravitation. A convert to the Copernican theory at a time when it was still not widely accepted was a brilliant young German mathematician, Johannes Kepler. He accepted a position at the court of the Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, where the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe was completing a life-times’ observations of the heavens, using the new invention of the telescope. Kepler drew greatly upon Brahe’s compendious records of planetary motion, especially those of Mars, the most easily observed planet. He developed a remarkable theory based upon the five Platonic regular solids. According to this the six planets then known revolved upon spheres, each of which was separated by distances determined by the surfaces of the solids when placed consecutively inside each other, viz:

Mercury
octahedron
Venus
icosohedron
Earth
dodecahedron
Mars
tetrahedron
Jupiter
cube
Saturn

Kepler’s own mathematics and meticulous use of Brahe’s records soon convinced him, however, that this system was inaccurate. After much soul-searching - for he was convinced of the mathematical simplicity and divine regularity of the heavens - he arrived at the startling and original conclusion that Mars’ orbit was elliptical. In 1609 he published his findings that:

- a) the orbit of Mars is an ellipse with the Sun at one focus and
- b) the line joining Mars to the Sun sweeps out equal areas in equal times.

Ten years later Kepler applied these two laws to all the planets. The suggested elliptical orbits were close to being circles and did not quite match the observations, owing to the relatively small effects of the planets upon one another. Kepler’s second principle implied that each planet moved faster when it was close to the Sun - another point which aggravated

those who still wanted to retain medieval ideas about the perfection of the celestial region. (The question was raised also about what lay at the focus not occupied by the Sun, since every ellipse has two foci.)

In 1619 Kepler put forward a third principle: that the squares of the periodic times (i.e. the time of orbit) of the planets are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances from the Sun (i.e. half the sum of the greatest and least distances). This may be expressed as:

t^2 is the same for all planets.
 d^3

The expression of Kepler's third principle as a functional relationship between two variables, i.e. time and distance, highlights a fundamental question about the development of science after the Renaissance. For Kepler himself became engaged in a literary debate with an English scientist called Robert Fludd over the true direction to be followed by science. Fludd accused Kepler of looking for the truth in mathematical, quantitative information and thereby ignoring the qualitative, essential aspect of phenomena, which is directly related to the world as an organic unity. The true scientists, says Fludd:

“comprehend the true core of the natural bodies, rejecting the Shadow, grasp the substance and are gladdened by the sight of truth... (whereas) he (Kepler) excogitates the exterior movements of the created thing. I contemplate the internal and essential impulses that issue from nature herself; he has hold of the tail, I grasp the head; I perceive the first cause, he its effects.”¹²

To this Kepler replied that Fludd did not use mathematical demonstration, “without which I am like a blind man”.

Both points of view stemmed from Renaissance thought. Kepler's was derived from Ficino's idea of a mathematical harmony in the universe and the importance placed upon mathematics by Leonardo and Pacioli. Fludd's came directly from Hermetic literature, which stressed the unity of the world in the world-soul and the “inner” nature of real causes. To that extent the dispute was a matter of emphasis. Kepler, for example, believed profoundly in the essential harmony of the celestial world and the consonance of the outer, observable movements of the planets with this divine music of the spheres. (The ratio of the highest and slowest speeds of any planet gave that planet its place in the musical octave. Thus the planetary system was a harmonic unity, as taught by Pythagoras and Ficino.) Fludd, on the other hand, did not deny the use of mathematics, but saw - correctly - that science was beginning to move towards a mathematical orientation which would ultimately reject the inner causes and perhaps the acknowledgement of the first cause itself, namely the Creator. The debate between Kepler and Fludd, though polemical, did therefore mark a stage in forgetting the original direction given by Ficino to scientific study.

Another significant line of development of science, which illustrates both the power of Renaissance ideas, and the changes which took place when these ideas were in large part forgotten was the study of the human body. The great medieval authority in this field was the second century AD Alexandrian, Galen. When Renaissance scholars provided a fresh translation of Galen's works from the original Greek, advances in physiology and anatomy were made. Leonardo da Vinci, however, was prepared to challenge Galen's views whenever observation, often based on dissection of corpses, showed them to be false. For example, Leonardo disproved the belief that the air-tubes in the lungs had direct contact with the heart, by forcing air into them and proving that they ended blindly, thus showing that the pulmonary vein does not convey air to the heart. By dissections and superb drawings Leonardo also came to understand the action of the valves in the arteries; in particular, that they only allow blood to pass in one direction, away from the heart. This discovery was of prime importance later for William Harvey.

For all his brilliance as an investigator of the human body Leonardo never managed to complete his plan to publish an anatomical text-book. It was left to a remarkably thorough and systematic anatomist, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, who went to Padua as professor in 1537. In his *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, a book beautifully illustrated on the lines suggested by Leonardo (by a pupil of Titian), Vesalius challenged many of Galen's views, notably the statement that blood passes from the right ventricle of the heart to the left one through small pores in the septum. This also was a key step to be followed by Harvey. Vesalius was an Aristotelian, which helped him to understand the physiology of the body by asking the question "what function does this organ perform?", but he represented a move away from the Platonic outlook of the Renaissance, which regarded the mechanics of the world (and therefore of the body) as no more than the appearance of a higher reality.

The English physiologist, William Harvey, who similarly studied at the influential medical school at Padua, became a follower of the French philosopher, Rene Descartes. From the seemingly indisputable premise 'cogito ergo sum - I think therefore I am', Descartes deduced a completely dualistic system of philosophy in which the soul and the body (i.e. matter) were distinct substances. This explicit rejection of the non-dual nature of Ficino's teaching in the Florentine Academy, where the single substance of God is the only reality and all forms, including the body, merely manifestations of it, became a profound influence upon all later thought. It led Harvey to believe that, since only Man has a soul, all other creatures are insentient. Hence he was able to carry out all kinds of experiments in vivisection without a qualm, treating animals entirely as mechanical systems.

Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood however was a break-through in scientific development, analogous to the Copernican revolution in astronomy. He showed that the arteries conveyed blood from the heart and the veins towards it, that there are two connected circulations, a greater and a lesser, and that blood does not pass through the septum at all, since it leaves the left ventricle of the heart and returns to the left auricle via the right side of the heart and the two circulations, i.e. without passing through the septum between. His simplest proof of the circulatory system was by measuring the quantity of blood pumped by the heart in a given time. In one hour this amounted to about four times the body weight, showing that it must be the same blood which is being pumped by the heart. The importance of Harvey's discovery, published in 1628, was fundamental; only with a correct understanding of the blood circulation could studies in respiration and digestion, for example, be fruitful, since the blood distributes food and oxygen through the body and conveys waste products. Nevertheless, Harvey's Cartesian dualism encouraged the belief that the body and all material things were part of a mechanistic universe to be studied and explained in separation from the soul or spirit. Ficino's proposition that the universe is a living entity in which causes are non-material and the whole material realm a collection of effects was no longer generally understood. The way was open to dualism on one hand and outright materialism on the other. The former would lead to a separation between science and religion, as though the scientist were a specialist in the self-contained material world, even if he still retained a lingering belief in God and the soul; the latter to a complete rejection of the spiritual realm and the explicit claim that science alone studied reality, namely the physical world.

One further example of this trend away from the original ideas of the Renaissance is particularly striking, as it comes straight from the pen of one of the great figures of science, namely Galileo Galilei, the founder of modern mechanics. By the early seventeenth century Galileo had discovered many of the principles which Newton was to use in his great synthesis of mechanics and astronomy. His law of inertia became Newton's first law of motion: that every body continues in a state of rest, or of uniform motion in a straight line, unless acted upon by some force. The Aristotelian idea that without force there was no motion - which had ruled explanations of motion for two thousand years - was replaced "without force, no acceleration". Amongst other things, this explained one of the problems created by Copernicus viz. that a falling object was not in fact retarded by the earth's

diurnal rotation. The law of inertia meant that the falling object would retain its initial horizontal movement,

since no force was causing it to decelerate. By brilliant experiments and reasoning - triggered off, it was said, by his observation of the constant time of the oscillations of a bronze lamp in Pisa cathedral - Galileo developed a new science of movement embracing gravitation, ballistics and much else, but in one respect he drastically narrowed the field of science. He wrote:

“But first I must consider what it is that we call heat, as I suspect that people in general have a concept of this which is very remote from the truth. For they believe that heat is a real phenomenon, or property, or quality, which actually resides in the material by which we feel ourselves warmed. Now I say that whenever I conceive any material or corporeal substance, I immediately feel the need to think of it as bounded, and as having this or that shape; as being large or small in relation to other things, and in some specific place at any given time; as being in motion or at rest; as touching or not touching some other body; and as being one in number, or few, or many. From these conditions I cannot separate such a substance by any stretch of my imagination. But that it must be white or red, bitter sweet, noisy or silent, and of sweet or foul odour, my mind does not feel compelled to bring in as necessary accompaniments. Without the senses as our guides, reason or imagination unaided would probably never arrive at qualities like these, hence I think that taste, odours, colours, and so on are no more than mere names so far as the object in which we place them is concerned, and that they reside only in the consciousness. Hence if the living creature were removed, all these qualities would be wiped away and annihilated.”¹³

This refers to what John Locke was later to call the distinction between primary and secondary qualities; it became a far-reaching limitation in modern science, restricting investigation almost entirely to two fields of sense perception, namely sight and touch. The exclusion of the others - hearing, taste and smell - on the grounds that they merely gave information about the state of the perceiver, left the scientist in a silent, tasteless and odourless world, a disastrous impoverishment of experience and of the field of knowledge. Galileo's words “they reside only in the consciousness” are telling, for they demonstrate that he saw consciousness as an attribute of individuals. Therefore perception, which requires consciousness as its ground, belongs to an individual perceiver looking out into a more or less objective physical world - limited to objects measurable by sight and touch. This was not at all the view of Ficino and the philosophers at the heart of the Renaissance. For them the whole of the physical world, perceived through all five senses, was contained within one consciousness, which was universal. Such was the subtle change in ideas, which from the time of Descartes was embodied in a systematic dualistic philosophy.

This tendency towards treating the physical world as, at best, entirely separate from the mental and spiritual worlds, or at worst, as the only world that really exists - both inherent in Cartesian dualism - was well established by the time of the greatest of all post-Renaissance scientists, the English mathematician and physicist, Isaac Newton. The Royal Society, which began as a series of meetings of leading scientists held at Wadham College, Oxford during the English Civil War, was already drawn towards this tendency when the young Newton was at Cambridge University in the early 1660s. Indeed this may account partly for the often difficult relationships between

Newton and some of the members, like Robert Hooke, though these are usually put down to Newton's dislike of criticism. For Newton undoubtedly eschewed this tendency himself. As the greatest mathematician since Archimedes, he developed brilliantly comprehensive and exact explanations of many phenomena, notably gravity, planetary motion and light, yet he always insisted that the real causes were unknown to him and were not contained within the physical world. In this

sense Newton himself was never a Newtonian in the manner of his later followers, who usually took his answers to be totally mechanistic explanations of phenomena.

What made Newton the greatest scientist of his time and perhaps of any time since? The commonplace story of an apple falling on his head in his family garden at Woolsthorpe in Lincolnshire provides a clue. Newton seems to have realised, quite suddenly when in his early twenties, that one law was responsible for a whole range of widely disparate phenomena. This enabled him to draw together into a unified explanation such elements as Galileo's principle of inertia and observations on the acceleration of falling objects near the earth's surface, Kepler's three laws about the elliptical orbits of the planets, and the Copernican ideas of a heliocentric planetary system and the earth's diurnal rotation. A key factor in achieving this amazing synthesis was Newton's rejection of the currently fashionable theory of Descartes that all motion in the universe was derived from the contact of physical objects, and that the movement of objects apparently free of contact was derived from contiguous vortices of fluid. A major influence on Newton in this respect was the Elizabethan writer, William Gilbert, whose account of the earth as a giant magnet, based on his study of lodestones, gave a convincing description of action at a distance. Whilst many scientists could not accept the possibility of action at a distance, those who followed the tradition established by the Hermetic writings and by Marsilio Ficino found no difficulty in it. Newton himself was acquainted with Hermes Pimander and with some of Ficino's works. His universal principle of gravitation depended upon this rejection of narrow mechanistic doctrines. Likewise, his development of the idea of gravity as an attractive force in all matter owed much to the Renaissance concepts of attraction and repulsion, as demonstrated in Ficino's elaborate system of natural magic in medicine.

A particular example of how Newton unified the discoveries of earlier scientific thinkers is the study he made of a falling stone and the orbit of the moon. Following Galileo, he calculated the motion of the stone as falling sixteen feet in the first second of its descent. Using astronomical data, he then calculated the distance which the moon travels away from a tangent to its orbit in one second when it follows its actual orbital path (i.e. the distance it, in fact, travels under the influence of the earth's gravitational force). The moon is approximately 60 times further away from the centre of the earth than the stone. Newton then used a "law" which was generally recognised at the time but unrelated to such phenomena, namely the inverse square law, which states that any force acting equally in all directions from a point will decrease inversely with the square of the distance from the point. (This is a common sense "law" in that the force is diffused over the area of an imaginary sphere, the surface of which is a square function of its radius). By applying the inverse square law, Newton could calculate that the force acting centripetally on the moon should be of the force acting on the stone, provided they were one and the same force. The known facts about the moon's orbit showed that the moon does actually move approximately on an orbit determined by a centripetal force of that order. Such empirical information gave much support to Newton's belief that one force, namely gravity, influenced both the stone and the moon.

But how was the inverse square law consistent with Kepler's three laws of planetary motion? To solve this problem Newton used mathematical methods which he had developed virtually unassisted. He had already found a way of converting algebraic expressions involving powers into infinite series. From Descartes' system of coordinate geometry he created a "method of fluxions" based upon the use of infinitely small changes or increments. This enabled him to measure the lengths of curves and areas under them more easily than by the methods of classical geometry. (The notation of Newton's method proved less effective than that of the German mathematician, Leibnitz. Both men arrived independently at what became known as differential calculus). Newton was now in a position to relate his own investigations to Kepler's laws. He succeeded in proving that an elliptical orbit with the Sun at one focus implies that the Sun attracts the planet with a force in accordance with the inverse square law, but that the inverse square law itself implies not just elliptical motion but motion along a conic section (e.g. the hyperbolic motion of some comets). Kepler's second law he found to

be implied by the existence of a force acting towards the Sun. The third law - that the time of orbit is related to distance from the Sun in the ratio $t^2 : d^3$ - Newton proved as a consequence of the inverse square law and the principle governing centripetal force.

Thus he had established a complete relationship between the inverse square law and Kepler's three laws of planetary motion. Since the inverse square law governs the fall of objects near the earth's surface, like apples and stones, Newton had effectively proved that gravity was a universal force present in all material objects, whereby they attract one another with a force equal to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. He had inserted the keystone into the arches built by Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler. The universe, as Ficino had insisted, was one body.

Was the universe, however, a harmonic unity under the influence of a world-soul, as Ficino also taught?

"... for God rejoices in harmony to such an extent that he seems to have created the world especially for this reason, that all its individual parts should sing harmoniously to themselves and to the whole universe; indeed the universe itself should resound as fully as it can with the intelligence and goodness of its author. Let us add that he has so arranged the spheres and regulated their movements in relation to one another, as the Pythagoreans and Platonists teach, that they make a harmony and melody beyond compare."¹⁴

In this respect Newton preserved an heroic openness of mind, for he diligently researched into the intellectual history of his subject in order to show the ancient foundations of his discoveries. His own presentation of the system of the universe in his published work, *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (the *Principia*), used the classical geometry of Euclid and, particularly, of Apollonius on conic sections, since very few readers would have understood the method of fluxions. Yet Newton did not merely use classical Greek methods; he claimed that the Greeks had known the inverse square law and had understood the true system of the universe. Pythagoras, especially, had seen that the inverse square law was an analogue of the law of harmonics. As Newton wrote:

"Hence Macrobius, l, 19, says: 'Apollo's lyre of seven strings provides understanding of the motions of all the celestial spheres over which nature has set the Sun as moderator' ... the Sun by his own force acts upon the planets in that harmonic ratio of distances by which the force of tension acts upon strings of different lengths, that is reciprocally in the duplicate ratio of the distances. For the force by which the same tension acts on the same string of different lengths is reciprocally as the square of the length of the string ... Now this argument is subtle, yet became known to the ancients. For Pythagoras, as Macrobius avows, stretched the intestines of sheep or the sinews of oxen by attaching various weights, and from this learned the ratio of the celestial harmony. Therefore, by means of such experiments he ascertained that the weights by which all tones on equal strings ... were reciprocally as the lengths of the squares of the strings by which the musical instrument emits the same tones. But the proportion discovered by these experiments, on the evidence of Macrobius, he applied to the heavens and consequently by comparing those weights with the weights of the Planets and the lengths of the strings with the distances of the Planets, he understood by means of the harmony of the heavens that the weights of the Planets towards the Sun were reciprocally as the squares of their distances from the Sun."¹⁵

Newton's follower, MacLaurin, explained the matter more concisely:

"If therefore we should suppose musical chords extended from the sun to each planet, that all these chords might become unison, it would be requisite to increase or diminish their tensions in the same proportions as would be sufficient to render the gravities of the planets equal. And from the similitude of those proportions the celebrated doctrine of the harmony of the spheres is supposed to have been derived."¹⁶

In acknowledging his debt to the Greeks in this way, Newton was doing much more than professing academic humility; he was proclaiming that real knowledge is held in ancient tradition and, as it were, re-discovered or remembered by succeeding generations, and that a purely mechanistic science was profoundly incomplete. For the harmony of the spheres was evidence of the creative power of God, whom Newton believed was the direct cause of the universe itself and of all the phenomena within it, such as motion, which could not be understood by reference to matter alone. Newton may not have believed in a world-soul, as Ficino did, but he was certain that matter was entirely passive and that divine power moved all things:

“This most beautiful system of the sun, planets, and comets could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful Being. And if the fixed stars are the centres of other like systems, these, being formed by the like wise counsel, must be all subject to the dominion of One; especially since the light of the fixed stars is of the same nature with the light of the sun, and from every system light passes into all the other systems: and lest the systems of the fixed stars should, by their gravity, fall on each other, he hath placed those systems at immense distances from one another.”¹⁷

Newton's susceptibility to criticism is thought to have been caused by a difficult childhood - his father died before he was born and his mother remarried, leaving him mainly in the care of his grandmother - and by the aberrations of genius. However, whilst he may have appeared arrogant to his opponents like Robert Hooke, he was exceedingly humble before what he regarded as the true author of the laws which he had glimpsed:

“I do not know what I may appear to the world, but, to myself, I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me”.¹⁸

Most of his great discoveries were made in his youth, particularly in the two years (1665-7) when the plague forced Cambridge colleges to close, so that he worked on his mathematical ideas at his home in Lincolnshire. He was extremely slow to publish anything; indeed the *Principia* itself was only published by the personal efforts, and expenditure, of Newton's friend, Edmond Halley. Yet he was not a recluse. At Cambridge he often appeared, even to lecture, in unkempt clothes, but when James II sought to introduce Catholic control of Cambridge, Newton became a leading figure in the fight for what he saw as the freedom of the university. Indeed, after the “bloodless revolution” of 1689 he was chosen to represent Cambridge in the convention which made the new political settlement. From that point onwards he was attracted by a wider world than the academic. In 1696 he was appointed Warden of the Mint, moved to London, and worked zealously in promoting the health of the currency. Such a career suggests a certain indifference to the scientific work in which he so excelled. Clearly he truly believed that the physical world was of no great consequence and that to discover its laws was hardly worth a lifetime's work! He continued much longer in philosophical and theological studies, publishing books on the Old Testament and the Revelations of St John. Nevertheless, he held the position of President of the Royal Society from 1703 until his death in 1727, so he in no sense repudiated his interest in scientific matters.

At the beginning of the Renaissance in the fifteenth century, science was not a separate branch of human knowledge. Leonardo exemplified this in his undifferentiated search for the truth in any phenomena that interested him, and his unconcern with what was art and what was science in the works he created, like the anatomical drawings. Inevitably specialisation grew as the effects of the Renaissance were felt in so many areas of human experience, yet scientific research continued to be largely the work of amateurs: an outstanding case was Francis Bacon, who could write extensively on scientific method whilst engaged in a successful legal career, culminating in the Lord Chancellorship. William Gilbert found time to study lodestones while serving as physician to both

Queen Elizabeth I and James I. Even Copernicus had represented the cathedral chapter at Frauenberg, Poland, and acted as a doctor to the local poor in between his astronomical studies. Rene Descartes led the life of a gentleman of fortune, serving for a while as a soldier in the Dutch and Bavarian armies in the Thirty Years War. By the mid-seventeenth century an element of professionalism was appearing: many of the founder members of the Royal Society were academic scientists or mathematicians, like John Wallis, Robert Hooke, Edmond Halley, Robert Boyle, and, of course, Isaac Newton. However, the close interest of King Charles II and of literary figures like John Dryden and John Evelyn prevented it becoming a narrowly scientific body. Newton himself was an outstanding example of a man capable of applying his intellect to very many fields and of adapting from the life of the scholar to that of a public figure of some eminence. Christopher Wren, of course, was another - an Oxford Professor of mathematics and astronomy, he designed the greatest post-Renaissance church in the kingdom.

Yet the wide expression of such talents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries concealed the growing division which had come to the surface in the bitter exchange between Kepler and Fludd. The mechanistic view of science slowly gained ground. Observed correlations between phenomena, "constant conjunctions" as David Hume was to call them in the eighteenth century, came to be seen as causal explanations. The apparently necessary antecedent was the cause, and events were seen increasingly as determined in temporal chains. Emphasis upon mathematics and measurement by the Renaissance philosophers led erroneously to the use of mathematics in the restricted area of measuring physical properties only, and became associated with the two senses - sight and touch - most suited to this; hence Galileo's insistence on the redundancy of hearing, taste and smell and John Locke's later separation of qualities into primary and secondary. None of this was present in Ficino's analysis of qualities in *Three Books of Life*.

With this circumscription of science went, inevitably, the loss of fields of experience beyond the physical. The subtle world of the mind and the divine world of the spirit were increasingly ignored or seen as totally non-scientific and thus the province exclusively of the artist, poet or priest. Though the Florentine Renaissance had reminded the western world of Plato's doctrine that causes lay beyond the physical and nearer to the one Good, the scientists who took Kepler's side in the dispute with Fludd asserted that causes could exist as physical objects. They forgot the Platonic ideas, such as equality, sameness, harmony, justice and number.

"The mind, which from a long-standing desire and indulgence in physical things has become physical, so to speak, will believe the divine to be completely non-existent, or will regard it as physical."¹⁹

As alchemy gradually gave way to modern chemistry, for example, the central role of equality and heterogeneity remained, but chemists forgot that their complete dependence upon equations and heterogeneity of substances implied the presence of these Platonic universals. Sameness, for example, is the cause of an element, like sulphur, in the sense that sulphur would not exist were it not always the same.

Newton had the vision to see beyond the confines of the thought of his time. He knew that motion could not arise from passive physical objects, whether large planets or tiny particles. In the solar system he saw beyond the forms that could be measured by sight and touch to a world of sound and harmony. In his study of optics he found that light itself could contain all the colours that the eye experiences:

"All the colours in the world must be such as constantly ought to arise from the original calorific qualities of the rays whereof the lights consist by which those colours are seen."²⁰ an idea traceable also to the thought of Ficino:

“There is no doubt that it (light) creates and sustains all the colours. For as it pours out in different ways in all directions through the manifold creation, so does it bring forth varied colours everywhere, and in seeing itself it sees all colours in itself.”²¹

Newton knew that all the objects of his studies, such as mass, space and time, were abstractions from the more complete universe of experience, and that an abstraction was not the essence of a thing. So he did not believe in the abstractions. They were useful to understand certain laws, like that of gravity, but the universe, in fact, contained much more than these. The planetary system possessed order and harmony and beauty, of which the ancient Greeks and the Renaissance philosophers were aware. Lesser men than Newton believed in the reality of the abstractions, that the mass of the earth was the earth, and so on. They had no time for the harmony of the spheres; sight and touch could not measure that. It required an “inner sense”, a hearing with an inner ear. How could that be measured? And yet Pythagoras had measured it, and he was a master of number. Newton, at least knew that mathematics was not limited in its use to the measurement of outwardly visible and tangible things. The universe was truly measured out by the greatest of mathematicians, for it proceeded from “the counsel and dominion of an intelligent Being.”

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A COMPANION TO GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH edited by Joshua Byron Smith and Georgia Henley [Brill's Companions to European History, Brill, 978900440528-8]

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A COMPANION TO GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH brings together scholars from a range of disciplines to provide an updated scholarly introduction to all aspects of his work. Arguably the most influential secular writer of medieval Britain, Geoffrey (d. 1154) popularized Arthurian literature and left an indelible mark on European romance, history, and genealogy. Despite this outsized influence, Geoffrey's own life, background, and motivations are little understood. The volume situates his life and works within their immediate historical context, and frames them within current critical discussion across the humanities. By necessity, this volume concentrates primarily on Geoffrey's own life and times, with the reception of his works covered by a series of short encyclopaedic overviews, organized by language, that serve as guides to further reading.

Contributors are Jean Blacker, Elizabeth Bryan, Thomas H. Crofts, Siân Echard, Fabrizio De Falco, Michael Faletra, Ben Guy, Santiago Gutiérrez García, Nahir I. Otaño Gracia, Paloma Gracia, Georgia Henley, David F. Johnson, Owain Wyn Jones, Maud Burnett McInerney, Françoise Le Saux, Barry Lewis, Coral Lumbley, Simon Meecham-Jones, Paul Russell, Victoria Shirley, Joshua Byron Smith, Jaakko Tahkokallio, Hélène Tétrel, Rebecca Thomas, Fiona Tolhurst. See Less

A COMPANION TO GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH should appeal to anyone with an interest in Arthurian literature, Celtic studies, and medieval history.

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Excerpt Geoffrey of Monmouth has suffered a glorious indignity that few writers have ever achieved: his creation has completely outstripped the maker. Few members of the general public, even well-educated ones, recognize the name Geoffrey of Monmouth. (A fact that the personal experience of this chatty medievalist has confirmed on numerous awkward occasions). But his creation is another matter altogether. The names of King Arthur, Guinevere, and their attendant knights perk up the ears of taxi drivers, coal mining fathers and grandfathers, and even scholars of contemporary literature. Medievalists, though we may know Geoffrey’s name, have found him hard to contain and classify. So far-ranging is Geoffrey’s work that he falls under the purview of several scholarly fields, many of which remain relatively isolated from one another: folklore, history, romance, manuscript studies, Celtic studies, classical reception, and medieval Latin – not to mention the seemingly endless expanse of Geoffrey’s *Nachleben*, with its parade of translations, adaptations, and inspirations that continues to the present day. This volume aims to bring together, for the first time, many of these fields and to offer something close to a comprehensive overview of Geoffrey’s life and work. It is our hope that this volume will serve as a current snapshot of Galfridian scholarship, incite more interest in Geoffrey and his work, and bring his artistry into greater prominence, all of which – if one is allowed to dream – might ultimately lead to slightly fewer blank stares for some of us.

Geoffrey’s fame rests on three Latin works, the earliest of which is the *Prophetiae Merlini* (“The Prophecies of Merlin”, hereafter abbreviated *PM*), a collection of prophecies completed before Henry I’s death in 1135. With baroque animalistic imagery and apocalyptic fervor, its meaning sometimes seems transparent, and yet at other times playfully obscure. Over 80 copies of this text survive, and it inspired a vogue for Merlin’s prophecies throughout Europe. Geoffrey included the *PM* in his next work, the *De gestis Britonum* (“On the Deeds of the Britons”, hereafter abbreviated *DGB*). He had finished this work by January 1139 at the latest, when Henry of Huntingdon reports his astonishment at finding a copy at the abbey of Le Bec. The count of surviving medieval manuscripts of the *DGB* is now 225, making Geoffrey one of the most widely-read secular authors from medieval Britain. Yet even this impressive tally of extant manuscripts falls short of showing the work’s reception. The *DGB* was adapted, abbreviated, and translated again and again, making it one of the most influential works of medieval European literature. Its appeal arises from several factors. It filled a gap in the historical record by providing a full account of the earliest history

of Britain, from the settlement of the island until the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion. It also gave the first thorough picture of King Arthur, whose court and conquests are described in such extravagant detail that they inspired generations of future writers. It placed Britain on par with ancient Greece and Rome and made the Britons major players in classical history. Finally, Geoffrey's skill as a writer and his sheer inventiveness make the *DGB* a pleasurable read. Even bare lists of kings are regularly punctuated with marvelous anecdotes.

Until recently, Geoffrey's history was called the *Historia regum Britanniae* ("The History of the Kings of Britain"), but Michael D. Reeve's textual study has confirmed that the title used in the earliest manuscripts, and by Geoffrey himself, was the *De gestis Britonum*. After much debate among contributors, this volume begins the lugubrious process of using the original title in place of the received one. Aside from a desire for greater accuracy, the change is helpful in identifying references to Geoffrey's text and in showing how he framed his own project: the difference between British "deeds" (*gesta*) and British "kings" (*reges*) is not insignificant and shows that Geoffrey conceptualized his own work as being equal to the other great historical works with *de gestis* in their titles. Furthermore, Geoffrey's focus on a people (Britons) instead of a transferrable geopolitical area (*Britannia*) surely bears on critical discussions of Geoffrey's aims in writing his work. Indeed, the emergence of the alternative title might even suggest that many medieval readers viewed his history as providing Britain, not the Welsh, with an ancient, respectable past. Geoffrey's third and final extant work is the *Vita Merlini* ("The Life of Merlin", hereafter abbreviated *VM*), completed around 1150 and extant in only four independent manuscripts.⁶ Written in dactylic hexameter, this poem recounts how Merlin Silvester goes mad after battle and retires to the woods to live; this enigmatic and difficult work seems to be deeply in touch with Welsh literature, though its ultimate sources are unknown. Taken together, Geoffrey's literary output shows him to be a versatile author: a master of verse and prose, capable of writing forceful speeches and enigmatic prophecy, and a voracious reader and researcher. Although he claimed to be nothing more than a translator – thereby conforming to medieval literature's aversion to originality, at least outwardly – he remains one of the most strikingly original writers of the Middle Ages.

A COMPANION TO GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH introduces Geoffrey's oeuvre to first-time readers and provides a synthesis of current scholarship, all while offering new readings of his work. This volume also seeks to bring Celtic studies and Galfridian studies into closer dialogue, especially given the importance of Wales to Geoffrey and his work. To that end, many of the essays are written by specialists in Welsh history and literature, whose voices have at times been hard to discern in the general din of Galfridian scholarship. We have also asked contributors to focus on all of Geoffrey's work, and not merely the Arthurian sections. Geoffrey has been well-served by Arthurian scholarship, and we have no desire to replicate many of the excellent recent studies in that field.⁷ Instead, we hope a holistic approach to his work will reveal subtleties often overlooked in scholarship that concentrates primarily on the Arthurian portions.

The volume is loosely divided into four parts: "Sources", "Contemporary Contexts", "Approaches", and "Reception". Ben Guy begins the first part with an investigation of Geoffrey's Welsh sources, showing that Geoffrey not only acquired but also understood a wide array of Welsh texts. Classical sources are examined by Paul Russell, who investigates Geoffrey's classical and biblical references, many of which are glancing and difficult to detect. Rebecca Thomas deals with Geoffrey's early English sources, which he often undermines through his own sleights of hand. Maud Burnett McNerney rounds off this section by demonstrating that Geoffrey learned how to cultivate prophetic ambiguity in the *PM* through careful study of his sources, especially Virgil. Taken as a whole, these chapters show that Geoffrey was an avid researcher, read his sources with discretion, and could manipulate them better than many of his contemporaries.

The next part, “Contemporary Contexts”, provides historical and cultural contexts for Geoffrey’s work. Jaakko Tahkokallio’s chapter surveys the early dissemination of Geoffrey’s manuscripts and offers valuable new insights on networks of dissemination, Geoffrey’s patrons, and his readership. A few of those early readers are the topic of Simon Meecham-Jones’s chapter, which reevaluates early negative reactions to Geoffrey’s history. There were, he argues, good reasons for these readers to affect a dislike of the *DGB*. Siân Echard, on the other hand, discusses Geoffrey’s Latin readers, many of whom enjoyed his work so much that they felt compelled to interact with the text at length. Françoise Le Saux tackles the difficult question of Geoffrey’s influence on the nascent genre of romance, showing how French-language writers quickly took to his work. Welsh speakers, too, also read Geoffrey’s work with deep interest, and this Welsh reception is the subject of Owain Wyn Jones’s chapter, which demonstrates how his history fits into Welsh historiography. On the other side of the border, Georgia Henley’s chapter shows that Geoffrey’s work, which is usually seen as an outlier in Anglo-Norman historical writing, actively engages with 12th-century historical methodologies. Wide-ranging and varied, these chapters nonetheless cohere to show Geoffrey’s work as both a product of its culture and a cultural force in its own right.

The penultimate part, “Approaches”, highlights the dominant trends in Galfridian scholarship and provides a platform for several critical approaches to his work, focusing particularly on Geoffrey’s importance to postcolonial theory, feminist theory, critical race theory, and religious studies. Perhaps the most dominant trend in Galfridian scholarship, especially in the past two decades or so, is to read Geoffrey’s work in light of Anglo-Norman expansion, and Michael Faletra’s chapter does just that, arguing that Geoffrey’s work supports colonialist policies. Politics also provides the backdrop for Fiona Tolhurst’s chapter, which argues that, because of its pro-Angevin and thus pro-Empress stance, Geoffrey’s work displays feminist leanings. Next, Coral Lumbley discusses Geoffrey in light of a growing interest among medievalists in the construction of race, and she demonstrates that Geoffrey’s history should be read as one of the controlling texts of medieval racial discourse, especially in the British Isles. Finally, Barry Lewis overturns the long-standing critical commonplace that Geoffrey was simply not that interested in religious matters. These chapters all reveal the versatility of Geoffrey’s work, and show that it has much to offer scholars in a variety of fields and with a variety of critical approaches. Of course, these four chapters should not be taken as a definitive list of all that is possible. An eco-critical approach to Geoffrey’s work might well prove useful, especially with Geoffrey’s intense interest in place. And this volume feels the lack of art historians, many of whom, given Geoffrey’s broad reception, could surely produce a chapter on visual representations of his work. For these omissions and others, the editors are heartily sorry, and we offer the same invitation that Geoffrey of Monmouth offered to his contemporary Caradog of Llancarfan: we leave these matters to others to write.

Yet even 14 chapters of **A COMPANION TO GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH** cannot cover the necessary ground to make any claims to comprehensiveness. Accordingly, this volume limits its focus to Geoffrey’s immediate work and life, though our contributors have been permitted occasional forays into other terrain. Nevertheless, Geoffrey’s reception posed a challenge for this volume. Given the widespread popularity of the *DGB*, anything that fully treated its reception would transform an already bulky book into several bulky books. Rather than ignore Geoffrey’s posthumous appeal altogether, we have thought it better to include as a final part a series of shorter, encyclopedia-like entries on the reception of his work in various linguistic traditions. Only the Welsh, French, and Latin receptions have been accorded their own full chapters, given the importance of these three traditions to Geoffrey. (Nevertheless, we have also thought it best to include Welsh and French reception articles for the sake of thoroughness, especially since these smaller versions offer a more concise bibliographic overview). These shorter articles in the final part are meant to offer points of entry into his reception in as many traditions as we could identify, and they also make for interesting reading regarding the how and why of his popularity (or lack thereof).

in different cultural contexts. We encourage readers who have identified other linguistic and cultural traditions into which his work was received to take this volume as a jumping-off point and to continue broadening the critical conversation about the reception of his texts.

One part of Geoffrey's reception that this volume does not cover explicitly – though our authors touch upon it here and there – is the two variant Latin versions of the *DGB*. The First Variant Version has received excellent attention from Neil Wright, and we would direct curious readers to his work. The Second Variant Version has no critical edition, and so for the moment it is difficult to say anything of worth about it. Since companion volumes cover what is normally found in introductory material – sources, methods, and the like – the rest of this introduction concerns Geoffrey's biography, if indeed we can call a life with only a few concrete facts a "biography" at all.

For the man who invented King Lear and Arthurian literature as we know it, the details of Geoffrey's life remain largely a mystery. Compared to some of his contemporaries, Geoffrey is not particularly forthcoming about biographical details, and he leaves modern scholars little to work with. Still, he had the courtesy (or perhaps audacity) to sign his works, something that many medieval writers did not feel compelled to do, and this information provides the basis for our knowledge of Geoffrey's life. He calls himself *Galfridus Monemutensis* on three occasions: once in the *PM* and twice in the *DGB*. And in the *VM* he styles himself *de Monemuta*.¹² Some connection with Monmouth is therefore assured, probably implying that he was born in Monmouth and spent his early life there. The local knowledge displayed in his works shows that he was familiar with the region around Monmouth, and so it is probably safe to assume that he was born in or near Monmouth around 1100. The date for Geoffrey's birth "circa 1100", widely repeated in scholarship, works backwards from his appearance at Oxford in 1129, after he had obtained an early education and the title *magister*. However, it is important to remember that nothing is certain in this regard, and Geoffrey could have been born as early as 1070 and died in his eighties. His deep erudition and mastery of Latin points to an early education, and in the first few decades of the 12th century, Monmouth Priory would have been a possible place for a local boy to receive instruction in grammar. Geoffrey may even be the same *Gaufridus scriba*, "Geoffrey the scribe", who witnessed a 1120 charter concerning the priory's property. The early connection with Monmouth priory, however, remains speculative.

Over the last century a broad scholarly consensus has emerged that Geoffrey spent a good deal of his life in Oxford, and that he was a canon of St George's, a short-lived collegiate church inside Oxford Castle, founded in 1074 by Robert d'Oily and Roger de'Ivry. The central plank of this argument is eight Oxford charters, dating from 1129 to 1151. In these charters, a "Galfridus Arturus" (with slight orthographical variations) appears as a witness. The subjects of these charters and their witnesses make it very likely that the Galfridus Arturus appearing therein was a canon of St George's.¹³ This "Geoffrey Arthur" of the Oxford charters has been identified with Geoffrey of Monmouth for the following reasons. First of all, four 12th-century writers call Geoffrey of Monmouth "Geoffrey Arthur", with William of Newburgh helpfully revealing that Geoffrey was nicknamed "Arthur" (*agnomen habens Arturi*). These references, independent of the charters, are the strongest evidence that the two Geoffreys are the same, but that is not all. Two early families of *DGB* manuscripts append the cognomen "Arthur" to Geoffrey in the title. Moreover, the co-witnesses who appear alongside Geoffrey Arthur in the Oxford charters are also telling: Walter, the archdeacon of Oxford, who is said to have provided the source for the *DGB*, and Ralph of Monmouth, a canon of Lincoln. Ralph was not the only one at St George's with a connection to Lincoln, since Robert de Chesney, who would later become bishop of Lincoln (1148–66), was also a canon there. While Oxford lay within the sprawling medieval diocese of Lincoln, and thus some affiliation is unremarkable, these Lincoln connections are nonetheless noteworthy in Geoffrey's case because he dedicated the *PM* and the *VM* to two successive bishops of Lincoln, Alexander (1123–48) and Robert de Chesney. Yet another reason to link the Geoffrey from the

Oxford charters and Geoffrey of Monmouth is that in the Oxford charters “Arthur” is unlikely to be a patronym. In the charter collocations, the name “Artur” never once appears in the genitive case, as would be expected if it were a patronym. Instead, in the charters “Arthur” appears to be an *agnomen*, a nickname, and as such indicates that the Oxford Geoffrey had a particular interest, one might even say obsession, with the figure of Arthur. How many budding Arthurian scholars named Geoffrey could there have been in the mid-12th century? Another name also suggests that the two Geoffreys are one and the same – Boso of Oxford, who appears as a minor character in the *DGB*. J.S.P. Tatlock believed the name Boso was a pun on the Latin name for Oxford, *Vadum Boum*. (The apparent pun is more easily grasped in the nominative singular, *bos*, “ox, bull”). However, the name Boso would have also had an immediate connotation for Geoffrey’s educated contemporaries. In the previous generation, Anselm of Canterbury had explored incarnational theology in his influential *Why God Became a Man*. The form of this work is a dialogue between Anselm and his pupil Boso, who by argumentative necessity is rather dull and dimwitted. The peculiar name Boso therefore would have called to mind a dullard scholar who needed matters explained to him in the simplest of terms. It is not farfetched to read the Boso of Oxford in the *DGB* as a joke directed at Geoffrey’s colleagues at Oxford, and thus we would have another connection between Geoffrey of Monmouth and Oxford. Assured that we are dealing with one Geoffrey, we can mine the Oxford charters for two additional pieces of biographical evidence: they tell us that Geoffrey was a *magister* and that he was elected bishop of St Asaph... <>

DEEP RIVER by Shusaku Endo Translated By Van C. Gessel [New Directions, 9780811212892]

Thirty years lie between the leading contemporary Japanese writer Shusaku Endo's justly famed *Silence* and his powerful new novel **DEEP RIVER**, a book which is both a summation and a pinnacle of his work.

The river is the Ganges, where a group of Japanese tourists converge: Isobe, grieving the death of the wife he ignored in life; Kiguchi, haunted by wartime memories of the Highway of Death in Burma; Numanda, recovering from a critical illness; Mitsuko, a cynical woman struggling with inner emptiness; and butt of her cruel interest, Otsu, a failed seminarian for whom the figure on the cross is a god of many faces. Bringing these and other characters to vibrant life and evoking a teeming India so vividly that the reader is almost transported there, Endo reaches his ultimate religious vision, one that combines Christian faith with Buddhist acceptance.

Review

“...Mr. Endo is a master of the interior monologue, and he builds ‘case’ by ‘case,’ chapter by chapter, a devastating critique of the world that has ‘everything’ but lacks moral substance and seems headed nowhere.”

- **Robert Coles, New York Times Book Review**

“A soulful gift to a world he keeps rendering as unrelievedly parched.”

- **Robert Coles, New York Times Book Review**

“One of Japan’s greatest twentieth-century writers.”

- **Publishers Weekly**

From Library Journal

A trip to India becomes a journey of discovery for a group of Japanese tourists playing out their "individual dramas of the soul." Isobe searches for his reincarnated wife, while Kiguchi relives the wartime horror that ultimately saved his life. Alienated by middle age, Mitsuko follows Otsu, a failed

priest, to the holy city of Varanas, hoping that the murky Ganges holds the secret to the "difference between being alive and truly living." Looking for absolutes, each character confronts instead the moral ambiguity of India's complex culture, in which good and evil are seen as a whole as indifferent to distinction as the Ganges River, which washes the living and transports the dead. This novel is a fascinating study of cultural truths revealed through a rich and varied cast. Endo, one of Japan's leading writers, (*The Final Martyrs*, LJ 9/1/94) skillfully depicts the small details of life, investing them with universal significance. Highly recommended.

Paul E. Hutchison, Bellefonte, Pa.

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From Booklist

Endo's standing as a major Japanese author is not based on a scintillating prose style but rather on his probing moral inquiries. Endo's haunting fiction is a vehicle for his views on God, religion, and the vast divides between cultures. In his newest novel, he intertwines the compelling stories of a group of troubled strangers on a tour of Buddhist shrines in India. We meet each of them at a pivotal point in their lives. Isobe, a conservative businessman, never openly expressed affection for his sweet-natured wife but now, after her death, misses her terribly and is obsessed with her belief in reincarnation. Mitsuko, a woman unable to love, can't forget Otsu, a pious Christian she mocked for his beliefs. She hopes to find him in India, where he wandered after being rejected by the church for his "pantheistic" views. And then there's Numada, an author of children's books who has a special bond with animals. Each has come to India and the holy river Ganges on a spiritual quest, and each discovers that God has "many faces." *Donna Seaman*

From the Back Cover

Thirty years lie between the leading contemporary Japanese writer Shusaku Endo's justly famed *Silence* and his powerful new novel **DEEP RIVER**, a book which is both a summation and a pinnacle of his work. The river is the Ganges, where a group of Japanese tourists converge: Isobe, grieving the death of the wife he ignored in life; Kiguchi, haunted by wartime memories of the Highway of Death in Burma; Numada, recovering from a critical illness; Mitsuko, a cynical woman struggling with inner emptiness; and butt of her cruel interest, Otsu, a failed seminarian for whom the figure on the cross is a god of many faces. Bringing these and other characters to vibrant life and evoking a teeming India so vividly that the reader is almost transported there, Endo reaches his ultimate religious vision, one that combines Christian faith with Buddhist acceptance.

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Excerpt: At the seminary they were most critical of what they saw as a pantheistic sentiment lurking in my unconscious mind. As a Japanese, I can't bear those who ignore the great life force that exists in Nature. However lucid and logical it may be, in European Christianity there is a rank ordering of all living things. They'll never be able to understand the import of a verse like Basho's haiku:

when I look closely
beneath the hedge, mother's-heart
flowers have blossomed

Sometimes, of course, they talk as if they regarded the life force that causes the mother's-heart flowers to bloom as the same force that grants life to human beings, but in no way do they consider them to be identical.

'Then what is God to you?' three of my superiors questioned me at the novitiate, and I was thoughtless enough to answer: 'I don't think God is someone to be looked up to as a being separate from man, the way you regard him. I think he is within man, and that he is a great life force that envelops man, envelops the trees, envelops the flowers and grasses.'

'Isn't that a pantheistic view?'

Then, using the all-too-translucent logic of scholasticism, they ferreted out all the flaws in my slipshod thinking. This is just one small example of what I went through. But an Asian like me just can't make sharp distinctions and pass judgement on everything the way they do.

'God makes use not only of our good acts, but even of our sins in order to save us.' That day, as we leaned against the railing by the Saone where the afternoon sun shimmered on the cargo ships sailing up and down the river, I confessed these honest feelings to you, the same feelings that prompted my comments to my superiors. And then you replied most splendidly: 'Is that really a Christian notion?'

I was scolded for this notion at the novitiate; they told me it was dangerously Jansenistic or Manichaeistic ('heretical', in short). I was told that good and evil are distinct and mutually incompatible.

So, what with this and that, my ordination to the priesthood has been postponed. But I have not lost my faith.

Since my youth, thanks to my mother the one thing I was able to believe in was a mother's warmth. The warmth of her hand as it held mine, the warmth of her body when she cradled me, the warmth of her love, the warmth that kept her from abandoning me even though I was so much more dumbly sincere than my brothers and sisters. My mother told me all about the person you call my Onion, and she taught me that this Onion was a vastly more powerful accumulation of this warmth — in other words, love itself. I lost my mother when I got older, and I realized then that what lay at the source of my mother's warmth was a portion of the love of my Onion. Ultimately what I have sought is nothing more than the love of that Onion, not any of the other innumerable doctrines mouthed by the various churches. (This, of course, was another reason I have been regarded as a heretic.)

Love, I think, is the core of this world we live in, and through our long history that is all the Onion has imparted to us. The thing we are most lacking in our modern world is love; love is the thing no one believes in any more; love is what everyone mockingly laughs at — and that is why someone like me wants to follow my Onion with dumb sincerity.

My trust is in the life of the Onion, who endured genuine torment for the sake of love, who exhibited love on our behalf. As time passes, I feel that trust strengthening within me. I haven't been able to adapt myself to the thinking and the theology of Europe, but when I suffer all alone, I can feel the smiling presence of my Onion, who knows all my trials. And just as he told the travellers on the road to Emmaus when he walked beside them, he has said to me, 'Come, follow me.'

Sometimes at night, when I've finished my labours and I look up at the stars glittering above the fields of grapes, I become frightened of where he is leading me. <>

NAVIGATING DEEP RIVER: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON SHUSAKU ENDO'S FINAL NOVEL edited by Mark W. Dennis and Darren J. N. Middleton [SUNY Press, 9781438477978]

An interdisciplinary dialogue with Shūsaku Endō's last novel offering new perspectives on Japanese culture, Christian doctrine, Hindu spiritualities, and Buddhist worldviews.

In **NAVIGATING DEEP RIVER**, Mark W. Dennis and Darren J. N. Middleton have curated a wide-ranging discussion of Shūsaku Endō's final novel, **DEEP RIVER**, in which four careworn Japanese tourists journey to India's holy Ganges in search of spiritual as well as existential renewal. **NAVIGATING DEEP RIVER** evaluates and probes Endō's decades-long search to find the words to explain Transcendent Mystery, the difficult tension between faith and doubt, the purpose of spiritual journeys, and the challenges posed by the reality of religious pluralism in an increasingly diverse world. The contributors, including Van C. Gessel who translated **DEEP RIVER** into English in 1994, offer an engaged and patient exploration of this major text in world fiction, and this anthology promises to deepen academic appreciation for Endō, within and beyond the West.

"This volume contextualizes, delineates, and articulates the complex religious/theological/spiritual dimensions of **DEEP RIVER** and its rich intertextual, interpersonal, psychosocial, and literary aspects. There are few edited volumes in which so many experts focus on a single Japanese text in this sustained manner, and this stands as a model of how to do so deftly and productively." — David C. Stahl, author of *Social Trauma, Narrative Memory and Recovery in Japanese Literature and Film*

At Texas Christian University, **Mark W. Dennis** is Professor of East Asian Religions. At Texas Christian University, **Darren J. N. Middleton** is John F. Weatherly Professor of Religion. They are the coeditors of *Approaching Silence: New Perspectives on Shūsaku Endō's Classic Novel*. Dennis is also the translator of *Prince Shōtoku's Commentary on the Śrīmālā Sutra*, and Middleton has written and edited many other books, including *George Eliot: Illuminated by the Message*.

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A Novel We Have Loved by Mark W. Dennis and Darren J. N. Middleton

Excerpta "April is the cruellest month," T. S. Eliot says; yet spring's sweet showers fall in April and people, according to Chaucer, long to go on pilgrimages.' The power of pilgrimage permeates the world's religions, from Canterbury to Varanasi, and in April 1994, Peter Owen Publishers released Van C. Gessel's English translation of **DEEP RIVER** (*Fukai kawa*, 1993), an emotional quest narrative in which four careworn Japanese tourists journey to India's holy Ganga in search of spiritual as well as existential renewal. The story's author, Endo Shusaku (aka Shusaku Endo [1923-1996]), had just marked his seventy-first birthday. That autumn, Stockholm's literary circles were abuzz with speculation that Endo would be awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. It was not to be. Endo's younger countryman, Oe Kenzaburo, was the winner. Gessel informs us that journalists were assembled outside Endo's Tokyo home awaiting the Swedish committee's announcement that he had won. When Oe's name was broadcast, the reporters pressed Endo to evaluate the decision before they made their way to Oe's home. Endo's tactful response involved noting that Oe excelled at writing about a world without God. We think that Endo here describes himself, not simply Oe, since Endo was, at seventy-one, an award-winning writer who had spent his decades-long career, trying to give words to faith, doubt, love, anxiety, and transcendent mystery.

Each character in the novel is, in one way or another, seeking someone or something that can fill the cavernous loneliness in their hearts and provide a loving connection as they journey across the "desert of love" that is mortality. Otsu tells Mitsuko that it is not the doctrines of any religion that will provide him the kind of comforting warmth he felt from his mother. "Love, I think, is the core of this world we live in, and through our long history that is all that [Jesus] has imparted to us. The thing we are most lacking in our modern world is love; love is the thing no one believes in any more; love is what everyone mockingly laughs at—and that is why someone like me wants to follow [Jesus] with dumb sincerity." I am reminded here of the words of a sermon delivered by Archibald MacLeish in 1955: "Acceptance of God's will is not enough. Love, love of life, love of the world, love of God, love in spite of everything is the only possible answer to the ancient human cry against injustice."

In the final analysis, I don't think Endo presents any new answers to Job's dilemma in **DEEP RIVER**. I have the feeling he thinks that that is how it is supposed to be: God remains silent (not even

discoursing on His own majesty as He does in the Biblical story) so that we can navigate our own course toward the deep river of immortality. Leaving the piloting to us makes us accountable for the decisions we make, especially as they impact others. We may choose selfish gain, obtainable only by despising and rejecting others, or we have the freedom to select love of others in response to all the enmity and unfairness of life.

What the novel does convey is a powerful conviction that, however different doctrines or practices might be, the end goal of every religion is the kind of (in Endo's belief system, "Christ-like") love exemplified by Otsu, dressed in the robes of a Hindu sadhu but still a believer in Christ, as he wanders the alleyways of Varanasi, seeking out the dying and carrying them on his back—recalling as he does so Christ carrying his cross to Golgotha—to their final resting place in the flowing Mother Ganga. This particular scene is, I think, perhaps the most beautifully composed in Endo's entire oeuvre. In it, Otsu plays the role that is of greatest import to the author—the one who, like his motherly Christ figure, always walks alongside those who suffer, the "eternal companion" (*eien no dohansha*) each lonely human craves to have.

Whatever they may signify, **DEEP RIVER** and *Silence* are novels that Endo loved. And we love them, too, which is why we view **Navigating Deep River** as a bookend to our *Approaching Silence*. In the earlier anthology's title, *Approaching* connotes our collective effort to help our readers draw closer to *Silence*, the novel's single-word title that suggests a state or condition—that is, a lack of sound. The volume's individual chapters reveal the multivalence of this term, including God's *silence* in the face of human suffering but also, writes Gessel, the *silencing* of the protagonist's ego as he witnesses, and ponders his own role in causing, that suffering among Japan's "hidden Christians." And while that word choice was meant to suggest our movement toward a deeper engagement with the novel, we also understood *Approaching* to signify that which was drawing near to us, from a reverse angle, in relation to George Steiner's arresting metaphor of the *pilot fish*. Steiner thinks the role of the literary critic is like the "pilot fish, those strange tiny creatures, which go out in front of the real thing, the great shark or the great whale, warning, saying to the people, 'It's coming.'" Our use of the word *approach* therefore invoked this metaphorical role of these fish that signal something quite substantial is coming this way—in this case, the fiftieth anniversary of the novel's publication in Japanese but also the *arrival* of Scorsese's adaptation of the novel for the silver screen. In *Approaching Silence*'s "Introduction," we further probed the meaning of *it* as a pronoun standing in for *the real thing*, concluding that Endo's *Silence*, like any great literary work, opens out to the multiple readings advanced by our contributors.

Interpretive diversity will be evident to readers of the present volume, **Navigating Deep River**, for which we have selected a different word, the verb *to navigate*. We have done so because of the distinct ways in which we conceive of *silence*, a state or condition marked by an absence of sound, and a *river*, a flowing or surging body of water with a distinct semantic range that generates different sorts of figurative associations.

For instance, in Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the mighty Mississippi River serves as a metaphor for the freedom that Huck and Jim must navigate to avoid all manner of dangers. Huck says, "So in two seconds away we went a-sliding down the river, and it did seem so good to be free again and all by ourselves on the big river, and nobody to bother us." While Huck seeks freedom from an abusive family, Jim, a slave, seeks the same freedom from bondage as was sought by those who sang the African American spiritual from which Endo's title is drawn; it begins, "Deep river, Lord: I want to cross over into campground.

Or in Hermann Hesse's *Siddhartha*, a creative retelling of the Buddha's story recounted in Mark Dennis's chapter from *Approaching Silence*, the river plays a central role in the novel, serving for

most travelers as an obstacle that blocks them from reaching the other shore from which they will continue on their way. But for those who listen intently to the river's sacred sound *Om*, it becomes, instead, a teacher and pathway to attaining a different sort of freedom than that sought by the African American slaves. Here, it is freedom from the ubiquitous and inevitable suffering that human beings experience in *samsara*—the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth—a spiritual paradigm accepted by Hinduism, Sikhism, and Buddhism, each of which plays a prominent role in **DEEP RIVER** and will be the subject of the next section.

To navigate the historical and religious context of the novel, we begin with an introduction to the history and key teachings of these South Asian religions. That material includes a discussion of their roles in the Partition of 1947, which divided the subcontinent into the separate modern states of India and Pakistan, and the religious tensions that have bedeviled the subcontinent ever since. Those tensions led to the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards, one of the novel's key plot elements, which is the subject of Ronald Green's chapter (chapter 4).

Navigating Deep River accentuates how Endo models such incarnational aesthetics. We see it in the longing and loss at the heart of the five main characters in **DEEP RIVER**, for instance, and how every gesture they make is an outward sign or, better put, a sacramental, of their inner disposition. We witness it in the novel's imagery of the servant-God, taken from Isaiah 53, which recurs throughout Endo's novel, beginning with Mitsuko's chance discovery of the biblical text in a chapel and ending with the *alter Christus* Otsu struggling to empty himself by attending to the sick and the dying at the river of cleansing and rebirth. Furthermore, the divine sacrament is in the wider world, careening and then releasing itself through mountains, trees, and those rivers, like the Ganga, which are an extension of God and repeat the divine glory, disclosing the holy in the common. Catholicism's pansacramentalism floods **DEEP RIVER**, and our essayists appraise as well as probe the part that this particular overlay plays in Endo's lifelong artistic and spiritual quest to craft a version of Christianity that made most sense to him.

"Faith and fiction alike deal with a greater mystery than either fully appreciates," Paul Lakeland says, "and each has much more in common with the other than suspects." Essayists in our volume agree. And we love **DEEP RIVER** for its attractively wide and compellingly varied approach to telling a tale that blends human meaning-seeking and divine transcendence in a way that avoids crude conflicts or reductionistic hostilities between the two. We hope that this novel, crafted in the seclusion born of Endo's infirmity will, through our anthology, reach new readers, achieving communion and, of course, love.

We have divided the collection's essays into two categories: historical and comparative approaches (chapters 1-5) and literary and theological approaches (chapters 6-14). As is evident from the material above, we have not offered a synopsis of each chapter, a common and useful technique we employed in the Introduction of *Approaching Silence*. Here, we have decided instead to cast the work as an imagined literary pilgrimage to but also within the deep river Ganga, wherein each essayist helps our readers *navigate* a portion of the novel. As such, the tidiness and linearity of our previous approach seemed incongruent with the fascinating intermingling of clamor and solemnity, raucousness and reverence the novel's characters experience at the river's sacred banks, described eloquently by Julian Crandall Hollick in his Foreword. To honor that strategy, we have briefly mentioned each contributor's chapter above as a signpost pointing forward to a particular piece of the journey. Mark W. Dennis's first chapter offers additional context by discussing those chapters using a Buddhist reading of the novel.

The volume is meant to serve not only as a bookend to our previous *Silence* anthology, but also as a testament to the enduring significance of this beautiful novel beloved by each of the contributors.

While **Navigating Deep River** offers a wide range of interpretive approaches, it naturally is not exhaustive, including but a few contributions from Japan where scholarly interest remains robust. Indeed, recent Japanese-language scholarship addresses a wide range of topics, including the broader significance of the novel within Endo's literary art. These studies investigate how **DEEP RIVER** represents the "closing of the loop in Endo's theological journey, a topic taken up in the present volume, while others address particular Christian or theological elements, such as the novel's connection to Isaiah 53. Others read **DEEP RIVER** as a declaration of the author's mature Christian faith, which embraces the religious pluralism that is central to the novel.

Another group of Japanese language studies examines the novel through the lens of its Indian cultural and religious elements. For instance, scholars investigate the significant role played by the Hindu goddess Chamunda—a role addressed by several of our contributors—with some offering comparisons to Mary. These India-centered studies include investigations of how the Ganga embraces lost souls within its healing waters as well as the search for the *anima* in the sacred landscape of India.

Several Japanese language studies focus on the novel's other major themes, such as suffering, reincarnation, and the search for an authentic sense of self and a meaningful life. They take up, for instance, the suffering experienced in sickness and old age in the context of modern life and the related concern of searching for authenticity and meaning amid the suffering that pervades the cycle of *samsara*. But reincarnation is addressed in other ways. For example, one study compares it to the process of resurrection.

Japanese language studies also address a wide range of other topics that include love in Asia's natural environment, a companion in the wilderness, and the role of the novel's narrator as Companion. Another addresses the meaning of cannibalism, which is a key element in the story of the Japanese soldier Kiguchi and is addressed by Zhange Ni.

Finally, Japanese scholars continue to be fascinated by comparisons of Endo's literary art to that of Graham Greene, an issue taken up by several essayists in *Approaching Silence*. Darren J. N. Middleton, for instance, considered "how the relationship between Endo and Greene influenced the other's literary work by examining letters, publicity blurbs, and other sorts of materials that illuminate this crucial relationship." He investigated three points of theological agreement between the two novelists: their desire to probe the mystery of sin, affirm the breadth of God's mercy, and to "emphasize faith as troubled commitment." Despite our two volumes dedicated to Endo's work and the other English-language studies listed in the bibliography, Middleton maintains that Endo has not been given his due as a twentieth-century Catholic novelist, equal in stature to Greene, O'Connor, and Evelyn Waugh. <>

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF KARL BARTH edited by Paul T. Nimmo and Paul Dafydd Jones [Oxford Handbooks, Oxford University Press, 9780199689781]

Karl Barth (1886-1968) is generally acknowledged to be the most important European Protestant theologian of the twentieth century, a figure whose importance for Christian thought compares with that of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, John Calvin, Martin Luther, and Friedrich Schleiermacher. Author of the *Epistle to the Romans*, the multi-volume *Church Dogmatics*, and a wide range of other works - theological, exegetical, historical, political, pastoral, and homiletic - Barth has had significant and perduring influence on the contemporary study of theology and on the life of contemporary churches. In the last few decades, his work has been at the centre of some of the most important interpretative, critical, and constructive developments in the fields of Christian

theology, philosophy of religion, and religious studies.

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF KARL BARTH is the most expansive guide to Barth's work published to date. Comprising over forty original chapters, each of which is written by an expert in the field, the Handbook provides rich analysis of Barth's life and context, advances penetrating interpretations of the key elements of his thought, and opens and charts new paths for critical and constructive reflection. In the process, it seeks to illuminate the complex and challenging world of Barth's theology, to engage with it from multiple perspectives, and to communicate something of the joyful nature of theology as Barth conceived it. It will serve as an indispensable resource for undergraduates, postgraduates, academics, and general readers for years to come.

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Excerpt: The study of Karl Barth in the English-speaking world has changed dramatically over the decades since his death in 1968. On one level, the stolid and distortive paradigm of neo-orthodoxy, which so often shaped the reception of Barth's work in Anglophone circles after the Second World War, is now a thing of the past. Barth is no longer credibly viewed as a ready advocate for old-school Protestant orthodoxy, much less as a redoubt for 'traditionalists' battling valiantly against the (supposed) liberalism, ethical anomie, corruption, and unbelief of a 'secular age' (Taylor 2007). Instead, Barth has come to be generally recognized as an admirably uncategorizable thinker, one whose work resists partisan co-option and serves as a vital resource for contemporary theological reflection. On another level, Barth's work has increasingly become an occasion for debate, and to such a degree that those who would classify certain theologies or instincts as 'Barthian' in orientation face a daunting challenge when it comes to explaining what this watchword means. To be sure, the distinctive features of Barth's theology stand in plain sight. Many inside and beyond the academy and churches are aware of his famed 'Christological concentration', his description of God as 'the One who loves in freedom', his reworking of traditional Reformed accounts of divine election, his stinging critique of 'religion', and his breathtakingly ambitious account of reconciliation—an account that remained tantalizingly incomplete and lacked the planned complementary account of redemption. Yet familiarity with Barth's work has been complicated, in a positive way, by the fact that scholars are now arguing about it with unprecedented vigour. The field of Barth studies has therefore become a wonderfully pluralistic and contested domain. It is home to heated debates over dogmatic issues, complex discussions regarding Barth's relationship to Christian and Jewish traditions and to modern and postmodern trajectories of thought, and a wide array of comparative, critical, and constructive ventures.

One stimulus for this 'Barth Renaissance' (McCormack 2008: 281-4) has been a high concentration of talented scholars. Many feature in this volume, albeit with the painful absence of John Webster, who passed away before his chapter was submitted; and it is in significant measure thanks to their labours that students of Barth's work are no longer caused to stumble over various interpretative missteps. It is no longer tenable, for example, to claim that Barth's account of divine sovereignty makes impossible any meaningful affirmation of human agency or of ethical reflection. Or to suppose that Barth does not offer a structurally and materially meaningful pneumatology. Or to think that Barth stood apart from the philosophical, political, and cultural dynamics of his time. Or to contend, at least without serious qualification, that Barth is a representative of something that goes under the name of 'classical theism'. By dint of scholars' careful exposition and refutation, such readings have, in broad measure, rightly been set aside.

Scholarly excellence and diligence, however, does not fully explain the renewed interest in, and the still-growing popularity of, Barth's work. This interest and popularity derives, we would suggest, from two broader, closely interrelated shifts in the academic study of Christian thought.

It seems fair to say, first, that many trajectories of twentieth-century theology have now run their course. Beyond the fact that denominational affiliation no longer serves as a reliable gauge of a

thinker's religious commitments—a fact brought into view, at least with respect to the United States, in the magisterial sociological work of Robert Wuthnow (1988)—terms like 'conservative', 'liberal', 'post-liberal', 'revisionist', 'traditional', 'postmodern', 'orthodox', 'evangelical', and 'liberationist' seem less helpful than once they were, if not indeed decidedly outmoded. Although none of these have been taken out of currency, such terms tend now to combine in unusual ways—or, more problematically, serve as occasions for awkwardness, misunderstanding, and frustration. Yet in a context of increasing complexity, Barth's work has arguably become more intelligible and relevant than ever before. Not just because each term might, with a bit of glossing, be applied to Barth's own theology (although that, fascinatingly, is indeed the case); rather, because the freedom with which Barth approaches the dogmatic task serves as a salutary lesson to those who continue to endeavour to negotiate the contemporary landscape with recourse to such descriptors. In Barth's work, one finds a theologian who is unembarrassed in his admiration for his forebears in the tradition on all sides, even as he is sharply critical about their purported shortcomings; a theologian whose determination to re-describe and re-conceive central dogmatic loci knows no bounds, even as he aims diligently to resist whimsy and speculation; a theologian who recognized interdisciplinarity before it was fashionable, yet refuses to over-theorize or fetishize it—and, refreshingly, does not shy away from acknowledging normative commitments when moving between different fields and modes of inquiry; and a theologian who never loses sight of the basic connections between the discipline of dogmatics, the realms of ethics, politics, and culture, and the quotidian struggles and joys of Christian life. Although Barth's theology does not lack for flaws or blind spots—and such flaws and blind spots must be rigorously scrutinized and challenged, since idolizing Barth as one more 'great man' in the history of Christian theology is the last thing that anyone needs—it nevertheless speaks to contemporary people in powerful and often startling ways. Both those encountering Barth for the first time and those returning to him can share something of the 'joyful sense of discovery' (*Entdeckerfreude*) that characterized Barth's writing of his first commentary on Romans (GA 16: 4), and, for the most part, can thrill to the prospect of engaging his thought at close quarters.

It also seems fair to say, second, that we are in the midst of a radical democratization of Christian theological inquiry. Criss-crossing the familiar triad of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox, there has recently burst into view an expanding array of subject positions, commitments, and interdisciplinary perspectives, many of which have gathered such momentum that they now constitute distinct and identifiable trajectories of research. Black theology, feminist and womanist theology, evangelical theology, Latinx theology, political theology, queer theology, and comparative theology; projects focused on theology and trauma, theology and disability, theology and economics, and theology and the arts; new interests in 'lived religion', anthropology and ethnography, the interplay of science and religion, and Christianity in its diverse and often non-Western instantiations: these are but a few of the subfields and subdisciplines that emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century, and that have gained an increasingly significant platform in the academy in the early decades of the twenty-first. Does this proliferation of interests, though, bespeak a loss of theological focus? Does it mean that Christian theology has been caught in the wake of transient trends, unduly affected by the fissiparous nature of late modern (or, to use an outdated term, postmodern) existence? We think not. While no scholarly programme can view itself as the cutting-edge of the Kingdom—and if Barth has taught us anything, any group that so understands itself has already lost its way—many new frontiers in scholarship suggest that attention is being given to the movements of the Spirit which has always blown, and which continues to blow, where it will. And with this expansion of interests and voices, in this decidedly pentecostal theological moment, there has emerged a context in which Barth's voice can be welcomed afresh. Not because our Swiss hero serves as a bulwark against chaos or as a comforting echo of the past; but rather because, like many theologians working today, Barth has a keen sense of the divine 'mercies' which 'never come to an end' and, correlatively, a deep awareness that faith becomes 'new every morning' (Lamentations 3:22-23; see also ET: 103). Indeed, so long as faith is ordered to its object of concern—the divine

Subject who speaks to challenge and to comfort in the event of God's self-revelation, in Jesus Christ and by way of the Spirit—Barth's insistence that a 'quite specific astonishment stands at the beginning of every theological perception, inquiry, and thought' (ET: 64) amounts to a prescient endorsement of the unsettled, diverse, and sometimes bewildering state of Christian theology in the present. Precisely because God's Word is neither objectifiable nor possessable, and precisely because this Word both kills and makes alive, so it follows that 'dogmatics and ethics' can 'neither include, conclude, nor exclude ... they form a science that creates openings and is itself open', a science that 'awaits and hopes for a future consideration of the Word of God that should be better—that is, that should be truer and more comprehensive—than all that is possible at this time' (ET: 181). While it is foolhardy to offer predictions about the course of Christian theology in the twenty-first century, we might even venture to say this: while Barth was manifestly a scholar of his time, his work is unusually pertinent to our time—unpredictable, dangerous, and promising as it is.

This, then, is the theological context in which Karl Barth is currently being read: a context distinguished by interpretative vigour and multiple perspectives, by an ongoing search for the truth of the Gospel, and by a healthy wariness regarding closure. And this is the context in which the Oxford Handbook of Karl Barth makes its appearance.

It is perhaps useful to describe this Handbook by way of three large-scale contentions—one that captures the purpose of its first two parts ('Contextualizing Barth' and 'Dogmatic Loci'); another that explains the wide range of interpretative, evaluative, and constructive stances evident across the book's forty-two chapters; and a third that discloses the editors' hopes for the development of Barth studies in the coming years, as signalled in the third part ('Thinking after Barth').

First, with the aim of making this Handbook a reliable guide for understanding Barth's voluminous and diverse corpus of writings, we have commissioned chapters by experts renowned for their commitment to interpreting Barth carefully, fairly, and thoughtfully. Care, fairness, and thought are not, to be sure, easy to achieve in regard to this author. They depend on a deep familiarity with Barth's numerous works, a talent for patient reading, and a willingness to wrestle with some acutely difficult issues. Such readerly gifts must be partnered with attention to the ways in which Barth conceives and coordinates diverse dogmatic loci, while also engaging—sometimes obliquely, sometimes directly—with an unusually wide array of theological, exegetical, philosophical, cultural, and political interlocutors.

Still, we are confident that those who use this Handbook will find it a dependable resource for understanding the texts for which Barth is most well-known, such as the Epistle to the Romans and the mighty Church Dogmatics, and for coming to grips with a large number of occasional writings. Those who are very new to Barth may find it useful to begin with the first part, 'Contextualizing Barth'. The three opening chapters of this section function as a general orientation, and offer together one of the most comprehensive yet concise introductions to the life and work of Barth in English, combining matters of biography, history, and theology. The next eight chapters then position Barth theologically with reference to some broad movements and periods in the history of Christian thought. Having gained a sense of the lay of the land from this first section, newcomers and experts—and, of course, everyone in between—can then engage the second part of the Handbook, 'Dogmatic Loci', in a more targeted way, depending on the aspects of Barth's theology that most pique their interest. Readers will find here nineteen hefty chapters, each of which surveys and analyses an important dogmatic locus or topic.

Second, with an eye to capturing something of the vibrancy of Barth studies in the present, the editors have not attempted to impose any kind of order or unity on the interpretations of Barth offered by our authors. We have instead embraced the fact that Barth's work elicits diverse

reactions, and that Barth's views and legacy are—at least at present—a sometimes contested affair. On one level, this diversity of interpretations need not occasion any surprise. 'Classic' texts are so named, in part, by their capacity to generate and sustain multiple trajectories of interpretation, some of which will inevitably relate awkwardly to one another. Think here of the sixth and eighth of Italo Calvino's fourteen definitions of a classic: 'a book which has never exhausted all that it has to say to its readers', and 'a work which constantly generates a pulviscular cloud of critical discourse around it, but which always shakes the particles off' (Calvin 1999: 5 and 6; 'pulviscular' seems to be a translation of the Italian noun, *pulviscolo*, which means fine dust). Both definitions capture something of the profundity of Barth's work, with the first being intensified by Barth's penchant for restless, dynamic, and dialectical prose, and the second being redolent of the experience of many who are engaged in Barth scholarship. On another level, the lack of interpretative conformity evidenced here is a vote cast in favour of a wide range of opinions amongst Barth scholars, and therefore a vote against those who might, for whatever reasons, harbour nostalgia for the old, tired, pinched world of narrow categorizations and fixed understandings. This range of opinions does not, we must hasten to add, license interpretative chaos. There is in fact a significant and heartening amount of overlap between many of the perspectives adopted and advanced by our authors. At issue here, rather, is something akin to Barth's sense of what being 'truly liberal' entails: 'speaking in responsibility and openness on all sides, backwards and forwards, toward both past and future' (FT: 34), and delighting in a diversity of dogmatic, philosophical, ethical, and political viewpoints.

Third and finally, this **OXFORD HANDBOOK** tries to think ahead, and to provide encouragement for those who would engage Barth in light of a number of contemporary concerns. That is the purpose of its third section, 'Thinking after Barth'. While this title is, by definition, contestable and open-ended—'Whose Barth?', 'Which Barth?', and 'Why Barth?' are questions that do not admit of easy answer, but nonetheless demand a careful response, as is true also of the broader question of what doing theology 'after' anyone might mean—it points to the need for the current 'Barth Renaissance' to chart a constructive path forwards. Much as Barth himself recognized that 'the slogan "Back to Orthodoxy," and even the slogan "Back to the Reformers," cannot promise us the help that we need to-day', on the grounds that —Back to ... " is never a good slogan' (CD IV/i: 372), so it is evident that Barth studies cannot rest content with the pursuit of evermore precise interpretative ventures—valuable though those ventures might be for specialists, and useful as they might be for those who are fascinated by the twists and turns of Barth's development and of the history of Christian theology more generally.

Our firm view is that Barth's voice is a provocative resource for theologians who would respond meaningfully to some of the most difficult issues facing the academy, the churches, and diverse cultures and societies today. This Handbook can only make early gestures in this direction, and these gestures may require all manner of supplement and revision. But what is provided here is at least a start and a statement of intent.

The book has three parts. The first part positions Barth in his context. We open with three chapters of intellectual and personal biography which, respectively, trace Barth's engagement with and disaffiliation from liberal Protestantism ('The Young Barth: 1886-1921'), consider Barth's activities in the German academy ('Barth in Germany: 1921-1935'), and reflect on Barth's life after his return to Switzerland ('Barth the Elder: 1935-1968'). Next are eight chapters which offer, in aggregate, a description of the complex intellectual world in which Barth was resident. Patristic theology, mediaeval theology, Reformation theology, Protestant orthodoxy, liberal Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, modernity, and politics serve here as points of orientation. Each chapter aims to tease out how Barth understood—and, on certain occasions, misunderstood—these discrete periods of history, realms of thought, and spheres of activity.

The second part of the volume provides a far-reaching analysis of central doctrines and themes in Barth's work. It does so by engaging nineteen topics: the nature of the theological task; God; Trinity; revelation and Scripture; exegesis; Jesus Christ; the Spirit; election; Israel; creation; sin and evil; providence; human being; Christian life; justification, sanctification, and vocation; church; sacraments; eschatology; and ethics. Although most of the chapters focus on Church Dogmatics, some delve into Barth's earlier work and Barth's occasional writings. While no reader should suppose that any of these chapters are substitutes for reading Barth himself—or, for that matter, suppose that they cover everything of interest under each heading—and while all readers should understand that each interpretative statement has its share of contestable elements, the contributions to this part of the Handbook supply something of a road map for those who seek to understand Barth's contribution to modern Christian thought. Our hope is that if you are looking for accurate interpretative outlines of Barth's thinking on topic x, y, or z, you will not go wrong with any of these chapters. At the same time, many of these chapters address the ways in which Barth's thinking developed over time, consider the limitations and shortcomings of this thought, and point up the ways that Barth relates—sometimes problematically, sometimes promisingly—to contemporary lines of thought. In aggregate, then, the chapters together aim to supply a straightforward account of what Barth says on a variety of central themes of interest, while also contributing to the ongoing task of understanding the shape and history of Christian faith and identity in the present.

The third part of the volume is exploratory in nature. Cognizant of the ways in which Barth is now a significant factor in various constructive, critical, and comparative projects, we provide here a snapshot of some important avenues for contemporary thought. Specifically, Barth is put in conversation with the racial imaginary, modern moral philosophy, recent analyses of gender, research into religion and public life, hermeneutical theory, issues in homiletics, environmental theology, culture, Judaism, religion and the religions, contemporary Protestant theology, and Roman Catholic theology. We must acknowledge, of course, that our selection of conversation partners is somewhat idiosyncratic, and therefore open to critique. We also recognize that when this volume was conceived and planned, we lacked the foresight to reckon with the question of what 'Thinking with Barth' might mean in a political environment blighted by outbreaks of narrow-minded nationalism, attacks on democracy, and increasing levels of racism, religious intolerance, public mendacity, and far-right extremism. Still, our hope is that this part of the Handbook opens up new lines of thought and models the type of scholarship that we want to encourage others to pursue.

Last but certainly not least, a few notes about the technical apparatus of this volume.

In the interests of making each chapter as readable as possible, all citations are given inline; we have rigorously eschewed footnotes. When it comes to quoting Barth directly, we use abbreviations followed by the relevant page number or page numbers. So when a quotation is followed, in parentheses, by 'CD IV/1: 199', the citation is of page 199 of the standard English translation of Church Dogmatics IV/i. Equally, 'RII: 41-2' refers to pages 41 and 42 of the standard English translation of Epistle to the Romans; 'KD 11/2: 10' refers to page 10 of volume 11/2 of *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (the German-language original of Church Dogmatics); 'GA 19: 5' refers to volume 19 of the *Karl Barth Gesamtausgabe* (the German-language critical edition of Barth's works); and so on. Where 'rev.' is included after a reference, it indicates a revised translation of the given text, undertaken by the chapter's author. Where a reference to a German text is left unadorned, it indicates a translation again undertaken by the chapter's author. Full bibliographical details for all the works of Barth that are cited in this volume can be found in the List of Abbreviations preceding this Introduction. Full bibliographical details of all other works cited in any given chapter can be found in the Bibliography at the end of that chapter. The format is standard: the full entry in the bibliography correlates with the previously noted author's last name and the date of publication of the relevant book or article. And, finally, to help those who want to think further about Barth's theology, our authors have provided some suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter.

A final thought to close this introduction, framed in terms of a question: On the assumption that this Handbook incites some degree of curiosity, bafflement, worry, or enthusiasm regarding Karl Barth and his legacy, what ought readers to do next?

First, we would encourage such readers to put down the **THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF KARL BARTH** and engage Barth directly. Italo Calvino's suggestion that a classic that 'constantly generates a pulviscular cloud of critical discourse around it, but which always shakes the particles off is worth recalling, albeit with the qualification that, given the vast quantity of secondary literature now in play, texts like Church Dogmatics and the Epistle to the Romans have accumulated more than a few layers of fine dust. None of the following chapters, excellent as they may be, can serve as a substitute for the wisdom evidenced in much of Barth's own work; and none, we hazard to say, is as exciting to read as the work of Barth himself. If this Handbook provokes interest, then, whether for the first or for the umpteenth time, we would encourage readers to do what is always needful in the sphere of scholarship: return again to the original sources.

Second, we would counsel readers to explore other writings by the authors of the chapters in this volume. None is 'merely' a reader and interpreter of Barth: each also understands the task of interpretation to open out towards a contemporary constructive horizon. All are engaged, in different ways, in thinking through some of the most pressing issues facing Christian thought in the present, and all have much that is generative and insightful to contribute towards wider conversations in Christian theology and beyond.

Third and finally, we would hope that readers, in accord both with the imperative that democratic processes be affirmed and enacted and with Barth's vivid sense of the responsibilities laid upon all Christians, would set about doing theology for themselves. If that sounds daunting, it would be important to remember that 'doing theology' does not necessarily require that one embark upon a formal course of study, set about spilling (more) ink or utilizing (more) bandwidth, or strive to voice an opinion—formed or unformed—at every opportunity. 'Doing theology' can be construed more modestly. It involves nothing more—but nothing less—than Christians preferring an examined to an unexamined faith, and taking responsibility for the furtherance of the ongoing project which attempts to keep pace with, and imaginatively to make sense of, that same faith.

In his last piece of work, written with a view to participation in an ecumenical service for Reformed and Roman Catholic Christians in Zurich, Barth wrote characteristically about conversion as 'turning in one's tracks and then starting off toward the new thing, the goal that is ahead' (FT: 57). That is surely wise counsel not only for Christian neophytes, but also for all those who have attempted to live Christianly for many seasons. Yet it also identifies something of the intellectual burden that should be borne by all who are cognizant of their incorporation into the body of Christ.

Friedrich Schleiermacher, so often an enigmatic conversation partner for Barth and, simultaneously, one of his few peers when it comes to Protestant dogmatics, states it well: the 'revision of the Church's public doctrine is a task in which every individual is bound to take a share, testing the established ideas and propositions in the measure of his power and the helps at his command; he has rights in this matter, in the exercise of which he must be left free' (Schleiermacher 1999: 690). 'Starting out, turning round, confessing'—the title of Barth's final, unfinished piece (FT: 51)—is not merely a spiritual, ecclesial, ethical, and political activity. It is also a charge laid upon all who stand within the priesthood of all believers, from theological giants such as Karl Barth to those who sit hesitantly in the back pew on an irregular basis. It identifies the responsibility that each Christian has for the unending task of faith seeking understanding. <>

SEARCHING PAUL: CONVERSATIONS WITH THE JEWISH APOSTLE TO THE NATIONS. COLLECTED ESSAYS by Kathy Ehrensperger [Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament, Mohr Siebeck, 9783161555015]

Firmly rooted in his ancestral Jewish traditions, Paul interacted with, and was involved in vivid communication primarily with non-Jews, who through Christ were associated with the one God of Israel. In the highly diverse cultural, linguistic, social, and political world of the Roman Empire, Paul's activities are seen as those of a cultural translator embedded in his own social and symbolic world and simultaneously conversant with the diverse, mainly Greek and Roman world, of the non-Jewish nations. In this role he negotiates the Jewish message of the Christ event into the particular everyday life of his addressees. Informed by socio-historical research, cultural studies, and gender studies Kathy Ehrensperger explores in her collection of essays aspects of this process based on the hermeneutical presupposition that the Pauline texts are rooted in the social particularities of everyday life of the people involved in the Christ-movement, and that his theologizing has to be understood from within this context.

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The essays in this volume are trajectories of an exploratory journey with and through the literary traces Paul the Jewish apostle to the nations has left in the letters available to us. In as much as his letters are fragmentary evidence of conversations in the early Christ-movement which spanned over a longer period of time, over geographically distant places, and including people from various contexts and backgrounds, these essays are themselves fragmentary evidence of conversations in the scholarly community, which encompassed more than what has made it into the written form presented here. They are snapshots of my conversations with Paul and his interpreters over a number of years and as such they do not represent a system of interpretation but are rather nodes in a multidirectional network of trajectories I explored. There are many traces that have not (yet) been explored, pathways that I am not even aware of, and others I might wish to come back to so I can deepen my understanding. So this collection is a patchwork of explorations in progress — part of an exploratory journey which continues.

The topics of the essays are diverse but they came to conglomerate under certain main headings. So they are presented here in a topic related rather than in the chronological order in which they were originally published. This indicates that I came upon some trajectories of Paul from different directions, at different periods, namely "Gender and Traditions," "Among Greeks and Romans," "The Language of Belonging," "Romans," and "The Early Reception — the Emergence of Pauline Traditions." All of these essays in different ways represent aspects of parameters which guide my approach to New Testament Studies and Paul in particular. Rather than summarizing the essays here, I will sketch the concerns and parameters which guide my reading of Paul with different aspects being in the foreground in different essays.

Hermeneutical Presuppositions — Contemporary Concerns

My conversations with Paul are guided and shaped by my presuppositions, that is by my interests, concerns and values. I hear his letters say certain things because of the place from where I listen into his conversations, I see certain aspects because of the perspective from which I read his conversations. There is no point from nowhere. And although it is vital in academic research to take a step back from personal interests and try to do justice to the research "material" by getting as much historical, political, social, cultural, and linguistic information as possible on events, circumstances, and situations of the past, a stance of pure objectivity is not possible. Hermeneutical presuppositions shape and color academic understanding and interpretation. I still think Sheyla Benhabib has summarized this in an excellent way:

Understanding always means understanding within a framework that makes sense for us, from where we stand today. In this sense, learning the questions of the past involves posing questions to the past in light of our present preoccupations. [...] Every interpretation is a conversation, with all the joys and dangers that conversations usually involve: misunderstandings as well as ellipses, innuendos as well as surfeits of meaning.

I thus consider it vital in the business of interpretation of ancient texts and traditions to reflect on, and as far as possible lay open such presuppositions. They are rooted in, and emerge from contemporary issues rather than those in the past. This distances the approach of the interpreter from the material in question, and similarities and commonalities should not easily be assumed, nor direct conclusions be drawn between past and present. Although I am interested in understanding events and documents of antiquity, namely of Jewish traditions in the Mediterranean of the first century CE, this interest is related to my concern for Christian self-understanding in the pluralistic, interreligious world of today. The texts of the New Testament eventually were recognized as the authoritative texts of Christian traditions and as such their interpretation triggered an enormously influential world-wide reception history. Many aspects of this reception history have been, are, and

will be in the focus of scholarly research. My particular concern is the fact that Christian self-understanding has been formulated over centuries in opposition to Jewish traditions and Jewish people and thereby contributed significantly to racist and "völkisch" antisemitism in the 19th and 20th century (this aspect is explicitly addressed in the essays "Paul, his People, and Racial Terminology" and "What's in a name? Ideologies of Volk, Rasse, and Reich in German New Testament Interpretation: Past and Present").

An implicit question which guides all my New Testament research thus is whether there are ways to Christian self-understanding that do not use Jewish traditions and Jewish people as negative foils. Of course this concern is influenced by the horrors of the Shoah, and of course it is influenced by the concern for Jewish-Christian relations. It would be rather strange if events as those of the Shoah would not affect also academic research! Moreover, there is no way to engage meaningfully in interreligious conversations if the partners in the conversation are not treated with the highest of respect for the value of their own, different tradition. In addition, there are in my view internal reasons which render it necessary to reconsider Christian self-understanding in relation to Jewish traditions.

The recognition that there is an intrinsic relation between Christian self-understanding and Jewish traditions has not been triggered by recent events but has been part of Christian tradition from the very beginning. The question is not whether, but how this relation has been and is being conceived by Christians. Christian self-understanding has emerged decisively in negative differentiation from Jewish traditions. In the course of the centuries clarification about who one was, and what the essence of one's own perception and relation to the divine was, has been defined via opposition to anything Jewish. To be Christian implied an attitude of contempt and rejection to anything Jewish, and to the people who lived according to Jewish tradition, that is, the Jewish people.' Formulations in the Pauline letters were read as supporting such perceptions. Thus Jewish traditions and Jews were part of Christian self-understanding all along. Christians seemed to be unable to say who they were without denigrating the others who read (almost) the same scriptures, also related to the one God, and continued to do so, although in different ways. The question is: Is this denigration of Jews and Jewish tradition an inherent necessity for Christian self-understanding? Is the differentiation into the two religious traditions of Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity necessarily antagonistic and is antagonism against Jews and anything Jewish as such an essential part of Christianity? It is a crucial question for Jewish-Christian relations today, and Christianity has to find ways to address it for her own sake. If a denigrating negative foil is inherently necessary for Christian identity a meaningful interreligious conversation is basically impossible.

I consider this a vital question in that, to base one's self-understanding on the contempt and denigration of others who are and remain different seriously questions the very core of values claimed as Christian. The Pauline letters have been a main source and provided building blocks for Christian self-understanding at different periods of Church history often at decisive junctions, such as the Reformation or after World War I. They are necessarily part of this search for a Christian self-understanding without anti-Judaism. My journey in conversation with Paul is thus not interest- and value-free but guided by this main concern.

Biblical Interpretation: An Open Conversation — with Limitations

The Pauline letters eventually became authoritative scripture as part of the Christian canon. But like the other New Testament writings, they were not written as such. They emerged as part of the divergence of Jewish traditions, with the Pauline letters being written even before the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 CE. As such these letters are historical documents of the late Second Temple period, documents of Jewish history and tradition. My journey is guided by the presupposition that they should be read as such, informed of course by most recent research into the socio-historical, cultural, political, and linguistic conditions of the period and through critical

evaluation of the letters in relation to these. Paul refers to himself as someone who is and remains part of Jewish tradition, who is educated in this tradition, who understands his task as part of this tradition, who tries to understand the implications of the Christ-event relying entirely on this tradition, and who considers the traditions of the fathers and the scriptures as the authoritative guidance for his own life and that of the Christ-following groups from the non-Jewish nations. I share this perspective on Paul with others, and my own research is indebted to many who have been involved in this endeavor for a much longer time than I have. I have learned from others, I build on the research and insights of others, who were before me and are with me on this journey. Biblical Interpretation is a collective endeavor, a conversation of scholars, past and present, that will hopefully inspire scholars in the future. In as much as it is a conversation, that is, a critical interaction between colleagues, there are always new questions emerging, different perspectives opening up which challenge but also illuminate each other. As such I consider the task of interpretation not as something static, aimed at generating answers which stand the test of time forever, but as a journey in search of meaningful answers within particular contexts. As a continuous journey there is always another perspective from which to perceive and interpret, perspectives of which I had not been aware, or blind spots I could not see from where I was standing.

This is not an argument for "anything goes," but as mentioned, any interpretation has to be grounded in solid scholarly research, based on information available and relevant in support of understanding texts from the past, and argued with the scrutiny of critical reasoning as required in any academic discipline in conversation with colleagues.' This means that where new information demonstrates that earlier interpretations were based on misinformation and wrong assumptions these of course need to be revised. In the field of New Testament Studies such an insight was triggered by the publication of E.P. Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* in 1977. Although already at the end of the 18th century Reimarus had located Jesus within Judaism, this had nothing to do with an accurate perception of Judaism but rather with an internal critical stance over against Christian doctrinal traditions.' In the 19th century attention was drawn to the Jewishness of New Testament writings, mainly by Jewish scholars who demonstrated the closeness of the traditions of the New Testament with Jewish traditions,' but since Jewish academics were not taken seriously as scholars on equal par with Christian academics, their evidence and arguments were widely ignored.' Leo Baeck's book on the gospels as part of Jewish tradition and history (*Das Evangelium als Urkunde der jüdischen Glaubensgeschichte*, Berlin: Schocken) was published in 1938 (sic!) without triggering any response from Christian scholars. From a Christian perspective, already in 1921 George F. Moore had demonstrated that the "Judaism" of New Testament scholarship presented a highly distorted image of Jewish traditions.' And Albert Schweitzer had argued that Paul had to be understood from within Jewish apocalyptic traditions." Paul's Jewishness was acknowledged by others in the 19th century but for entirely opposite reasons. He was charged with having transformed and falsified Christianity. Paul LaGarde saw in him the reason the church had adhered to the writings of the Old Testament and thus to a Jewish understanding of history under which in his view the true gospel perished.' With the publication of W.D. Davies' *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* the trajectory of taking Jewish tradition seriously in New Testament interpretation re-emerged after World War II." And Krister Stendahl challenged the dominating strand of Pauline Studies in his lecture on "Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West" in 1963.¹⁴ In the case of Stendahl a major controversy between him and Ernst Kasemann evolved, however, without major changes in the image of Judaism in New Testament scholarship following from this." Such a change only slowly began to emerge with Sanders' 1977 publication. Building on colleagues' research before him, Sanders conclusively demonstrated that the image of Jewish traditions used in traditional Christian New Testament interpretation was a caricature rather than an adequate representation of Jewish traditions of the Second Temple period. Even if some aspects of Sanders' work may in detail be questioned due to new or more precise information, the assessment that the image of Jewish tradition in New

Testament scholarship was a misrepresentation cannot be refuted, and there is no going back to such distortions whatever one's stance on the so-called partings of the ways may be.

The World of Antiquity and Contemporary Concepts

Since we are dealing with traditions of the past, from contexts not our own and not directly accessible to us, the methods and concepts through which access to, and understanding of the past is sought, need to be as critically scrutinized as possible. They are contemporary methods and concepts — not the concepts, possibly not even the terminology of those people of the past we are trying to understand.' It means trying to understand writings of the past as far as possible within their own frameworks, and critically reflect on the concepts and frameworks we apply and through which we interpret. Since Christianity as a separate entity did not exist in the first century, it is anachronistic to apply the concept of such an entity to the texts in question. This is why I do not use the term Christian for those who are part of groups of people, Jews and non-Jews, who were convinced that with the Christ-event the age to come was in the process of beginning.

Since a concept of religion as a realm of life which consisted predominantly in a belief system as separated from other dimensions of life, also did not exist in antiquity, I also try as far as possible to avoid to refer to the traditions which in modern categorizations are referred to as religions, in this terminology." These dimensions were intrinsic parts of everyday life of all people at the time. They were permeating all aspects of "how one did things" among particular people, Thracians, Macedonians, Egyptians or Jews, that is, they were part of what in contemporary terminology is referred to as something similar to "culture." As Barton and Boyarin clarify this does not mean that "people did not make gods or build temples, praise and pray and sacrifice, that they did not ask metaphysical questions or try to understand the world in which they lived, conceive of invisible beings (gods, spirits, demons, ghosts), organize forms of worship and festivals, invent cosmologies and mythologies, support beliefs, defend morals and ideals, or imagine other worlds." But they did not organize these "experiences and practices into a separate realm." The realm of belonging and the way of living were a package which included the relationship of those who belonged to the same group with the divine realm. As Paula Fredriksen pointedly formulated "Divine ethnicity might seem like a strange idea; but in Greco-Roman antiquity, gods often shared the ethnicity of the peoples who worshiped them. In this regard, the Jewish god was no exception." This was so for Jews, including Paul, this was also so for those to whom Paul refers.

I thereby do not imply that these different cultures were entirely separate and untouched by other traditions and cultures.' But they were, in their self-perception and in the perception of others, identifiable as Egyptian, Roman, Greek, Phrygian, or Jewish, thus their sense of belonging including the relation to the divine was perceived to be different.

Paul, the Jew

To see Paul as firmly rooted in Jewish tradition has a number of implications. It is an assertion which by now is quite widely shared in the scholarly realm. It is a move similar to the acknowledgement that Jesus was and remained a Jew. Although the latter insight had already been formulated in the late 18th and early 19th century, most significantly by Jewish scholars,' it really only became widely accepted in the wake of the so-called third quest for the historical Jesus.' This insight led to the question in what sense Jesus was a Jew, was he a marginal Jew, a middle-ground Jew, etc. The question of what kind of Jew Jesus was and where he should be located within Judaism indicates that precisely this aspect still presents an unprecedented challenge because of its theological implications. The attempts to specify in what sense or to what degree Jesus was a Jew seem to assume that there is a way in which Jewish traditions of antiquity can be evaluated in terms of quality, intensity, center or periphery according to some objective, quantifiable criteria. A similar phenomenon can now be observed concerning Paul. While in earlier interpretations he was considered to be the first Christian theologian, that is the one who broke away from Jewish tradition, and did overcome its

perceived particularity as the founder of universalist Christianity, it is now widely acknowledged that he was and remained a Jew. But as with regard to Jesus the question often debated is, what kind of Jew Paul was: an apostate, a marginal, a radical or an anomalous Jew; as if there was a normative Jewish tradition over against which Paul's Jewishness could be measured. In variation of a phrase by E.P. Sanders it can certainly be asserted that "There is no evidence that Paul was an anti-Jewish Jew."

Aside from the acknowledgement that Paul was a Jew, this often does not have any further implications for the interpretation of his letters. However, if Paul was and remained a Jew, he also considered the message he was called to proclaim among the non-Jewish nations to be a Jewish message. The content of the proclamation as well as the implications Paul elaborates in his letters are Jewish. The authoritative reference where interpretive guidance is being sought, are the Jewish scriptures and their interpretation within contemporary Jewish interpretive practice.' The notions and perceptions Paul conveys to his non-Jewish addressees are Jewish. Inherent to the insight that Paul was a Jew is the presupposition that the content of Paul's letters is also part of Jewish tradition of the first century. It is not sufficient to assert that Paul was and remained a Jew throughout his life, but his message too is part of Jewish tradition of the time, and needs to be understood from within this tradition in the first place. When looking for analogies and comparisons, those of Jewish traditions should be primarily considered (as in the essay "The Pauline 'Enckricriat and Images of Community in Enoch Traditions'), also where the meaning of the Christ-event is concerned. The notion of messiahs and a messianic age as far as the Pauline discourse is concerned are part of Jewish traditions of the time. That they resonate with other traditions and notions is thereby not denied. But the initial point of reference nevertheless remains Jewish.

Aspects of Cultural Translation

The peculiarity of Paul's activities and writings lies in the fact that he transmits this content to non-Jews, that is to people who are not socialized and do not live within the context of Jewish traditions. They most likely had some familiarity with Jewish traditions and Jewish people in their neighborhood, were possibly sympathizers or godfearers but they were not part of Jewish social life. They had been part of their Greek, Roman, Galatian etc. social contexts and were socialized in respective traditions and practices. Thus Paul's task involved a cultural translation process. He was a Jew, who was also familiar with the traditions and languages prevalent in the Greek and Roman contexts of the Western Diaspora. He was someone who was most likely bilingual in a linguistic as well as in a cultural sense. He was not exceptional in that probably many if not most Jews who lived outside the land of Israel were familiar with the traditions and to some extent also the languages of the areas in which they lived, and as such were bicultural and possibly bilingual. The scene that is envisaged in the Book of Acts (2:1-13), with Jews assembling in Jerusalem for Shavuot from diverse areas of the Roman empire and beyond, depicts a rather realistic image of the diversity among Jews at the time. Paul's Jewish education (Gal 1:14) and his familiarity with the cultural context of the Greek speaking Diaspora rendered him an ideal candidate to serve as a cultural mediator or go-between for the non-Jews to whom he considered himself called to proclaim the message of the Christ-event (Gal 1:16; Rom 1:5). In order for an intelligible conversation between Paul and those non-Jews in Christ to take place, the language and images used must have made sense to the addressees, they must have translated into the symbolic and social world of non-Jews. I assume that Paul must have had sufficient knowledge to be able to judge fairly well, how to best communicate with people who were socialized in pagan cultural contexts. However, he transmitted a message which was steeped in Jewish tradition. In order to understand what was being communicated one needed not only to speak the same language linguistically but also needed some awareness of the difference in the cultural encyclopedias and codes which evoked in the use of the same words possibly very different associations, memories and experiences. Particular terms and notions of Jewish traditions were part of an entire network of narratives, practices, experiences. This was of course also the case with Jewish traditions expressed in Greek. This discourse, even though conducted in Greek could only be

fully understood if one was familiar with this network. Hence words could carry different connotations and resonated sometimes significantly, sometimes only to a slight degree, differently with codes and cultural encyclopedias when compared with their use in the majority society.¹ Thus rather than assuming that Greek culture provided the main framework of Paul's ways of arguing (rhetoric) and of the content he tried to transmit due to him writing in Greek, the language itself does not allow for such a direct conclusion. Research into bilingualism and the use of a language as a lingua franca in modern times demonstrate that the cultures using a lingua franca imprint their cultural codes and encyclopedias on the language rather than the other way round." A specific use of the language thereby emerges which cannot be subsumed under the use of the initial culture of this particular language.

Daniel Boyarin has drawn attention to the use of terms by Josephus which clearly demonstrates the accuracy of this pattern also for antiquity. Research into the language of the LXX comes to similar conclusions. Since Paul is part of Jewish culture and tradition of the first century CE these insights also apply to his writing and use of Greek. This is where analogies should be looked for in the first place. The Jewish traditions in their entirety provide the context from within which Paul's discourse should be considered.

That his words also resonate with cultural codes and encyclopedias of his addressees is of course not excluded but necessarily assumed. However, these are also not a homogenous group, they are of a label which refers to diverse peoples under the domination of Rome. There can be Greek educated people among these but this may not be a majority among them. There most likely were Thracians in Philippi, Galatians in Galatia, Aquila was from Pontus — this indicates that the members of the movement were a pluralistic mix, ethnically, in terms of social status, gender, as well as education. The factor that united them all (apart from their choice of joining the Christ-movement) is that they all lived in the realm of the dominating power of the time, Rome. Most of them were members of peoples who had been conquered, subjugated or pacified by this imperial power, which means that they, as much as Paul, were not part of the dominating elite that ruled and administered the privileged and privileging network of imperial power. But it was the all-permeating context which impacted on the lives of those living in this realm. The visual presence of the imperial power in statues, inscriptions and building programs in provincial cities and colonies could hardly be overlooked, the infrastructure and the overarching legal systems were Roman and the dominating narratives were there to legitimize the right of imperial Rome to rule over the wide range of its provinces. Of course some aspects of everyday life continued for the provincial population as before their encounter with Rome, but with tax systems imposed and tributes required there can hardly have been many aspects of everyday life which were not in some ways touched by the presence of the imperial power. In the perspective of the dominating ideology Paul was part of a subjugated people, despite speaking and writing in Greek, part of a "barbaric" people with its respective barbaric tradition." Paul, like other Jewish writers of the time did not directly refer to Rome or the implications of Roman domination, however, it is hardly conceivable that this did not have any impact on the message Paul conveyed. As I mentioned elsewhere, the fact that the Jewish tradition told a story which was fundamentally different as far as the rulership of the world was concerned, rendered this tradition implicitly subversive although not explicitly counter-cultural. But by claiming that the Lord of the world was the God of Israel, rather than Caesar and the respective divine powers, an opposition to those who claimed otherwise was established. Terms and titles used by Paul, in the vein of Jewish tradition, applied to Jesus as the Christ, implicitly challenge the claims of the imperial power (see the essay "Speaking Greek under Rome: Paul, the Power of Language and the Language of Power"). The non-participation in cult activities by non-Jews who were now part of the Christ-movement could well be seen as an act of defiance, certainly as an act of distancing oneself from what was considered vital for the maintenance of social peace (see the essays "Called to be but without ? Peculiarities of Cultural Translation in Paul" and "Between Polis, Oikos and

Ekklesia: The Challenge of Negotiating the Spirit World"). Hence taken together with the diversity of his non-Jewish addressees, their socialization in pagan contexts, and the impact of Roman domination, the translation process Paul was involved in was rather complex. Apart from the difficulties of long-distance communication via letters and the fact that we only read part of this communication, there certainly were issues of loss and gain in translation, that is understanding and misunderstanding, different understandings, and all the nuances between these options of understanding in communication processes.

Embodiment, Gender, and Everyday Life

This is no different than in any other area of communication, since understanding is not a given but has to be sought again and again. Paul is involved in such processes not only via writing letters, rather the letters complement communication and interaction which took place in face to face encounters through mutual personal visits (1 Cor 1:11; Rom 16:1-2), and via messengers, letter carriers and co-workers (Titus in 2 Cor 8:7). The communication and interaction took place between particular people, that is, the letters participate in these real-life communications between those particular people involved. They are not abstract treatises but address and respond to particular needs and questions arising within these communication and interaction processes. Since people of diverse contexts and social embeddedness are involved, it should not come as a surprise that issues of everyday life, and questions concerning the everyday life as Christ-followers emerged, and required practical answers. The understanding of the conviction of the messianic dimension of the Christ-event did not happen in an abstract vacuum but in everyday life situations in particular places. The implications of the Christ-event required that they be translated not merely at the intellectual level but also and decisively it had to be embodied in everyday life. Learning to be "in Christ" for non-Jews required significant changes in their lives (much more so than for Jews), and Paul acted as a teacher for them in support of this process, including not only words, but as he indicates, he was teaching them in relation to mind, emotions and practical aspects by admonishing them to "keep on doing the things that you have learned and received and heard and seen in me" (Phil 4:9). His imitation language serves precisely the purpose to support his addressees from the nations in their learning to embody the message (see the essays "Embodying the Ways in Christ: Paul's Teaching of the Nations" and — Pauline Trajectories according to 1 Timothy"). Embodiment happens not in a generic form identical for all human beings but in particularity — in terms of ethnicity, gender and social status.³⁵ Thus my interpretations are guided by attentiveness to the diversity this embodiment inherently presupposes not merely as a transitory stage in the process of learning Christ, but rather as the way in which the Christ message was, and continued to be, transmitted. In addition to the lasting distinction between Israel and the nations that is, between Jews and non-Jews, the dimension of gender is of particular relevance. As texts of a patriarchal context, attention to the gendered implications is vital in order to note implicit and explicit problematic passages. Not in order to "save" Paul for feminism — but to try to do justice to his way of arguing in his context, and set this in relation to what could be expected as possible attitudes and indications to actual practical dimensions of his activities beyond the stereotypical perceptions of gender that are found in his letters (see the essays "Paul and the Authority of Scripture: A Feminist Perception," "The Question(s) of Gender: Relocating Paul within Judaism," and "Paul, Emasculated Apostle or Manly Man? Gendered Aspects of Cultural Translation"). The focus on the particularity of the communication processes as directed to addressees in their concrete everyday life situations and the embodiment of implications of the Christ-event by those addressees is relevant not only as the social aspect of the transmission of the message, but is inherent to its theological dimension. The aspect of implications of everyday life for non-Jews who joined the Christ-movement has been underestimated in my view by the predominant focus on comparing Paul's letters.

The message is the message of God who is trusted as the God of Israel and the nations, the God of creation. The message of Christ is claimed to be part of the narrative of this God with his creation

and with his people Israel. In the narrative of creation it is asserted that the diversity so created through God's word was good. Nowhere is there any hint in the narrative of the scriptures that diversity is the problem of creation or of the breach which ruptures God's good creation, sometimes referred to as sin. If there are problems emerging in God's creation, they are not attributed to diversity, but to other factors such as how people deal with diversity. In the Pauline letters there also is no indication that the Christ-event was a remedy against diversity. If diversity is not a problem, the overcoming of diversity cannot be the solution for a problem which does not exist — when considered according to the narrative of the scriptures. Paul is convinced that the Christ-event is an event of cosmic dimensions. As noted above, this leads to the necessity to embody the message of this event in order for it to become real, it cannot be a mere issue of seeing the world differently. It has to be embodied by people in their diversity. And Paul relentlessly asserts that this diversity is also theologically crucial. If these are the events inaugurating the beginning of the world to come, then the fact that people from the nations now also recognize the God of Israel as their God is a sure consequence and sign of precisely that, the inauguration of the world to come. It means that it is evident that God is God not of the Jews only but also of the (non-Jewish) nations. Maintaining this difference is of decisive theological relevance. In their difference those called should embody the message of Christ. This relates well to the notion of creation as an interconnected network of embodied life. If it is still God's creation that is in view in the message of Christ then there surely must be an analogy with the narratives of Genesis 1 and 2. The cosmological dimension of the Christ-event is inherently linked to the notion of creation as God's good creation which in itself refers to an overflow of diversity, a celebration of diversity (see the essays "Reading Romans in the Face of the Other: Levinas, the Jewish Philosopher, meets Paul, the Jewish Apostle" and elitist philosophical discourses of the time. Of course it is valuable to also consider this latter aspect, but the everyday practical dimensions of the loyalty swap for non-Jews joining the Christ-movement deserves far more attention than so far devoted to (see the essays "Called to be saints — the Identity Shaping Dimension of Paul's Priestly Discourse in Romans" and "The Ministry to Jerusalem (Rom 15:13): Paul's Hopes and Fears"). The relevance of everyday life has been researched in empirical cultural studies now for a quite a few decades and much can be learned from these also for the field of New Testament studies.

"The Mystery of Paul's Mysterion in Rom 11:25-36"). The particularity of the letters, the addressees, the issues raised and responded to in relation to concrete aspects of everyday lives of the people involved are all vital aspects in my interpretative journey with Paul.

Continuing the Conversation with Paul

Everyday life approaches" powerfully remind us, that this is the context of even the greatest thinkers, hence socio-historical research into these dimensions of life in antiquity is of foremost relevance not only to understand the socio-political aspects of Paul's letters, but also for understanding his theologizing. It is a way of doing theology as a dynamic process, it is doing theology by way of conversation. Embedded in his own narrative of belonging, in the Jewish social and symbolic universe of the first century CE, Paul entrusts the groups he had initiated to use their own wits to work out the implications of being part of the Christ-movement which this has for their lives in the here and now ([...] test everything, hold fast to what is good, 1 Thess 5:21; [...] you yourselves are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, and able to instruct one another, Rom 15:14). He intervenes only if they have questions (1 Cor 7:1) or if he considers it necessary due to particular circumstances. His letters witness to a question-response form of theologizing, which has some resemblance to later Jewish Responsa traditions.¹ It is a form of theologizing which also has similarities with theologizing as developed and practiced in contemporary gender-critical theological approaches (see the essay "Paul and the Authority of Scriptures: A Feminist Perspective"). This form of theologizing invites Paul's readers still to enter into conversation with him. He may have tried to convey helpful, maybe in his view the best, even right, answers to the questions of the day. These

may not always be answers for us today, as the context and the questions may be fundamentally different. Nevertheless, his way of theologizing en route — on the way, may still be a template for theologizing today, in open conversations, with respect for the dignity of difference, concerned with what affects us all in the diversity of our societies: the common good of peace and reconciliation among those who are and remain different, so that life can flourish. In that sense the journey in search of, and also with Paul does not end with the explorations presented here, certainly not for me. I hope that they also can serve as invitations to further conversations and explorations. <>

HYSTERIA, PERVERSION, AND PARANOIA IN THE CANTERBURY TALES: "WILD" ANALYSIS AND THE SYMPTOMATIC STORYTELLER by Becky Renee McLaughlin [Research in Medieval and Early Modern Culture, Western Michigan University Press 9781501518416]

Beginning with the spectacle of hysteria, moving through the perversions of fetishism, masochism, and sadism, and ending with paranoia and psychosis, this book explores the ways that conflicts with the Oedipal law erupt on the body and in language in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, for Chaucer's tales are rife with issues of mastery and control that emerge as conflicts not only between authority and experience but also between power and knowledge, word and flesh, rule books and reason, man and woman, same and other - conflicts that erupt in a macabre sprawl of broken bones, dismembered bodies, cut throats, and decapitations.

Like the macabre sprawl of conflict in the *Canterbury Tales*, this book brings together a number of conflicting modes of thinking and writing through the surprising and perhaps disconcerting use of "shadow" chapters that speak to or against the four "central" chapters, creating both dialogue and interruption.

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A Long Preamble to a Tale

I am a pilgrim and a stranger

Traveling through this wearisome land ... —Folksong, origin unknown

Oscillations

Excerpts: Writing as damnation: what I call the "primal pedagogical scene" occurred in 1966 when I was in the second grade. My family was living in the Belgian Congo, where my father was a bush pilot, and I was attending a school for "mish kids." Those were the days when the frustration that attends sounding out words was beginning to abate. Those were the days when I was falling in love with the voluptuous curves of my newly learned cursive hand. And then my English teacher—a woman who wore severe, black glasses, pursed lips, and a tweed suit in spite of the hot climate—assigned a book report. I read the book, wrote the report, and made what turned out to be a costly mistake. Looking at the words and sentences on the pages of lined paper, I imagined them as live creatures imprisoned behind fences of barbed wire, and it occurred to me that I could free them by cutting out each of the sentences with a pair of scissors. I carefully cut around the upward and downward loops of letters such as "h" or "y," thoughtfully considering how to approach the dot of the "i." When I had finished cutting out all of the sentences in my book report, I stacked them in the proper order and tied a ribbon around them. This tidy packet was what I handed in to my teacher, whose name was Mrs. Gorham but which I shall always hear in my mind's ear as "Mrs. Gore-'em," for her response to this decoupage style essay was immediate and brutal: "You ought to be ashamed of yourself! Go stand in the corner." For the rest of the period, I stood with my eyes traveling up and down the seam where two walls came together. Did I feel ashamed, as I had been told that I

should? Yes, for I connected shame with sexual misconduct, and thus this reprimand served to link pedagogical transgression with sexual.

Like the primal scene, the primal pedagogical scene played a fundamental role in the constitution of my episteme and life in general, and the way I reacted to it determined my relations to teachers, my pedagogical preferences, and my capacity for epistemological satisfaction. Perhaps not surprisingly, what followed in its wake was a struggle with two warring impulses: to please and to provoke. Initiated by standing in the corner, itself a liminal space, I began in later years to shuttle back and forth between two responses to authority, one of which was to gratify it and the other of which was to rebel against it. In order to please or provoke the subject-supposed-to-know according to my whim, I vowed never again to neglect to ask the question of "Che Vuoi?" or "What does the Other desire?" Although the receipt of Mrs. Gorham's angry reproach was painful, it became one of the anchoring points of my identity, a dyspeptic blend of the dutiful and disruptive, for I was in some respects shapeless and ill-defined until Mrs. Gorham "cut" into me with her words. For better or worse, puncture led to punctuation: I became an English teacher.

Reading as salvation: during one of my oscillations toward the deferential and dutiful, I found myself attending a Christian coffeehouse whose Friday night meetings involved musical entertainment by rock groups such as God's Power and Light Company followed by a sermon with a big emotional windup, the grand finale of which was an altar call. At the close of one such meeting, I was moved to raise my hand in response to the preacher's inevitable question, "Do ya wanna be saved?" Oh, yes, I thought, for I was sure that my twelve-year-old soul was as black as the hell I envisioned every night as I tried desperately and generally unsuccessfully to escape into sleep. And so as timid as I was, I found myself making the trek to the altar and joining hands with the proselytizer. After we had "prayed together" (which really amounted to his praying and my listening in a kind of cloyed awe), I was asked to commit to reading the Bible every day. I kept my promise to the proselytizer for the next several years, dutifully beginning on page one and proceeding through the text without skipping a word. But I must confess that, at some point, what I called "reading" degenerated into merely allowing my eyes to pass over the black marks on the page, and the number of black marks grew fewer and fewer as the years passed. At this point, I found myself in a dilemma. Although I had begun to doubt that reading the Bible in this mechanical way was the key to salvation, I was afraid that breaking my promise to the proselytizer would only make slimmer my already slim chances of avoiding hell. And thus I was bound to the book, a most pathetic of readers, clinging to the letter of the law.

It was during this time, when I was concerned with my salvation and the part writing and reading played in it, that I had on the shelf above my bed two books that sat cheek by jowl with the Bible. One was *The Autobiography of Maxim Gorky*, and the other was *The Canterbury Tales*, both of which had been given to me by my father. (In fact, I still recall with pleasure hearing laughter erupt from his study and being called in to listen to him read a passage of Chaucer.) Because I had made no promise to read either book, and because neither was offered as a means of salvation, I treated them with less seriousness, certainly with less discipline, than the Bible. Nevertheless, I did wish to please my father, and so I read enough of Maxim Gorky to know that Gorky received some rather rough treatment as a child, once being hurled against the stove during one of his grandfather's drunken rages. Fortunately, neither my grandfather nor my father was given to drunkenness or to violent rages, but, like many a child reared in the "Bible Belt" and saturated with its Calvinist concepts of total depravity and limited atonement, I believed that I was in the hands of an angry god who held me over "a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath" and that in due time my foot would slide and the slender thread from which I dangled would be severed.

Was it simply by dint of sitting in close proximity to the Bible and an autobiography that *The Canterbury Tales* became for me a personal text of bliss, one that arises out of my history "like a

scandal (an irregularity)" or "the trace of a cut"? And what of it did I read in those days? Not much. Just enough, in fact, to be able to say that, technically speaking, I was reading it. Like a good little fetishist, I allowed two tales to stand in for the whole, a phenomenon that frequently occurs in the American classroom and that is made to sound respectable through the nomenclature of the "excerpt." Perhaps it has something to do with notions of the American spirit that the two most regularly assigned tales are those told by the brash Miller and the equally brash Wife of Bath. While the Miller is a kind of medieval Rambo, a man who takes things by force and who wins by a show of manly strength, the Wife of Bath speaks to the entrepreneurial spirit so revered in the U.S., acting the part of the good businesswoman by exchanging sex for money and/or moments of personal freedom. By the time I actually encountered these tales in a formal classroom setting, I had already discovered that men act like battering rams, knocking doors off their hinges, and that women get their ears boxed unless they learn how to subtly manipulate

the men who hold them enthralled. If you were a girl, was to appear dutiful but to be disruptive on the sly. This was, I suppose, the same lesson I learned as a reader: appear interested in so-called "high art" but get your real kicks from something else, namely that incipient (and insipid) pornography so many young girls of my generation glutted themselves on, the Harlequin romance. The fact that all of these books were located in the bedroom and initially read in bed (not only the "locus of irresponsibility," as Roland Barthes refers to the bed, but also the locus of sexual fantasy, and, later in life, the locus of carnal activity) is certainly not without significance. In fact, I have often thought that if my students understood the practice of reading as Barthes does—that is, as an erotic activity—they would seek out a much closer relationship with books.

Although I had determined early in life never to marry, a determination I failed to follow through upon, the Wife of Bath appears to have remained a model for me well into college, arising like a ghostly specter on the oddest of occasions. For example, while I was an undergraduate, I was taking a modern novel course that had as its central text *Man and His Fictions: An Introduction to Fiction-Making, Its Forms and Uses*. The book is still on my shelf, having, like a precious relic or memento, escaped a number of garage sales, and although I have searched the contents and index for mention of Chaucer, there is none. And so it is with some bemusement that I recall an argument that arose, during the course of this class, on the Wife of Bath. My memory tells me that I said the gap-toothed, spurred Wife of Bath was correct in her answer to the question that lies at the heart of psychoanalysis, *Was will das Weib?* "Yes," I asserted, "women do want mastery. Better women than men." To which a more politically correct female classmate of mine retorted, "No, they want equality." (It is interesting that we both spoke of women in the third person as if we were not speaking of ourselves.) The drama or "theatrics" of the discussion that followed can easily be imagined, for it continues to play itself out in every bedroom and classroom across the country.

My next encounter with Chaucer came at the end of my college career when, with B.A. in hand and no clear notion of what to do with it, I made a pilgrimage across the Atlantic. Like the Kerouacian beat generation who did not know where they were going but wanted to get there fast, I believed that if I traveled far enough and long enough, I would figure out where I was supposed to go. And so in the fall of 1981, I was standing on the outskirts of London, knapsack on my back, hoping to hitchhike to Canterbury but feeling dismayed to find myself wait the company of a pack of Druids on their way kick limn Stonehenge.

"Who's going to pick up such a motley crew of pilgrims?", soon enough, a young fellow driving a ramshackle while van stopped for us. He was either on speed or in a race with the devil, for almost before the back doors had swung closed and we had arranged ourselves on the van's seatless floor, we were hurtling down the highway at a truly ungodly velocity. I do not know what the Druids were saying to themselves, but I was remarking to God that I would from this moment forward try to be a better Christian if he would let me make it to Canterbury alive. Maybe God, or Thomas a Becket, or

Chaucer himself heard my prayer because, before long, the van came to an abrupt halt, and we were dumped back onto the safety of our feet just a few miles away from the city limits. A van, with its four wheels, may be more akin to a horse than I am, but for obvious reasons, I thought it appropriate to walk into Canterbury, heavy laden, as if I were a fourteenth-century peasant on her way to the site of an important martyrdom. As Helene Cixous says in *Three Steps on the Ladder of Writing*, "The true poet is a traveler. Poetry is about traveling on foot and all its substitutes, all forms of transportation." Was *The Canterbury Tales* being (re)written on my body, tattooed onto the soles of my feet as I trudged, still bristling and trembling—nay, horripilating—into Canterbury?

When I met up with Chaucer again, I was far from Canterbury, living the sedentary life of a graduate student working toward an M.A. If I had been sidling up to Chaucer all those years, approaching him from aslant, now I was taking him frontally. Or so it seemed. The course was a Chaucer course, and the text to which I became cathected was *Troilus and Criseyde*. I was a diligent student, dutifully reading the assignments, not mechanically but with concentrated attention, and enthusiastically participating in classroom discussions. When it came time to write the final paper, however, I found myself doing the Jekyll-and-Hyde dance again, under the sway of that old oscillation. Against my professor's better judgment, I wrote a paper on obsession, giving Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and Proust's *Swann's Way* equal play. "Proust?" my professor asked with raised eyebrows and furrowed brow. "What's Proust doing in a Chaucer class?" He may have been right to discourage me because, in some respects, I was still avoiding direct treatment of Chaucer, still not owning up to the magnificent pull he had on me.

Although my professor later admitted that the paper was better than he thought it would be and that I had successfully avoided a number of pitfalls into which he had anticipated my falling, he did not give me the grade for which I had been hoping. This was, perhaps, another puncturing moment that led to punctuation, for rather than leaving Chaucer's medieval world behind, I enrolled in a class on the "Scottish Chaucerians," taught by the same professor who had just knocked me out of the saddle with his lance-like pen of red ink. In this class, I fixed on Robert Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice* perhaps because, like Orpheus, I find it impossible not to look back. (In fact, when we read Chaucer, are we not always looking back?) There was in Henryson's treatment of the myth an odd contradiction or curious disjunction between the narrative and its accompanying moralitas. And so in the hope of explaining this curiosity, I traveled to Scotland to do research on Henryson's old stomping grounds. After many months of immersion in medieval philosophy, theology, and philology, I produced an M.A. thesis that surely must have made me a contender for the title of most-knowledgeable-about-a-slightly-obscure-medieval-Scottish-poet's-least-admired-work. If all this sounds rather academic, there was something else—another project upon which I was hard at work—that was less so. I had gotten married just a few short months before making plans to put an entire ocean between my new spouse and me. While one aim was certainly scholarly (can I be true to Henryson's text?), the other was purely personal (can I be true to my husband?). The trip to Scotland, then, was a test: could I come home with completed thesis in hand and marital fidelity intact? Because of Mrs. Gore-'em, the textual and the sexual are never far apart. Indeed, they are hopelessly enmeshed, coupled, wedded. Sometimes blissfully, sometimes not.

My dalliance with Chaucer finally came to a head when after four years of doctoral work on subjects decidedly modern, I fell headlong into the medieval by auditing a course on *The Canterbury Tales*. The audit itself suggests a kind of surplus or return of the repressed, for there was nothing to be gained, officially speaking, by taking the class. I had already completed my course work and passed the comprehensive exams, and so this audit stands as a moment of excess that is hard to account for but in which I (re)found Chaucer. This time, however, there was no ducking or dodging. I had to look what is called Chaucer's masterpiece in the eye. Was I running away from something or hurrying toward it when I decided—against all advice otherwise—to write my dissertation on this very text? "You're not a medievalist; you can't write on Chaucer," said one. "It's academic suicide,"

said another. "You'll never be marketable." All I could offer in defense of what must have looked like insanity was something akin to "Me and Mr. Chaucer / we got a thing going on." Admittedly, our relationship was a scandal, which is to say, I had fallen in love with the wrong text, but there was no helping it. Or, if I were to attempt to shirk the blame, I might argue as Barthes does that it was Chaucer's fault, not mine: "The text chooses me, by a whole disposition of invisible screens, selective baffles: vocabulary, references, readability, etc.; and, lost in the midst of a text (not behind it, like a *dens ex machina*) there is always the other, the author." Did Chaucer seek me out ("cruise" me) without knowing where or who I am? As I sit here writing, I want to answer, yes, that he came looking for me, that I was both his "whit wal" and his Canterbury Cathedral, the beginning and the end of his pilgrimage—and he mine. But whoever fell in love with whom does not really matter, for the bottom line is this: the very thing that had been under my nose all of those years, the thing that I had not really bothered to look closely at, was suddenly the most important, the thing most worth looking at. The Canterbury Tales had been just "a prattling text" that was going nowhere "until desire, until neurosis form[ed] in it." But why, one might ask, did desire come to settle itself so securely in this particular text, and how did the neurosis form? I do not know how to answer these questions explicitly, but perhaps in telling stories, exposing my symptoms, answers will emerge. Like Montaigne, "Could my mind find a firm footing, I should not be making essays, but coming to conclusions; it is, however, always in its apprenticeship and on trial."

It could be argued—and maybe I would want to make the argument myself—that choosing to write about The Canterbury Tales was just another swing of the pendulum, another moment in which oscillation had taken me to the outer reaches of the disruptive, to a confrontation with the law, to the self-destructive. (It could even be argued that this oscillation is precisely what brings the subject itself into view, for the subject is nothing more than a pulsation, something that appears and fades, appears and fades.) If so, perhaps that is as it should be, for Chaucer himself betrays a similar oscillation when he begins The Canterbury Tales with the "dutiful"—a tale told in poetic lines by a devout knight, loyal to church and monarch—and ends it with the "disruptive"—a sermon in prose, delivered by a parson who smells like a Lollard. While it may be open to debate whether Chaucer was fully sympathetic to the Lollard movement, which had been set in motion by anti-clerical feeling and by John Wyclif's theory of dominion, we do know that Chaucer's good friend and patron, John of Gaunt, supported Wyclif until he attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation and that he retained in his household men who were known to favor Lollardy despite Richard II's suppression of a Lollard petition. Less debatable, however, is the fact that Chaucer was writing during a time when a series of upheavals—demographic, economic, natural, and political—was bringing an end to the medieval ecclesiastical system. In 1348, for example, came the arrival of the bubonic plague. In 1378, the Great Schism created two rival popes. And in 1381, the Peasant's Revolt erupted, a mob uprising during which, among other atrocities, John of Gaunt's palace was burned and the Archbishop of Canterbury beheaded. This was, then, a time in which old masks were falling and new ones had not yet been made, a time in which gaps and puckers were beginning to appear in the fabric of medieval society. The time was ripe for critique but still too early for reformation.

The father (pope and king alike) may have been dying, his mask slipping, but he had not yet drawn his last breath, and maybe this is why we find Chaucer telling tales at the end of his life. "If there is no longer a father, why tell stories?" asks Barthes, answering his question with yet another: "Isn't story-telling always a way of searching for one's origin, speaking one's conflicts with the Law, entering into the dialectic of tenderness and hatred?" If, as Barthes seems to suggest, storytelling is a way of speaking our ambivalence toward a father who holds us over the bottomless pit of hell, then each of Chaucer's pilgrims is, to one degree or another, an outlaw, risking his or her relation to or position in the symbolic order. The pilgrims are playing for very high stakes, not just a free supper upon return to the Tabard Inn. And thus The Canterbury Tales makes manifest the "deep play" of an often fierce struggle with the father in all of his many guises, and clearly Chaucer, along with a number of

his pilgrims, believes as Barthes does that the "text is (should be) that uninhibited person who shows his behind to the Political Father."

Chimney-Sweeping

Many metaphors have been used to suggest the kind of work entailed by psychoanalysis, the theatrical and the surgical two of the most prominent. But the one I find most appealing because of its humorous and humble metaphorical value is "chimney-sweeping," Anna O.'s word for the storytelling she engaged in during her treatment by Joseph Breuer. As Rachel Bowlby points out in her introduction to *Studies in Hysteria*, the analogy of chimney-sweeping "associates the talking cure with routine, daily life, necessary household work. Like all domestic tasks, chimney-sweeping is never finally done." What Bowlby's comment implies is that the work of analysis, whether clinical or pedagogical, is never finally done, nor does the need for storytelling—again, whether on the couch or in the classroom—disappear, never to return. And thus it is with the metaphor of psychoanalysis as ongoing housework and/or homework that this book constructs Chaucer's fictional pilgrimage to Canterbury as a journey into the symptom and, further, into the unconscious itself. Beginning with the spectacle of hysteria, traveling through the perversions of fetishism, masochism, and sadism, and pulling into the terminus with paranoia and psychosis, the chapters that follow explore the ways in which conflicts with the (Oedipal) law play themselves out on the body and in language." For Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is rife with issues of mastery and control that emerge as conflicts not only between authority and experience but also between power and knowledge, the word and the flesh, rule books and reason, man and woman, same and other—conflicts that erupt in a macabre sprawl of broken bones, dismembered bodies, cut throats, and decapitations. Although contracts are generally supposed to forestall violence, in any contract violence is both an origin and an outcome as Derrida has noted, and thus when the pilgrims assembled at the Tabard Inn agree to participate in the storytelling contest, which Harry Bailly articulates in terms of contract, violence is destined to break out."

The reader hostile to psychoanalysis might argue that my analysis of Chaucer's storytelling pilgrims is "wild," and perhaps it is, not because of ignorance or omnipotence but because of the sort of contradiction with which Barthes introduces *The Pleasure of the Text*:

Imagine someone [...] who abolishes within himself all barriers, all classes, all exclusions, not by syncretism but by simple discard of that old specter: logical contradiction; who mixes every language, even those said to be incompatible [...]. Such a man would be the mockery of our society: court, school, asylum, polite conversation would cast him out: who endures contradiction without shame?

It may be the case that, like Hesiod's two Strife-broods, there is good contradiction, which makes us human rather than mere automatons, and bad. Barthes invites us to imagine someone who discards the fear of logical contradiction. Imagine, then, the hysteric with her "incompatible syntheses," her multiple identifications, her conversion symptoms, her self-repudiating discourse, and, in the case of Anna O., her mixing of English, French, and Italian. Imagine moi. Attempting to endure this contradiction while keeping shame at bay, I function as the anti-hero of whom Barthes speaks, for in taking my pleasure with *The Canterbury Tales*, I bring together a number of what are sometimes thought to be incompatible modes of thinking and writing: the autobiographical, the clinical, the pedagogical, and the scholarly. At times, I take up the "proper" distance from the reader by adopting a traditional scholarly approach to *The Canterbury Tales*, while at other times, I draw uncomfortably close through autobiographical "shadow" chapters that deal specifically with self-analysis and its potential pedagogical uses. This is my attempt to recreate, in some tangible form, the subject as split between the ego and the unconscious. If I appear to privilege one type of chapter over another by referring to one as "central" and the other as "shadow," that is merely because we tend to privilege conscious thought over unconscious. But, in fact, conscious or ego discourse is associated with the false self, while unconscious "discourse" is associated with the (psyche's) truth. Because the

unconscious is a reservoir of noxious desires, beliefs, and prejudices, however, the truth of the psyche is not always pretty. In fact, it sometimes stinks to high heaven as you will soon see.

Although I believe this book will add new insight to the existing scholarship on Chaucer, I also believe that simply to add more is not enough. One must add differently. Thus, what I am attempting is an exploration and exposition of the underbelly or "secret history" of academic activity, which call attention to the fact that scholarship and pedagogy are always ruled by the same ambivalences, misprisions, misrecognitions, and prejudices that govern subjectivity. As Rebecca Bullard argues in her introduction to *The Secret History in Literature, 1660 —1820*, the genre of the secret history requires a "transverse" reading practice that directs us "to read across boundaries: between texts, literary traditions, cultures, and geographical territories." My approach, like that of the secret history, embraces the "both/and" of generic representation rather than the "either/or," and thus the shadow chapters speak to or against the central chapters, creating both a dialogue and an interruption not unlike that between conscious and unconscious chains of discourse, not unlike that between one Canterbury pilgrim and another."

One of the benefits of this approach, as suggested by its form, is that it works on a number of levels more or less simultaneously, addressing concerns that fall under the various rubrics of the pedagogical, the political, and the theoretical. For I attempt not only to make new inroads into the treatment of Chaucer's most contradictory and symptomatic pilgrims—the Prioress, the Pardoner, and the Physician, for example—but also to render less obscure psychoanalytic concepts that students often find difficult to grasp. (If Lacan is the instrument of Chaucer, so, too, is Chaucer the instrument of Lacan. By this, I mean that if I engage in psychoanalyzing Chaucer's pilgrims, as some may describe what I do, I do so not merely to shed new light on Chaucer's fictional characters but to illustrate and illuminate psychoanalytic concepts. And so, like any good analysis, it has an educational aim.) To achieve these ends, I circulate around and through Three pedagogical questions:

- 1) How are we to teach a medieval text to students of the twenty-first century?
- 2) How are we to teach theoretical discourses such as feminism(s), psychoanalysis, and queer theory when each is radically opposed to the existing power structures so often implied by the intersection of teacher and student?
- 3) what role should autobiography and/or personal anecdote play in the classroom? Clearly, these pedagogical questions point to political questions, one of which is who is authorized to speak about Chaucer and how. In juxtaposing the scholarly (an impersonal discourse) with the autobiographical (a personal discourse), my hope is that the shadow chapters will act as moments of disruption, unsettling or, at least, jostling the authority of the scholarly voice that makes itself heard in the central chapters. Put slightly differently, the shifts between central and shadow chapters might be said to represent the shifts between pseudo-analyst and pseudo-analysand. Rather than suppressing one voice or the other, both will be allowed to speak.

This multi-vocality is, in some respects, an attempt to resist closure and thus to mirror the principle embodied by *The Canterbury Tales*, for as Rosemarie McGerr argues in *Chaucer's Open Books*, "[w]hat *The Canterbury Tales* does is to illustrate, in the debates among the pilgrims and in the juxtaposition of the tales [...], the limitations on any single, mortal, temporal point of view or monologic discourse. At any point in the process of the poem, our temptation to come to a final decision about any issue discussed is undercut by the introduction of another voice." As I have read article after article on Chaucer and his poetry, I have come to realize that the scene of the critical debate is a repetition or mimicry of the *mise-en-scène* dramatized in *The Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer's poem itself has become the scholar's Canterbury, and everyone who writes about *The Canterbury Tales* is a pilgrim of sorts—some on better mounts than others, some with spurs, some with false relics but each one jockeying for position, each one with a "tale" to tell, each one hoping

to win the storytelling contest by asserting the final authority. What I am attempting to work against, then, is the aggressive, defensive, protective voice that many scholars adopt when confronted with an object of criticism. What I am also attempting to work against is, as Michael Warner identified it in 2004, "a widely felt disenchantment with the idea of literature, which students in a technologically changing climate increasingly encounter as archaic." Sixteen years later, the disenchantment of which Warner speaks has only become more obvious—or so it seems to me—hence the need for a pedagogy that will make the study of literature seem less archaic to our technologically savvy, texting students.

One way to create this kind of pedagogy is to give students a psychoanalytic vocabulary big enough to grapple with both the fictional world of literature and the factual world of its readers and the socio-historical culture they inhabit. Many of the students I teach are in the process of discovering who they are as sexual beings, and thus they respond positively to a discourse such as psychoanalysis, which does not shy away from matters of sexuality and which has the capacity to question orthodoxies concerning sexual identity rather than simply reproducing them. It was, in fact, my sexual hang-ups that led me to psychoanalysis, which may be only one framework among many, but, given the particular set of questions and problems that I was confronted with when I first became acquainted with it, it, like *The Canterbury Tales*, ceased to be a prattling discourse and became the one in which desire formed.

Another and interrelated way to create this kind of pedagogy is to introduce into the classroom what I call "auto-theory" and/or what Jane Gallop refers to as "anecdotal theory." Arguing along the same lines that I am attempting to, Gallop states that anecdote and theory "carry diametrically opposed connotations: humorous vs. serious, short vs. grand, trivial vs. overarching, specific vs. general. Anecdotal theory would cut through these oppositions in order to produce theory with a better sense of humor, theorizing which honors the uncanny detail of lived experience.' Although Gallop admits that the personal remains a vexed question despite feminist pedagogy's embracing of it, she also argues that it was feminist epistemology that taught her the value of revealing the personal experience behind the professional product. It has done the same for me, as has Richard Miller's concept of "institutional autobiography." In *Writing at the End of the World*, Miller argues that only by acknowledging the personal dimension and recognizing the role it plays in our scholarly work will academic writing remain meaningful. Although I could not agree more, I would go further and argue that writing institutional autobiography is important not only for our scholarly but also for our pedagogical work. If we are to "address the student as a whole person" as Michael Roth and countless others including John Dewey have encouraged us to do, we have to be whole persons." And introducing the personal into an institutional venue such as the classroom or a literary monograph allows us to be teachers, scholars, and persons all rolled into one. Scholars in the humanities are not alone in having recognized the value of the personal, however. Having arisen among the ranks of the social sciences, "evocative autoethnography" trains its gaze "inward" onto the "self" while at the same time training its gaze outward onto the larger social context in which the self is embedded.' Using their personal experiences as primary data, autoethnographers "research themselves in relation to others.' In fact, the autoethnographic methodology as described by Carolyn Ellis closely resembles the psychoanalytic methodology as described by Lacan, for both acknowledge and accommodate "subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher's influence on research, rather than hiding from these matters or assuming they don't exist."

Arguing that it is not only fruitful but necessary to address emotions in the classroom, Megan Boler voices the hope in *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education* that teachers will begin to become aware of how their pedagogy is dictated by their emotions and of how "curricula that neglect emotion (for example, teaching students never to use the word 'I' in writing as it is 'too personal'—a phobia in part reflecting the fear of emotion in higher education) deny students possibilities of passionate engagement." It is interesting to ponder how my book report might have been received if Mrs.

Gorham had been aware that her unjust pedagogical act was informed by her own emotions (and psychological baggage). Did she ever consider the impact that the unstated subtext of her emotions would or did have on me? It seems unlikely given that affective response has traditionally been downplayed in the classroom and that emotions are notoriously difficult to define—disgust, for example. Although many confuse disgust with a purely physical sensation such as nausea, William Ian Miller convincingly argues that it is an emotion and that, like all emotions, it "is a feeling about something and in response to something, not just raw unattached feeling." While emotions may be discounted in the classroom, however, they are not discounted but acknowledged and talked about in psychoanalysis, and this, along with its storytelling and interpretive practices, is one of the reasons that I am drawn to psychoanalysis as a unique pedagogical tool.

Cutting Up

This book could go by many names: Postmodernizing Chaucer, or Tracing Chaucer's Cuts with Jacques the Knife, or even I Read Him My Way, but whether a more appropriate title might have been chosen can be decided later, when all is said and done. We can, in the fashion of Wallace Stevens, "Met be be finale of seem." Given the subject matter of this book, how we cut and are cut by acts of signification, perhaps it is not shameful to admit that other titles are possible and that, like Rodrigo S. M., the narrator of Clarice Lispector's *The Hour of the Star*, I am afraid of starting. Writing is not easy, he says: "It is as hard as breaking rocks. Sparks and splinters fly like shattered steel." Not only does the act of writing require a tremendous amount of exertion, but also it is a dangerous act, producing sparks that might jump into flame and burn us or flying splinters that pierce like arrows, bury themselves in our flesh, and fester. Our very bodies are at stake when we write, especially when we are writing what might be called the "secret history" of the anecdote.¹ And that is why this book, at its most fundamental level, is about bodies and the stories their symptoms tell. If Chaucer and his storytellers are symptomatic, so, too, am I—hence my reference to myself as the moi. But if writing is such a frightening prospect—hard work that puts us and those around us in danger—why do it? Jean-Paul Sartre has already provided us with one good answer: we write in order to bring the world and human relations into existence, for as storytellers we are one of the avenues by which things are made manifest. Relations multiply because of our presence in the world. And just as we create a connection between one object and another (the Wife of Bath and the horse upon which she rides, for example), we also set in motion a dialectic between writer and reader: "the operation of writing," Sartre argues, "implies that of reading as its dialectical correlative and these two connected acts necessitate two distinct agents. It is the conjoint effort of author and reader which brings upon the scene that concrete and imaginary object which is the work of the mind. There is no art except for and by others." Writing creates relations, and so, too, does reading.

Writing is hard work, but reading is equally so as Lacan points out when he says to those who have been attending his seminar on *Antigone*,

It may have seemed demanding to some of you. [...] I might almost say that on this occasion I have put you to the test of eating raw rabbits. It is on account of this procedure I have adopted—and it's no doubt quite a demanding one obviously, quite a tough one—of requiring you to accompany me in breaking the stones along the road of the text [so] that it will enter your body.

If writing puts the body at stake, so, too, does reading. Both acts require a body and, of necessity, both acts transform the body. In fact, as Anthony Bale points out in *Feeling Persecuted*, "[m]edieval people did not see books and pictures as something separate from themselves—either from their minds or bodies—but as recreational objects which could touch, impress, hurt or wound the reader or viewer."² Because of the book's performative quality, medieval people described books as "quicke bookis," that is, as "living books—the word made flesh."³ Even more so than ours does, the medieval world saw a physical engagement between body and book. When Chaucer wrote, then, he was stretching his hand out into the centuries ahead like a lover groping for his beloved in the dark of

some unknown and unknowable future. In writing, he was disclosing his world and offering it, as Sartre would say, "as a task to the generosity of the reader." If we are to be generous, we must take his hand and allow ourselves to be pulled backward into his world but also pull him forward into ours. We must, as Lacan urges, break the stones along the road of the text that will allow *The Canterbury Tales* to enter our bodies.

But why take Lacan's hand and pull him along for the ride? For me, there are personal reasons that will be revealed in the shadow chapters, and for this I make no apology since I think it absolutely crucial to have a personal stake in what we say, write, and tell stories about, especially in the classroom. For now, however, let me go on record as stating that, unlike some feminists, I do not believe that psychoanalysis as practiced by Lacanians is either an inherently essentializing or patriarchal discourse, but it certainly has the ability to ruffle feathers, for at its heart lies the concept of the unconscious and the phenomenon of transference. Despite accusations to the contrary, one of the most laudable characteristics of Lacanian psychoanalysis is its resistance to moralizing and normalizing treatment of the analysand, for as Lacan states in "The Direction of the Treatment," while the analyst directs the treatment, she does not direct the patient, nor does she, like many an American therapist, give the analysand advice, telling him what he should or should not do: "The first principle of this treatment, the one that is spelt out to [her] before all else [...], is that [she] must not direct the patient. The direction of conscience, in the sense of the moral guidance that a Catholic might find in it, is radically excluded here."

Lacan's principles of treatment are not the only reason to take him along for the ride, however. A second and more important reason is that it makes good pedagogical sense because of his quest for a radical new pedagogy that would allow the one called "master" to adopt and speak from the position of "other," which necessarily entails the non-mastery suggested by the unconscious." A pedagogy based on otherness and that assumes a position of non-mastery would, it seems to me, stand a good chance of upsetting what Paulo Freire refers to as the "banking" concept of education whereby the teacher deposits information into the students' empty educational accounts. When Lacan advocates a style of teaching that would "break with the mirror game of 'the subject presumed to know,' as well as with that false, narcissistic understanding inherent in all dual relationships," he, too, is challenging the "banking" concept of education by undermining the teacher's absolute authority and breaking with a dual relationship that pits teacher against student in a hostile and oppositional dance. Lacan's radical pedagogy finds its counterpart in Chaucer's fictional pilgrimage, for it is a gain of) I fort/da gone awry. 'I' The pilgrims leave the Tabards Inn—the cotton reel gels tossed away and the word "fort" uttered—but the pilgrims never return, and thus the "da" dies in the throat. Mastery of anxiety is not achieved, nor is control of the situation. Departing from the security and comfort of mastery and control is a frightening but also an exciting prospect because it means letting go of the reins, allowing the horse to lead us to a place where mastery does not exist, a place where the "mirror game" of the subtract-supposed-to-know shatters into a million whispering shards.

"How are we to teach what psychoanalysis teaches us?" asks Lacan, to which he answers that we are to put obstacles rather than transparency to use: "[to] teach about and through misprision, about and through interpretive stumbling blocks and textual distortions." When Lacan advocates obstacles rather than transparency, he does not mean assimilation, or locating one complex of signifiers within another, but the establishment of a new order or permutation in the signifying chain. As Bruce Fink says of Lacan, he is

[...] adamant about refusing to understand, about striving to defer understanding, because in the process of understanding, everything is brought back to the level of the status quo, to the level of what is already known. Lacan's writing itself overflows with extravagant,

preposterous, and mixed metaphors, precisely to jolt one out of the easy reductionism inherent in the very process of understanding.

If we believe as Lacan does that deferring understanding eliminates reductionism and promotes *frayage*, which is a breach in or break from the usual path, then we can certainly argue that one of the most useful aspects of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is that it is written in Middle English, the language itself representing the margin between what is familiar to most contemporary speakers of English (Modern English) and what is utterly unfamiliar (Old English). Although no language is transparent, we often make the mistake of thinking that our own language is or our own words are, that somehow there is a simple and complete correspondence between what we say (the words that we speak) and what we mean (the intended message sent to the listener). Reading a text in Middle English, however, mobilizes the obstacles inherent in language. In fact, part of the reason that Chaucer and Lacan are such compelling bedfellows, or fellow pilgrims, is precisely because of language. What better place than in *The Canterbury Tales* to recognize Chaucer's Middle English as a pedagogical touchstone for the "otherness" of language, or language as the big Other? Because Chaucer's Middle English is the uncanny double of Modern English, it seems at once *heimlich* and *unheimlich* to students of the twenty-first century. Many Middle English words look like and even mean the same thing as words we use today, while others appear to belong to the vocabulary of a foreign language. What is useful in this description of Middle English as an example of the uncanny is the potential pedagogical gain: while a certain amount of familiarity with an object of study such as a language or a text can put us at ease, a concomitant lack of familiarity can eliminate or undermine the faulty assumptions and hasty conclusions that often accompany the familiar. In fact, Wendell Berry convincingly argues in *Standing by Words* that "one of the great practical uses of literary disciplines, of course, is to resist glibness—to slow language down and make it thoughtful." As he says in prose that seems akin to poetry, "[V]erse checks the merely impulsive flow of speech, subjects it to another pulse, to measure, to extra-linguistic considerations; by inducing the hesitations of difficulty, it admits into language the influence of the Muse and of musing." In other words, we resist the glib and the impulsive in order, first, to be able to thoughtfully grapple with what we read and, second, to be able to stand by what we say in response to it.

And thus one answer to Lacan's question is to teach about and through the interpretive stumbling blocks and textual distortions of an uncanny text such as *The Canterbury Tales*. Part of my pedagogical strategy involves an oscillation between Lacan's question and mine, "How are we to teach what psychoanalysis teaches us?" and "How are we to teach *The Canterbury Tales*?" The purpose of this back-and-forth movement is to create a stage upon which to work out the "play"—or, perhaps more accurately, to play out the "work"—between the medieval and the postmodern, literature and theory, the scholarly and the autobiographical. On this stage, however, we occupy the gap, a marginal space from which we can look in two directions but never comfortably situate ourselves in either. Like the split subject, who must acknowledge its castration (its asymptotic relation to and/or its non-coincidence with its mirror image), Chaucer's text is split: there is a temporal gap between Chaucer and his twenty-first-century readers. Psychoanalysis views this split or gap as the unavoidable condition of the subject—or, in this case, the text—for it was precisely the incompatible syntheses of the hysteric that allowed Freud to found psychoanalysis and thus completely alter our way of viewing the world." Because the hysteric made strange the normative concept of what a woman should be, or want, Freud was led to recognize that the very nature of sexuality is aberrant. Like sexuality, textuality, too, is aberrant. Any normative concept of what a text and thus a pedagogy should be, or do, occludes the possibility of breaking new ground.

It has been our tendency, at least since the Enlightenment, to divide the world of experience into knowable pieces, categories, and periods, but psychoanalysis has challenged the way we organize this world. It has played a central role in undermining the confidence we have placed in these "knowables," thereby helping redefine what it means to "know." Because Freud proposed that

neurosis had its roots in repressed memories, the subject could no longer be thought to be the master of its domain. Following in Freud's footsteps, Lacan rejected the agency and authority of the empirical "I," which believes in the transparency and objectivity of its own perceptions as well as in the cohesiveness of transparent consciousness and reality. Instead of trusting in reason and empirical testing, Lacan surmised that we are characterized by implicit subjectivity, ambivalence, and misrecognition. What psychoanalysis calls into question, then, is the confidence Western thought places in the "cogito" as the origin of all knowledge. It is not surprising, therefore, to find someone such as Cixous, who puts a feminist twist on psychoanalysis, arguing that the repression of the unconscious is the foundation of Western ideology and that a thoroughly political female text would be one that is informed by an unconscious freed of certain cultural strictures. Sounding very much like the Wife of Bath, who announces that her "joly body schal a tale telle," Cixous argues in *The Newly Born Woman* that "[w]oman must write her body," but this kind of writing is, as she says, "not done without danger, without pain, without loss—of moments of self, of consciousness, of persons one has been, goes beyond, leaves." Upon reading my autobiographical shadow chapters, perhaps the reader will admit that what Cixous says is true, for I have been forced to wade hip deep into my psyche's quagmire in order to write my body's *anekdota*, and this has entailed the danger of betrayal, the pain of confronting my many shortcomings and offenses, and the loss of the illusions that make up my imaginary self. When one writes one's body, one never knows what one will discover, for, as Paul Ricoeur has pointed out, one comes to be through storytelling. Nothing would be learned if the self were a given, that is, already known at the beginning of the narrative: "In place of an ego enchanted by itself, a self is born" through stories,' and thus creating a narrative identity for oneself is an important pedagogical act.

Unfortunately, the traditional academic institution has been a place where one seldom gets to do this, for it has been and continues to be a place where the cultural strictures of which Cixous speaks are created, taught, and maintained, a place where discourse is tightly controlled or policed through organs such as the five-paragraph essay, the research paper, Turnitin.com, and what Barthes refers to as "the very oppressive, not to say repressive, constraints brought to bear upon students by the myth of the outline and syllogistic Aristotelian development." However, the conjunction of psychoanalysis and feminism has created a space in which to give up control, a space in which not knowing and/or knowing differently is not only acceptable but also necessary. There is no use for pre-packaged knowledge in analysis, whether we are on the couch or in the classroom. The nicely-decorated package of our neuroses must be unwrapped, its contents allowed to spill out if, like Cixous, we are to employ writing (and thinking and speaking) as a means of transformation and if, like Freire, we are to cure the particular type of "narration sickness" from which the classroom suffers, wherein the teacher alienates the student by expounding upon texts and topics that have little or nothing to do with the lived experience of the student." The shadow chapters, in which I use myself and my body's experiences as a pedagogical tool along the lines of Augustine's *Confessions*, are an attempt to enact the feminine writing Cixous describes but also to move into what J. Allan Mitchell would call "a place for safe stumbling," his definition of what the humanities should be. Just what the reader will learn from these shadow chapters is impossible to say ahead of time, but then is it not more fruitful to discover what one will than what one is told to? Will Stockton, for one, would say so, for he suggests in *Burn After Reading* that we "delete all course objectives from our syllabi—all things that seek in advance to tell the student what he or she will learn." Like Stockton, Kim Paffenroth argues in her discussion of Augustine and modern pedagogy that teachers "must constantly remind themselves that their role is to assist their students in realizing their own truth[.]" and she emphasizes the fact that "the students' act of learning is their own." The same thing can be said of the analysts' act of analysis: it is their own, for no one knows ahead of time what will be learned from an encounter with the unconscious.

Those of us who study and teach literature, who read and write about it, have chosen to do so because of a powerful relation to language, that gift—or perhaps exigency would be a better word—offered to us as a substitute for the loss of the mother's breast. If the unconscious is about the "yes" or the non-binary, then language is about the "no" or the Name-of-the-Father, the function that denies the child access to that originary dyadic bond with the mother. Is this denial a problem? Not at all, for most of us recognize the undesirability of living our lives in the sheltering confines of the maternal bosom, and thus we accept the necessity of acquiring language as that which sutures us into the social fabric. But what we may fail to grasp is the enjoyment afforded by allowing space for the appearance of the unconscious when it spills through or into language, disrupting the comfortable rhythms and patterns of our speech and utter(ance)ly unsettling us. Making room for the unconscious, for *jouissance*, is what Cixous is talking about when she argues that a feminine discourse "even when 'theoretical' or political, is never simple or linear or 'objectivized,' universalized [...]." In fact, the discourse of the personal, particularly the discourse of the hysteric, offers a challenge to the notion of the universal subject and functions as a form of resistance to its normative status. Although the concept of the hysteric has wide-ranging misogynistic currency, I view the hysteric as a heroic figure, using her body to reject an oppressive cultural situation and/or identity when her voice cannot be heard. In fact, many feminists (including me) view hysteria as an incipient form of feminism, for hysterics such as Anna O. became feminists once they found their voices. Not only was Anna O. responsible, at least in part, for the birth of psychoanalysis, but also, in the aftermath of her treatment, she became the leading figure in Germany's Jewish women's movement. Later, Lacan found in his clinical work that the analysand must be hystericized before any fruitful analysis could take place. And thus in our pedagogical work, perhaps we shall find that the classroom must be feminized before fruitful learning can take place. If we (teacher and student alike) write ourselves, make our bodies heard, perhaps "the huge resources of the unconscious will burst out." Perhaps we shall begin to learn and to know differently.

Objection!

Before I give the reader a glimpse of what lies ahead, I would like to address one of the difficulties I have had to wrestle with in writing this book and several objections to my approach that a discerning reader might rightfully make. In attempting to use psychoanalysis to understand Chaucer's pilgrims and, conversely, Chaucer's pilgrims to understand psychoanalysis, I am forced to straddle two intellectual communities that have not always been in accord and that can sometimes be actively hostile toward each other: the literary and the theoretical or, in this case, the Chaucerian and the psychoanalytic. I am sure to annoy Chaucerians when I supply plot summaries that they do not require but that non-Chaucerians do; and I am sure to annoy Lacanians, for example, when I explain terminology that they already understand and use but that non-Lacanians do not. There is no good way around this dilemma, except to ask for the reader's good will and to quote Richard Rorty on Hegel and Heidegger:

To get through their books, you must temporarily suspend disbelief, get into the swing of the story that is being told, pick up the jargon as you go along, and then decide, after having given the entire book the most sympathetic reading you can, whether to move out into uncharted space. If you lay down those books feeling no temptation to make any such move, you may conclude that Hegel and Heidegger are, at best, failed poets and, at worst, self-infatuated obscurantists.

Of course, I am not comparing myself to Hegel or Heidegger, merely making a plea for the most sympathetic reading a generous and patient reader can give.

The first objection to my approach that might arise for the discerning reader can be put in the form of the following question: is it an anachronistic gesture to make use of a discourse conceived in the nineteenth century to discuss a medieval text? The way I would address this question is by making a distinction between existence and what Heidegger refers to as "ex-sistence." Even before something

is given identity by naming—masochism, for example—it can "exsist" in the register of the real, a register that Fink defines as "that which has not yet been symbolized, remains to be symbolized, or even resists symbolization." Once named, this something (whatever it may be) takes up existence in language or the symbolic register, which is identified with "social reality." Fink explains the shift from "ex-sistence" to existence in this way: "insofar as we name and talk about the real and weave it into a theoretical discourse on language and the 'time before the word,' we draw it into language and thereby give a kind of existence to that which, in its very concept, has only ex-sistence. In other words, meaning now begins to congeal in a way that was impossible before this shift into existence occurred. This does not mean that the object moves out of one register and into another. Instead, it means that the object occupies two overlapping registers, and because of the complexity created by the overlap of real and symbolic, a residue of opacity will always cling to the name, which is simply to say that we can never experience the object named in an unmediated, fully present, fully revealed form. Even a more historicized lexicon such as that of complexion theory, medical astrology, and/or alchemy runs up against the residual opacity of language. If Chaucer's texts were simply the sum of these outmoded theories, we would no longer need or want to read them, but there will always be something irrecoverable—and thus something that creates hermeneutic desire—when we turn our gaze toward the medieval world whether we do so from a historicist, a psychoanalytic, or any other contemporary viewpoint.

Closely related to the issue of anachronism is that of psychoanalyzing fictional characters, about whom, some would argue, we have insufficient information to do so. First, the word "information" is antithetical to analysis, for it names the factual, the non-disputable, the dead matters of knowledge. And, second, no analysis (whether of a fictional character, a person, or a text) has sufficient particulars, and it is precisely this lack that drives the quest for interpretation. The gaps in one's memory and/or in a story are what set the text-reader relationship in motion. In fact, argues Wolfgang Iser, "it is only through inevitable omissions that a story gains its dynamism," for it is these omissions that draw the reader's imagination into engagement, thus allowing the reader "to 'climb aboard' the text." Like the sentences that were imprisoned upon the pages of my second-grade book report and needed freeing, the pilgrims of *The Canterbury Tales* did not really come alive or take on definition for me until I began to "cut up" with them. What gives an object in a story density, argues Sartre, is the complexity of its connections to the story's characters: "The more often the characters handle it, take it up, and put it down, in short, go beyond it toward their own ends, the more real will it appear." Is this not true of a reader's interaction with Chaucer's pilgrims? The more we handle them, take them up, put them down, in short, go beyond them toward our own ends, the more real will they appear.

A third objection to my approach that might arise can also be put in the form of a question: is it possible to write autobiography if one is a Lacanian? The answer to this is complicated. The way Lacan has conceived of the subject, traditionally understood as the "self" or the "individual," can be brought to bear quite fruitfully on how we think, talk, and write about the "failure" of autobiography, that is, its inability to tell all and/or to tell the truth. For what happens when we begin to write about ourselves is that we are immediately guilty of what Lacan would call "ego discourse," which is based on the false image one has of oneself, and thus we are immediately in the realm of fiction rather than that of fact. This makes the writing of autobiography impossible, but it is also what makes those who attempt to write autobiography continue to attempt to write it—over and over and over again—as I have done. Perhaps one way to skirt the problem of impossibility, then, is to define autobiography not as a genre but as a practice: it is not a thing that is but a thing that one does. Perhaps another way is to admit that although the being who speaks—that is, the subject—can never be entirely represented in language, this does not mean that the "I" is or should be disregarded. What it does mean is that the "I" occupies a fragile relationship to language and thus to constructed reality. In light of this, one must acknowledge the fragility of any autobiographical enterprise.

A final objection concerns the politics of confession, for women's autobiographical writing is often read as personal confession, and, as Irene Gammel points out in *Confessional Politics*, the "term confession is a problematic one for women, as it brings to mind its patriarchal history." While I agree with Gammel, I also believe, as Gammel does, that it is possible to employ the conventions of the confessional self-consciously in order to reclaim one's agency and voice. In fact, if my shadow chapters do read like confessions, that is as it should be, for those four chapters are meant to be read, like the first nine books of Augustine's *Confessions*, as a conversion story embedded in a larger polemical work." There is also a social dimension to the confession, for as Foucault argues, self-writing "offsets the dangers of solitude" by exposing us to the other's gaze: "Confession then is both a communicative and an expressive act, a narrative in which we (re)create ourselves by creating our own narrative, reworking the past, in public, or at least in dialogue with another."

Having, I hope, engaged the reader's sympathy and attenuated possible concerns about my approach, I turn now to brief summaries of each chapter.

In Chapter 1, "The Prick of the Prioress, or Hysteria and Its Humors," I examine the many contradictions in which the Prioress is mired, the most important of which is that between the ladylike way she presents herself to her fellow pilgrims as described in the General Prologue and the unladylike spectacle she stages in her tale. Using hysteria as a touchstone, I flesh out (and flush out) the difference between the Wife of Bath's response to authority and the Prioress's, arguing that the Wife of Bath represents the "normal" woman who understands the patriarchal economy of exchange and, because she is a good businesswoman, makes the system work to her advantage. Ultimately, however, she does not subvert the existing order; she simply inverts it by asserting that women want mastery. But if the Wife of Bath directly addresses the question that Freud placed at the center of psychoanalysis—"What does woman want?"—the Prioress has the much more challenging role of acting it out, amplifying and staging the question in the theater of her body. And for the Prioress, as for Freud's hysterics, there is no easy answer.

Chapter 2, "Portrait of the Hysteric as a Young Girl," is a shadow chapter devoted to loss: of body, of mother, and of voice. Perhaps it will come as no surprise to learn that it was my own oscillations between the dutiful (being disgusted) and the disruptive (being disgusting), my own hysterical symptoms, that led to my initial interest in the Prioress and finally to my attempt to write about her. Behind an analysis of the Prioress, then, lies a shadowy analysis of myself. Like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, I have found it cathartic, even curative, to write about my experience of aphasia a typical hysterical symptom which began when I heard my mother speak in tongues."

In Chapter 3, "Masochist as Miscreant Minister: The Parable of the Pardoner's Perverse Performance," I argue that Chaucer is making use of the morally and sexually ambiguous Pardoner to agitate for religious and sexual tolerance during a time of political crisis. My argument is composed of three sections. The first argues that the Pardoner's puzzling performance can best be understood through the perverse structure of masochism. The second functions as a pivot point between the first and the third sections, its aim being to show how tightly imbricated the "normal" and the perverse are and thus how much in sympathy they should be. The third relies on the story of Matthew the publican and the Parable of the Tares to argue that the Pardoner's masochism both conceals and reveals a criticism and a provocation of religious and sexual law, a religious and sexual law about which Chaucer may have had his doubts.

Chapter 4, "Confessing Animals," is a shadow chapter focusing on the theme of confession, a carry-over from the previous chapter in which I ask why audiences respond indulgently to the Wife of Bath's confession but not to the Pardoner's. In this chapter, I narrate a scene in which my Mennonite boyfriend and I confessed our sexual misdeeds to each other with disastrous consequences following in the aftermath. I also draw a connection between the trauma of the confessional and the panic

attacks that I began experiencing during a two-year teaching stint in the People's Republic of China. Like the central chapter before it, this shadow chapter invites the reader to think about the function of confession and its effect on a reader.

In Chapter 5, "Before There Was Sade, There Was Chaucer: Sadistic Sensibility in the Tales of the Man of Law, the Clerk, and the Physician," I lay out a series of questions that I found difficult to answer until I began using sadism as the lens through which to view them. For example, what is each teller's relationship to law, knowledge, and power? For whom are these tales told and to what end? And although there is a great deal of cruelty in the tales told by the Man of Law, the Clerk, and the Physician, does that mean these pilgrims are sadists? Given the challenges of writing about sadism, the argument I make in this chapter is somewhat different from the one I make in the chapter on the Pardoner in which I argue that he is a masochist. In this chapter, I am less interested in ongoing that the Man of Law, the Clerk, or the Physician is a sadist than I am in arguing that a sadistic sensibility informs each of their tales, thus accounting for the general bemusement that has suffused their reception. Taken all together, the three tales flesh out the portrait of the sadist, each tale giving us a slightly different perspective from which to view him.

Chapter 6, "Sadomasochism for (Neurotic) Dummies," begins with a scene in which my hysterical symptoms have become so severe that they have crippled my sexual relationship with my husband. After narrating this scene, I attempt to explain why we remained together for as long as we did and how I began to recover from my hysterical symptoms after we divorced, namely through the study of psychoanalysis and with the help of a fellow graduate student who made use of psychoanalysis in his everyday life.

In Chapter 7, "The Reeve's Paranoid Eye, or the Dramatics of 'Bleared' Sight," I turn from neurosis and perversion to psychosis, focusing on the Reeve's and the Miller's tales and/or doublings. I argue that the Reeve views the world through the lens of paranoia and that the fat, bag-piping Miller is the frightening rival who makes itself known as the Reeve's terrible enjoyment or *jouissance*. I argue further that the tale told by the Miller is a recounting of the Reeve's primal scene, made traumatic by the father's (in this case, Nicholas's and the community's) refusal to validate, through language, the carpenter's understanding of events. I also contend that the Reeve's lengthy prologue is a moment in which the Reeve bemoans the split between his mirror image, an image that appears whole or "together," and his experience of the awkward, uncoordinated limbs that fragment his body. Because the father does not operate for the Reeve, he will always be in search of this figure, constructing him not as the agent that allows for meaningful exchange within the community but as a hostile force that threatens his tenuous connection to the community.

Chapter 8, "Farting and Its (Dis)contents, or Call Me Absalom," is a shadow chapter that focuses on the fart's social status as well as on my own attitude toward and history of farting. Comparing myself to what has been termed the "fart repressed," I explain how I first became "flatophobic" and how I then overcame my phobia so thoroughly as to be able to make pedagogical use of the concept of the fart to explain Lacan's registers of the real, the imaginary, and the symbolic.

Chapter 9, "Retractor," is my concluding chapter. Playing on Chaucer's "Retraction" at the end of *The Canterbury Tales*, I make use of the concept in terms of the surgical retractor, an instrument used to hold open the edges of a wound. My concluding point is that Chaucer's cut—that is, his work—is a wound that cannot be sutured or closed. Despite scholars' attempts to master the text or have the last word, it stubbornly remains open to further interpretation and speculation, for Chaucer's "Retraction" functions precisely as a retractor. <>

A HISTORY OF SOLITUDE by David Vincent [Polity, 9781509536580]

Solitude has always had an ambivalent status: the capacity to enjoy being alone can make sociability bearable, but those predisposed to solitude are often viewed with suspicion or pity.

Drawing on a wide array of literary and historical sources, David Vincent explores how people have conducted themselves in the absence of company over the last three centuries. He argues that the ambivalent nature of solitude became a prominent concern in the modern era. For intellectuals in the romantic age, solitude gave respite to citizens living in ever more complex modern societies. But while the search for solitude was seen as a symptom of modern life, it was also viewed as a dangerous pathology: a perceived renunciation of the world, which could lead to psychological disorder and anti-social behaviour.

Vincent explores the successive attempts of religious authorities and political institutions to manage solitude, taking readers from the monastery to the prisoner's cell, and explains how western society's increasing secularism, urbanization and prosperity led to the development of new solitary pastimes at the same time as it made traditional forms of solitary communion, with God and with a pristine nature, impossible. At the dawn of the digital age, solitude has taken on new meanings, as physical isolation and intense sociability have become possible as never before. With the advent of a so-called loneliness epidemic, a proper historical understanding of the natural human desire to disengage from the world is more important than ever.

The first full-length account of its subject, **A HISTORY OF SOLITUDE** will appeal to a wide general readership.

Review

"Superb ... a remarkably versatile study."

Terry Eagleton, *The Guardian*

"[A] beautifully written, nuanced and now topical history."

The Spectator

"Totally absorbing."

Sydney Morning Herald

"[B]ursts with fascinating information and chewy ideas."

The Telegraph

"[An] elegantly written and acute history ... It is characteristic of Vincent's insight that he detects mirrors everywhere."

Yorkshire Times

"In this well-judged history of a currently pressing preoccupation ... Vincent performs a useful public service: he recognises the uniqueness of our contemporary problems, but gives them the calming and edifying perspective of context."

Times Higher Education

"Are we living in a lonely age and, if so, when did it begin? In this riveting history, David Vincent tackles this timely question by bringing to light everyday experiences of solitude and loneliness from

the late eighteenth century to the present. Here we meet solitary walkers, spiritual recluses, sailors on long solo voyages, but also men and women locked up in asylums or prisons where unremitting isolation broke minds and spirits. Solitude could be nourishing but it could also madden or even kill. Vincent gives us the stories in rich detail, in a pathbreaking book that will fascinate anyone interested in solitariness, past or present."

Barbara Taylor, Queen Mary University of London

"This is a superb book. David Vincent has mobilized texts that he has mastered over fifty years of scholarship and supplemented these – poetry, novels, memoirs, and autobiography – with a dazzling range of sources on everything from stamp-collecting to dog-walking to prison reform. He manages the intractable distinction between solitude and loneliness over a large domain. This will become the standard work on a topic of both academic and general interest."

Thomas Laqueur, University of California at Berkeley

"This is a deeply researched book that sheds light on many aspects of modern history, from leisure to penology. While exploring rich historical cases, the book also provides an explicit backdrop for contemporary concerns about loneliness but also about modern barriers to achieving solitude. A real gem."

Peter Stearns, George Mason University

"Original, bang up-to-date, and impressive in its scholarship. This is a fine piece of work from an experienced historian."

Colin Heywood, University of Nottingham

This is a superb book. David Vincent has mobilized texts that he has mastered over fifty years of scholarship and supplemented these - poetry, novels, memoirs and auto-biography - with a dazzling range of sources on everything from stamp collecting to dog walking to prison reform. He manages the intractable distinction between solitude and loneliness over a large domain. This will become the standard work on a topic of both academic and general interest.

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The Modern History of Solitude

The long debate over solitude was given new urgency by the Enlightenment commitment to sociability. Personal exchange drove innovation but left insufficient space for intellectual exploration and self-discovery. Social interaction promoted creativity but might also distract and trivialize if there was no opportunity for retreat and reflection. A new balance had to be struck between engagement

and seclusion in the pursuit of progress. At the same time, historical forms of withdrawal retrained a dangerous attraction amidst the noise and materialism of an urbanizing society. The walled cloister or unpeopled nature had long been a cleansing alternative to the corrupting pressures of the contemporary world. Both threatened an irreversible rejection of vital structures of discourse and debate. Amidst these pressures there were evident casualties of social living. There was a growing apprehension, driven by the emerging medical profession, that the mental resilience of those charged with achieving change could not withstand the maelstrom of personal interactions. The more intense the demands of society, the larger the number of participants, the greater the risk of a descent into a potentially lethal melancholy.

The question of how to be alone has remained a lightning conductor in the response to modernity." As European populations expanded and relocated from the country to the city after 1800, so new questions were asked in a host of contexts about the appropriate role of solitude. What James Vernon has characterized as 'a new society of strangers'⁸⁶ was faced with the task of redefining and remaking practices which could variously be seen as compounding the dangers or exploiting the strengths of more fragmented interpersonal relations. Over time, three distinct functions of solitude emerged, each of them a response to the opportunities and threats of increasingly crowded populations.

The first of these had a lineage stretching back to the Romantic Movement and thence to oppositional practices with which Zimmermann was concerned. In this discourse, solitude was a recurring, endlessly remodelled critique of whatever was conceived as modernity. The locus of unwelcome change was the expanding urban centres which corrupted human relations and threatened physical health. The principal arena of spiritual and bodily recovery was nature in as unspoiled a form as the British Isles could supply. With the growth of international transport systems from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, it became possible to engage in person or through travel literature with truly wild landscapes. What was required above all was an unmediated relationship not between one individual and another, but between the lone walker or explorer and some manifestation of God's original creation. This withdrawal from urban sociability is considered in Chapter 2, which is principally concerned with walking in the nineteenth century, Chapter 5, which discusses recreational encounters with the countryside in the twentieth century, and Chapter 6, which examines the increasingly exhausted practice of battling with extreme nature.

The second function of solitary behaviour was as a pathology of modernity. The licentious pursuit of material pleasure and individual satisfaction increasingly threatened healthy forms of sociability. Severe forms of physical or psychological morbidity were a direct, quantifiable measure of unmanageable contradictions in interpersonal relations. Over the period covered by this study, concerns coalesced around the emerging notion of loneliness. Before the modern era, the term was rarely deployed in isolation from emotional solitude more generally. Milton's 1643 tract on divorce argued that marriage was primarily 'a remedy against loneliness', and existed to provide 'the apt and cheerful conversation of man with woman, to comfort and refresh him against the evil of a solitary life'." In the eighteenth century, lonely meant a state or more often a place of solitude. It began to appear more widely as a distinct negative emotion in the writings of the Romantic poets." The disaffected wandering of Byron's Childe Harold takes him to the Alps, 'The palaces of Nature, whose vast walls, / Have pinnacled in clouds their snowy scalps, / And throned Eternity in icy halls / of cold sublimity.' There was, however, 'too much of man' in Lac Lemán and he renewed his quest for a form of bitter solitude: 'soon in me shall Loneliness renew / Thoughts hid, but not less cherish'd than of old.'

The term 'loneliness' entered popular discourse during the nineteenth century, although initially the concept was subsumed within the pathologies of solitude discussed by successive medical authorities and other writers. In Charles Dickens's 1840 Christmas story, a deaf, elderly man is befriended on

the festive day by the narrator, who seeks to draw him out of his melancholic isolation, described in the story not a loneliness but as a state of 'solitude'. Gradually it became a separate condition, carrying with it a specific set of symptoms. Writing in 1930, N., Chesterton satirized the emergence of what appeared to be a particularly local phenomenon:

One of the finer manifestations of an indefatigable patriotism has taken the form of an appeal to the nation on the subject of Loneliness. This complains that the individual is isolated in England, in a sense unknown in most other countries, and demands that something should be done to link up all these lonely individuals in a chain of sociability.

Aloneness was embraced by the emerging discipline of psychology." At the most intense it could cause outbreaks of psychotic illness. The difficult concept of melancholy was reborn as a condition with interacting mental and physical symptoms. Chapter 7 will examine the post-1945 emergence of a public crisis of loneliness, culminating in the appointment of the world's first government minister for the phenomenon, and the publication of an official strategy to combat it.

The third change was the most pervasive yet the least recognized by contemporary commentators. The replacement of literary doctors by professional social scientists from the late Victorian period onwards did little to alter the marginal status of solitary behaviours. The first major study to place solitude as a normal and necessary aspect of living was written by the psychologist Anthony Storr as late as 1989. He mounted 'se against the prevailing orthodoxy. 'It is widely believed,' he wrote his Preface, 'that interpersonal relationships of an intimate kind c the chief, if not the only, source of human happiness.' His book mutated greater interest in the topic amongst social scientists, but as recently as 2016, Ira Cohen could still observe that 'while my fellow sociologists have made extraordinary progress in the study of how individuals engage in social interaction, they have seldom acknowledged that there is an entire realm of behaviors in which people engage when they are not involved in interpersonal encounters'." Such activities, it will be argued in this history, were more than residual pastimes that have been obscured by the noise and energy of commercial progress. t her, they were at once a product of modernity and a necessary condition of its success. From the early nineteenth century onwards, multiform improvements in material prosperity, consumer markets and communication networks made possible a wider range of solitary practices across the population. Solitude in its basic form as a site of fleeting leisure amidst hard-pressed lives became more available, especially for women and the labouring poor. It will be argued, particularly in Chapters 3 and 5, that at all stages of the life-course, and for all but the most dispossessed of society, these forms of solitary endeavour made a sustainable sociability possible.

The dynamics of change across these three functions have been obscured by a static conception of solitude as an activity. In Zimmermann's treatise, as more widely in his own time and subsequently, solitude was seen as a simple antonym of physical company. He insisted, as we have seen, that the motives for withdrawal were critical, but nonetheless assumed that in all circumstances he was dealing with the absence of another in a particular space. The modern debate about loneliness is still largely predicated on a binary opposition between face-to-face contact and non-communicative isolation. Whether in an unpeopled landscape or an empty room, the withdrawn figure is a key component of the experience and understanding of solitude throughout our period. Two further forms of solitude have, however, become increasingly significant. The first may be termed networked solitude, the engagement with others through print, correspondence or other media whilst otherwise alone.

In the late eighteenth century, particularly at the level of education and society that a medical practitioner occupied, there was already an intervening structure of virtual representation, whereby an individual could be both by himself or herself and in communication with another. In Britain, men and women of the gentry class had been using letters to conduct their affairs with distant relatives and business partners since the later middle ages. By 1800, what Susan Whyman terms 'epistolary

literacy' had reached as far down as the many literate members of the artisan community." For a manual worker, the composition or receipt of a letter was a rare event, but leading scientists had long been accustomed to maintaining a network of correspondents across Europe and latterly with the New World. Zimmermann conducted not only his research on this basis but also his literary endeavours. 'His work upon Solitude,' recorded Tissot, 'was received with great éclat, not only in Germany, wherever German is read, and procured him a correspondence which gratified him greatly.' The subsequent expansion of European postal networks, founded on the flat-rate, pre-paid model. Asn's 1840 Penny Post, was designed to maintain connections to members dispersed by the economic and demographic rivals of the period. The later inventions of the telephone and the Internet, which will be discussed in the final chapter, supplied further means of managing physical isolation. Networked solitude both reduced stress and enriched the experience of being alone. Through credence and the proliferating forms of printed media, it enabled individuals to enjoy their own company and at the same time that they were in some sense part of a wider community.

The second alternative form has only lately become the subject of scholarly discussion. Abstracted solitude was the capacity to be alone amidst company. It was the means by which individuals withdrew their silence and thoughts from those in close physical proximity. Aiding concern with finding mental space within the press of people needs a new urgency in the rapidly expanding metropolitan civilization of the eighteenth century. In 1720, Daniel Defoe wrote a second sequel epochal novel of solitude. Robinson Crusoe was now back in London, and anxious to draw a distinction between absolute physical isolation, whether chosen or enforced, and a temporary withdrawal from surrounding company. The returned castaway had no nostalgia for his former life. The solitude he had enjoyed was necessary to the wellbeing of his moral self, but artificial and unsafe when disconnected from the moral structures and constraining perspectives of educated society. The most profound forms of spiritual reflection were better undertaken in the midst of everyday activity. 'Divine Contemplations,' Crusoe insists, 'require a Composure of Soul, uninterrupted by any extraordinary Motions or Disorders of the Passions; and this, I say, is much easier to be obtained and enjoy'd in the ordinary Course of Life, in Monkish Cells and forcible Retreats.' The crowd, specifically that of the nation's capital, was a condition of disciplined, productive nation, not its negation:

It is evident then, that as I see nothing but what is far from being retired, in the forced Retreat of an Island, the Thoughts being in no Composure suitable to a retired Condition, no not for a great While; so I can affirm, that I enjoy much more Solitude in the Middle of the greatest Collection of Mankind in the World, I mean at London, while I am writing this, than ever I could say I enjoy'd in eight and twenty Years Confinement to a desolate Island.

It was an argument about what was necessary and also what was feasible. Crusoe's creator had no doubt that abstracting himself at will from the complex networks in which he lived and worked was an entirely practical proposition. His hero insists that 'all the Parts of a compleat Solitude are to be as effectually enjoy'd, if we please, and sufficient Grace assisting, even in the most populous Cities, among the Hurries of Conversation, and Gallantry of a Court, or the Noise and Business of a Camp, as in the Desarts of Arabia and Lybia, or in the desolate Life of an uninhabited Island'.

By its nature, abstracted solitude has left little record, but it may be argued that in the overcrowded domestic interiors in which most people lived for much of the time covered by this study, it was the principal means of achieving the benefits traditionally claimed for physical isolation. It required a degree of practiced concentration and could vary in time from a few snatched minutes of contemplation or day-dreaming to a prolonged immersion in a personal task or distraction. There was a frequent association with types of networked solitude, most obviously getting lost in a book whilst the noisy life of the household went on around the reader. In middle-class interiors it was visible in the ability of employing householders to consider themselves entirely alone whilst in the

presence of toiling servants. Throughout the period it was influenced by technical change, and as Chapter 8 will argue, it reached its apotheosis with the arrival of the texting smartphone.

Common to the differing responses to modernity and the varying categories of solitude were questions of class and gender. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century writers on the subject, as on melancholy more generally, were in no doubt that their principal concern was with well-educated men. 'Close, and unremitted thinking', as Thomas Arnold argued, was a leading cause of insanity. Only those with a mature, balanced mind were capable of withstanding the perils of isolation and returning to productive intercourse with society. Conversely, those spending excessive hours in their studies were especially vulnerable to the pathologies of solitude, whereas the bulk of the population were shielded from them by their intellectual limitations. As William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* of 1769 put it, 'The perpetual thinker seldom enjoys either health or spirits; while the person who can hardly be said to think at all, seldom fails to enjoy both.' Men who worked with their hands were unlikely to suffer from disorders of the mind. Thomas Trotter's *View of the Nervous Temperament* of 1812 noted that 'I do not find that the pitmen in the coal-mines in this district are liable to any particular diseases; when temperate in drinking, they commonly live to a great age.'

In most of the contemporary commentary, women were excluded from the benefits of the solitary state. The early eighteenth-century poet Mary Chudleigh regarded it as a 'masculine pleasure' for which Cason 'Solitude ought never to be our Choice, an active Life including Hist much greater Perfection.' There was a possibility of withdrawal 'our Studies, in our Gardens, and in the silent lonely Retirement to a shady Grove', but 'none can be thus happy in Solitude, unless we have an inward Purity of Mind, their Desires contracted, and Passions absolutely under the Government of their Reason'. This Zimmermann thought displays of virtues highly unlikely amongst men. Either they were simply too busy managing the affairs of the wily ever to have the opportunity to enjoy their own company, or their particular exposure to the imaginative faculty rendered them incapable of withstanding its destructive effects. 'Solitude is still more prolific of visionary insanity in the minds of women,' he observed, 'than In those of men; since the imaginations of the latter are in general less governed by an irritable sensibility and more restrained by stability of Judgment.'

People with time to spare were held to require a certain level of education to make use of their leisure. The seventeenth-century poet Abraham Cowley observed in his essay 'Of Solitude' that he 'cannot much recommend Solitude to a man totally illiterate'. Those encountering what he termed 'the little intervals of accidental Solitude, which frequently occur in almost all conditions (except the very meanest of the people, who have business enough in the necessary provisions of We, needed access to books or some form of 'Ingenious Art' to fill the empty hours.' It is possible to argue, however, that solitude has both an upper-case and a lower-case existence. There is an intertextual literary tradition, reviewed in Zimmermann's treatise and revisited in prose and poetry throughout the modern period. And there is a tradition of commonplace practices which have been and remain of critical importance to men and women of every level of society and education as they seek to balance their lives and find space for themselves amidst the demands of company.

Cowley's 'little intervals of accidental Solitude' were not the exclusive preserve of the privileged, whether male or female. For most of the population at the turn of the nineteenth century, even in urbanizing England, many of such opportunities as existed were to be found in the rural economy. In 1800, the labourer poet Robert Bloomfield wrote in *The Farmer's Boy* of the young lad tending a field of growing wheat and in the course of his daily labour enjoying 'his frequent intervals of lonely ease. . . . Whence solitude derives peculiar charms'. As Chapters 3 and 5 will explore, there were times in the working day when the demands of labour could be suspended, the more so before the imposition of factory-based time discipline. In the home there were again moments of escape, their incidence varying according to the numbers and ages of children. The density of company varied

over the course of the day as men went out to labour and increasingly children left for school. And always, particularly but not only in rural areas, there were the gardens, lanes, and fields beyond the front door where it was possible for fleeting periods to be alone with yourself.'

Upper- and lower-case categories of solitude have to be seen in relation to each other. There needs to be a focus on the exchange between the literary discourse and everyday attitudes and practices. In his classic study of the related subject of the pastoral ideal in American life, Leo Marx argues that 'to appreciate the significance and power of our American fables it is necessary to understand the interplay between the literary imagination and what happens outside literature, in the general culture'. Over the period from 1800, there were a series of fierce debates on topics, for instance, such as solitary confinement, which will be examined in Chapter 4, where there was complex movement between high-level theoretical arguments, some of which went back to the monastic tradition with which Zimmermann was so preoccupied, the actual and perceived experiences of common criminals. By the measure, as Chapter 7 argues, it is impossible to understand the emergence of the pathology of loneliness in a range of sociological, and medical studies unless a clear view is kept of the basic demography, household structure and standards of living the nineteenth century onwards. More generally, successive information revolutions, from the Penny Post to the internet, profoundly the sense of what solitude was and might be as a communicative the same time, lower-case solitude remains a neglected topic in right. From Robert Bloomfield to our own era, opportunities withdrawal from company have been sought and enjoyed. In *Solitude: A Philosophical Encounter*, Philip Koch writes that, 'One of most fervently celebrated virtues of solitude is its ability to provide place of refuge from the beleaguered toils of social life.' These may the form of extended leaves of absence from daily rituals, but more they are borrowed moments from pressured lives. For most of most of the time, solitude has been a snatched experience in contexts where company and its absence are equal and open to possibilities. This will be the central concern of Chapter 3 nineteenth century, and Chapter 5 on the twentieth and early centuries. Whilst the latter-day advocates of monasticism term retreats who will be discussed in Chapter 6 sometimes the practices as a form of spiritual base-jumping, risking sanity in high-risk encounter with prolonged silence and self-examination, A general pattern has been to embrace solitude simply as a form relaxation from work and family. In the words of Diana Senechal's 'It's public of Noise, 'Solitude contains great leisure. To be in solitude is to even momentarily, from meeting the demands of others.' I 'here is a need for what might be termed a quiet history of British society. Too little attention has been paid to the intermittently organized, often silent, re-creative practices that have been and remain a vital pounce in the lives of most men and women in the modern world. Ira Cohen's *Solitary Action: Acting on Our Own in Everyday Life* catalogues the 'numerous . . . public sites where we find people engaged in solitary negativities', together with 'our homes, where at various times of the day individuals find themselves alone or claim zones of solitude in order to do some housework or homework or recreate by themselves', and observes that 'this hitherto half-hidden realm of human behaviour' is 'a suitable subject for sociological enquiry'.¹⁰ What is true of the present applies also to the past. Social historians, like social scientists more generally, have tended to focus on communal, noisy forms of activity. This is partly from a desire to emphasize the complexity of interactions at all levels of society and not just amongst the educated and privileged. It is partly from a sense that collective practices have been the locus of historical change. And it is also a matter of evidence. Bloomfield's farm boy enjoying his 'frequent intervals of lonely ease' left no mark on the public record, neither did the weary housewife stepping outside the house for a few moments of private peace. Even where historians have stooped to consider the pastimes of the common people, the tendency has been to concentrate on rough sports and commercialized mass entertainment which one way or another generated a trail of commentary and paperwork.'

There are, however, a number of historical sources which between them permit the creation of at least a patchwork quiet history. A fertile archive was generated by the continual expansion of

networked solitude. As we shall see in the next two chapters, from the beginning of the period covered by this study, solitary pastimes called forth a literature of periodicals and monographs which serviced isolated practices. A year after Zimmermann's treatise first appeared in English, *The Sporting Magazine* began publication, carrying, amongst much else, information on long-distance solo walking against the clock, a popular constituent of the vibrant gambling culture of the era." From the late eighteenth century through to the present day, the energetic and responsive publishing industry produced material on a proliferating range of private pastimes. Alongside these there were monographs on the most salient quiet recreations, such as fishing and gardening, although these infrequently addressed the breadth of popular participation. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century, practitioners of all kinds of unseen hobbies, from embroidery to stamp collecting, began to form themselves into associations which created their own archives and publications. During the more recent past, oral histories and social surveys have extended their scope to examine the quotidian lives of the mass of the population. Finally there are the commentators from within the everyday world in the form of memoirs and imaginative literature. A champion of Robert Bloomfield was John Clare, one of the very few writers of his own or any subsequent period capable of engaging with both upper- and lower-case solitude, and his poetry and prose will form the point of departure for the next chapter.

In Zimmermann's critical universe, solitude, for good or ill, was piously practised by only a small minority of the population.

The Tally Ho Stakes

the posthumous life of *Solitude Considered* travelled far from its origin, 'Zimmerman on Solitude' became a cultural object in its own right, largely independent of the full text. During the course of the nineteenth century, it was treated as a shorthand for an uncritical indorsement of the subject. A young man or woman seeking to be considered serious and soulful would like to be seen with a copy as I they walked in the countryside or found space for quiet reading at with wine. As with other literary successes, it enjoyed an existence in diverse recreational forms, including, in this case, horse racing. In March 1845, Mr. Wesley's three-year-old 'Solitude by Zimmerman' was entered for the Tally-Ho Stakes at the Northampton and Pytchley Hunt. It set off at a great pace, but at the first turn the horse bolted, leaving its rival, D'Egville', to build up a lead of three hundred yards. Eventually the rider regained control of his steed. The newspaper report concluded: 'Solitude, however, made up for lost time on coming up the flat, and was only beaten by about three lengths.' <>

PRESOCRATICS AND PAPYROLOGICAL TRADITION: A PHILOSOPHICAL REAPPRAISAL OF THE SOURCES edited by Christian Vassallo [Proceedings of the International Workshop held at the University of Trier (22-24 September 2016), de Gruyter, 978-3110663211]

The papyri transmit a part of the testimonia relevant to pre-Socratic philosophy. The 'Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici' takes this material only partly into account. In this volume, a team of specialists discusses some of the most important papyrological texts that are major instruments for reconstructing pre-Socratic philosophy and doxography. Furthermore, these texts help to increase our knowledge of how pre-Socratic thought – through contributions to physics, cosmology, ethics, ontology, theology, anthropology, hermeneutics, and aesthetics – paved the way for the canonic scientific fields of European culture. More specifically, each paper tackles (published and unpublished) papyrological texts concerning the Orphics, the Milesians, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, the early Atomists, and the Sophists. For the first time in the field of pre-Socratics studies, several

papers are devoted to the Herculanean sources, along with others concerning the Graeco-Egyptian papyri and the Derveni Papyrus.

Discovery of new pre-Socratic testimonia and new edition of those already known. Sound philological and philosophical readings of old and new texts on the pre-Socratic tradition. Completion of the existing collection of pre-Socratic testimonia.

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The Presocratics from Derveni to Herculaneum: A New Look at Early Greek Philosophy

Tardi ingenii est rivulos consecrari, fontes rerum non videre (Cic. De or. 2.27.117). This quotation, which Hermann Diels chose as the epigraph of his renowned *Doxographi Graeci*, best sums up the aim of the International Workshop Presocratics and Papyrological Tradition / Vorsokratiker and papyrologische Überlieferung held at the University of Trier on 22-24 September, 2016. On that occasion a team of specialists' discussed some of the most famous papyrological texts, with special regard to the problems of interpreting and editing the testimonia of Presocratic philosophy. These texts hand down important pieces of evidence concerning not only the life and works of the Presocratics, but also their thought and reception in the history of ancient philosophy. Furthermore, they help to increase our knowledge of how Presocratic philosophy — through contributions to physics, cosmology, ethics, ontology, theology, anthropology, hermeneutics, and 'aesthetics' (especially poetry and music) — paved the way for the canonic scientific fields of European culture. In accordance with the aim of the conference, the papers tackled published and partly unpublished papyrological texts and, for the first time in the field of Presocratic studies, also consistently dealt with the Herculanean sources, including the Graeco-Egyptian rolls and the Derveni Papyrus. The present volume gathers the proceedings of this International Workshop and contains various contributions (both by the speakers and by some of the participants in the discussion) encompassing the entire history of Presocratic philosophy and its reception in antiquity, and dealing with several topics in early Greek thought from the Orphics to the Sophists.' In doing so, the work conventionally accepts the wider meaning of the word Presocratics' adopted by Diels, whilst bearing in mind both the advantages and the downsides of this by now classical (and almost irreplaceable) label.

The volume is divided into eight sections. Section I deals with Orpheus and the Orphic tradition. The first contribution by Alberto Bernabe and Ana I. Jimenez San Cristobal (Two Aspects of the Orphic Papyrological Tradition: PGurob I, and the Greek Magic Rolls) is devoted to PGurob I and the Greek Magic Rolls. Gurob Papyrus I (3rd cent. BC) is an important document relevant to the study of Orphism that describes a series of ritualistic provisions, including discursive sections in which ritual actions are emphasized, as well as the words that must be pronounced in the ritual. The paper examines in detail the features of the ritual (6pthuEva and Xsybusva) and points out that they are found all together only in the Orphic tradition. Therefore, according to the authors we must stop saying that the Gurob Papyrus is an eclectic Eleusinian, Orphic, and Dionysian document, because it reflects a genuine, unadulterated Orphic ritual.

Furthermore, Orphism's connection with the magical papyrus is established in the paper in three ways: a) a Greek magical papyrus where Bernabe and Jimenez San Cristobal read: b) a well-known formula, the so-called Ephesia Grammata, and c) the epodai in lead inscriptions from Crete and the South of Italy.

In the same section, two interesting papers open the debate on the Derveni Papyrus, which continues with other contributions in the volume and deals with several philosophical aspects of this intriguing text. David N. Sedley (The Opening Lemmas of the Derveni Papyrus) maintains that from col. VII down to its ending in col. XXVI, the Derveni Papyrus is a cosmogonic commentary on an Orphic hymn. He argues that cols. I-VI are not, as has been assumed until now, a separate disquisition, but the opening part of the same commentary, addressing a now-lost initial lemma in which the Eumenides were invoked. Starting from this hypothesis, the scholar seeks to identify the first five lemmas of the commentary, with the help of revised texts and interpretations of cols. I, IV, and VII of the papyrus.

Richard D. McKirahan (Some Controversial Topics in the Derveni Cosmology) examines in depth the cosmological aspects of the Derveni text. In particular, the paper addresses, in light of recent discussions, five controversial issues important for understanding the cosmology of the Derveni Papyrus, by attempting to answer the following questions: a) When did the sun first come into being? b) Where does night fit into the cosmogony? c) What is the meaning of *kruxparEM*? d) In what sense are all things called Zeus? and e) Will the cosmos last forever?

This outline of the papyrological tradition of the earliest Greek philosophy is completed by Marco A. Santamarla (Pherecydes of Syros in the Papyrological Tradition). His contribution tackles the longest fragment from Pherecydes of Syros' lost book, which comes from an Oxyrhynchus papyrus published by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt in 1897 (PGrenf. II 11 = fr. 68 Schibli). Two passages mentioning the author in two Herculaneum papyri must be added to this fragment: Phld. De piet., PHerc. 247, col. 6a (sin. pars).6-22 Henrichs and [Phld.] [Hist. philosoph.?], PHerc. 1788, col. 1 Vassallo, both of which are accurately examined by the scholar.

Section 2 of the volume analyzes some topical aspects of the papyrological tradition of Pythagoreanism (and beyond). Leonid Zhmud (The Papyrological Tradition on Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans) provides a very useful overview of the papyrological evidence for Pythagoras and (to a lesser extent) the Pythagoreans, which is collected in the CPF and now in the IPPH.' The scholar shows how some of this scattered evidence can be coherently brought together and provides clues as to the history of Pythagoreanism, while also pointing to other evidence that is worthy of fresh consideration. Practically all the testimonia of the Herculaneum papyri come from Philodemus' writings; they concern Pythagoras, not the Pythagoreans, and are of a biographical more than doxographical character. Philodemus' evidence reflects the early Hellenistic stage of the Pythagorean tradition, before the rise of Neopythagoreanism and the pseudo-Pythagorean literature related to it. Later evidence reveals a new perspective on Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans as the philosophical precursors of Plato.

Kilian J. Fleischer (Philolaus' Books] in Philodemus' Index Academicorum) discusses a familiar piece of information concerning Philolaus in the light of a new Herculanean testimonium. Diogenes Laertius (8.85) reports that Philolaus sold Pythagoras' unpublished books to Plato and, as told in a kind of alternative version, that Philolaus' relatives sold his book to Plato. In each version a huge amount of money is mentioned. Rather recently a passage of Philodemus' History of the Academy (PHerc. 1691, col. 2) was discovered that seems to deal with the purchase of Pythagorean books through Plato and the history of their editions. Fleischer demonstrates how a reappraisal of the passage might shed some new light on its credibility and on the details of the transaction. In particular, the question is discussed of exactly which books were given to Plato and whether the whole episode should be regarded as more than a mere anecdote.

Going beyond Pythagoreanism, Aldo Brancacci (Music and Philosophy in Damon of Oa) tries to reconstruct the figure of Damon, the renowned musicologist admired by Plato and Diogenes of Babylon and indirectly criticized by Philodemus. The paper aims: a) to re-evaluate the traditional link between Damon and the Pythagoric tradition, without considering Damon as a Pythagorean; b) to criticize the thesis, which Andrew Barker and Robert W. Wallace endorse, according to which Damon is a Sophist; c) to assign Damon a specific cultural context, which makes him a major figure of Pericles' circle within a historical period that precedes the theoretical distinction between 'philosopher' and 'sophist' and also the birth of Sophistic as an autonomous philosophical movement; d) to argue in favour of the authenticity of Damon's Areopagiticus, whose existence Wallace has recently denied, without adducing any convincing evidence; e) to examine some Herculanean testimonia of Philodemus' On Music, which stands out as a very important text that helps better illustrate the cultural objectives that Damon assigns music and, consequently, the nature of his collaboration with Pericles.

Heraclitus is the specific focus of Section 3. Gabor Betegh and Valeria Piano (Column IV of the Derveni Papyrus: A New Analysis of the Text and the Quotation of Heraclitus) offer a novel analysis and interpretation of PDerv., col. IV based on the new papyrological and textual results that have emerged from Piano's recent edition of the first columns.' The focal point of the paper is the Heraclitus quotation, for which the two scholars propose a novel assessment by suggesting a new place for a hitherto unlocated fragment of the papyrus. The discussion of the Heraclitus quotation itself is preceded by a close textual analysis and interpretation of the first lines of the column. A re-examination of the Derveni author's reasons for including a reference to Heraclitus at this point in his text offers some new suggestions about the role of the quotation within the general economy of the Derveni author's argument. In this regard, the problem of the differences between the version preserved in the Derveni Papyrus and the versions transmitted through the medieval traditions of Heraclitus' fragments B 3 and B 94 is also taken into account. The paper puts forward some new considerations concerning the question of whether the Derveni author was paraphrasing Heraclitus or quoting him verbatim, and, if the latter, of what the extent of the quotation could be. A closely related question that is addressed is whether B 3 and B 94 were originally joined in Heraclitus' text or whether they were put side by side by the Derveni author exclusively on the basis of their content. The paper concludes with some more general remarks about the way in which the new text of col. IV contributes to a better understanding of Heraclitus and of the methods as well as the philosophical and religious views of the Derveni author.

Further aspects of the papyrological tradition of Heraclitus are tackled by Graziano Ranocchia (Heraclitus' Portrait in Diogenes Laertius and Philodemus' on Arrogance), who begins by focusing on the core of the Life of Heraclitus handed down by Diogenes Laertius. As we know, this passage is a biographical-characterological portrait in which the haughtiness and the superciliousness attributed to this philosopher are ridiculed for openly satirical and polemical purposes. In the past, substantial analogies have been detected with the protreptic letter On the Relieving of Arrogance, amply quoted and par. (phased by Philodemus in the final section of PHerc. 1008 On Arrogance], 10-24). Significantly, at the beginning of the letter (col. 10.16-26 Ranocchia) Heraclitus is pointedly included, along with other philosophers and poets, amongst those who became arrogant "on account of philosophy." It is now possible to add further thematic correspondences between these writings to the Initiaries first identified by Wilhelm Knögel and Serge N. Mouraviev, which, I suggest that both texts originally belonged to the same philosophical tradition, whose goal was to describe and treat arrogance. This tradition could have encompassed a general illustration both of the vice and its treatment, as well as specific examples in the form of lively sport 'arrogant' philosophers and poets, such as Heraclitus, Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Ictinias, and Euripides.

Section 4 on Empedocles covers a wide range of problems and sources, beginning once again with the Derveni Papyrus. Mirjam E. Kotwick (Aphrodite's Cosmic Power: Empedocles in the Derveni Papyrus) argues, against the trend in studies on the presence of the Presocratics in this text, that the Derveni author indeed took inspiration from Empedocles' physical theory. The paper defends this view with an analysis of how both authors explain the combination of heterogeneous particles during the early cosmogonic stages. It argues that the parallels between their accounts are pronounced and that, for the Derveni author, Empedocles' view on Aphrodite's power to unify was as promising as Anaxagoras' view on the unification of unlike particles was insufficient.

The paper of Simon Trepanier (Empedocles on the Origin of Plants: PStrasb. gr. inv. 1665-1666, Sections d, b and f) focused on the renowned 'Strasbourg Empedocles,' which contains the fragments of 74 lines belonging to Book(s) 1 (and 2) of Empedocles' philosophical poem On Nature. The paper seeks to improve the text of section d, 11.11-19 of PStrasb. gr. inv. 1665-1666. In particular, the scholar tests the reconstruction advanced by Richard Janko, who proposes attributing sections f and b to the same column as section d and argues that all three sections are from col. 12 of the ancient roll. Several new suggestions are offered to improve the text and thereby support Janko's

reconstruction of the column. Trepanier departs from Janko primarily in arguing that the unity of I I. d I I-18 plus sections b and f can be proven more easily if we assume that the passage is a description of the origins of plants alone, not of animals or of living things in general. This, in turn, provides a new reason for thinking that section b, a catalogue of animals (but not plants) with the 'hard/earthy parts' on the outside, belongs to the bottom of the same column as section d. The catalogue — Trepanier argues — is offered to support an analogy in which the elemental structure of trees, with hard/earthy bark on the outside, is likened to those animals who are hard/earthy on the outside.

The essay of Giuliana Leone (*Empedocles in the Herculaneum Papyri: An Update*) is entirely devoted to the Herculanean tradition of Empedocles, a topic that has been rarely tackled by the scholarship. With the exception of the Strasbourg Papyrus, all the papyri concerning Empedocles generally preserve either short quotations or references to his thought. In particular, the Herculaneum papyri transmit Epicurus', Hermarchus', and Philodemus' reception of Empedocles, and in PHerc. 1012, which contains a work attributed to Demetrius, we find also hind quotations from Empedocles' poem that are useful for the lira it it ion of its text. Leone provides an important and updated study of these also in the light of some recent research in Epicureanism and of new editions of Herculanean texts.

Section 5 of the volume focuses on the papyrological tradition of Anaxagoras and I I I., School. Christian Vassallo's paper (*Anaxagoras from Egypt to Herculaneum: A Contribution to the History of Ancient 'Atheism'*) comes with a foreword by David Sider, who is preparing a new comprehensive collection of Anaxagoras for the series *Traditio Praesocratica*. Vassallo offers dre first systematic collection of all the papyrus evidence for Anaxagoras preceived in both Graeco-Egyptian and Herculaneum papyri, ordering them in six editions according to their content (Anaxagoras' life and works; the charge of impiety; physics; theology; ethics; along with two testimonia considered spurious or dubious). The essay deals in particular with the testimonia that offers a better understanding of Anaxagoras' conception of god(s) and elucidate certain questions concerning his alleged 'atheism,' along with the reasons for the charge of impiety levelled against him. The image of Anaxagoras as an 'atheist,' in addition to the 'Enlightenment' features of his thought, seems to be the outcome of a stratified doxographical tradition that the papyri significantly hetp to reconstruct.

As regards the Anaxagoreans,' Michael Pozdnev (*Metrodorus the Allegorist as Reflected in Philodemus' On Poems, Book 2: PHerc. 1676, col. 2 + N 1081, col. 12 I= 61 A 4 DK; Test. 34.3 Lanata*) analyzes in depth a Philodemean fragment that preserves some remarkable examples of an allegorical Homeric exegesis attributed by the supplementary sources to Metrodorus of Lampsacus (the elder). Pozdnev firstly attempts to argue that this testimonium is not incompatible with the already known reflections advanced by Metrodorus and to illustrate the new doctrines that emerge from the fragment; secondly, he comments on the method of this Homeric scholar and, finally, seeks to uncover his goals. These aims are achieved by outlining the results obtained so far by those very few researchers who have tried to make sense of the seemingly absurd interpretations contrived by the famous critic. It becomes clear that in his reduction of myths to physical conceptions — mostly those attested for Anaxagoras — Metrodorus proceeds from particular Homeric contexts that contain semantic 'hints' that suggest specific allegorical readings. The relevant scenes were largely those open to moral censure. In full accordance with the spiritual requirements of his day, Metrodorus aimed to protect the heroes and gods of epic poetry (probably not only Homeric) against the charge of inappropriate behavior.

In Section 6, a significant portion of the numerous testimonia to the Early Atomists in the papyri are taken into account. A study on some Herculanean sources in this field is carried out by Enrico Piergiacomì (*Democritus' Doctrine of Eidola in the Herculaneum Papyri: A Reassessment of the Sources*). The paper analyzes in depth four texts from the Herculaneum papyri (Epic. De nat. 2,

PHerc. 1149/993, col. 109 Leone and De nat. 34, PHerc. 1431, cols. 20-21 Leone; Phld. De piet., PHerc. 1428, fr. 16 Schober and De mort. 4, PHerc. 1050, cols. 29-30 Henry), which may implicitly report some philosophical tenets of the Democritean theory. It also challenges the reconstruction and the interpretation of a text recently edited by Richard Janko (Phld. De poem. 4, PHerc. 207, fr. 10), in which the scholar sees a clear, but in reality weak, reference to the simulacra of Democritus. Based on this analysis, Piergiacomini contends that the Herculanean texts contribute the following information or clarifications to our knowledge of Democritean theory: a) the simulacra are living beings, because they have some soul-atoms that are positioned and ordered in a way capable of generating life; b) some simulacra cause what the ancient Hippocratic practitioners called the 'pulse,' i.e. a violent, unnatural, and disturbing movement of the vessels, which is partly detached from the influence of the external environment, and partly dependent on us and our beliefs; c) the simulacra which determine the birth of the belief in the gods had their origins in the heavens; d) the simulacra of corpses transmit forms and colours that create an intense fear of death.

The Section on the early Atomists is brought to a close by Tiziano Dorandi (Anaxarchus from Egypt to Herculaneum), who dwells on the papyrological tradition of the Democritean Anaxarchus of Abdera (c. 380-320 BC). Of this philosopher we have only three papyrological testimonia: a) PMich. inv. 4912a (= fr. 41 Dorandi), which speaks about the bold and scornful bearing displayed by Anaxarchus before the tyrant Nicocreon; b) Phld. De mort. 4, PHerc. 1050, col. 35.11-34 Henry (= fr. 33 Dorandi), where Anaxarchus is mentioned, along with Zeno of Elea and Socrates, among those who, while not wise, behaved virtuously in the face of an unjust sentence; c) Phld. De adulat., PHerc. 1675, cols. 4.34-5.9 Capasso (= fr. 19A Dorandi), a passage that deals with the flattery shown by Anaxarchus towards Alexander the Great.

The Section of the volume on the Sophists tackles only one aspect of a topic the papyrological tradition of the exponents of the Sophistic movement - that has been in need of a complete reassessment for years. For an overview, see the CPF and, with regard to the Herculanean sources, the IPPH.¹ However, many papyri are involved in such a task: we need only consider the fact that in the forthcoming volumes of the CIP devoted to the unattributed fragments (Adespota), about 3% of the texts are considered to belong to a Sophist. Not back to a Sophistic philosophical area. In his paper, Andrei Lebedev on the Authorship of the Derveni Papyrus, A Sophistic Treatise on the Origin of Language: A Case for Prodicus of Ceos attempts to draw an 'intellectual light' of the Derveni author. In particular, he argues that the author to realise (meaning the complete original text) was an Ionian Sophist and not a Presocratic philosopher in the sense of a play. His work was not a special commentary dedicated to the Orphic theogony. In a work on the origins of religion and divine names, i.e. one belonging to the Sophistic Kulturgeschichte. According to this perspective, which is also favoured by Albert Henrichs and Richard Janko (among others),² Lebedev maintains that the work at hand may well have been perceived as 'atheistic' in its own pose since it literally dissolved the Olympian gods into the air. The author was not a religious Orphic himself; on the contrary, his work was polemically addressed to contemporary religious conservatives like Diopeithes, who venerated Orpheus as an ancient theologian teaching a creationist cosmogony and tried to ban the teachings of Ionian natural science and Anaxagorean astronomy in Athens. In the second part of his essay, Lebedev argues that the author of the Derveni treatise was in all probability Prodicus of Ceos, whose nickname Tantalus (i.e. 'enemy of the gods') was an allusion to his supposed 'atheism'.³ There is a neglected piece of evidence in Themistius that describes how Prodicus produced an allegorical interpretation of the Orphic theogony and outlines Prodicus' theory of the origin of religion (as the deification of what is useful) that is directly attested in PDerv., col. XXIV. For the first time, this attribution explains the reference to Prodicus in the context of Aristophanes' parody of quasi-Orphic cosmogony in the Birds: Prodicus reduced Orphic theogony to Anaxagorean physics, so Aristophanes ridicules Prodicus (and not Orpheus!) and humorously aims to surpass Prodicus in absurdity by reducing theogony to ornithogony. At the end of the paper,

Lebedev proposes that we date the Derveni treatise to the decade 430-420 BC and discusses the possibility that col. V contains another extensive quotation from Heraclitus.

The close relationship between the papyrological tradition and doxographical questions is finally studied in depth in Jaap Mansfeld's essay (Lists of Principles and Lists of Gods: Philodemus, Cicero, Aetius, and Others), with a brilliant approach already employed by the scholar in his monumental work *Aetiana*, which he has been editing with David Th. Runia for several years now. In this paper the Epicurean accounts and overviews of the doxai of philosophers (and poets) concerning gods in the remains of Philodemus' *On Piety* and in Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods*, Book I are compared in chapters I.7 (Who the Deity is) and I.3 (On Principles, what they are) of the *Aetian Placita*, as well as in some other texts (Clement of Alexandria and Sextus Empiricus). The purpose of this search for affinities is to place these passages within a wider context. What we are dealing with here is not only the fundamental problem of the relationship between Cicero and Philodemus (viz. the *Herculaneum papyri* that hand down his works, in particular *On Piety*), but also the philosophical problem of *hylotheism*. A few remarks on passages dealing with Presocratic philosophers are included.

Now that I have outlined the rich variety of this volume, I would like to stress again my gratitude to those who have contributed to its completion. Special thanks go to the Schwarz-Liebermann Stiftung im Stifterverband flit. die Deutsche Wissenschaft and to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), for having funded both the International Workshop mentioned above and the present publication of its proceedings. I am extremely grateful to the editors of the *Studia Praesocratica* — Richard McKirahan, Denis O'Brien, Oliver Primavesi, Christoph Riedweg, David Sider, Gotthard Strohmaier, and Georg Wehrle — for accepting to publish the volume in this prestigious series. The book is intended to be the first collection of studies specifically devoted to a multidisciplinary and very fruitful topic in Classics. There is good reason to believe that this subject will not fail to amaze in the next years, both because of reinterpretations of already known texts, and for the probable discovery of new texts that will open up innovative perspectives on Presocratic philosophy and its reception in antiquity.' Finally, I wish to highlight that — as its subtitle suggests (*A Philosophical Reappraisal of the Sources*) — the purpose of this volume is eminently philosophical. It is addressed above all to historians of this is not philology, even though both papyrologists and Classical philologists will grist for thought in its pages. On the methodological level, the tiling back to their specific field of study (viz. philosophy and its purposes are opposed to papyrology in the strict sense) numerous and relevant,. It usually neglected by the majority of scholars of Presocratic tradition, owing to the prejudice according to which papyroli are the exclusive competence of papyrologists. It is not my task to examine for the (historical and academic) reasons for this prejudice, which —amounts to a methodological, or even 'ideological' error!

This study offers results of this (first) systematic attempt to make philosophical papyrology a crucial component of the history of ancient philosophy, and in history of Presocratic thought, will prove a welcome one that will mark new view in the scholarship in coming years. <>

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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE ADVANCEMENT OF CIVILISATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD (3 Volume Series) by Brian Hodgkinson [Shepherd-Walwyn Ltd, 9788184541922]

Ancient tradition challenges the view that mankind is ever progressing from ape-like origins towards an apotheosis of humanity. The study of history tends to confirm the contrary thesis of a gradual descent from a golden age to an age of iron. Yet throughout history there have arisen societies that rise above decline to exhibit the characteristics of a high civilisation, where knowledge and art flourish and inspire later generations. **THE ADVANCEMENT OF CIVILISATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD** seeks to portray these exemplary times of human genius, whilst showing them against the background of oft-recurring times of darkness. <>

The Advancement of Civilisation in the Western World Volume 1: Egypt, Greece & Rome by Brian Hodgkinson [Shephard-Walwyn Ltd, SBN: 9788184541939]

The general plan of the book traces the rise of three civilisations. The account of Egyptian civilisation seeks to outline some of the chief features that enabled it to survive with remarkably little variation for almost three thousand years. Graeco-Roman civilisation, from its obscure beginning in the world of Homer to its collapse in the fifth century AD, revealed much greater diversity, whilst its final centuries are seen as simultaneous with the rise of the third civilisation, in which we still live, that of Christianity. Every civilisation contains a philosophy, a way of life, that touches the very depths of human experience. Such was the teaching of Hermes Trismegistus in Egypt, of the early philosophers of Greece and of Jesus Christ in Israel. <>

The Advancement of Civilisation in the Western World Volume 2: The Medieval World by Brian Hodgkinson [Shephard-Walwyn Publishers, 9788184541946]

The Middle Ages saw the flowering of a Christian civilisation that had its source in the life and teaching of Christ, but took centuries to become established in the form of a new culture. Chief amongst the characteristics of the Middle Ages was the quality of devotion. Inspired by the example of Christ, such men as Benedict, Gregory, Alcuin, Erigena, Anselm and Francis of Assisi offered unique models of Christian virtue that could be emulated by men and women from emperors and kings to monks and peasants. Devotion found expression in many forms: in love for Christ and the Church, in creating astonishingly beautiful art exemplified by the great cathedrals, and in men of action like those who became soldiers of Christ in the crusades. Three times a cultural renaissance of thought, religion and social and economic principles renewed its authority over all levels of society, despite endemic poverty, disease and warfare. <>

The Advancement of Civilisation in the Western World Volume 3: The Modern World by Brian Hodgkinson [Shephard-Walwyn Publishers, 9788184541953]

In the beginning of the Modern Age, in the Florence of Marsilio Ficino, the finest minds were sufficiently enquiring and creative to produce great art and literature and the development of scientific ideas free from perversion into destructive and trivial ends. Slowly the natural deterioration of men and institutions, however, has wrought declining standards of conduct and government. For the modern age has seen land enclosure, industrial revolution, extremes of wealth and destitution, nationalism and political revolution. Yet once again great qualities have emerged within individuals: in recent times the compassion of Florence Nightingale, the genius of Van Gogh and Einstein, and valiant leaders like Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill. So this book continues the study of charismatic individuals as beacons of light within a declining civilisation. <>

A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth edited by Joshua Byron Smith and Georgia Henley [Brill's Companions to European History, Brill, 978900440528-8] [Digital Open Source](#)

A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth brings together scholars from a range of disciplines to provide an updated scholarly introduction to all aspects of his work. Arguably the most influential secular writer of medieval Britain, Geoffrey (d. 1154) popularized Arthurian literature and left an indelible mark on European romance, history, and genealogy. Despite this outsized influence,

Geoffrey's own life, background, and motivations are little understood. The volume situates his life and works within their immediate historical context, and frames them within current critical discussion across the humanities. By necessity, this volume concentrates primarily on Geoffrey's own life and times, with the reception of his works covered by a series of short encyclopaedic overviews, organized by language, that serve as guides to further reading. <>

Deep River by Shusaku Endo Translated By Van C. Gessel [New Directions, 9780811212892]

Thirty years lie between the leading contemporary Japanese writer Shusaku Endo's justly famed *Silence* and his powerful new novel **Deep River**, a book which is both a summation and a pinnacle of his work.

The river is the Ganges, where a group of Japanese tourists converge: Isobe, grieving the death of the wife he ignored in life; Kiguchi, haunted by wartime memories of the Highway of Death in Burma; Numanda, recovering from a critical illness; Mitsuko, a cynical woman struggling with inner emptiness; and butt of her cruel interest, Otsu, a failed seminarian for whom the figure on the cross is a god of many faces. Bringing these and other characters to vibrant life and evoking a teeming India so vividly that the reader is almost transported there, Endo reaches his ultimate religious vision, one that combines Christian faith with Buddhist acceptance. <>

Navigating Deep River: New Perspectives on Shusaku Endo's Final Novel edited by Mark W. Dennis and Darren J. N. Middleton [SUNY Press, 9781438477978]

An interdisciplinary dialogue with Shūsaku Endō's last novel offering new perspectives on Japanese culture, Christian doctrine, Hindu spiritualities, and Buddhist worldviews.

In **Navigating Deep River**, Mark W. Dennis and Darren J. N. Middleton have curated a wide-ranging discussion of Shūsaku Endō's final novel, **DEEP RIVER**, in which four careworn Japanese tourists journey to India's holy Ganges in search of spiritual as well as existential renewal. **Navigating Deep River** evaluates and probes Endō's decades-long search to find the words to explain Transcendent Mystery, the difficult tension between faith and doubt, the purpose of spiritual journeys, and the challenges posed by the reality of religious pluralism in an increasingly diverse world. The contributors, including Van C. Gessel who translated **DEEP RIVER** into English in 1994, offer an engaged and patient exploration of this major text in world fiction, and this anthology promises to deepen academic appreciation for Endō, within and beyond the West. <>

The Oxford Handbook of Karl Barth edited by Paul T. Nimmo and Paul Dafydd Jones [Oxford Handbooks, Oxford University Press, 9780199689781]

Karl Barth (1886-1968) is generally acknowledged to be the most important European Protestant theologian of the twentieth century, a figure whose importance for Christian thought compares with that of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, John Calvin, Martin Luther, and Friedrich Schleiermacher. Author of the *Epistle to the Romans*, the multi-volume *Church Dogmatics*, and a wide range of other works - theological, exegetical, historical, political, pastoral, and homiletic - Barth has had significant and perduring influence on the contemporary study of theology and on the life of contemporary churches. In the last few decades, his work has been at the centre of some of the most important interpretative, critical, and constructive developments in the fields of Christian theology, philosophy of religion, and religious studies.

The Oxford Handbook of Karl Barth is the most expansive guide to Barth's work published to date. Comprising over forty original chapters, each of which is written by an expert in the field, the Handbook provides rich analysis of Barth's life and context, advances penetrating interpretations of the key elements of his thought, and opens and charts new paths for critical and constructive

reflection. In the process, it seeks to illuminate the complex and challenging world of Barth's theology, to engage with it from multiple perspectives, and to communicate something of the joyful nature of theology as Barth conceived it. It will serve as an indispensable resource for undergraduates, postgraduates, academics, and general readers for years to come. <>

Searching Paul: Conversations With the Jewish Apostle to the Nations. Collected Essays by Kathy Ehrensperger [Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament, Mohr Siebeck, 9783161555015]

Firmly rooted in his ancestral Jewish traditions, Paul interacted with, and was involved in vivid communication primarily with non-Jews, who through Christ were associated with the one God of Israel. In the highly diverse cultural, linguistic, social, and political world of the Roman Empire, Paul's activities are seen as those of a cultural translator embedded in his own social and symbolic world and simultaneously conversant with the diverse, mainly Greek and Roman world, of the non-Jewish nations. In this role he negotiates the Jewish message of the Christ event into the particular everyday life of his addressees. Informed by socio-historical research, cultural studies, and gender studies Kathy Ehrensperger explores in her collection of essays aspects of this process based on the hermeneutical presupposition that the Pauline texts are rooted in the social particularities of everyday life of the people involved in the Christ-movement, and that his theologizing has to be understood from within this context. <>

Hysteria, Perversion, and Paranoia in The Canterbury Tales: "Wild" Analysis and the Symptomatic Storyteller by Becky Renee McLaughlin [Research in Medieval and Early Modern Culture, Western Michigan University Press 9781501518416]

Beginning with the spectacle of hysteria, moving through the perversions of fetishism, masochism, and sadism, and ending with paranoia and psychosis, this book explores the ways that conflicts with the Oedipal law erupt on the body and in language in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, for Chaucer's tales are rife with issues of mastery and control that emerge as conflicts not only between authority and experience but also between power and knowledge, word and flesh, rule books and reason, man and woman, same and other - conflicts that erupt in a macabre sprawl of broken bones, dismembered bodies, cut throats, and decapitations.

Like the macabre sprawl of conflict in the *Canterbury Tales*, this book brings together a number of conflicting modes of thinking and writing through the surprising and perhaps disconcerting use of "shadow" chapters that speak to or against the four "central" chapters, creating both dialogue and interruption. <>

A History of Solitude by David Vincent [Polity, 9781509536580]

Solitude has always had an ambivalent status: the capacity to enjoy being alone can make sociability bearable, but those predisposed to solitude are often viewed with suspicion or pity.

Drawing on a wide array of literary and historical sources, David Vincent explores how people have conducted themselves in the absence of company over the last three centuries. He argues that the ambivalent nature of solitude became a prominent concern in the modern era. For intellectuals in the romantic age, solitude gave respite to citizens living in ever more complex modern societies. But while the search for solitude was seen as a symptom of modern life, it was also viewed as a dangerous pathology: a perceived renunciation of the world, which could lead to psychological disorder and anti-social behaviour.

Vincent explores the successive attempts of religious authorities and political institutions to manage solitude, taking readers from the monastery to the prisoner's cell, and explains how western

society's increasing secularism, urbanization and prosperity led to the development of new solitary pastimes at the same time as it made traditional forms of solitary communion, with God and with a pristine nature, impossible. At the dawn of the digital age, solitude has taken on new meanings, as physical isolation and intense sociability have become possible as never before. With the advent of a so-called loneliness epidemic, a proper historical understanding of the natural human desire to disengage from the world is more important than ever. <>