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October 2023

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### Editorial Appraisals:

Some qualified reviewers offer their own brief evaluation of the book. Otherwise, most of our content represents the authors'-editors' own words as a preview to their approach to the subject, their style and point-of-view. <>

## LATE CLASSICAL CHINESE THOUGHT by Chris Fraser [The Oxford History of Philosophy, Oxford University Press, 9780198851066]

Chris Fraser presents a rich and broad-ranging study of the culminating period of classical Chinese philosophy, the third century BC. He offers novel and informative perspectives on Confucianism, Daoism, Mohism, Legalism, and other movements in early Chinese thought while also delving into neglected texts such as the *Guanzi*, *Lu's Annals*, and the *Zhuangzi* 'outer' chapters, restoring them to their prominent place in the history of philosophy.

Fraser organizes the history of Chinese thought topically, devoting separate chapters to metaphysics and metaethics, political philosophy, ethics, moral psychology, epistemology, and philosophy of language and logic. Focused specifically on the last century of the Warring States era, arguably the most vibrant, diverse period of philosophical discourse in Chinese history, the discussion covers the shared concerns, rival doctrines, and competing criticisms presented in third-century BC sources.

Fraser explicates the distinctive issues, conceptual frameworks, and background assumptions of classical Chinese thought. He aims to introduce the philosophical discourse of early China to a broad audience, including readers with no prior familiarity with the material. At the same time, the thematic treatment and incisive interpretations of individual texts will be of interest to students and specialists in the field.

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‘Having heard the Way in the morning, dying that evening would be acceptable.’ —

Analects 4:8

What is the Way by which to conduct our lives— personally, socially, and politically? Does nature provide us with a Way to follow, or is the proper Way something we must invent for ourselves? Does the Way lie in cultural mores, passed down through social traditions? Can it be articulated through fixed rules, or might it perhaps be indeterminate and continually changing?

These are among the questions that motivated philosophical reflection and discussion during China’s Warring States period (481–221 BC), when the foundational texts of the Chinese tradition of thought were written. Early Chinese thinkers approached questions about ethics, politics, psychology, knowledge, and language by thinking primarily in terms of ‘dào’—a way, path, method, or manner by which to proceed. What we think of as philosophical inquiry— critical, reflective questioning and examination of views about reality, values, knowledge, and thought— was framed largely as an activity of inquiring into and practising dào, the ‘Way’.

This book will explore views about dào and interrelated topics as presented in the philosophical discourse of roughly the last century of the Warring States. This was among the richest, most vibrant periods of intellectual activity in Chinese history. No orthodoxy dominated discourse; no single political authority ruled. Proponents of a ‘hundred schools of thought’ contended to win the attention of rulers, aristocrats, and the scholar- gentry and so shape the course of society. Study was seen as a path towards office and thus upward mobility, and so established teachers attracted large groups of students. Stories in sources such as the *Zhuāngzǐ*<sup>^</sup> suggest many people also shared a broad ethical interest in dào as a guide to living well. Rival thinkers debated views on ethics, moral psychology, political theory, language, knowledge, military affairs, and other matters amongst themselves and in the courts of aristocrats, who sponsored scholars and encouraged debate. The flourishing, wide- ranging discourse of the time

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presented issues, concepts, and frameworks that remained influential throughout the history of Chinese thought.

Despite the pivotal importance of third-century philosophical discourse, it is uncommon for a general study to focus on this relatively brief time slice. The history of Chinese philosophy is more typically approached by treating the classical or Warring States era as a single period and by working through a canonical list of great masters and texts, starting with Confucius and Mòzǐ<sup>^</sup> and usually including Mencius, La<sup>^</sup>ozǐ<sup>^</sup>, Zhuǎngzǐ<sup>^</sup>, Xúnzǐ<sup>^</sup>, and Hán Fēi. Many treatments emphasize the rivalry between schools of thought such as Confucianism, Mohism, Daoism, and Legalism. This widely taken approach has its merits. It is one reasonable way of imposing an orderly narrative structure on a wide-ranging, untidy body of literature. It can introduce major figures and texts effectively and highlight prominent themes and positions. A shortcoming, however, is that the canonical list of prominent figures and texts omits many other significant texts and lines of thought, especially from the third century b c, a time when philosophical discourse and debate flourished, attaining new levels of rigour and depth. It also may make it more difficult for readers to see how the views of different figures and texts relate to each other—how they may be responding to, extending, or critiquing each other's ideas.

The compilations of texts that provide our sources for Warring States thought are diverse collections of writings from different hands, working at different times, in some cases across decades or centuries. To fit this unwieldy body of material into the great master mould, traditional treatments must inevitably neglect some of the texts' content. Moreover, to organize the material into a manageable framework, scholars often set aside compilations that do not fit neatly into the masters narrative, such as much of the material in the Gua<sup>^</sup>nzǐ<sup>^</sup> and L<sup>^</sup>'s Annals, two collections of writings not regarded as presenting the ideas of specific great thinkers. Such treatments thus omit potentially informative views and simplify a complex discourse into a conversation between a small handful of selected voices. These remarks are observations, not

criticisms, since compromises of one kind or another seem unavoidable in handling such an extensive, diverse corpus of sources.

The present book adopts a fresh route into the subject and so aims to highlight material or perspectives that other treatments might neglect. This route has two distinctive features. The first, as just mentioned, is its comparatively narrow time frame. The discussion focuses on the period from roughly the high point of the Jìxià assembly of scholars in Qí (ca. 310) through Lì Bùwéi's sponsorship of visiting scholars in Qín (ca. 239) to roughly the Qín unification in 221 BC. (More detailed explanations of these dates and events follow below.)

One reason for focusing on this relatively brief, especially dynamic period is that it covers many intellectual high points. The most sophisticated theories in pre- Hàn discourse were probably developed during this time, including the later Mohist semantic, logical, and epistemological theories; Xúnzǐ's ethics, metaethics, epistemology, and semantics; the critique of prevailing ethical theories in the Zhuāngzǐ; and the Zhuāngzǐ's novel, skill- based approach to action. These and other ideas presented in third- century BC texts are the crowning achievements of Warring States thought. Devoting an entire volume to this period allows us to examine them in enough detail for readers to appreciate their depth and value.

Another reason for spotlighting this era is to devote due attention to the fascinating but relatively neglected ideas presented in the Guānzǐ, the Zhuāngzǐ 'outer' books, and Lì's Annals. Because many of these writings are not attributed to the canonical list of masters, they are seldom treated in detail. Yet much of their content is as rich and sophisticated as other texts that receive more attention. To accurately grasp the nature and content of Warring States philosophy, we need to restore these texts to their rightful, prominent place in the discussion.

Late Warring States discourse is characterized not merely by the sheer amount of philosophical activity but the extent to which different writings engage with rival doctrines, seeking to extend, refute, or supplant them. In focusing on this relatively brief period, the book also seeks to explore the interrelations between different



doctrinal outlooks more deeply than most previous studies. This aim underpins the book's second distinctive feature: the chapters are organized topically, rather than by figures or schools. The more common approach is for chapters to treat historical figures in chronological order— one each on Confucius, Mòzǐ<sup>^</sup>, Mencius, and so forth— or to each present one of several traditions of learning, such as Confucianism, Mohism, and Daoism. Here the discussion is instead divided into chapters on dào ('the way'), political thought, ethical theory, moral psychology, epistemology, and language and logic. Each chapter draws on a range of primary sources to present an overview of different themes, doctrines, and debates in a particular subject area within late classical discourse. The aim is to articulate the relations between different views and show how they fit together as a discourse about shared issues and concerns, driven both by the fundamental doctrinal outlooks of different texts and by their critical responses to each other.

The major sources for the book will thus be third- century BC texts, here understood as Warring States collections of writings that are either mainly or wholly from the third century (such as the Xúnzǐ<sup>^</sup>) or that may include earlier material but extend into or through the third century (such as the Guā<sup>^</sup>nzǐ<sup>^</sup> and perhaps Zhuāngzǐ<sup>^</sup>). Earlier texts will be cited to provide background context when necessary. In other cases, material from earlier texts or texts of uncertain date will be treated as it is addressed in our focal texts.

The intellectual goal of the volume is to explicate philosophically relevant concepts and theories in late classical texts and to show how ideas in the texts fit together as a series of discussions and debates over questions of broad concern to thinkers of the time— and in some cases, suitably reframed, perhaps to readers today as well. The book seeks to present a clearer, more informative picture of intellectual currents in the late Warring States than previously available and to convey the philosophical significance and interest of these currents. The aim is not to be comprehensive— the source material is vast, and the discussion is intended to be compact— but to explore central, interesting issues and notable positions on them in enough depth and detail to

allow readers to truly enter the late Warring States world of thought, grasping for themselves the questions thinkers of the time found compelling and why the answers they proposed might have seemed persuasive.

The main target audience for the book is the general reader, including university students and graduate students. Specialists in other fields of philosophy should also find the discussion helpful. Scholars of Chinese thought will find some of the ground familiar but should find that the book offers novel perspectives on such topics as *dào*, political philosophy, and epistemology while devoting extensive attention to texts seldom discussed in the English-language scholarly literature. To streamline the discussion for the general reader, the discussion cites primary sources extensively but omits the normal scholarly apparatus of citations to secondary sources. Instead, I have included a section entitled 'For Further Reading' that introduces a selection of secondary sources readers may find useful if they wish to learn more about figures or topics mentioned in the book. Another feature designed for the general reader is a Glossary that presents Chinese characters and brief explanations for the Chinese-language concepts and names appearing in the text, along with pronunciation hints for selected terms. Again, to streamline the discussion, Chinese characters have been omitted from the main body of the book.

Each of the topical chapters that follow begins with introductory remarks that set the stage for that chapter's discussion. Instead of repeating this thematic scene setting here, the remainder of this Introduction will survey the historical background to the late classical period and explain the nature of the sources on which the book draws. We will then give an overview of the six topical chapters. Each chapter is reasonably self-standing and can be read independently of the others, in any order.

## Historical Background

The writings discussed in this book date from the late Warring States period in the region that later became known as China. The 'Warring States' (*Zhàn guó*, 481–221 BC) is a label for the last several centuries in the long, gradual collapse of the *Zhōu* dynasty (1045–256 BC). This period can also be referred to as the pre- *Qín*, pre- *Hàn*, or pre-

imperial era, as it ended with the founding of the Qín dynasty (221–206 BC), which was quickly superseded by the Hàn dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). Since Warring States thought is often referred to as ‘classical’ Chinese thought, I will also refer to the philosophy of the last century or so of the pre- Hàn period as ‘late classical’ thought.

The long reign of the Zhōu is usually subdivided into two parts, the ‘Western Zhōu’, the period during which the kings of Zhōu, based near the modern city of Xǐ’ān, genuinely exercised power over ‘all under Heaven’, and the ‘Eastern Zhōu’, founded when the house of Zhōu fled to the eastern city of Luòyáng in 770 BC after the nomadic Quānróng people sacked their capital and murdered their king. Over the next several hundred years, known as the ‘Spring and Autumn’ period (Chūnqiū, 770–fifth century BC), actual political and military power shifted from the descendants of the house of Zhōu to the rulers of their former regional vassals. A nominal Zhōu supreme ruler, the ‘Son of Heaven’, occupied the throne in Luòyáng but exercised little real power. For several centuries, the Zhōu political order continued, sustained for lengthy periods by powerful rulers of the regional states who acted as ‘hegemons’, dominating other powerful states, protecting weak states, and maintaining the authority of the Zhōu system. Eventually, in the early decades of the fifth century BC, even though Zhōu heirs continued to hold the title of ‘king’, the authority of the Zhōu order collapsed entirely. Powerful clans in several regional states usurped political authority and began unfettered competition for dominance, initiating the Warring States period. In 481 BC, for example, the Tián clan seized power in the northeast state of Qí. Around the same time, the three powerful houses of Hán, Zhào, and Wèi began a decades- long process of dividing between them the territory of the major state of Jìn, to which they had previously been loyal, and attempting to seize or annex territory from surrounding states. Many small fiefdoms loyal to the Zhōu were swallowed up by larger states.

By the beginning of the fourth century, the house of Zhōu was effectively powerless. Political and military might lay in the hands of the lords of roughly a dozen former vassal states, along with the non- Zhōu states of Chu<sup>^</sup>, Wú, and Yuè in the south. These dozen- odd states competed to dominate and contain each other through frequently shifting alliances. The seven states of Qín, Qí, Chu<sup>^</sup>, Hán, Zhào, Wèi, and Yàn

developed into especially wealthy, powerful, and belligerent rivals, who competed for supremacy in the hope of unifying ‘all under Heaven’ under their rule. Over the course of the fourth century, the rulers of these regional states declared their independence from the Zhǒu by proclaiming themselves ‘kings’, rather than mere ‘dukes’, the title most had held previously. Wars between the states were frequent. The scale and viciousness of the conflicts expanded considerably, as did the resulting devastation.

This fierce, bloody competition continued until the decade between 230 and 221 BC, when the ruthless state of Qín in the west managed to conquer and absorb each of its rivals in succession, ultimately defeating Qí in 221 bc to unify ‘all under Heaven’ under the new Qín dynasty. Qín’s dominance proved short-lived, however. Soon after the first emperor’s death in 210, the Qín regime declined, leading to a period of civil war and eventually the founding of the Hàn dynasty under Liú Bǎng in 202.

Besides frequent interstate war and political intrigue, the period during which these writings were produced was marked by continuing economic and technological development and the steady expansion of centrally administered government bureaucracies. The growth of the bureaucracies created a demand for competent officials to staff them, and accordingly offered extensive opportunities for social mobility to the class of shì (‘officers’, ‘scholars’), or educated gentry, who formed the main pool of candidates for government posts. The writers of most of the late classical philosophical texts likely belonged to the shì class.

Some of the shì rose to become prominent as state ministers, political advisors, and teachers, who typically attracted a retinue of disciples or adherents. Rulers of states often retained these social, ethical, and intellectual leaders as counsellors and drew from among their followers in filling bureaucratic posts. The two most eminent such teachers were Confucius (Kong Qiū, d. 479 BC) and Mòzǐ (fl. ca. 430 BC) both of whom attracted communities or fellowships of disciples that eventually divided into multiple branches dispersed across the major states. Devotees of Confucius’s teachings and practices referred to themselves as ‘Rú’ (‘Erudites’), while adherents of Mòzǐ’s teachings called themselves ‘Mò’ (Mohists). These communities were devoted to study

and promulgation of their ethical, social, and political ideals, along with associated practices, such as ritual and music, in the case of the Rú, and religious worship, community assistance, and military service, for the Mò.

The Rú and the Mò were the only named, self-identified intellectual lineages or movements in the late classical social and intellectual landscape. They were far from the only schools of thought or ethical activists, however. What later historians dubbed the period of the ‘hundred families of thought’ was in full bloom. Rival circles of scholar-practitioners advocated competing views on politics, ethics, social policy, knowledge, cosmology, and other subjects. Many of these groups produced bodies of writings that were eventually collected into the ‘various masters’ (zhūzǐ) anthologies, such as the Analects, Mòzǐ, Guānzǐ, Mencius, and other collections named after a venerated teacher or statesman.

Besides the Ruists and Mohists, early sources mention numerous other figures representing diverse ways of thought. A few examples include the antiviolence activists Sòng Xíng and Yí Wén, who promoted a way of life devoted to minimizing one’s needs and seeking peace of mind; Xu Xíng, mentioned in Mencius (Me 3A:4), who advocated a simple, self-sufficient agricultural lifestyle; and Gōngsūn Lóng, a famous court debater and proponent of logical puzzles who strongly opposed warfare.

Especially notable was the assembly of scholars at Jixià in the Qí capital. (Jixià can be interpreted as ‘below the altar to Ji, the god of grain’, and was probably a district by one of the city gates.) Often referred to as an ‘academy’, Jixià was probably something more like a loosely organized residential institute or community for scholars working under the patronage of the kings of Qí, who provided them with generous living quarters and stipends, honoured them with high rank, and exempted them from other public service. The community of scholars may have served both to generate policy proposals and to enhance and display the prestige of the wealthy, successful Qí state.

The origin of the Jixià assembly is uncertain. It was certainly in existence by around the middle of the fourth century BC but perhaps was founded earlier. Scholars seem to agree that the high point in its history came under King Xuān (r. 319–301 BC), when

hundreds or thousands of scholars were in attendance. A Hàn historical account reports there were 76 ‘masters’, each of whom would have had dozens of students. One section of the *Guanzi* describes the daily routine of students, possibly those who lived at Jixia, suggesting that they followed a regimen like one might expect in an institution of learning. The Jixia scholars are reported to have dispersed by 284, during the reign of King Min, when forces from Yan sacked the Qi capital. The community may later have been reconstituted, however, and Xunzi reportedly served as the senior master for some time before he took up an administrative post in Chu.

Figures reported to have been in residence at Jixia over the decades include Chunyu Kun, perhaps during the reign of King Wei (r. 356–320 b c); Mencius, during the reign of King Xuan; the anti-war activist Song Xing; Zou Yan, a cosmological and yin-yang thinker; Tian Pian and Ji Yu, both mentioned in the *Zhuangzi*; Shen Dao, figurehead for the Legalist text *Shenzi*; Huan Yuan, about whom little is known; and Xunzi, perhaps some time after the community scattered in 284. Portions of the *Guanzi* are likely to have been produced at Jixia. Possibly parts of Mencius, Xunzi, *Zhuangzi*, and other texts were produced by scholars who resided there or by their later followers.

Given the renown of the Jixia assembly, other regional lords emulated the practice of retaining large numbers of scholar-gentry and encouraging them to pursue inquiry and debate. The apogee of such patronage was probably the vast assembly of scholars organized by Li Buwei, prime minister of Qin, roughly between 250 and 239 b c, which produced Li's *Annals*, a major source for late classical thought (see below).

Beyond the figures named in association with Jixia, it is reasonable to think many other circles of teachers and scholars were active across different geographical regions. The *Zhuangzi* depicts a number of otherwise unknown figures with clusters of followers, such as Wang Tai and Bohun Wuren. These men are likely to be fictional characters. But the depictions of them and other figures in the *Zhuangzi* attest to a lively period of intellectual and ethical ferment during which eminent shi might attract a circle of followers devoted to learning and cultivating the dao and regularly engage in discussion with followers, associates, aristocrats, and opponents. Other *Zhuangzi*

stories depict groups of friends devoted to a shared set of guiding beliefs— without a masterstudent hierarchy— again suggesting that such associations were familiar and perhaps common. The circles of scholar- practitioners who produced the *Zhuāngzǐ*<sup>^</sup> may have resembled the characters depicted in these stories of masters, students, and friends. Moreover, given that the *Zhuāngzǐ*, *Mòzǐ*, and other texts frequently describe activities in different states or persons traveling from state to state, we can suppose that the study and practice of various conceptions of *dào* were widely distributed geographically and perhaps even that different regions were home to different trends of thought.

The late fourth to late third centuries were thus a vibrant, richly diverse period of intellectual activity, in which a wide range of schools, circles, and lineages pursued different paths of inquiry and practice. Proponents of different views engaged each other in discussion and debated in the courts of aristocratic patrons. Interaction and competitive debate with advocates of rival views stimulated greater depth and rigour in philosophical reflection and argumentation. As we have seen, only two groups— the *Rú* and the *Mò*— explicitly identified their tradition of thought by a name. The labels we use for other rough doctrinal orientations— designations such as ‘Daoist’, ‘Legalist’, ‘Yin- Yáng’ (a label for proto- scientific correlative or analogical explanations of natural patterns), or ‘Names’ (a label for writings on language and logic)— were later, retrospective inventions, perhaps by the *Hàn* archivist *Sīma*<sup>^</sup> *Tán* (d. 110 b c). The thinkers and practitioners who produced the texts we associate with these labels do not seem to have identified themselves by them. They may have seen themselves simply as inquirers and practitioners of the *dào* (the Way). Some may not have drawn sharp boundaries between their conception of *dào* and those of other groups. To give one example, since Confucius frequently appears as a literary character in the *Zhuāngzǐ*<sup>^</sup> in the role of the text’s spokesman, whoever wrote the passages in question may well have considered themselves his followers or at least admirers. Perhaps, then, some writers may have identified both with Confucius and with ideas later categorized as ‘Daoist’. Similarly, the application of what were later deemed ‘Daoist’ ideas in what we consider ‘Legalist’ texts suggest that the writers did not recognize any clear

boundary between a rival ‘Daoist school’ and their own orientation of thought, by which they might feel obliged to reject or set aside the other school’s ideas.

In approaching the texts, then, we want to set aside traditional labels at least initially and not prejudge how a particular text will orient itself with respect to other doctrinal outlooks. Many of our sources may not fit easily into predefined doctrinal categories. Labels such as ‘Daoism’ or ‘Legalism’ may still turn out to be useful, but only as loose designations for broad, somewhat heterogeneous orientations of thought tied together by various family resemblances.

### The Texts

The chapters that follow draw mainly on eight collections of late classical writings. In alphabetical order, these are the *Guanzi*, *Hanfeizi*, *Lü’s Annals*, *Ma Wangdui* silk manuscripts, *Mozhi*, *Shangjun Shu*, *Xunzi*, and *Zhuangzi*. To a lesser extent, the discussion also draws on the Confucian *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and the *Shenzi*. The first subsection below discusses general features of these writings. The next subsection considers the implications of these features for how we interpret the texts, and the subsequent one introduces the collections one by one.

### The Nature of Pre- Han Philosophical Texts

Any informative discussion of the thought of the Warring States period should first clarify the nature of the sources, as historical and philological facts about them have important implications for how we should read them. Most of these volumes fall into a category known in Chinese as the ‘various masters’ writings. A key point to understand about the ‘masters’ volumes is that they are not ‘books’, in the modern sense of the term, with identifiable authors. Nor are they the collected works of a select list of great thinkers. Although each of them calls for somewhat different treatment, all are anthologies of diverse content. Several— such as the *Guanzi* and *Zhuangzi*—can instructively be compared to what we now call a ‘wiki’, a database in which different, diverse pieces of content can be created, edited, or expanded over time by members of a community of contributors, without any one person or persons claiming authorship over the material.



Six features of these writings are especially significant for our purposes. First, almost all of the writings collected into the masters texts are an onym-ous. Warring States writers did not sign or claim ownership of their work. The cultural practice of claiming and acknowledging authorship of texts developed only later, during the Hàn dynasty. Nor did writers depict themselves, so a piece of text purporting to present the speech of, say, Zhuǎngzǐ^ ('Master Zhuǎng') would not have been written by the person Zhuǎngzǐ^. Texts were typically transmitted by collecting them together under the name of a revered, representative figurehead, such as Mòzǐ^ ('Master Mò') or Mèngzǐ^ ('Master Mèng'). Attribution of a text or a statement in a text to a master thus does not entail that the words were originally his. A collection might be named after such a venerated master for a variety of reasons. In the case of the Mòzǐ^ or Mèngzǐ^ collections, for example, the component texts were probably written and compiled by the master's followers, perhaps over several generations. Their content might reflect, develop, or have been inspired by the master's teachings. In the case of the Gua^nzǐ^ ('Master Gua^n'), the association with the material seems partly geographical, partly literary. The historical figure Gua^n Zhòng exerted little influence over the Gua^nzǐ^ texts, as he died long before they were written. But he was a renowned statesman from Qí, where many of the texts seem to have been produced, and he appears as a character in some of them. By contrast with all of these, the bulk of the material in the Xúnzǐ^ ('Master Xún') was probably produced during the lifetime of Xún Kuàng, who may have been directly involved in creating the texts or at least supervising their production.

Two further features are that the masters writings were produced through a gradual, accretional process and that this process involved the collective participation of numerous writers or editors, in many cases probably across several generations. Their content may have first been discussed within a circle or community of scholars, activists, or practitioners under the leadership of a teacher. The texts themselves were then produced through a complex, extended process of writing, editing, compiling, and rearranging. A teacher— either the founder of a circle or movement or a later-generation successor— may have taken the lead in creating or endorsing the ideas that went into a piece of text, but he may not have been the person who actually wrote

them down. In some cases, students may have recorded the words of their teacher in conversations or debates. In others, students, associates, or later followers contributed to, revised, or expanded the collection of writings. Over time, more and more materials were collected together under the name of a particular master, as later followers continued to produce or incorporate further texts. Texts were curated and passed down through lineages of followers, who probably at times revised, expanded, or rearranged them. For these reasons, the masters anthologies as wholes were not composed at any one time, by any one person, but written and revised over a period of time, with the participation of many persons.

A fourth point is that the texts were produced by these circles of teachers and students for a variety of purposes and audiences. Some, such as the texts presenting the 10 core doctrines of the *Mòzǐ* or many essays in the *Guanzǐ*, appear to be ‘position papers’, written to present doctrines to a broad audience and if possible persuade rulers, officials, and gentry to adopt them. Some, such as the *Xúnzǐ* ‘Debate on Military Matters’, appear to be records of court debates. *Lǚ*’s *Annals* is an encyclopaedic compendium that aspires to educate and guide princes and high officials. Other texts present brief theoretical discussions, which then often form the basis for practical recommendations, as in the *Xúnzǐ* essays on names or knowledge or the *Zhuāngzǐ*’s skeptical critique of dogmatic judgments. Still others, such as certain passages in *Xúnzǐ* and *Zhuāngzǐ*, appear to be training or coaching handbooks to guide followers in practising the *dào*. Some of the Mohist dialectical writings resemble research notes that seem unlikely to have been intended for wide circulation, as their abbreviated format makes them difficult for outsiders to understand. One section of *Xūnzhǐ* is a collection of songs or poems, another a set of pedagogical riddles. Still another is an album of sayings and descriptions of rituals. Much of the *Zhuāngzǐ* consists of humorous or amusing stories and anecdotes, typically incorporating a philosophical or pedagogical point. Given this variety of purposes and target audiences, any interpretation of a particular bit of text rests on a tentative hypothesis about its aim or function.

Fifth, as implied by the accretional, collective process by which they were produced and by the diversity of their content, each of the masters collections is highly composite in nature. In ancient times, what we call a “masters text” was in reality a collection of several dozen physically separate bamboo scrolls, usually containing separate, independent pieces of writing. The content was written vertically, from top to bottom, on strips of bamboo laced together with silk threads, roughly like a bamboo place mat. The “place mat” was then rolled up to form a scroll for storage. Texts were likely drafted on short bamboo scrolls called *cǎn* (“sheaves”). (The graph for *cǎn*, derives from a drawing of such a scroll.) Eventually short sections would be combined and recopied onto longer scrolls called *piǎn* (“scrolls”, “books”). A relatively long essay might fill an entire *piǎn*. Briefer writings might leave part of the *piǎn* blank, and so several shorter writings might be recopied together onto a single physical *piǎn*. These *piǎn* eventually became the units labelled “chapters” in modern editions. Originally, however, the *piǎn* were not literary units, as chapters are, but physical ones. A single physical *piǎn* could include several independent pieces of writing, each of which might potentially constitute a discrete work. Many *piǎn* in the *Zhuǎngzǐ*, for example, are collections of what appear to be discrete short stories or essays. In the *Xǎnzǐ* *piǎn* entitled “Correct Names”, only the first half concerns names and speech. The remainder comprises several unrelated short paragraphs about moral psychology, apparently copied into a blank area at the end of the *piǎn* to save space. Even when a *piǎn* does contain a single, thematically coherent essay, the text may show signs of having been stitched together from shorter bits of writing that might originally have been composed separately. To underscore the nature of *piǎn* as physically discrete units, in the chapters that follow I will refer to them as “books”. The unit of composition of the masters volumes was thus generally the short remark, anecdote, or essay, ranging from a dozen or so to a few hundred words, not the full content of a *piǎn*, and certainly not the volume as a whole. Accordingly, in this book, when I mention “texts”, I am referring to the many short pieces of writing that constitute these anthologies, not the anthologies as wholes. Just what constitutes a single text is a question that must be examined on an

individual, contextual basis, as must the relation between the different pieces of writing within a single piǎn. None of the masters anthologies is an integral work in the sense that a modern book or essay is. Each is more like an archive or a library of texts.

A sixth and final point is that the transmitted versions of most of the masters anthologies do not preserve the texts as they stood at the end of the classical, pre-imperial period. Most of the texts were collated and rearranged by editors who lived long after their contents were written. These editors may have moved parts around, incorporated material from disparate sources, or discarded some material. In many cases, their work makes it impossible to reconstruct the content or organization of the texts as they existed around the end of the third century BC. To give an example, the recension of the Xúnzǐ<sup>^</sup> that has come down to us was produced by the Hàn dynasty archivist Liú Xiàng (79–8 bc) from materials he found in the imperial library. Liú reports that he identified 322 piǎn attributed to Xúnzǐ<sup>^</sup>, among which he discarded 290 as duplicates and arranged 32 into the version we have today. He gives no breakdown as to the number of duplicates of each of the 32, nor does he explain how much the content of different piǎn needed to overlap for them to count as duplicates. He does not report whether the 322 piǎn were subdivided into different groups or what their sources might have been. His account seems to imply that before his work, no authoritative collection of Xúnzǐ<sup>^</sup> texts existed. Whether or not this is the case, it is clear from his remarks that the version of Xúnzǐ<sup>^</sup> we now read was not put into its present form by Xún Kuàng, his students, or anyone closely associated with him but by an archivist working nearly two centuries after his death.

### Consequences for Interpretation

What do these points about the organization, production, and purpose of pre- Hàn texts mean for how we approach the masters' texts and other writings from this period?

One implication is that in exploring Warring States thought, we must focus on texts, not persons. The data available to work from are texts, and nothing ties specific pieces of text to particular historical persons. Hence our object of study is not the philosophy

of a series of great thinkers, but the ideas, positions, and theories we can reconstruct by interpreting collections of texts.

A further implication follows from our understanding of what constitutes a ‘text’ in this context. Interpretively, the masters anthologies should be approached not as if they were integral, unified works but as what they are: anthologies of short texts, collected together for various purposes and related in various ways, that may express a range of different views. Interpretation and discussion of the masters materials must begin from the level of the individual short text, which may be a brief remark, short anecdote, or longer essay. The primary object of interpretation is not the collection as a whole, nor even the entire piān, but individual pieces of writing. Interpretive hypotheses about groups of passages, entire piān, or groups of piān must rest on interpretive work built up from the level of the individual passage.

Approaching the sources as anthologies of interrelated but distinct writings entails setting aside certain assumptions that normally guide interpretation. When dealing with an integral, expository text, interpreters typically— and usually justifiably— assume that the text as a whole expresses a unified, coherent position. Selected parts can be cited to represent the position of the text as a whole. Interpretations of different parts can be combined to reveal their implicit joint position. Inconsistency between interpretations of different parts may indicate that one or both interpretations are mistaken.

In working with the masters anthologies, on the other hand, interpreters cannot justifiably presuppose that any group of component texts will present a unified or coherent doctrinal standpoint. We cannot assume that views presented in individual texts can justifiably stand for the corpus as a whole or be combined to indicate a shared position. Inconsistency between different parts need not signal misinterpretation, as the parts might indeed disagree.

Of course, since ancient compilers had some reason for gathering the different component texts together into the same corpus, the texts may well cohere or agree in various ways or on various levels. But claims to this effect must be grounded in

interpretive arguments about individual short texts, rather than function as a guiding axiom by which to approach the material. The relation between component texts can be discovered only by interpreting them. We cannot assume in advance that any particular selection of passages either do or do not share consistent or complementary views on a particular issue.

Moreover, since each of the ‘masters’ collections has a unique historical background, the best explanation of the relationship between different parts may well be different for each. Some may display a high degree of doctrinal coherence; others may be notably heterogeneous. It is clear, for example, that the relation between the component parts of the *Xúnzǐ*, many of which share a roughly consistent doctrinal outlook, is quite different from that of the *Guanzǐ*, which contains material representing almost diametrically opposed political positions.

In setting out to study a particular anthology, if we cannot justifiably assume its parts will cohere as a single ‘work’, how do we get our bearings? The approach taken here is to orient ourselves by regarding the various short texts within each collection as distinct contributions to various intersecting or overlapping conversations, pedagogical traditions, research programs, political projects, or other sorts of discursive activity on various topics and issues. We aim to situate the various texts in the discussions and activities of their time. In doing so, we want to examine both how they relate to other short texts within the same masters collection and to their overall intellectual, cultural, and political context.

## The Sources

This section briefly lists the primary sources on which the main chapters of the book are based. For a more detailed discussion of these sources, see the Appendix.

*Analects* (*Lúnyu*, or ‘Categorized Sayings’). A compilation of sayings attributed to and anecdotes about Confucius (*Kongzǐ*) and his disciples and associates. The *Analects* is considered a foundational text in the *Rú* (‘Erudite’, ‘Confucian’) tradition.

Guanzǐ (‘Master Guan’). A lengthy, diverse anthology named after the seventh-century BC statesman Guān Zhòng. The Guānzǐ comprises writings on a wide range of topics, including ethics, politics, administration, economics, military affairs, geography, agriculture, and psycho-physiological cultivation. These writings express several distinct doctrinal orientations, including Ruism (‘Confucianism’), Legalism, and ‘Daoism’.

Hánfěizǐ (‘Master Hán Fěi’). A voluminous collection of writings attributed to or associated with the ‘Legalist’ thinker Hán Fěi.

Lǐ’s Annals, also known as The Annals of Lǐ Bùwéi. A compendium produced by a team of scholarly retainers to Lǐ Bùwéi, prime minister of the state of Qín, around 239 bc, treating a variety of topics from a range of doctrinal perspectives. The compendium was intended to be a resource for educating a young prince.

Mǎwángduì silk manuscripts. Four previously unknown texts discovered among a collection of silk manuscripts unearthed at Mǎwángduì, Hunan. The manuscripts are intriguing witnesses to lines of thought current between the late decades of the third century and early decades of the second century. Their doctrinal affiliation is an open question.

Mencius (Mèngzǐ) (‘Master Mèng’). A collection of sayings attributed to and anecdotes about Mèng Kě, a prominent fourth-century teacher and counsellor in the Rú tradition. Later Rú scholars considered Mèngzǐ (latinized as ‘Mencius’) to be the ‘second sage’, the second major figure in transmission of the dào from Confucius.

Mòzǐ (‘Master Mò’). A large collection of texts produced by several generations of followers of Mò Dí, a craftsman who founded an influential philosophical, religious, and political movement. Much of the Mòzǐ predates the period of interest in this book, but the concerns and rhetoric of several sections of the text known as the Mohist ‘Dialectics’ (Mò Biàn), or the ‘later Mohist’ writings, seem to place them in the same third-century intellectual milieu as, for example, parts of the Xúnzǐ and the Zhuāngzǐ.



Shāngjūn Shū (Book of Lord Shāng). A relatively short collection of texts attributed to Shāng Pǎng, also known as Gōngsūn Pǎng or Lord Shāng, a midfourth-century minister in the state of Qín who was highly influential in the development of Legalist thought.

Shènzí ('Master Shèn'). A collection of 'Legalist' writings attributed to Shèn Dào, about whom little is known beyond that he was associated with the Jìxià assembly of scholars in Qí probably during the late fourth century bc.

Xúnzǐ ('Master Xún'). A collection of mostly third-century writings attributed to Xún Kuàng, an influential scholar, teacher, and official in the Rú tradition.

Zhuǎngzǐ ('Master Zhuǎng'). A corpus of writings presenting a diverse range of partly overlapping doctrinal outlooks later grouped together under the label of 'Daoism'.

The Appendix offers a more fine-grained description of each of these sources.

## Chapter Overview

Since a central aim of this book is to reconstruct debates and disagreements between rival currents of thought, the chapters are organized around topics of philosophical interest that were the subject of explicit discussion and debate in the late Warring States. The following is an overview of the chapter contents.

Chapter 1: The Way. This chapter examines different views concerning the nature of and grounds for dào (the Way), the central architectonic concept in late Warring States thought. The chapter explores implications of the concept of dào and then considers different views on the metaphysics of dào. It looks at the growing interest in late classical thought in attempting to ground the dào humanity should follow in patterns of nature or in people's naturally given dispositions. The discussion considers a range of views on which dào is fixed by nature, as well as the claim that people's nature—our xìng—gives us a built-in dào to follow. It then examines texts that present dào as primarily a natural or cosmogenic process, to which wise human agents can conform by eliminating features of human agency that prevent us from subsuming ourselves in its flow. The chapter next takes up a sharply contrasting view, which I call the 'craft' conception of dào, on which human dào is a construct, albeit one that is justified by



how effectively it engages with natural conditions, as a *dào* of building houses is justified by how sturdy and functional the houses are. On this view, only through intelligent use of human capacities can we develop and follow *dào*. Subtly distinct from the ‘craft’ view is Xúnzǐ’s cultural constructivism, on which human *dào* is a system of cultural and political norms and institutions developed by epochal cultural leaders, not something found in nature. Xúnzǐ too holds that the right *dào* must align with natural conditions effectively, but unlike the craft conception, he insists on the authority of a particular traditional practice of *dào*, denying that people’s prevailing mores are among the patterns *dào* integrates and rejecting the pragmatic implications of the craft approach. Last, the chapter looks at the pragmatic pluralism found in parts of the Zhuǎngzǐ, on which *dào* are pragmatic constructs conditioned by natural features in such a way as to be inherently plural, contextual, and open-ended.

Chapter 2: The State. Chapter 2 surveys views on the origin and justification of political authority and on methods of governing, including moral education, rigorously enforced standards or laws, non-interference, and responsiveness to the people. The chapter looks at several accounts of the origin of authority from a state of nature, observing how some tie authority to the people’s moral approval, while others see it as justified by how it secures a fully human way of life. The discussion then turns to a major controversy concerning methods of rule—going all the way back to the Confucian Analects—namely whether governance should rely primarily on moral education or on strictly enforced laws, backed up by rewards and punishments. We explore this controversy at length through a detailed discussion of the perfectionist theories of rule in Guānzǐ and Xúnzǐ, the standards-based approach of the Legalists, and contemporaneous critics’ practical and conceptual analyses of Legalism’s flaws. We also explore different applications of the pivotal, widely endorsed notion of ‘impartiality’ (*gōng*), which drives both Ruist and Legalist appeals to ‘standards’ or ‘laws’. Last, the chapter looks at ‘bottom-up’ conceptions of governance found in the Zhuǎngzǐ, which reject the idea that the state should govern by educating the populace or by controlling their behaviour through rewards and punishments. Instead, these texts advocate a type of self-organizing community, in which authority exists to

facilitate people's own self- so activity. A perhaps surprising result of the discussion is that across the spectrum of political views— with the exception of Legalism— we find a shared conviction that genuine, unforced popular identification with the state is crucial in sustaining the unity needed for a flourishing political society.

Chapter 3: Ethics. In this chapter, we look more closely at the content of *dào*. What is the right or apt way of life? The chapter compares and contrasts rival accounts of norms of conduct and of the well- lived life. We begin with views from Xúnzǐ<sup>^</sup> and Gua<sup>^</sup>nzǐ<sup>^</sup> in which ethical notions are integrated with political thought, since norms of conduct are approached primarily in terms of one's role in a hierarchical political society. The result is a distinctive role-based approach to ethics, which the chapter examines and critiques. We next look at views that tie the well- lived life to health and to the ideal of fulfilling our inherent nature. Role- based ethics tends to be complex and unsystematic, while nature- based views risk being so vague as to permit bad conduct. The chapter looks next at an ethical theory that attempts to avoid these shortcomings, later Mohist consequentialism, which interprets what is morally right as what promotes the benefit of all, while incorporating social roles into the norms by which we promote benefit. The final sections of the chapter explore a very different set of views, found mainly in the Zhuāngzǐ<sup>^</sup>, that reject mainstream moral concepts such as benevolence and duty altogether in favour of a non- moralized conception of applying our powers of agency directly to follow *dào*, understood as a fitting path through shifting and transforming circumstances.

Chapter 4: Ethical Cultivation. This chapter examines discussions of ethical cultivation or development— how we train or orient ourselves to follow *dào*. Views on cultivation divide along several lines. Some texts treat ethical development primarily as a social and political project, others as a personal, individual concern. Some see it as a matter of extending or manifesting existing, latent dispositions in our character, others as a task of overcoming or reforming unruly, disruptive tendencies. On some views, it is a matter of education and acculturation; on others, of eliminating the negative effects of misguided cultural practices.

The chapter first discusses texts in L<sup>^</sup>'s Annals, Gua<sup>^</sup>nz<sup>^</sup>i<sup>^</sup>, and Xúnz<sup>^</sup>i<sup>^</sup> that approach ethical development as a political project aimed at leading society to internalize the norms and practices of dào through collective education, habituation, and reinforcement. These contrast with Daoist 'primitivism', for which coming to follow dào is also a social process, albeit a negative one of undoing social influences rather than reinforcing them. We then explore texts that treat individual, personal cultivation. A key question in this area concerns the nature of the task: is following dào fundamentally a matter of fulfilling our inherent nature, or does it require reforming our inherent inclinations? If it requires extensive self- transformation, how do we manage the unruly desires or tendencies that lead us away from dào? The chapter devotes special attention to Xúnz<sup>^</sup>i<sup>^</sup>'s views, on which all action is a matter of 'endeavour', through which we can reform pre- existing tendencies and redirect our activity in ways we approve. The discussion then considers a sharply contrasting stance from what I will call the 'stillness' discourse, on which following dào lies in setting aside human endeavour entirely, such that the patterns of the world direct our activity. We conclude by considering a different position, based on Zhuāngz<sup>^</sup>i<sup>^</sup>'s writings, that draws together elements from both Xúnz<sup>^</sup>i<sup>^</sup>'s 'endeavour' view and the 'stillness' discourse to form a stance that may be more defensible than either.

Chapter 5: Epistemology. In late classical thought, knowing is understood in practical terms, as a competence in distinguishing, sorting, and assessing things. Epistemological discussion focuses less on analysis or explanation of knowledge than on how to interact with the world competently, understanding and avoiding potential faults in epistemic performance. In this chapter, we look at the rich analytical treatment of epistemological concepts in the later Mohist dialectical writings and consider their direct realist account of knowledge. We then examine Xúnz<sup>^</sup>i<sup>^</sup>'s and the Annals' discussions of epistemic excellence and conscientiousness, both which are concerned with pursuing competent epistemic performance by identifying and applying appropriate criteria so as to avoid bias. The discussion next moves on to explore how, perhaps in response to views such as those in Xúnz<sup>^</sup>i<sup>^</sup> and the Annals, passages in the Zhuāngz<sup>^</sup>i<sup>^</sup> imply that there can be no genuinely neutral or ultimately correct criteria,

nor a fully open- minded or neutral epistemic stance. Instead, we can aim only for a careful, critical understanding of how the norms we adopt in particular contexts, for particular purposes, may facilitate performance in some respects while simultaneously biasing us in others. The *Zhuāngzǐ* material presents a distinctive brand of epistemic virtue or practical wisdom grounded in awareness of different norms of judgement, their relation to the world and to each other, and their potential utility and disutility in particular circumstances. This virtue complements the scepticism presented in some *Zhuāngzǐ* passages about claims to ultimate or final authority.

Chapter 6: Language and Logic. Third- century texts treat the use of language— understood as ‘names’ and ‘speech’—as a norm- governed social practice. Control of language was regarded as a crucial means of guiding society to follow *dào* and so achieve social order. The central purpose of speech was to guide action, through teachings, commands, and laws, for example. In effect, speech could articulate and guide us in following *dào*. These views are reflected in the most prominent topic of discussion on language, ‘correcting names’. The first section of this chapter explains the significance of and motivation for ‘correcting names’ and how this doctrine about the use of words is intertwined with conceptions of *dào* and social order. Besides introducing prevailing theories about ‘correct names’, the discussion also considers views in the *Zhuāngzǐ* that undermine the very idea of ‘correct’ names and their use in guiding the performance of *dào*.

Since observing shared norms for the use of names was regarded as crucially important for ethical and political reasons, philosophers of language needed to explain the grounds for the proper use of names. This practical and theoretical imperative motivated the later Mohists and *Xúnzǐ* to develop rich semantic theories to explain why certain things should be ‘distinguished’ as ‘the same’ or ‘different’ and so take the same name or not. Intriguingly, for students of Western philosophy, these semantic theories make no use of notions similar to universals, abstract forms, or mental ideas, concepts, or representations. Instead, as the middle section of this chapter shows, they explain why objects take the same name by appeal to inherent similarities in things, human perception, and conventional social practices.

For late Warring States thinkers, semantic theory is fundamentally intertwined with logic and argumentation. Assertions are understood as predicating 'names' of objects. For an assertion to be correct is for the object in question to indeed be 'the same' as those normally referred to by that name. Argumentation is thus an activity of giving explanations to support distinguishing certain things as 'the same' or not, where 'sameness' is understood by appeal to prevailing semantic theories. Given this emphasis on 'sameness' relations, logical inquiry focuses mainly on analogical reasoning, and argumentation is seen as primarily analogical. The third major section of Chapter 6 describes the treatment of argumentation in later Mohist thought and in the Xúnzǐ. <>

## THE METAPHYSICS OF PHILOSOPHICAL DAOISM by Kai Zheng [China Perspectives, Routledge, ISBN 9781138330658]

Drawing on evidence from a wide range of classical Chinese texts, this book argues that *xingershangxue*, the study of "beyond form", constitutes the core argument and intellectual foundation of Daoist philosophy.

The author presents Daoist *xingershangxue* as a typical concept of metaphysics distinct from that of the natural philosophy and metaphysics of ancient Greece since it focusses on understanding the world beyond perceivable objects and phenomena as well as names that are definable in their social, political, or moral structures. In comparison with other philosophical traditions in the East and West, the book discusses the ideas of *dao*, *de*, and "spontaneously self-so", which shows Daoist *xingershangxue*'s theoretical tendency to transcendence.

The author explains the differences between Daoist philosophy and ancient Greek philosophy and proposes that Daoist philosophy is the study of *xingershangxue* in nature, providing a valuable resource for scholars interested in Chinese philosophy, Daoism, and comparative philosophy.

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## Part 1: The meaning of dao, de, and metaphysics

The purpose of this book is to provide an account of the core thesis of philosophical Daoism; namely, a theory of metaphysics that is pregnant with profound insight and practical wisdom. To this end, a number of principal questions will be addressed in turn:

1 What is the core thesis, or the most significant characteristic, of philosophical Daoism? From a synoptic and structural perspective, this book will explain that the meaning of dao and de (daodezhiyi) merits our attention as the most foundational and important thesis. In other words, the theory of dao (daolun) and the theory of de (delun), developed by Daoist philosophers around the concepts of dao and de, encompass the theoretic core and basis of philosophical Daoism. They also mark the school's principal intellectual characteristic.

2 Dao is an important and characteristic concept of philosophical Daoism. Its meaning is deepened by Laozi with inventive intellectual ingenuity via the concept of wu (i.e. "not"). If the theory of dao forms the core thesis of philosophical Daoism, it is elucidated by application of the concept of wu. Wu has implicated in it a series of meanings, including concepts such as formlessness (wuxing), namelessness (wuming), and non-purposive action (wuwei). Among these, namelessness and non-purposive action are the most significant and special.

3 In addition to the proposition of dao, philosophical Daoism from Laozi onward transformed the pre-established and long-standing intellectual tradition of de with creative ingenuity. The result of this endeavour is the concept of murky-de (xuande - At) and the profound and characteristic theory of murky-de, which encompasses various and complex subjects, including ethics, political philosophy, and theory of heart-mind-nature (xinxinglun).

4 What is the nature of the kind of metaphysics that is to be ascribed to philosophical Daoism, if we can do so legitimately at all? In other words, on what ground do we judge philosophical Daoism to be a "metaphysical" (xingershangxue) theory? It is incumbent upon this book to provide a comparative study of metaphysics, as it is conceived in the Western philosophical tradition and in its Chinese counterpart, i.e. xingershangxue before we can identify with specificity the characteristics of the metaphysics of philosophical Daoism.

## Part 2: From physics to metaphysics

Our main purpose in Part 2 is to accomplish two objectives. One is to further our understanding of Daoist metaphysics; the other is to trace the theoretical development from physics (natural philosophy) to metaphysics. I believe that a clear paradigmatic line is drawn between the natural philosophy of the pre-Socratic philosophers and the metaphysics-ontology of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Similarly, the physical "theories of things" (wulun), including theories of yinyang

and the five elements, Hui Shi's thoughts on universal truths, and all kinds of cosmological theories, are fundamentally distinct from the metaphysical "theory of dao" (daolun), for it is a "study of 'the beyond form'". In this way, the relationship between theories of things and the theory of dao in philosophical Daoism parallels that between natural philosophy and metaphysics in ancient Greek philosophy. These theoretical advancements indicate a valid and promising direction for our inquiry and analysis.

Physics, which is also known as natural philosophy, has its origin in Aristotle's *Physics*. Philosophical writings before Socrates titled *On Nature* (*Peri Physeos*) were mostly

works on physics in this sense. The principal subject of physics is physis. It investigates the essence and principle of motion, the arche of the universe, and how the world had come to be. In this regard, it is similar to "studies on the principle of the myriad things" in the Daoist tradition that examine the "root-origin" (benyuan) from which all things come to be and the "principle-order" (lixu) that governs the birth, destruction, and transformation of all things. In fact, thoughts on physics and natural philosophy received rich and profound discussion prior to the Hundred-Schools-of-Thought period. Thoughts and theories such as yin-yang, the five elements, and the six qi are essentially physical theories. Subsequent thinkers in the Warring States period merely added on to this long-established tradition of physical thoughts. Moreover, the notion of dao grew out of this important foundation, except it made the leap to a metaphysical theory. In other words, the Daoist philosophical theory of dao (i.e. "the meaning of dao and de", in the words of Han dynasty thinkers) parallels the metaphysical philosophical tradition from Heraclitus to Aristotle in ancient Greece, just as Daoist "theories of things" (wulun) parallel pre-Socratic natural philosophy. Similarly, just as ancient Greek philosophy grew out of and eventually departed from physics, Daoist philosophy also broke away from physics (natural philosophy) and established its own metaphysical theory.

Moreover, taking the interpretive approach of "from physics to metaphysics" helps to reveal essential philosophical characteristics of Daoist metaphysics. This interpretive strategy is, of course, hypothetical, as it superimposes itself upon ancient texts that are not themselves expressed in like fashion and structure. But it does not mean our interpretive hypothesis is unfounded. Also, in comparison with other "conventional" interpretive paradigms and theoretical divisions in the domain of modern philosophy, such as cosmology, ontology, and epistemology, our approach corresponds to the theoretical characteristics of philosophical Daoism with greater appropriateness and accuracy. In the words of Chen Lai, an essential objective for the study of Chinese philosophy in the modern era is to interpret ancient thought and "rephrase it in view of a Western philosophical terminology". This objective cannot be successfully accomplished without due consideration of the intricately unique aspects of the



Chinese philosophical tradition (or, in the case of this book, the Daoist philosophical tradition). It is with this thought in mind that we turn once again to the beginnings of Daoist and ancient Greek philosophy during the Axial Age and, upon gaining a fuller view of the thought and philosophical developments of the two traditions, reaffirm and commence using the concept of metaphysics to delineate key theoretical characteristics of philosophical Daoism. <>

## **FIFTEEN LECTURES ON CHINESE PHILOSOPHY by Lihua Yang [Springer, ISBN 9789811984808]**

This book introduces fifteen representative philosophers in ancient China, including Confucius, Laozi, Mencius, Zhuangzi, influential Neo-Taoist scholars, and prominent Neo-Confucian thinkers. It reveals the fundamental problems of each philosopher, clarifies the connotation of the concept as well as the specific reference of the problem, and presents the inherent context and structure of each philosopher's thoughts. Further, the author analyzes a selection of these ancient philosophers' main propositions and demonstrates the argumentation and proof processes behind the basic philosophical insights. As such, this book is a valuable academic resource for scholars and the interested readers wanting to gain an in-depth understanding of ancient Chinese philosophy today.

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Philosophers have no way of surpassing the character of their own time. Therefore, one of the important functions of intellectual history is to confirm the particular character of different philosophies in history by revealing the connection between these ideas and philosophers' concerns about their time. However, if the universal significance and value of philosophy are ignored, their place in history will become a relic of the past. A relic is at best a mirror—a helpful reminder, rather than something with real power that shapes the spirit of the world today. How can the history of philosophy be meaningful for contemporary life? How can we make the great philosophers our contemporaries? For me, these are unavoidable questions.

This slender volume is an explanation of the philosophical system of important premodern Chinese philosophers rather than a history of philosophy. My personal interests are demonstrated by my choice of these representative philosophers. The focus of each chapter of this book is to reveal the fundamental problems of each philosopher, showing the context and structure of their thoughts and clarifying their concepts and specific concerns. The importance of the problems, the characteristics of their solutions, and the universality of the principles within their reasoning allow these thoughts to remain alive forever. The concreteness of these ideas simultaneously enables their universality. Universal ideas, shaped by the twists and turns of history, can come alive again in the present. But only through the in-depth interpretation of the Classics, it is possible to meet the great minds of the past on an intellectual journey.

This book is a summary of my thoughts in stages as I have taught Chinese philosophy over the years. It is based on the drafts of my lectures. But the writing style and lecture structures have been unified, and the key issues are explained clearly and in-depth. Expressing the

connotation of each concept and proposition and escaping ambiguity are my long-standing pursuit and a conscious initiative that I always try to achieve in my writing.

The spontaneous Dao and reverent Virtue esteemed,  
My heart is in concert with the Bamboo Hermits (Zhu Lin) and the  
Confucian literati of Yi and Luo (Yi Luo).  
On the wild tracks of Ji Kang and Ruan Ji  
And yet looking up to those peaks of virtue in Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi.  
The mindless drift like dust in the wind,  
But those with a heart can ride the waves of repute and rebuke.  
My one hope is that I might carry the torch during the dark night,  
Refusing to forget this heritage even in my obscurity.  
[The poem is translated by Trenton Wilson.]

## THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF CONFUCIANISM edited by Jennifer Oldstone-Moore [Oxford University Press, 9780190906184]

Confucianism has been a foundational component of East Asian culture, religion, society, and government for millennia, and its visibility and significance have continued to expand in recent decades. Confucianism is often elusive, challenging categories and theoretical stances of the academy and yet simultaneously seeming to merge with a broader culture.

Confucianism has spread with Chinese emigration; it has also spread through the interest of American and European academics who have identified with its scholarly and ethical commitments. While it was once declared a dying tradition, today knowledge of Confucianism is vital to understanding and engaging modern East and Southeast Asia.

Comprised of thirty-eight original essays by experts from a wide range of disciplines, THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF CONFUCIANISM covers the Confucian tradition chronologically, geographically, and topically through textured and innovative examinations of foundational subjects and emerging topics in Confucian studies. Confucianism in China is critically examined, from ancient legends through medieval and early modern China to contemporary manifestations. Essays also consider the tradition in the wider East Asian culture and beyond, notably in Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia, and the recently

emerged “Boston Confucianism.” A series of topical essays study Confucianism's always complicated integration with cultural, social, religious, and political forms, using a range of vantage points including gender, family, ethics, visual and literary arts, government, education, ritual, and modern culture.

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CONFUCIANISM is a multifaceted tradition that extends over thousands of years, permeating cultures that encompass more than one quarter of the world's population. No one-volume work can provide an exhaustive study of so vast a subject. However, a selection of works by scholars from a variety of fields reveals the richness and variety of the Confucian tradition and of the range of approaches to its study. THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF CONFUCIANISM draws upon the expertise of a wide range of scholars in the humanities and social sciences to provide a textured overview that engages emerging topics and innovative perspectives in contemporary Confucian studies.

Sophisticated and elitist, mundane and elemental, in many ways Confucianism is a paradox. On the one hand it has enjoyed an exalted official status in East Asian and some Southeast Asian societies. Governments have patronized it, fostering the development of an urbane and dedicated Confucian elite who built and curated a scholarly, erudite tradition of philosophy, literature, art, and government. On the other hand, Confucianism has had a broader, pervasive, and often more subtle influence in shaping the practices and values of common people and everyday life. Confucian ideas are so pervasive and interwoven in the habits, mores, and customs of the region that they can be difficult to differentiate or categorize apart from broader cultural and historical influences often denoted as simply "culture." In this and many other ways Confucianism often defies Western intellectual and academic categorizations of religion, philosophy, and history.

Moreover, the term “Confucianism” itself is problematic, a historical oddity that in contrast to other such misnomers— for instance, Islam’s past designation as “Mohammedanism”— has stubbornly persisted into the twenty- first century. The musings, scolding, critiques, and hand- wringing by academics about both the name and the conceptual structures that have grown up around its study are as much a part of the landscape of Confucian studies as are exegesis of ancient texts and sociological study of families and filial piety. Whether this knot of nomenclature can be untangled remains to be seen; in the meantime, the term “Confucianism” is employed by scholars to designate a coherent if marvelously variable tradition. These concerns are represented and reconsidered throughout the essays in this volume.

The legacy of Confucianism has been shaped by its engagement in populations throughout East Asia and parts of Southeast Asia, and by a rich self- reflexive native tradition of commentary and study sustained through the centuries. Thus a primary vantage point of Confucian studies draws on native categories and commentaries. Historical encounters between Asians and explorers, missionaries and imperialists over the last four- hundred- plus years was largely framed by Confucian expectations and structures of government, shaping the engagement of East Asian states in matters of diplomacy and foreign policy. The tradition has shaped the nature of interpersonal engagement between Asians and Westerners, greatly influencing the history of Asian modernization.

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF CONFUCIANISM itself a testament to the history, breadth, reach and subtlety of Confucianism, and the vexing complexity of the term Confucianism. The essays here draw upon many material and theoretical resources: the reconstruction of texts and variants; philosophical strategies stemming from Western and Asian categories and approaches; historical narratives; sociological and anthropological investigations; analysis based on art historical and visual cultures; textual exegesis. Each of the thirty- eight original essays of this volume examines a key component of Confucianism using one or more of these approaches; as a volume they provide a panoramic view of the breadth and subtlety of Confucianism manifested in subject matter and hermeneutical approaches; the essays also offer new strategies for defining, understanding, and categorizing the tradition. Presenting Confucianism conceptually, chronologically, geographically, and topically, these essays are organized under four broad sections: Introductory Essays; The Development of Confucianism in China; Confucianism Beyond China; and Topical Studies of Confucianism.

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Part I Introductory Essays consider the fundamental and perplexing methodological considerations specific to Confucianism that have become emblematic of the contours and boundaries of its academic study. Given the singularly important questions of creating and receiving this particular tradition, the first section introduces modes of study and conceptualizations in three essays, laying out the layered terrain of sources and impact, the porous and blurred boundaries, and shifting evidence and resulting conceptualizations that have shaped and sometimes transmogrified the study and understanding of Confucianism.

In the first essay, Jeffrey Richey delineates the primary points and categories of expressions of Confucianism, including education, ritual, text, and political tradition. Examining the challenges of historical and conceptual approaches from both within and outside the tradition, Richey suggests that we move away from asking the perennial yet consistently unanswerable question of “What is Confucianism?” to ask instead, “Who is a Confucian?” Rather than defining a tradition, the description of those who practice reveals the diversity and singularity of the tradition in repertoire, performer, place, and time.

Two other chapters in the Introductory Essays lay out the stakes and challenges of nomenclature. Names that denote the tradition tell their own story of tradition and received scholarship. Nicolas Zufferey explores the history, application, and significance of the native Chinese term for Confucianism or *l’iteratus* noting that the indigenous associations made with this emic term are varied. Even as *ru* has come to indicate Confucian to most modern scholars outside of Asia, Zufferey notes that use of the term is problematic in China virtually from the beginning of its usage. Moreover, the term had variant denotations in the other Confucian cultures of Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, posing a challenge even when using insider categories and nomenclature. The final essay in this section, Lionel Jensen’s, delineates the etic construction of the term, that is, the construction of Confucianism by Europeans and the emergence of European “Confucianism.” As is known from Jensen’s previous work, the manufacturing of both “Confucius” and “Confucianism” stems from Jesuit encounters with the Ming elite and subsequent encounters and conceptualizations with Western persons and powers. The term “Confucianism” itself has had a profound impact on the understanding of the tradition in the West. Jensen presents new vantage points on the Western constructions and their impact on the study of Confucianism.

The essays in the main body of the volume are organized from three vantage points. Part II, Confucianism in China, considers the development of the tradition from its earliest historical context in Chinese antiquity to the twenty-first century. Arranged in a roughly chronological format, methodologies and approaches in this section are varied rather than monolithic. The variety of methods reflect both the indigenous and foreign modes, as well as varied “traditions” of Confucianism. Essays on the ancient heritage draw from ancient histories, philology, and archeology; essays on the foundational texts of classical Confucianism, such as the Analects and Mencius are regarded from the vantage point of philosophy; while the Confucian Classics are regarded both historically and as literary works. Other essays show important transitional periods, such as signature qualities and concerns of Neo-Confucianism in the early modern and late empire, and the reformulations of the tradition by luminaries such as Zhu Xi at the period of pivotal transformation in the Song dynasty. Using fresh approaches, this section establishes not only the historical panorama of Confucianism in China, but also the range of strategies for approaching the tradition in its diverse manifestations, and the impact of that diversity in the received tradition.

Part III, Confucianism Beyond China, reveals Confucianism both as a shared source of identity in the East Asian and Southeast Asian cultural and political world, and as a flexible and tenacious agent in varied cultural settings into which it has been absorbed and adopted. In premodern Asia, Confucianism enjoyed overt support and the systematic and institutional implementation in various states throughout the region and continues to wield influence in the present day. Confucianism is also evinced as an inchoate entity that is pervasive and identifiable in education, the etiquette of officials, family mores, and literary culture. Not only embedded in East Asian cultures and some Southeast Asian states, more recently Confucianism has taken root among Western academics in the singular manifestation of “Boston Confucianism.” Altogether, these essays reveal the expansive and diverse manifestations of Confucianism in Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Western academy.

The final section, Part IV, Topical Studies of Confucianism, contains thirteen essays that show the malleability of Confucianism and the multitude of ways and arenas in which Confucianism has shaped Asian cultures. Confucianism has permeated every level of East Asian societies, shaping and nourishing many cherished cultural forms.

Essays in this section reflect Confucianism impact on shaping the quotidian and pedestrian structures and elements of society and culture, its integration in elite intellectual and artistic pursuits, and its imprint on standards of human relationships.

The paradoxes of the Confucian tradition are unmistakable. Confucius is a figure who claimed that he was not an innovator but a transmitter of a revered ancient tradition. Yet the aspirational outcome of the tradition is denoted by a term whose meaning Confucius dramatically changed so that junzi moved from a term of hereditary royalty to self-cultivated person, thus establishing an ideal that became fodder for social ethics and revolution. He is a man venerated as a sage and the First Teacher and he has been reviled as Public Enemy #1 and the despised source of imperial weakness and decay. Confucianism was the basis for political culture, for strengthening government by holding officials and even the emperor accountable for immorality; governments identified as Confucian have also been regarded as irremediably conservative and dangerously tradition-bound and self-protective to the detriment of the state. Denigrated by Asians and non-Asians alike as the cause of moribund polity and social mores that endangered the very survival of East Asian states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Confucianism has now revived and flourished in the twenty-first century in communist China and capitalist South Korea alike, and has been linked with the rapid growth and economic success of the region in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. A highly textual tradition and a cornerstone to cultures that revere education, erudition, and the written word, the symbolic center of Confucianism has long been a figure who himself wrote nothing, his words coming to us as remembered fragments of conversations with students. Ultimately, the significance of this tradition of paradoxes is difficult to overstate. Perhaps it is in the very paradox that the vibrancy and longevity of the tradition has been nurtured. It is hoped that these essays will be a source for a concise presentation of the state of the field, fresh scholarship presenting a multitude of approaches, and a rich resource for comparative work both in terms of method and content. <>

**A SOURCEBOOK IN CLASSICAL CONFUCIAN PHILOSOPHY** by  
Roger T. Ames [Series: SUNY series in Chinese Philosophy  
and Culture, SUNY, State University of New York Press,  
9781438493534]

Applies a method of comparative cultural hermeneutics to let the tradition speak on its own terms.

Roger T. Ames's *A SOURCEBOOK IN CLASSICAL CONFUCIAN PHILOSOPHY* is a companion volume to his *Conceptual Lexicon for Classical Confucian Philosophy*. It includes texts in the original classical Chinese along with their translations, allowing experts and novices alike to make whatever comparisons they choose. In applying a method of comparative cultural hermeneutics, Ames has tried to let the tradition speak on its own terms. The goal is to encourage readers to move between the translated text and commentary, the philosophical introduction that attempts to sensitize them to the interpretative context, and the companion *Lexicon* of key philosophical terms, with the expectation that in the fullness of time they will be able to appropriate the original Chinese terminologies themselves. Armed with their own increasingly robust insight into these philosophical terms, readers will be able to carry this nuanced understanding over into their critical reading of other available translations. Ultimately, for students who would understand Chinese philosophy, *tian* 天 must be understood as *tian* 天, and *dao* 道 must be *dao* 道.

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The last generation of sourcebooks for Chinese philosophy consists primarily of original translations of excerpts from selected, representative texts, with an attempt by the editors at a sufficiently broad coverage of each of the several philosophical lineages under review. In Wing-tsit Chan's ground-breaking contribution to this important initiative, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, 1963), his choice was to provide his readers with a considerable volume of translated textual materials organized chronologically, with a minimum of philosophical commentary or interpretive context. This Chan Source Book has been foundational in several senses. In what it includes and what it excludes, it circumscribed the parameters of the philosophical corpus for a generation of students of Chinese philosophy. For example, "original" pre-Qin texts and figures of "orthodox" schools are much emphasized while Han dynasty philosophy is underrepresented, being described as merely eclectic and "miscellaneous" (za). Again, this Chan anthology has set a high bar in the quality of its translations. In this respect, it has galvanized a specific formula of translations for key philosophical terms, promoting what scholars have since come to regard as the standard if not "literal" rendering of the classical Chinese philosophical vocabulary. For its time, it was a quantum advance on what had rather serendipitously been translated previously from the Chinese philosophical canons both in its coverage and in its quality.

In the decades that have ensued since the initial publication of Chan's Source Book, substantial and sometimes complete translations of many of the traditional philosophical works included in its pages have appeared. Although these new publications are usually more comprehensive than the sometimes brief excerpts found in Chan's Source Book, the fuller translations with some notable exceptions have in many respects provided the student of Chinese philosophy with more of the same. That is, many of the more recent publications have expanded the coverage of this philosophical corpus through either setting their own chronological limits or focusing selectively on one tradition or another. And they have, with varying degrees of success, aspired to match the quality of the translations found in Chan's Source Book.

In my efforts to compile this new Sourcebook, while highly appreciative of the progress that has been made, I have had two closely related concerns about the limitations of what has come before. First, many of these new translations have uncritically perpetuated the same formula for rendering key philosophical terms proffered in the earlier efforts. Secondly, there has been insufficient attention paid to locating these philosophical classics within their own interpretive contexts as a precondition for allowing these texts to speak on their own terms. Indeed, I will argue that by default, we have in some important degree inadvertently transplanted these texts into a worldview and a commonsense not their own. And the consequence of uncritically preserving the same formula for rendering key philosophical terms is that this now "standard" vocabulary has encouraged a sense of confidence in the literalness of what is taken to be an erstwhile "Chinese" philosophical vocabulary.

To be fair to the important new translations that have appeared over the past few generations, we must ask the question: At the end of the day, can European languages, freighted as they are with a historical commitment to substance ontology—what Jacques Derrida has called "logocentrism" and "the language of presence"—actually "speak" the processual worldview that grounds these early Confucian texts? Can canonical texts such as the Book of Changes (Yijing) and the Expansive Learning (Daxue k) be translated into English and still communicate the worldview that has been invested in them? And more to the point, given the project presently at hand, how does this new Sourcebook address the challenge of trying to provide a translation of these Chinese texts that would respect their own implicit worldviews?

It is in this effort to take Chinese philosophy on its own terms then, that the first section of this Sourcebook is an extended essay, "Confucian Natural Cosmology: An Interpretive Context." This introductory section is an attempt to excavate and make explicit the tradition's own indigenous presuppositions and its own evolving self-understanding. A careful reading of it will hopefully sensitize the reader to some of the ambient and persistent assumptions that have given the evolving Confucian philosophical narrative its unique identity over time. It is these same presuppositions that inform the philosophical vocabulary and set the parameters within this

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cosmological context from which their meanings must be parsed. As I have argued in setting out this interpretive context for classical Confucian philosophy, making cultural comparisons without the hermeneutical sensitivity necessary to guard against cultural reductionism is undertaken at the risk of overwriting these same texts with our own cultural importances. In this insufficiently critical process, we inadvertently make a world familiar to us that is not familiar at all, and in this specious familiarity, effectively surrender much of the substance of the tradition's own uniqueness and value.

As its point of departure, the Sourcebook includes a critical version of the original classical Chinese text for both the expert and generalist alike as a basis for making whatever comparisons with, and evaluations of, the translations they might choose. Informing this comparative exercise, I and my collaborators D.C. Lau, David Hall, and Henry Rosemont have over the years in our earlier translations of the canonical texts compiled a rather substantial glossary of philosophical terms describing the implications and the nuanced evolution of this extended cluster of key philosophical concepts. Just as the introductory essay on the interpretive context is a self-conscious attempt to be as cognizant as we can about our uncommon assumptions, I think it equally important to say up front why we have translated particular terms in the way we do, and what reasons we have for abandoning many of the earlier formulations. This abiding concern to provide the context and an explanation for the central vocabulary has prompted me not only to revise but to expand substantially upon this rather extensive lexicon and produce a companion volume for this Sourcebook entitled *A Conceptual Lexicon for Classical Confucian Philosophy*. In my best efforts to encourage readers to become familiar with this *Conceptual Lexicon*, I have in the Sourcebook within the translated texts themselves included along with their "placeholder" translations, the romanization and the Chinese characters for these key terms: for example, "exemplary persons" (junzi). Again, sometimes the same Chinese term in a different context is better served by a different English translation. For example, in alternative contexts, junzi should quite properly be translated as "lord" or "prince" or "ruler" rather than as "exemplary persons."

Respecting the fact that there are no real equivalencies for the key philosophical terms in our European languages, the project here is not to replace one set of problematic translations with yet another contestable set of renderings. The goal instead is to encourage students of Chinese philosophy in their reading of the translated texts to consult this Conceptual Lexicon of key philosophical terms with the expectation that in the fullness of time they will appropriate the key Chinese terminologies themselves and make them their own—tian dao ren yi, and so on. In thus developing their own increasingly robust insight into these philosophical terms, the students will be able to carry this nuanced understanding over to inform a critical reading of other currently available translations. Ultimately for students who would understand Chinese philosophy, Han must be understood as tian and dao must be dao.

In the philosophical introduction, "Chinese Natural Cosmology: An Interpretive Context," I have argued for what I take to be the evolving worldview within which these Chinese philosophical terms of art must be understood. With this in mind, I have organized the readings thematically in a way that seeks to be consistent with the living tradition itself. This is necessary because Chinese philosophy does not parse comfortably into the standard Western philosophical categories such as metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, and so on. To take just one example, in a culture where there is a presumed continuity between "knowing" as "realizing" and thus as a productive "doing" (zhixingheyi), what is erstwhile epistemology very quickly spills over into ethics and into social and political philosophy as well.

Again, Chinese philosophy cannot be accommodated wholesale by appeal to the formal disciplines and areas of cultural interest that have come to define the Western academy: philosophy, religion, psychology, and so on. In the case of religion, for example, the well-intended attempt of some recent interpreters to rescue Chinese philosophy from the overlay of a Judeo-Christian worldview fails utterly if, in the process, this rehabilitation serves to secularize Chinese philosophy by robbing it of its importantly distinctive religious dimension. After all, there are many different ways of being religious, and while the Abrahamic traditions might assume uncritically that religion necessarily entails an appeal to a concept of God to the extent that an erstwhile

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"a-theistic religiousness" sounds like an oxymoron, this should not disqualify the entertainment of an alternative family-centered Chinese religiousness that has never subscribed to this same presupposition.

Without denying that our familiar disciplines and their categorical and theoretical structures can be qualified, expanded upon, and reshaped in sufficient degree to permit their application to the Chinese tradition, I have proceeded on the premise that to invoke these existing taxonomies as principles of organization would, on balance, be a source of more loss than gain. Indeed, the technical vocabularies and categories that define these familiar academic disciplines would only be a persistent and compounding source of equivocation. Of course, the important exception to this decision to abjure most of our formal categories is to retain reference to the discipline of "philosophy" itself. And this is not just a semantic quibble. First, philosophy is curious in the sense that it is the only intellectual discipline that takes the definition of its subject matter itself as a basic element in its subject matter. Again, this allowance is made because the use of "philosophy" as opposed to "thought" or "culture" is not neutral—it is a normative term that bestows high value on the object of its discourse. The designation "philosophy" in the academy is an acknowledgment awarded to profound and serious thinking to the extent that many if not most of professional philosophers are disinclined to refer to themselves directly as "philosophers," usually preferring some more modest variant of "doing philosophy" or of being a "professor of philosophy." This entire Sourcebook, then, is an attempt to extend the synoptic term "philosophy" and to bring it into clearer definition when applied to the Chinese tradition broadly and to Confucian philosophy in particular. It is at the same time an argument for the depth and quality of Chinese thinking with respect to some of the most perennial and important issues that confront us as human beings.

In exploring early Chinese cosmology as the relevant interpretive context for this Sourcebook, I have tried to find the language necessary to distinguish it from the reductive single-ordered, "One-behind-the-many" model more familiar in classical Greek idealism in which we seek to understand the "many" by coming to know the "one" ideal that lies behind them. Instead, I have argued for the persistence of a more

holistic focus-field model perhaps most succinctly illustrated in the Expansive Learning (Daxue), one of the canons of Confucian philosophy that is included below as seminal in setting the Confucian project of an optimizing symbiosis sought through personal and thus cosmic cultivation.

As an organizing strategy then, I appeal to the ecological project of an unrelenting regimen of personal cultivation as the pervasive preoccupation of Confucian philosophy, where this process is radically embedded and symbiotic to the extent that not only the family and community, but the very cosmos is perceived as expanding in meaning by virtue of this continuing human enterprise. A personal commitment to achieving virtuosity within one's own relationships is thus both the starting point and the ultimate source of personal, social, and indeed cosmic meaning. In cultivating one's own person through achieving and extending robust relations in one's family and beyond, one not only enlarges the cosmos by adding meaning to it, but in turn, this increasingly meaningful cosmos provides a fertile context for the project of one's own continuing personal cultivation.

To take a concrete example, the modest and always self-effacing Confucius not only allows but endorses with enthusiasm one description of himself—that he is a person who "cherishes learning" (haoxue). Confucius is adamant that true "learning" is coincident with moral cultivation as a commitment to growth in relations. And for Confucius, such learning means specifically to have the unrelenting resolve to become increasingly consummate in the way one lives one's roles and relations (ren). Becoming consummate in one's conduct is a lifelong project that quite literally begins at home, and that through the refined and elegant expression of a relational virtuosity in all one does, is irreducibly collateral and transactional. I have selected the most representative passages and assembled them thematically in a way that replicates this process of meaning-making, beginning with personal cultivation and expanding radially outward to constitute a distinctively Confucian form of human and family-centered religiousness.

In deliberating on what to include in this Sourcebook, I have begun from what is close at hand: that is, the vocabulary most immediately necessary to the project of personal cultivation. I have then extended this terminology radially to include the cultivation of one's person within the context of the family, the community, the polity, and ultimately, the cosmos. Surrendering any pretense at being able to represent this rich classical tradition in any comprehensive way, I have simply sought to choose those illustrative passages that define both the terms of art and the problems they address. I want to highlight some of the philosophical issues that have been important to this culture's story as it has, and as it continues, to unfold. It is hoped that students by developing their own understanding of the vocabulary and the issues defining the classical Confucian philosophical narrative, will thus be inspired to read other available, fuller translations of Chinese philosophy with a greater degree of nuance and insight.

Reflecting on the actual use of this Sourcebook in the classroom, I have followed the Expansive Learning and tried to think in terms of its guiding metaphor, the root and branches. I have limited myself to the formative and foundational pre-Buddhist Confucian thinkers who in the course of time became the orthodoxy of a continuing and evolving philosophical discourse. I have tried to treat the philosophers included as disparate members of sometimes interconnected but loosely defined lineages rather than as members of erstwhile "schools" of thought. I have read them both ecologically and as evolutionary in deference to the cosmological postulates that are acknowledged to be defining assumptions within this early Confucian narrative: "continuity in change" (biantong), "the inseparability of continuity and multiplicity, of particular uniqueness and vital context" (yiduobufen, "the mutuality of forming and functioning" (tiyong), and "the continuity between and inseparability of the human and the cosmic orders" (tianrenheyi).

In my translations I have tried wherever possible to use the plural form ("exemplary persons") with the pronoun "their" to avoid the sexist language of "his" and "her." Neither gender nor the distinction between singular and plural is marked in the classical Chinese language. In avoiding sexist language, I am not concealing and thus

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excusing gender discrimination as an integral aspect of Chinese culture predating and certainly reinforced by the Confucian tradition. On the contrary, I want to acknowledge the didactic and programmatic function of these Confucian texts as they are reinterpreted and reauthorized to serve the needs and enhance the possibilities of succeeding generations. To this end, a progressive and evolutionary Confucian philosophy as a living tradition must in our time be reconfigured to prompt a future free of gender prejudice. Confucianism is not a dogma, and there is nothing in the language that requires the gender bias. <>

## **A CONCEPTUAL LEXICON FOR CLASSICAL CONFUCIAN PHILOSOPHY** by Roger T. Ames [Series: SUNY series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, SUNY, State University of New York Press, 9781438490816]

Over the years, Roger T. Ames and his collaborators have consistently argued for a processual understanding of Chinese natural cosmology made explicit in the *Book of Changes*. It is this way of thinking, captured in its own interpretive context with the expression "continuities in change" (*biantong*) that has shaped the grammar of the Chinese language and informs the key philosophical vocabulary of Confucian philosophy. Over the past several centuries of cultural encounter, the formula established by the early missionaries for the translation of classical Chinese texts into Western languages has resulted in a Christian conversion of Confucian texts that is still very much with us today. And more recently, the invention of a new Chinese language to synchronize East Asian cultures with Western modernity has become another obstacle in our reading of the Confucian canons. This volume, a companion volume to *A Sourcebook in Classical Confucian Philosophy*, employs a comparative hermeneutical method in an attempt to explain the Confucian terms of art and to take the Confucian tradition on its own terms.

### **CONTENTS**

#### **Introduction**

霸 *ba*. "Hegemon."

本 *ben*. "Root, trunk."

誠 *cheng*. “Sincerity, with integrity, resolve, (co-)creativity.”  
 恥 *chi*. “A sense of shame.”  
 道 *dao*. “The proper way, way-making, *dao*.”  
 德 *de*. “Moral virtuosity, excelling morally, virtuality.”  
 惡 *fu*. “Standards, norms, laws, models.”  
 和 *he*. “Optimal harmony, optimizing symbiosis.”  
 幾 *ji*. “Inchoate, incipient beginnings.”  
 祭 *ji*. “Sacrificing, sacrifice.”  
 諫 *jian*. “Remonstrating, remonstrance.”  
 兼愛 *jian'ai*. “Inclusive care, inclusive concern.”  
 教 *jiao*. “Teaching, education.”  
 精神 *jingshen*. “Spirituality, vigor, vitality, mystery.”  
 敬 *jing*. “Respecting, revering, seriousness.”  
 靜 *jing*. “Sustained equilibrium.”  
 君子 *junzi*. “Exemplary persons, ruler, prince, lord.”  
 樂 *le* (also pronounced *yao* when transitive). “Enjoyment, making the music of enjoyment.”  
 類 *lei*. “Categories, groupings.”  
 禮 *li*. “Ritual propriety in one’s roles and relations, ritual practices, ‘social grammar, rites, customs, etiquette, propriety, morals, rules of proper behavior, reverence’.”  
 理 *li*. “Patterning, coherence.”  
 利 *li*. “Benefitting, profiting, personal advantage.”  
 倫 *lun*. “Order, relation, category, class.”  
 美 *mei*. “Beautiful.”  
 民 *min*. “The common people.”  
 命 *ming*. “Commanding, ordering, command, mandate, the propensity of things, the force of circumstances.”  
 明 *ming*. “Acuity, brilliance.”  
 名 *ming*. “Naming, making a name for yourself, reputation.”  
 內外 *neiwai*. “Inner and outer, inside and outside.”  
 氣 *qi*. “Vital energy, *qi*.”  
 情 *qing*. “Emotions, passions, feelings, the way things are, situation, circumstances.”  
 仁 *ren*. “Consummate persons, consummate conduct.”  
 儒 *ru*. “Confucianism, Ruism, scholar-teacher, literati tradition.”  
 善 *shan*. “Felicity, efficacy, behaving well, auspicious conduct.”  
 上帝 *shangdi*. “High god(s).”  
 神 *shen*. “Heavenly gods, ancestors, spirituality, vigor, vitality, mystery.”  
 身 *shen*. “Lived, social body.”

生 *sheng*. “Living, growing, birthing.”  
 聖 (人) *sheng* or *shengren*. “Sage, sagacity.”  
 慎其獨 *shenqidu*. “Internalizing and consolidating virtuosic conduct as one’s habituated disposition for action, being circumspect when dwelling alone.”  
 士 *shi*. “Warrior, retainer, knight, scholar-official.”  
 勢 *shi*. “Purchase, momentum, configuration.”  
 始 *shi*. “Fetal beginning, natal beginning, genealogical beginning.”  
 恕 *shu*. “Putting oneself in the other’s place, deference, empathy, dramatic rehearsal.”  
 術 *shu*. “Techniques of rulership.”  
 思 *si*. “Thinking, reflecting.”  
 四端 *siduan*. “The four inclinations.”  
 太極 *taiji*. “The furthest reach.”  
 體 *ti*. “Lived body, discursive body, embodying.”  
 天 *tian*. “Tian, conventionally ‘Heaven’.”  
 天命 *tianming*.  
 天志 *tianzhi*. “The purposes or intent of *tian*.”  
 體用 *tiyong*. “Reforming and functioning, trans-*form*-ing.”  
 同 *tong*. “Sameness, similarity.”  
 王 *wang*. “King, True King.”  
 萬物 *wanwu*. “The ten thousand things, the ten thousand processes or events, the myriad things or happenings.”  
 文 *wen*. “The written word, patterns, culture, refinement, King Wen.”  
 文化 *wenhua*. “Culture, enculturation.”  
 無 *wu*.  
 無極 *wuji*.  
 無爲 *wuwei*. “Noncoercive acting.”  
 五行 *wuxing*. “Five modes of virtuosic conduct, the five phases.”  
 象 *xiang*. “Figuring, figuring out, configuring, figure, imaging, imagining, image.”  
 孝 *xiao*. “Family reverence, filial piety.”  
 小人 *xiaoren*. “Petty and mean persons.”  
 孝悌 *xiaoti*. “Family reverence and fraternal deference.”  
 心 *xin*. “Heartmind, bodyheartminding, thinking and feeling.”  
 信 *xin*. “Making good on one’s word, living up to one’s word.”  
 性 *xing*. “Natural human propensities.”  
 虛 *xu*. “Emptiness.”  
 學 *xue*. “Teaching and learning.”  
 易 *yi*. “Changing, exchanging, ease.”

一 *yi*. “One, uniqueness, continuity.”  
義 *yi*. “Optimal appropriateness, meaning.”  
陰陽 *yinyang*. “Yin and yang.”  
勇 *yong*. “Courage, bravery, vigor, vitality, boldness, fierceness.”  
友 *you*. “Friend, friendship.”  
有無 *youwu*. “Something and nothing, determinate and indeterminate, presence and absence.”  
樂 *yue*. “Music.”  
正 *zheng*. “Proper, acting properly.”  
政 *zheng*. “Proper governing, effecting sociopolitical order.”  
正名 *zhengming*. “Using names properly.”  
知/智 *zhi*. “Living wisely, realizing, wisdom, knowing.”  
志 *zhi*.  
直 *zhi*.  
質 *zhi*. “Native temperament, raw stuff, basic disposition.”  
自然 *ziran*. “Self-so-ing, so-of-itself, spontaneity.”  
中 *zhong*. “Center, balance, focus, equilibrium.”  
忠 *zhong*. “Conscientiousness, doing one’s utmost, loyalty.”  
中庸 *zhongyong*. “Focusing the familiar, hitting the mark in the everyday, making the ordinary extraordinary.”  
主客 *zhuke*. “Subject and object, subjectivity and objectivity.”  
Bibliography of Earlier Glossaries  
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Acknowledgements

## CRITICAL READINGS ON JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM (4 Vols. SET) edited by John A. Tucker [Series: Critical Readings, Brill, 9789004229709]

CRITICAL READINGS ON JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM facilitates more in-depth and profound understandings of the many dimensions of Confucianism in Japan by bringing together important studies from the disciplines of history, philosophy, and religion, as well as

important texts in translation. Volume one examines historical unfoldings of Japanese Confucianism as a stimulating array of intellectual expressions operative from the beginnings of Japanese literary culture through the present. Volume two explores philosophical approaches to Confucian ethics, metaphysics, and political thinking. Volume three reveals important religious and spiritual dimensions of Confucianism. Reinforcing these, the final volume presents several Japanese Confucian texts in translation. Overall, the volumes offer a vision of Confucianism as a dynamic and multifaceted force in ongoing developments of Japanese culture.

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## **HANDBOOK OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN** edited by Mark Mullins [Series: Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 5 Japan, Brill, 9789004131569]

This volume provides researchers and students of religion with an indispensable reference work on the history, cultural impact, and reshaping of Christianity in Japan. Divided into three parts, Part I focuses on Christianity in Japanese history and includes studies of the Roman Catholic mission in pre-modern Japan, the 'hidden Christian' tradition, Protestant missions in the modern period, Bible translations, and theology in Japan. Part II examines the complex relationship between Christianity and various dimensions of Japanese society, such as literature, politics, social welfare, education for women, and interaction with other religious traditions. Part III focuses on resources for the study of Christianity in Japan and provides a guide to archival collections, research institutes, and bibliographies. Based on both Japanese and Western scholarship, readers will find this volume to be a fascinating and important guide.

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This Handbook is the product of international scholarly collaboration. I was approached by Brill about the possibility of preparing a volume on Christianity in Japan for the Handbuch der Orientalistik Series in 1996, during a sabbatical at the University of Edinburgh. While I could see the value of the project, it was one I could not envision taking on by myself. I agreed to serve as general editor of such a volume if given time to recruit a team of specialists to contribute chapters on their own areas of expertise. The editors at Brill accepted this proposal and I began to seek the advice of colleagues on how best to organize such a reference work. The following year I returned to Meiji Gakuin University in Tokyo and was delighted to find that members of the Research Institute for Christian Studies considered the proposed volume a project worthy of their support. The Institute not only enthusiastically endorsed the project but provided five years of financial support, which enabled

me to draw together contributions by many fine scholars from around the world engaged in ongoing research related to Christianity in Japan.

As a world religion that travels the globe, Christianity has influenced and shaped various cultures and societies, while at the same time being reshaped and transformed by local cultures. Although a relative latecomer to Japan's religious scene and often regarded as an intrusive "foreign" influence or "outsider" from the West, Christianity is hardly the only foreign-born religion in Japan. Buddhism, Confucianism, and numerous New Religions have similarly been transplanted from abroad. Without disregarding the importance of various indigenous folk and Shinto traditions, the larger and fascinating story of religion in Japan is, in fact, one of the reception, impact, and adaptation of foreign-born religions in relation to native traditions and cultural concerns. The aim of this volume is to provide students and scholars of religion and Asian studies with a guide to research on Christianity within this larger context of Japanese religious history, culture, and society.

To the casual observer it may appear that Christianity has remained a marginal and largely insignificant religion in Japan. This impression is not without some foundation. Christianity has had more difficulty in shedding its "foreign" images and associations than has Buddhism and hence remained a minority religion throughout its history in Japan. Even today, less than 1 per-cent of the Japanese population belongs to a Christian church of any kind. This seems particularly low when compared to Japan's closest neighbor, South Korea, where Christianity claims the allegiance of over one-quarter of the population. While churches have continued to report baptisms and membership increases throughout the postwar period, the rate of defections and the increase in the Japanese population have kept Christian churches from gaining a larger share of the market in Japan's religious economy.

It is evident that Christian churches represent a small population in Japan, but a focus on membership figures alone may hinder us from fully appreciating its significance in Japanese history. While missionary efforts have only achieved minimal success when measured in terms of converts or church membership, Christianity has nevertheless been a highly influential minority religious tradition that has had a significant impact on Japanese society, institutions, culture, and even other religions. The disproportionate role of Christians in the field of education, for example, is readily apparent when one compares the number of private schools associated with the major religious traditions in Japan. The number of Christian schools, in fact, exceeds the number of Buddhist- and Shinto-related educational institutions combined (these numbers include universities, junior colleges, high schools, junior high schools, elementary schools, and kindergartens). In the field of contemporary Japanese literature, likewise, the works of the late Roman Catholic novelist Endo

Shusaku have sold millions of copies and have been widely read both within and outside the Japanese Christian community.

The wider influence of Christianity may also be seen in popular religious culture. Although exclusive commitment to a Christian church or any religious organization (Buddhist or Shinto) is still rare among Japanese, many have begun to accept the ritual contribution of Christianity (on their own terms) into the religious division of labor. Just as Shinto has traditionally dominated the rituals associated with birth, and Buddhism has monopolized rituals connected to death, Christian churches and school and hotel chapels are becoming a significant competitor in the sacralization of weddings. In 1982 most weddings (90 percent) were still conducted by Shinto priests, and only 5.1 percent were performed with a Christian service. By 1998, however, the percentage of Christian weddings had increased to over 53 percent. This trend of "Christian" weddings represents a natural Japanese appropriation of another religious tradition into the rites of passage in contemporary society. These few examples suggest that the significance of Christianity in Japan extends beyond what one may initially suppose on the basis of meager church statistics, and it is this wider impact that also needs serious consideration.

It is probably not an overstatement to suggest that Christianity is the most documented and studied minority religion in Japan. The scope and range of Japanese scholarship is apparent in the massive reference work, *Nihon Kirisutokyo rekishi daijiten* [Historical Dictionary of Christianity in Japan], a volume of over 1,700 pages, which draws on the expertise of some 1,300 plus scholars and writers from diverse denominational and non-religious institutions.

Building on this rich tradition of scholarship, this Handbook brings together the latest research on a broad range of topics related to Christianity in Japan. The plan and organization of this volume was designed to cover both the institutional development of Christian churches in Japan as well as the wider impact and influence of Christianity in various dimensions of Japanese society and culture. Part I, *Christianity in Japanese History*, covers the more familiar terrain of historical studies of transplanted mission churches (Catholic, Protestant Orthodox) and institutions, the largely ignored areas of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity, and the diverse Japanese responses to and appropriations of Christianity that fall outside of the framework of the Western churches (such as the "hidden Christians" and independent indigenous movements). Part II, *Christianity in Japanese Society and Culture*, considers the larger role of Christianity through a consideration of the fields of literature, education, social welfare and reform, politics, and the various interreligious encounters with other traditions (Buddhist, Shinto, and New Religions). Part III, *Resources for the Study of Christianity in Japan*, is more practical in orientation and provides a guide to archival resources in Japanese institutions, research institutes, and specialized publications and journals. In addition to the general

bibliography, readers are advised to consult the bibliographies at the end of each chapter for more extensive references for the topic under consideration. <>

## **CRITICAL READINGS ON CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN (4 VOLS. SET)** edited by Mark R. Mullins [Series: Critical Readings, Brill, ISBN: 9789004235144]

CRITICAL READINGS ON CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN is a multidisciplinary collection of scholarship on the history, cultural reshaping, and social impact of a relative latecomer to the world of Japanese religions. The selected studies are arranged historically and analyze the particular challenges and roles played by this minority religion over the course of five centuries, beginning with the mission of the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century.

The readings critically examine the diverse institutional forms of Christianity, including transplanted mission churches from the West, indigenous movements, and charismatic movements and churches from the new, non-Western centers of world Christianity. Particular attention is given to the role of Japanese actors in movements of social reform and political engagement, and to alternative expressions of Christianity through ritual, theology, and literature.

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This four-volume collection of readings may be seen as a companion to the *HANDBOOK OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN* (Brill 2003). It offers more detailed studies of the historical periods and various topics introduced and covered by this earlier work. At the outset, I should point out that this is a multidisciplinary collection. My aim has been to select studies that provide coverage of the many different approaches to the study of Christianity in Japan—historical, sociological, anthropological, theological, and literary—and to the wide-range of perspectives on the significance of Christianity as a minority tradition in Japanese society.

Disciplinary purists may not find this to their liking, but the field is diverse and various approaches yield insights worthy of consideration. A historian who spends his time in the archives carefully excavating the past may find it odd to be lined-up with anthropologists or sociologists whose work may be based largely on field research among the living or with literary scholars whose primary concern is textual analysis, but a critical understanding of the past and present of Christianity in Japan requires that we learn from these different research methodologies and sources of data.

Some readers could be concerned about the incorporation of both "insider" and "outsider" perspectives, but an adequate understanding of Christianity in contemporary Japan requires that we also know something about the normative views of Japanese Christians—how they articulate the faith, what issues they are concerned about, and how they think Christianity "should be" developed in this context. Like any other lived religion, Christianity is a multidimensional phenomenon that extends beyond sacred texts and institutions. It is practiced in Japan by a diverse range of actors with varying beliefs' and rituals and finds rich expression in diverse material and cultural forms. Although Christianity remains a minority religion in this context, its influence and impact extends far beyond the number of Japanese who have chosen to belong to one of the transplanted or indigenous churches. A variety of Christian actors—foreign, Japanese, clergy, laity, and women—have shaped the full range of human activity through movements of social reform, medical work, political engagement, education, literature and art. While all of these areas could not be covered extensively, or equally, the readings offered here will expose students to the extensive multidisciplinary field of research that has developed around the study of this minority religious tradition. The selected studies will also give readers a solid grasp of the historical development of Christianity in Japan, an appreciation of its wider socio-cultural impact, and insights into how Christianity has been reshaped in this cultural context.

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The "wish list" of materials I initially submitted was several hundred pages over the limit for the series, so a number of selections had to be removed. In several cases, the high cost of the permissions for reproduction made it prohibitive to include them. I have sought a balance of scholarship by Japanese and non-Japanese scholars, but in the end the limited availability of English publications by Japanese scholars—and lack of funding and time for new translations—meant that just over two-thirds of the 57 selections are by non-Japanese. In spite of these constraints, these volumes do offer readers with a wide range of scholarly interpretations and critical assessments of the history and role of Christianity in Japan and the diverse Japanese responses—both positive and critical to this foreign-born religion. The readings have been organized into four volumes according to broad historical periods that have been framed by significant changes in the political-legal environment as noted below.

**Volume 1: 1549-1857**

**1587 Hideyoshi issues order proscribing the Kirishitan religion.**

**1614 Bakufu government reissues the ban on the Kirishitan religion, expels foreign missionaries and some leading Kirishitan daimyo, launches severe persecution campaign, and introduces measures to eradicate the threat of the foreign religion.**

**1635 Nation-wide system of temple registration enacted (terauke seido, shumon aratame yaku, danka seido).**

**Volumes II-III: 1858-August 1945**

**1858 Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the United States. 1873 Removal of the notice boards and laws proscribing Christianity. 1889 Meiji Constitution Promulgated; Article 28 grants religious freedom to all citizens.**

**1890 Imperial Rescript on Education is issued, which defines the "duties" of citizens to the Emperor and nations; Meiji Constitution is enacted. 1939 Religious Organizations Law (shukyo dantai ho).**

**Volume 4: 1945-Present**

**1945 SCAP issues the Shinto Directive to separate religion and the state and establish the free practice of religion; the Religious Organizations Law is replaced by the Religious Juridical Persons Ordinance (shakyo hajoin rei).**

**1947 The postwar Constitution of Japan goes into effect; religious freedom and the separation of the state from religion are clearly defined by Articles 28 and 89.**

**1951 Religious Corporations Law (shakyo hojin ho) replaces the Religious Juridical Persons Ordinance.**

The possibilities for this foreign-born religion in each period have been fundamentally shaped by the extent of religious freedom allowed by the political authorities, which has evolved and

often changed dramatically both expanding and constricting—in relation to both domestic conditions and international relations over the course of over four and a half centuries. Each volume is broken down into two or more sections according to period and topic, and in this brief introduction the author and year of publication will be identified accordingly.

## Volume 1: Christianity in Early Modern Japan

The focus of Volume 1 is on the first documented encounter between Christianity and Japan following the arrival of Roman Catholic missionaries in 1549. The readings consider various aspects of the foreign missionary enterprise, the different roles of Japanese converts in the growth of the Catholic mission, and examine some of the critical Japanese responses to this foreign-born religion.

### The Missionary Enterprise

Japan's first encounter with Christianity was mediated by the Catholic Church and began with the Society of Jesus, which initially held the exclusive rights to missionary work in this territory. While other religious orders later joined the Jesuits—the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians—it remained a Catholic monopoly. Protestants would not become competitors in the foreign missionary enterprise outside the West for another two centuries. A complete account of this Catholic period must not only address the policies and strategies of foreign missionaries (Sec. 1 Elison 1973; Ucerler 2008; and Curvelo 2007), but also consider how Japanese responded and the roles some played in the spread of the faith. Without denying the pioneer work and leadership of the wellknown missionaries like Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano, Japanese converts and trained lay assistants quickly exceeded the number of foreign missionaries and became important members of the missionary community. A number of Japanese, some known as *dojuku*—since they lived with the priests—were trained as catechists and often served as interpreters for the missionaries. There were also *confraria* or lay groups, which were organized to support outreach and charitable activities, and significant contributions by dedicated women who have often been missing from historical accounts (Sec. 1 Higashibaba 1999; Costa 2007; Gossman 1994; and Ward 2005).

### The Japanese Context and Critical Responses

This relatively successful period of Catholic mission has been referred to as "the Christian Century" with the number of converts estimated to have reached between 300,000 and

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760,000. Following the unification of the country under Oda Nobunaga, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, however, new strict policies toward the foreign and potentially subversive faith were adopted. In 1587 Hideyoshi issued an edict to banish Jesuit missionaries from Japan, with the explanation that "Japan is a country of the Kami [Gods] and for the padres to come hither and preach a devilish law, is a most reprehensible and evil thing." While this edict was only sporadically enforced for several decades, it had clearly identified Christianity as an evil teaching (*jakyo*) that was incompatible with Japanese religious traditions and sensibilities. It was the enforcement of the nation-wide ban on the *Kirishitan* issued in 1614 that eventually brought an end to the Catholic mission. Missionaries were expelled and prominent *Kirishitan* *daimyo* and their families were deported to Manila and Macao. Those priests who tried to continue mission work surreptitiously, and the faithful who refused to renounce the proscribed religion, faced intense persecution, torture, and death.

The Tokugawa authorities created an effective system to monitor the population and enforce their anti-Christian policies. Buddhist institutions were mobilized to administer a system of registration for the entire population that aimed at the elimination of this proscribed religion. In order to receive certification by a temple (*tera* *uke* *seido*) and be registered as a member of the Buddhist parish (*danka*), members of local communities were required to participate in the *fumie* ritual, which involved stepping on a sacred image of Christ or Mary to publicly deny the faith. The nationwide implementation of this system required a massive expansion of temples throughout towns and villages across Japan. "While there were only 13,037 temples during the Kamakura era," Kitagawa explains, "the number increased to 469,934 during the Tokugawa period." These anti-Christian policies eventually reduced the Christian population and contributed to the formation of close familial bonds between households and Buddhist temples across many generations (Sec. 2 Nosco 1996; Hur 2007; Screech 2012).

It was not just the political authorities that were concerned with the challenges represented by this foreign religion. Religious leaders, priests, and scholars representing pre-existing and established Buddhist and Confucian traditions were also troubled by the influence of Christianity and critically engaged it from the early to late Tokugawa period (Sec. 2 Elisonas 2000; Schrimpf 2008; Gramlich-Oka 2004). It was under these difficult circumstances that Christianity was forced underground, which set the stage for the development of the "hidden Christian" tradition (*Kakure Kirishitan*), an eclectic faith that evolved after these communities were separated from the priests and resources of the Church. It reappeared as an alternative

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tradition to the faith reintroduced by Catholic missionaries when they returned after Japan was forced to end the long period of national isolation (Sec. 2 Harrington 1980; Nosco 1993).

## Volume II: Christianity in Imperial Japan

The second encounter between Japan and Christianity began in 1859, just six years after Commodore Matthew Perry sailed into the Tokyo harbor with his intimidating "black ships," and demanded on behalf of the U.S. government that Japan reopen its ports to merchant ships and sign a treaty to allow trade with the United States. The political-legal context of Christian mission during this period evolved rather quickly from one of "prohibition" to "toleration" with the notice boards proscribing the foreign faith removed in 1873 (Sec. 1 Maxey 2007; Abe 1978). Open and active missionary work only became possible after this year and the number of missionaries sent to Japan began to increase rapidly.

As a result of considerable foreign diplomatic pressure, an article on religious freedom was drafted (Article 28) to be included in the Meiji Constitution, which went into effect in 1890. This made it legal to engage in Christian missionary activity, but it also set limits on how Japanese were able to practice this faith: "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." The constraints on Japanese Christians become particularly evident under the conditions of extreme nationalism in wartime Japan from the 1930s (see Section 2 of Vol. III).

The Christian missionary enterprise rapidly became a more complicated one during this second period. The Catholics resumed mission work with the arrival of the Societe des Missions Etrangères from France in 1859, but the Protestant Episcopal Church, Presbyterian Church, and Dutch Reformed Church—all from the United States—sent missionaries to initiate work that same year. American Baptists soon followed. The first representative of the Russian Orthodox Church arrived in 1861 initially to serve in a chapel of the Russian Consulate in Hakodate, Hokkaido, but this soon became a base for the Orthodox mission to the Japanese. The pluralization of the Christian missionary enterprise continued and became one of the central features of this period.

Although Christianity is often regarded as a "Western" religion in this context, this broad category tends to obscure the multicultural and multinational nature of the missionary movement since the mid-nineteenth century. By 1938—when new foreign Christian initiatives came to a halt in the nationalistic environment of wartime Japan—there were already 55

different Protestant churches or missionary societies and some 35 Catholic religious orders engaged in mission work in Japan drawn from over a dozen different countries with their own distinctive cultures and religious traditions.<sup>6</sup> The readings in this section provide some helpful coverage of these diverse transplanted religious cultures (Sec. 1 Powles 1969; Lehmann 1979; Naganawa 2003; and Yamaguchi 2005) and to the development of new Japanese Christian initiatives and indigenous movements (Sec. 1 Howes 1965; Oshiro 2007). The history of Christianity in Japan, of course, is not just about the work of foreign missionaries and transplanted churches. Japanese Christians assumed a prominent role in shaping the agenda and role of churches and missions both domestically and in the expanding Japanese empire, which included Korea, Manchuria, Indonesia, and the Philippines (Sec. 2 Ion 2004; Davidann 1996; Hara 1997; and Terada 1999).

### Volume III: Cultural and Social Dimensions of Christianity in Modern Japan

It is widely recognized that the impact of Christianity on Japanese culture and society extended far beyond the walls of the transplanted churches and indigenous movements. The readings in Volume III consider various aspects of this social impact and the different Japanese Christian responses to the challenges represented by the growing nationalistic environment and increasing state intervention and control of religious organizations from the Meiji period until the end of World War II in 1945.

### Social and Political Impact

This section begins with a study that places Christian churches within the larger context of competing religions—established Buddhism and New Religions, for example—and considers the particular problems faced by converts to the Christian religion in conservative rural communities. Church membership in many of these situations was regarded as a form of "deviant behavior" and incompatible with the demands of household and communal religion (Sec. 1 Morioka 1975). The studies that follow consider the wider Christian impact on individual values and behavior, including changes in the Japanese Protestant understanding of gender and marriage, as well as the larger role of Christian groups as advocates for social change, their contributions to social welfare activities, and the significant role of some individual Christians in Japanese political life (Sec. 1 Ballhatchet 2007; Maus 2013; Dorn 2004; Powles 1978; and Duus 1978).

## Japanese Christians, Nationalism, and the State

Although the Meiji Constitution guaranteed religious freedom, Japanese Christians and churches were divided on how to legitimately integrate their faith with their "duties as subjects" to the Emperor and the demands of the State. In spite of the relative freedom they enjoyed at times, Christians sometimes exercised self-restraint and censorship in order to promote their image as patriotic citizens who were not bound by foreign institutions and values (Sec. 2 Anderson 2007). Numerous controversies and incidents occurred during this period surrounding the government's promotion of civil religious rituals related to the Imperial Rescript on Education at ceremonies in public schools and in patriotic rituals and memorial services for the war dead at many of the "non-religious" shrines of State Shinto. Christians who did not comply with government directives and fulfill their duties as loyal citizens eventually faced ostracism and suspicion concerning their identity as true Japanese. This became a serious issue for individual Christians and for many churches and mission schools throughout Japan and the larger empire (Sec. 2 Minamaki 1985; Ion 1999). The pressure for religious minorities to conform became especially intense after the Diet passed the Religious Organizations Law (shaky; dantai ho) in 1939. This law empowered the state to disband any religious organizations whose teachings were in conflict with the Imperial Way. In response to the nationalism of this period, many church leaders sought to prove their patriotism and developed theologies of legitimization for the Imperial Way and Japan's military expansionism. According to some, the Japanese people were a chosen race with a destiny to establish the kingdom of God as agents of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Although most Japanese Christians and institutions eventually conformed and even promoted the government's position, there remained some minority voices of resistance and small groups of Christians who refused to conform, and some of their leaders were jailed and churches closed until the end of the war (Sec. 2 Sachs 1989; Kramer 2011; Mullins 1994; Shogimen 2010).

## Volume IV: Christianity in Postwar and Contemporary Japan

The selections in Volume IV are divided into four sections with readings that consider the historical development of Christianity under the new conditions established by the Occupation authorities, sociological and anthropological studies that examine the diverse forms of Christianity and the impact of secularization, indigenization, and globalization on

these social institutions, studies of postwar developments in Japanese theology, and, finally, several selections that address the relationship between Christianity and Japanese literature.

## Occupation Period

With Japan's defeat on 15 August 1945 and the arrival of the Occupation Forces, the stage was set for the fundamental restructuring of Japanese society and the creation of a political and legal environment more favorable for the development of Christianity. Under the authority of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), the Religions Division staff within the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) quickly set about enacting policies in line with the instructions issued by the State Department to establish religious freedom and end the Japanese government's support for Shinto institutions. Before the end of the year, SCAP issued a "Shinto Directive" (15 December 1945), which ordered the disestablishment of State Shinto, the removal of Shinto from public institutions, and the termination of forced shrine visits.

In addition to the Shinto Directive, SCAP abolished the Religious Organizations Law of 1939 and initially replaced it with a provisional Religious Corporation Ordinance (*shukyo hojin rei*) in 1946 in order to allow religious groups to be officially registered with the government "without being subjected to government control or supervision" or required to pass the litmus test of "orthodoxy" (i.e., "the Imperial Way), which was embedded in the Religious Organizations Law of 1939. The two basic principles of religious freedom and religion-state separation were also incorporated into the new postwar Constitution (Articles 20 and 89) in 1947.

While these principles and policies were supported by some of the officers in the Religions Division, General MacArthur himself was convinced that the postwar democratization of Japan would require Christianization and used his power and prestige as the Supreme Commander to support the return of missionaries and Christian missionary activity throughout the Occupation period. The tension between the stated ideals of the Occupation policy and the actual practices of MacArthur and many of the military personnel on the ground has been known for some years (Sec. 1 Wittner 1971), but it has become the recent focus of more detailed studies. The accumulating evidence from this period reveals that the support of Christianity by the Occupation authorities essentially replaced the Japanese government's support of Shinto, which had characterized the prewar period. While the Christian missionary enterprise was supported in many ways, Shinto institutions faced a

rather strict application of the "separation" principle and were monitored closely throughout the period. Survival meant self-censorship and a reshaping of rituals and practices into a form that would be approved by the CIE Religions Division. A free-market religious economy would only be realized after the end of the Occupation in 1952.

The close relationship between Christians and the Imperial Household during the Occupation has also been a fascinating topic of research (Sec. Shillony 2008). The Emperor toured war devastated Japan with Kagawa Toyohiko, the well-known Christian evangelist and social reformer. Uemura Tamaki, one of the first ordained women in the Presbyterian Church in Japan, was invited to lead weekly Bible studies for the Imperial Household in 1947, initially for the emperor's daughters, but soon attended by the Empress and even by the Emperor on occasion. These regular gatherings continued until the end of the Occupation. The Christian influence in the Imperial Household was also related to the work of Elisabeth Gray Vining, a Quaker from Philadelphia, who had been recruited to serve as the tutor for crown prince Akihito and his sisters, which she did for four years from 1946. Many speculated that the Emperor and members of the Imperial Household would actually convert to Christianity, a possibility that was certainly communicated to General MacArthur by various Japanese Christians and undoubtedly generated some enthusiasm and support for his postwar mission to Christianize and democratize Japan. With considerable support from MacArthur and the Occupation infrastructure, there were already some 2,500 Christian missionaries (approximately 1,500 Protestant and 1,000 Catholic) representing 142 different churches and mission societies engaged in mission work across the country by 1949. This exceeds the peak in the number of missionaries during the pre-war period by some five to six hundred.

In spite of the support of the Christian missionary enterprise by the Occupation infrastructure and postwar conditions that were favorable for the growth of Christian churches—religious freedom and urbanization, for example—the recovery and expansion of Christian churches was short-lived and growth for most churches leveled off by the early 1970s. Christian educational and social welfare institutions expanded in the decades that followed, but secularization inevitably accompanied such expansion since the strict "Christian code" could no longer be enforced by institutions once their size exceeded the number of qualified Christians needed to sustain larger enterprises. Many Japanese Christian leaders recovered a "prophetic" stance in the postwar decades—something that had been largely silenced during the war years—and began to engage a range of political and social issues related to debates



surrounding the Constitution and the preservation of Article 9, attempts to renationalize Yasukuni, the controversial military shrine, and address what some regarded as excessive economic development at the expense of Japan's neighbors in Asia (Sec. 1 Phillips 1981).

## Sociological and Anthropological Studies

There is a long history of social science research on Christianity in Japan. In addition to case studies of well-known churches (Sec. 2 Shimpo 1968), a number of researchers have analyzed the processes of indigenization in the postwar period within older denominations and examined the social organization and cultural transformation of the Kakure Kirishitan communities, which are struggling to survive in contemporary Japan (Sec. 2 Reid 1981; Turnbull 1998). Theories of secularization have also been applied to the study of Japanese denominations, which address internal struggles over how the faith should be related to issues in the public sphere as well as problems of institutional decline (Sec. 2 Reid 1979).

One distinctive feature of Christianity in the postwar period has been the proliferation of independent post-denominational evangelical churches. In contrast to the independent indigenous movements founded by Japanese earlier in the twentieth century—Uchimura Kanzō's Non-Church movement (Mukyokai), for example—many of these churches regard American evangelical (non-denominational) churches as their primary reference group.<sup>13</sup> In the early years of the Occupation period (1947) there were only 18 such churches, but by 2008 the number had grown to some 930 churches, 1,335 clergy, which together had a membership of over 46,000. Most of these post-denominational churches consist of very small congregations, but collectively they are almost twice the size of the older Orthodox Church, for example, and are approaching the size of the Anglican-Episcopal Church. Even though Christian churches have grown throughout the postwar period, the growth of the newer evangelical, Pentecostal, and charismatic groups has far exceeded that of the older established denominations and churches, and these new forms will require more serious consideration in the years ahead (Sec. 2 Ikegami 1993).

A more recent development shaping Christianity in Japan has been the steady decline of missionaries from North America and Europe and the rapid increase of missionaries from the new centers of world Christianity, such as South Korea, Brazil, and the Philippines. In South Korea, for example, the number belonging to Christian churches now exceeds one-quarter of the population. Given the rather saturated domestic market, Korean churches have become a

major source of the international missionary movement and have invested considerable resources to mission in Japan. The number of Korean Protestant missionaries working in Japan reached some 900 by 2009 and a number of Catholic priests from Korea are now being recruited to serve the Catholic Church in Japan, which is now facing a serious shortage of priests and struggling to provide pastoral care for a growing number of "priest-less" parishes. In addition to the arrival of missionaries from new centers of world Christianity, the process of globalization over the past three decades has brought a wave of migrant workers to Japan in such numbers that it is rapidly transforming the Catholic Church from a "Japanese" into a "multicultural" institution (Sec. 2 Mullins 2011).

### Japanese Christian Thought and Theology

Introductions to Japanese theology often refer to the "German captivity" of the Japanese churches due to the Euro-centric orientation of theologians and theological education in Japan (Sec. 3 Odagaki 1997). Over the past century, however, a number of indigenous theologies and perspectives have been advanced by Japanese thinkers under the strong influence of nationalism, through dialogue with Buddhism and the Kyoto School of Philosophy, and in relation to other religious traditions (Sec. 3 Miyahara 2008; Yamamoto 2011). A Japanese liberation theology has also been developed to address the situation of burakumin, an outcaste group with a long history of social marginality and discrimination. Feminist theology and focused attention on issues of concern to women in church and society are also finding a place in contemporary theology.

The postwar period has also seen the emergence of a public or political theology in relation to what is widely perceived as a resurgence of neo-nationalism and efforts by some political leaders and movements to restore a close relationship between the government and religion, which is perceived by some Japanese Christians as an effort to return Japan to the values and social order that dominated the prewar period. Many churches and denominations have been critically addressing these issues for several decades now. The Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan and Japan Catholic Council on Peace and Justice, for example, have issued numerous statements of protest to the government regarding efforts to renationalize Yasukuni Shrine and to promote official visits by the prime minister and government officials, and to the more recent legalization of the Hinomaru (national flag) and Kimigayo (national anthem), approval of revisionist history textbooks for public schools, revision of the Fundamental Education Law, and the proposal of the Liberal Democratic Party to revise the Constitution (particularly

Articles 20 and 89). Their stance today is based on critical self-reflection and a belief that the Church failed to perform its prophetic task during the difficult circumstances of the wartime period.

### Christianity and Japanese Literature

The final section on literature provides only a sampling of a field of great significance for understanding the wider influence of Christianity in contemporary Japan. While very few Japanese are familiar with the names of theologians, many Japanese both within and outside of the church are familiar with novelists such as Endo Shusaku and Sono Ayoko, both Catholic authors, and Miura Ayako, more familiar to those in the Protestant world. A Catholic author like Endo, whose works were translated into many languages, even established an international reputation before his death. The selections included here provide a window into a rich world of poetry, short stories, and novels, by writers who have been deeply influenced by their encounter with Christianity. <>

## THE DOCTOR OF MERCY: THE SACRED TREASURES OF ST. GREGORY OF NAREK by Michael Papazian [Liturgical Press, 9780814685013]

2020 Catholic Press Association second place award in theology--history of theology, church fathers and mothers

In April 2015, Pope Francis named the Armenian poet and theologian St. Gregory of Narek (c. 945-1003) a Doctor of the Church. Though venerated for centuries by Catholic and Orthodox Armenians, Gregory is an obscure figure virtually unknown to the rest of the Church. Adding to the extraordinary nature of the pope's declaration, Gregory has the distinction of being the only Catholic Doctor who lived his entire life outside the visible communion of the Catholic Church. *The Doctor of Mercy* aims to provide an accessible introduction to Gregory's literary works, theology, and spirituality, as well as to make the case for the contemporary relevance of his writings to the problems that face the Church and the world today.

*Michael Papazian is professor of philosophy at Berry College in Rome, Georgia. After completing his philosophy doctorate at the University of Virginia, he studied classical Armenian at Oxford University. He publishes on ancient Greek philosophy and medieval Armenian theology, most*

recently a book-length translation of an eighth-century Armenian commentary on the Gospels, Step'anos Siwnets'i: Commentary on the Four Evangelists (SIS Publications, 2014).

## Reviews

"In **THE DOCTOR OF MERCY**, Papazian makes a distinctive contribution by providing the most comprehensive introduction to St. Gregory of Narek, a medieval mystic who experienced and expressed a reality not easily comprehended. The book touches upon everything conceivable about the Saint and his works and does so in an appealingly clear fashion. Papazian acts as a guide who takes the reader on a tour to meet the Saint in his time and place, explaining all along the things encountered on the way and those to be expected upon arrival. Then comes the embrace." **Abraham Terian, Emeritus Professor of Armenian Theology and Patristics, St. Nersess Armenian Seminary**

"This is an important book which makes a real contribution to the field of Church history and historical theology, with a depth of research enough for scholars but very accessible so that anyone can read it. I found the book very satisfying and enlightening. Well worth the time of anyone interested in the history of doctrine and spirituality, but the book also demonstrates why the study of Gregory is relevant and worthwhile in our time. I especially appreciated the way the author connects Christological implications to artistic depictions of Christ, demonstrating that all art teaches something about its subject." **Jim L. Papandrea, Professor of Church History and Historical Theology, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary**

"In our own hour of fear and doubt about the endurance of societies, civilization and the planet, *The Doctor of Mercy* is a treasure chest well worth opening." **Catholic Books Review**

"A reliable guide to the life, work, and theology of Gregory of Narek." *Ecclesia orans*

"All in all, *The Doctor of Mercy* is a wonderful introduction to St. Gregory of Narek, his world, and his richly generous and generative spirituality, which is so memorably expressed in his poetry. Papazian is a knowledgeable guide to, and a skillful and insightful expositor of St. Gregory's works. It is to be hoped that his excellent book will inspire readers to immerse themselves further in the 'sacred treasures' of the great Armenian Doctor, many of which are available in English translations." *Catholic Library World*

"Papazian navigates the reader through different historical and theological themes, ultimately landing us at Gregory's legacy in the contemporary world. With great sympathy and engaging

prose, he points out possible ways that Gregory's theological ethos can inspire, stimulate, and energize Christian living today." *Worship*

"A very informative introduction to Gregory of Narek with a very helpful bibliography, clear argumentation, and an ecumenical perspective." *Worship*

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Saint Gregory of Narek, an extraordinary interpreter of the human soul, offers words which are prophetic for us: "I willingly blame myself with myriad accounts of all the incurable sins, from our first forefather through the end of his generations in all eternity, I charge myself with all these voluntarily" (BL 72). How striking is his sense of universal solidarity! How small we feel before the greatness of his invocations: "Remember, [Lord,] . . . those of the human race who are our enemies as well, and for their benefit accord them pardon and mercy. . . . Do not destroy those who persecute me, but reform them, root out the vile ways of this world, and plant the good in me and them" (BL 83). —Pope Francis

On April 12, 2015, during a mass in St. Peter's Basilica commemorating the centennial of the beginning of the Armenian Genocide, Pope Francis formally pronounced the tenth-century Armenian monk, poet, and theologian St. Gregory of Narek a Doctor (from the Latin word for teacher) of the Universal

Church. Gregory thereby became the thirty-sixth of these acknowledged great masters of Catholic faith and spirituality. Among the doctors are renowned theologians like St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas; mystics and visionaries like St. Teresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, and St. Hildegard of Bingen; and Gregory's fellow poet from the East, St. Ephrem the Syrian. Books, both scholarly and popular, about the most prominent doctors easily fill many library shelves. A reader knowing little about any of these august figures would be able to find readily at least one and often many books that would introduce their teachings. Just recently, a new English translation of Augustine's Confessions has been published, joining scores of other English translations of this classic. Many books will gently guide anyone desiring to learn more about Aquinas's philosophy. There are several popular translations and presentations of Hildegard, the most recently proclaimed Doctor of the Church prior to Gregory.

Many of Gregory's works have been translated into English in recent years. But, unlike most of his fellow doctors, there has been to date no English language monograph presenting his life and theology to a broader audience. The present book seeks to fill that void. Apart from his now being in very elite company, Gregory also deserves to be better known because of his unusual circumstances. Outside of his native Armenia he is little known and rarely studied. He is perhaps the most obscure of the doctors. Even more remarkably, he lived his entire life outside of visible communion with the Catholic Church. He was a priest and monk of the Armenian Apostolic Church, which had by the sixth century rejected the Council of Chalcedon of 451, the fourth of the great ecumenical councils that defined orthodox doctrine, thus taking his church out of communion with most of the rest of the Christian world. On a number of websites, people responded to Pope Francis's declaration with the question "Is the new Doctor of the Church a Catholic?" The quick answer to this question is negative: Gregory was never during his earthly life a member of a church in communion with Rome. Consequently, the declaration of Gregory as the first "non-Catholic" Doctor of the Church is an extraordinary development in ecumenism and a gesture of charity by the Catholic Church toward another Christian church that it once deemed heretical and schismatic.

Gregory's addition to the ranks of the doctors thus has a significance that goes beyond just his writings, as impressive and important as they are. The pope's address at the beginning of the mass made clear that, beyond its ecumenical significance, his declaration was also meant as a message relevant to contemporary world affairs. Gregory bears witness to the presence of a once vibrant and flourishing Christian culture in the Middle East that today is on the verge of extinction. His monastery was abandoned during the 1915 Armenian Genocide and subsequently demolished, as were so many other churches and religious institutions in recent years in nearby countries torn apart by war. Gregory is a witness for us of an earlier period in Middle Eastern history, a time that was certainly not

ideal, but when the region was more pluralistic, with members of various Christian communions as well as other religions coexisting and working together. The various ethnic and religious communities were not closed off to each other but interacted both socially and economically, and they inspired each other culturally. Gregory's native land today looks very different. The once prominent Christian presence in eastern Anatolia is almost completely nonexistent today as a result of the genocide that killed over a million Armenians and other Christians, and scattered the survivors into a diaspora that extends throughout the world. The monasteries and churches that filled the landscape of the Lake Van basin are today unused and in ruins. Gregory's life reveals to us today that the destruction and religious intolerance that has engulfed much of the world—and especially the Middle East—in recent history is by no means inevitable.

But besides testifying to a possibility of a different reality in the Middle East and other places where intolerance appears to flourish, Gregory focuses in his writings on a number of themes that are important to Francis's papacy. Among these themes is God's mercy, which Gregory illustrates and celebrates throughout his works. The prevalence in Gregory's thought of mercy, which Francis has remarked on in several of his homilies and addresses, makes him a fitting choice as the first Doctor of a papacy in which God's mercy has been a leading theme. Because mercy is so central to Gregory's works, I have thought it appropriate to refer to him as Doctor of Mercy.

In the last few decades, there has been a burst of new scholarship that has brought to light more details on Gregory's background, as well as on his works. This book aims to present some of the results of that scholarship, much of which is currently only available in Armenian. Now that he is a Doctor of the Universal Church, Gregory's wish that his works would reach all the people of the world has begun to be realized. My hope for this book is that it will make a modest contribution toward his goal of composing spiritual poetry to inspire and heal all the nations of the world.

This is a book primarily of theology rather than a biography of its subject. We know very little about the details of Gregory's life, an ignorance that he would encourage due to his monastic humility and his desire to represent, through his penitential prayers, not just himself but all of humanity in its reconciliation with God. Nor is this book a history. Of course, we cannot understand Gregory and his writings apart from the history and culture that shaped him, so there will be considerable attention to the history of the church and monasticism in Armenia. But the purpose of this historical information is to allow us to understand Gregory's teachings and to apply them to our lives and spiritual journey. The only reason he wrote was to offer solace and peace in the light and love of God to an agitated and alienated world. Accordingly, I will try as best I can to honor his wish that his voice may give to all people "tender inspiration, sweet embraces so that the grace of the Lord's light may enter and dwell among us."



I wrote this book not strictly for specialists. Its purpose is to introduce Gregory's poetry and thought to any interested reader having some familiarity with Christian history or theology. To that end, I have attempted to keep details of a more specialized scholarly nature in the footnotes. Armenian and Greek words will occasionally intrude into the body of the text, but details of a more tangential nature are left in the footnotes. Armenian words are written according to the Library of Congress system of transliteration. However, I use common English equivalents of names whenever they exist. This is in keeping with the custom followed in the cases of names in other linguistic traditions. For example, we are used to encountering in English books not Ioannes but John Chrysostom. So, too, it seems appropriate to refer to the subject of this book not as Grigor Narekats'i—the transliteration of his Armenian name followed by the name of his monastery's location appended with the Armenian place name suffix *ats'i*—but to the English equivalent, Gregory of Narek. In the case of names with no common English equivalents—for example, Gregory's father, Khosrov Andzewats'i—I keep to the Library of Congress transliteration.

The footnotes contain references to editions of the primary sources in the original languages. For Armenian authors, most of the texts are taken from the *Matenagirk' Hayots'*. I cite passages by volume, page number, and section number (or in the case of the Book of Lamentation and hymns, the line number). So MH 12:178.20 refers to volume 12, page 178, line 20. For the Book of Lamentation, I also cite the prayer number and section according to the MH arrangement. When English translations are available, I give the page reference to the translation, although my translations will often differ, usually not significantly, from the cited version.

Biblical citations and verse numbering (including the numbering of the psalms) are based on the New Revised Standard Version. The only exception is that I translate Gregory's version of biblical passages in those cases in which his text differs significantly from the NRSV.

## Reading St. Gregory in Translation

Those readers wanting to read Gregory's writings in English translation now have available to them a number of good translations. His great poem, the Book of Lamentation, was translated by Thomas J. Samuelian under its alternate title, *Speaking with God from the Depths of the Heart*. The most recent editions of this translation include revisions made with the Armenian-American poet Diana Der Hovanesian. For those who know French, the translation by Annie and Jean-Pierre Mahe has the advantage of a detailed introduction and extensive annotations. Translating Gregory is a difficult task. Virtually every page of his great poem contains neologisms and obscure expressions. He introduced a large number of words into Armenian, for we find hundreds of entries in the monumental Armenian lexicon *Nor Bargirk' Haykazea Lezui* (New Lexicon of the Armenian Language) that cite just a single passage from Gregory's corpus. When I discuss any such words in this book, I designate them as hapax

legomena or simply a hapax, which means that they are words that occur only once in the known body of ancient and medieval Armenian literature.

Beyond just the presence of these singular words in Gregory's poetry, his style is also highly complex and demanding. He makes use of wordplay and equivocation that often defies translation. Although I consulted both of these translations in the course of writing this book, I generally offer my own translations from the Armenian text of the Book of Lamentation? When I deviate from other translations, whether of this work or Gregory's other writings, I do not mean to suggest that the other translations are in error. Usually my revisions are done to emphasize a point I wish to make or to bring forward the theological or historical context of Gregory's text. Samuelian and the Mahes have both produced fine translations that allow the reader to get a good sense of Gregory's poem.

For Gregory's commentary on the Song of Songs there is an excellent and elegant English translation by Roberta Ervine. Ervine's introduction also provides important insights on the historical and theological background of the work. The French translation by Lévon Pétrossian is a valuable resource that includes a detailed set of introductions and notes.

Abraham Terian's skilled and inspiring translations of the festal hymns and encomia make available to English readers even more of Gregory's corpus. The hymns show that Gregory's poetic genius extends beyond the Book of Lamentation to his liturgical compositions, while the encomia are important sources of Gregory's theology and his perspective on church history. Tamar Dasnabedian's French translation and more extended treatment of the encomium on the Virgin Mary is also highly recommended especially for those interested in Gregory's Mariology.

It is hoped that more translations and studies, especially of his enormous body of hymns, will soon appear now that Gregory is gaining a wider profile within the universal church. <>

## **FROM THE DEPTHS OF THE HEART: ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE PRAYERS OF ST. GREGORY OF NAREK translated and annotated by Abraham Terian [Liturgical Press, 9780814684641]**

**2022 Catholic Media Association honorable mention in prayer: collections of prayers**  
St. Gregory of Narek (ca. 945–1003), Armenian mystic poet and theologian, was named Doctor of the Church by Pope Francis on April 12, 2015. Not so well known in the West, the saint holds

a distinctive place in the Armenian Church by virtue of his Prayer Book and hymnic odes—among other works. His writings are equally prized as literary masterpieces, with the Prayer Book as the *magnum opus*. With this meticulous translation of the prayers, St. Gregory of Narek enters another millennium of wonderment, now in a wider circle. The prayers resound from their author's heart—albeit in a different language, rendered by a renowned translator of early Armenian texts and a theologian.

*Abraham Terian is emeritus professor of Armenian theology and patristics at St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, Armonk, New York. He is an internationally renowned expert in the fields of Hellenistic, early Christian, and medieval Armenian literatures—fields in which he has published extensively, including The Festal Works of St. Gregory of Narek (Liturgical Press, 2016). Most recently, he was Robert F. and Margaret S. Goheen Fellow in Classical Philosophy at the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina (2018–2019).*

## Reviews

"St. Gregory of Narek, revered and beloved monastic author of tenth-century Armenia, gave the 95 poetic prayers to his own tradition; called simply The Narek, they came to be regarded as a form of sacred scripture. Armenians often travelled with a copy of this beloved book; English speakers can now see the reason for their attention and their devotion. We are deeply indebted to Professor Abraham Terian for this clear, elegant and beautiful translation of the prayers, which demonstrates why St. Gregory has at last been declared a doctor of the universal church."

**Robin Darling-Young, The Catholic University of America**

"Professor Terian's translation of St. Gregory of Narek's *Prayers* is masterful. His scrupulously literal rendition is lucid, the poetry, exquisite. Like the prayers themselves, the edition captures the reader's mind, heart and soul—by its erudite introduction and annotations, by the rhapsodic beauty of the English, and by the power of the words to lift the supplicant to the realm of the Divine Word."

**Bishop-Primate Michael Daniel Findikyan, Eastern Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church of America**

"With *From the Depths of the Heart*, a meticulous translation of the prayers, St. Gregory of Narek enters another millennium of wonderment, now in a wider circle."

*SirReadaLot*

"This is a book to be taken slowly, bit by bit, and used for prayer and reflection. Terian's translation and extensive annotation is most welcome."

*Spirit & Life*

"This book will be a 'must' for those with an interest in Armenian Christianity and will be eagerly read by those who wish to get to know another Doctor of the Church."

*The Downside Review*

"Terian's theological acumen shines through as he guides readers through Gregory's lamenting for the sins whose weight can only be 'scaled in heaps of sand' and searching for the elusive beauty that Christ promises sinners who turn to him."

*Christian Century*

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Mix of Poetic Prose and Verse

Translation of the Prayers

1 "Plaintive cries from the heart I offer to you"

2 "Grant the mercy of your grace"

3 "Through the prayers in this book"

4 "There is no answering on that day"

5 "How dare I come before your judgment?"

6 "The weight of my sins is scaled in heaps of sand"

7 "Woe to me!"

8 "What will you do, my lost soul?"

9 "I reprimand my soul"

- 10 "I begin constructing an edifice of faith"
  - 11 "In hope I believe"
  - 12 "Remembering the hope placed in you"
  - 13 "The Holy Trinity to help a sinner like me"
  - 14 "You resuscitated"
  - 15 "You are called Shepherd"
  - 16 "The light of your mercy"
  - 17 "The more you show mercy . . . "
  - 18 "I beg healing for my soul"
  - 19 "I will testify against myself"
  - 20 "Confession laid in repentance at your feet"
  - 21 "I shall confess all over again"
  - 22 "My blameworthy soul"
  - 23 "In the inner chambers of my heart"
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  - 25 "Like the wrecked sailboat"
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## Toward a Better Understanding of the Prayers

In the book of penitential prayers, Gregory has much in common with earlier mystical writers like Sts. Evagrius, John Cassian, John Climacus, Isaac of Nineveh, and his contemporary Symeon the New Theologian, as well as anonymous others like the pseudonymous Dionysius the Areopagite. They all had drunk from the same "living water" in desert or solitary places and in exchange for tears. The often punishing introspection of self-discipline, the fasting, the vigils, the meditations on Scripture, the urge to pray without ceasing and with tears were followed, in the fullest sense of the word, religiously. The longed-for outcome was the promised encounter with God, briefly in time and then eternally.

Gregory follows biblical prototypes of prayer, such as found in the Psalms and in certain of the prophetic books. In the manner of biblical prophets, he finds opportunity in prayer to speak back to God, as though taking issue with a perceived injustice—God's patience with a sinner like him. He often stands as in a divine court and employs trial language, both prosecutorial and condemnatory, with himself as the ever condemned and the ever forgiven. He knows the cathartic effect of pouring out one's heart before God.

While these are personal, confessional prayers, characterized by sighs and tears (more on their genre below), they are at the same time communal, in that they emanate from one who is a member of a monastic community, where also his prayers were first offered or read. In fact, Gregory's older brother Hovhannès was the abbot of the monastery of Narek at the time, and he is credited in the colophon for having helped in their transcription. But more than their immediate milieu and historical context,

they are universal and timeless prayers, for they reflect the full range of human feelings when in contrition. Although Prayer 72 is addressed to ascetic brothers, the book in its entirety is recommended to all people.

To join Gregory in prayer and to approach the Lord with him, some understanding of his theological anthropology is essential. Invariably, his anthropology is informed by the Genesis accounts of the creation of humankind and conditioned by the perceived consequences of the fall of the forebears in the Garden of Eden (Gen 1-3). Attendant to this biblical perspective, however, there are countless notions of the human nature that derive from classical philosophy—thanks to Hellenistic Judaism and the adoption of the theological anthropology of Philo of Alexandria by the church fathers." In his interpretation of the double account of humanity's creation (Gen 1:26-2:4a and 2:4b-7) as a single, composite creation, Philo equates the image of God (Gen 1:26-27) and the inbreathed divine spirit (Gen 2:7) as one and the same, allegorizing them as the human mind: the divine and rational part of the soul whereby humans are able to contemplate divine things and attain the virtues (especially wisdom) that bring the soul to happiness and immortality." Though marred by the fall but not eradicated, the divine image awaits restoration according to the theology of the fathers (and to the delight of Christian mystics). Alternately, Philo's theological anthropology seems to accommodate the apparently traditional, Platonized understanding of the two distinct accounts of humanity's creation as pointing to the dual nature of the human being: one spiritual, heavenly, and incorruptible, the other corporeal, earthly, and corruptible.

More immediate than Philo, however, Gregory's views on the creation and fall of humankind are imbued in the theology of the Cappadocian fathers, especially in Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Creation of Man*." Although these fathers embraced the Philonic interpretation of the divine image and breath in humanity as the mind, they elaborated on the Genesis passages christologically, especially in light of the Pauline hymn in Colossians 1:15-18, equating Christ with "the image of the invisible God." Thus for the fathers, Christ is "the archetypal image." Moreover, they departed from the Philonic/Origenist deterministic notions of sin and salvation as they systematized their understanding of humankind's fall and redemption through Christ. In their view, sin is more a product of human weakness in succumbing to constant temptation than the result of original sin, since the ontological origin of humans is not in their biological being but in their being "in Christ?" Like Philo and the Cappadocian fathers, Gregory embraces the "image of God" and the "breath of God" as one and the same: the logos (Arm. *ban*), the mind or the spirit—more than just the soul, but rather its dominant or ruling part, the faculty of reason (Arm. *ishkhanakann*; Gk. *to hegemonikon*). It governs not only the senses but also thoughts that find expression in speech, in uttered words that in their noblest manifestation (as in prayer) are akin to the Word, the Logos.



Though these prayers are Gregory's words (bank' or logoi), they are invariably related to Christ the Word," the Logos with whom Gregory is conversing, with whom Gregory feels a natural kinship because of the shared "image" and more so because of the Incarnation of the Word, whereby this kinship is reaffirmed. Christ understands the human condition well, hence these prayers, the bank' or logoi, are addressed to him, the Logos. Gregory could thus pray, "These are yours alone, Lord! By you I was moved to write them. Behold, I plead your own pleas, o Blessed One, from what belongs to you, grant grace" (Prayer 74.3). He is offering to the Lord that which is from him, this book of prayers as a rational sacrifice.

Gregory approaches the Lord confidently, to have a conversation with him—as indicated through the recurring epigraph given to the prayers: *i khorots` srti khosle end Astutsoy*, literally and maintaining the Armenian syntax, "From the depths of the heart a talk with God," rendered formally as "Speaking with God from the depths of the heart." Like the Hebrew prophets, at times Gregory talks back to God and is not slow to ask questions, even to express doubt as he seeks God's wisdom "for the reassurance of a doubter like me" (Prayer 30.5). Knowing that the Lord is "long-sufferer with doubters" (Prayer 32.3), Gregory seems to have been emboldened to ask more questions emanating from the heart. "Since I have allowed myself to lapse into my former expressions of endless despair, beating myself to death with the rod of doubt, I shall dare again with the slightest hope for pity to call upon the Holy Trinity to help a sinner like me" (Prayer 12.1). He is more emboldened by the fact that the incarnate Christ, who experienced humanity in its fullness and suffered because of his utmost love for humankind, understands human suffering. Gregory finds kinship with Christ at the human level just as he finds kinship with him in the divine image.

Belying this boldness is the not-so-hidden anxiety over God's judgment and the fear of hell. "Creator of heaven and earth, since I have begun conversing with you who hold in your hand the vital breath of my immensely sinful soul, verily I tremble and quake, greatly worried, in constant fear, remembering your inescapable and impartial tribunal, fearsome and unbearable, beyond the bounds of words for a rebuked sinner like me" (Prayer 4.1). "And well advised by the prophet Hosea (14:2), let us join him in prayer and sing with your Spirit, with strong hope in your protection, as he says, "Take words with you and turn toward the Lord your God, and say to him, "You are able to forgive our sin," that you might receive that which is good, that your souls might enjoy bliss— (Prayer 28.4). Confession of sin and assurance of divine forgiveness are inseparable; the more of one, the more of the other (forgiveness is granted and/or received in the measure of one's repentance, and the realization of one's utter "unworthiness" is the beginning of salvation). The chant of a remorseful lament, accompanied by the Spirit, turns into a joyous song as the penitent is reminded of the victory won on the Cross. Confession of sin is confession of faith, reassuring that all is well when thoughts move in the direction of God's

judgment and its aftermath. "You are able, O Compassionate One, to perform a miracle with your everlasting might, saying, 'Be healed of your soul's affliction, or 'May your sins be forgiven,' or 'Go in peace, you are clean of sin. And whatever I am unable to implore at that hour (sc. on Judgment Day), accept from me today in keeping with your love for humankind" (Prayer 73.2). "I pray you, o Compassionate One, I beseech you with all the saints, listen to my prayers in advance, so that they will not be forgotten at a later time (sc. on Judgment Day). You guided me, as the Psalm says, and saved my life. Relieve me, Lord, as with the Psalmist, of doubts and perplexities that cause me fear" (Prayer 87.4; cf. Ps 61:2; 71:20-21). His concern is made clear early on: "I reproach myself in accordance with the Psalmist, so that my thorough confession might not necessitate repeating" (Prayer 32.2). After all, "there is no answering on the day of battle (sc. on Judgment Day)" (Prayer 4.1); hence, these confessional prayers are offered "in advance." His self-deprecation is self-implication in advance of the judgment, a confession accompanied with a deep sense of remorse that allows for little or no charges against him on the day of reckoning. "And now, Christ, Creator of all beings, Son of God on high, I have been reprimanded with these words and struck with so many blows. Do not rebuke me again at the judgment on that great day" (Prayer 65.2). Gregory seems to be following the exhortation by the apostle James, to weep now: "Grieve and mourn and weep. Let your laughter be turned to mourning and your joy to gloom. Humble yourselves before the Lord and he will exalt you" (Jas 4:9-10)." Assured, Gregory could pray, "Stand by me as a physician rather than as a scrutinizing judge" (Prayer 23.2); and again, "For the thought of what lies ahead is more grave than the encounter itself" (Prayer 79.3).

To better understand our author, some further remarks on his pattern of thinking are necessary. He is one of those who understood fully the nature of the reality of union with Christ, a teaching advocated by the apostle Paul through the repeated use of the words "in Christ." The apostle's preposition "in" is indelibly infused with profound theological significance, liturgically expressed through the two most fundamental sacraments of the Church: baptism and the Eucharist (baptism as union with Christ is explained in Romans 6; similarly, the Eucharist in John 6:25-59). The preferred theological tradition of what it actually means to say that one participates in or is united with Christ is elucidated in the doctrine of theosis, the belief that the transforming grace of God enables the believer to become divine through union or spiritual oneness with Christ, participating even in the glory and righteousness or justice of God (as explained in 2 Corinthians 3-4)." For Gregory, prayer is the venue for such a telos, the quest for the discovery of the beloved of the Song of Songs—an experience culminating in the Eucharist. Union with Christ is essentially sacramental. The continuous quest, the prayer without ceasing, that leads to such a telos is exemplified in the two-part prayer to the Holy Spirit (33.6-7), rightly understood as a prayer in anticipation of the Eucharist. This prayer is in turn anticipated by confession: "Now, which (of my sins) shall I disclose, or which shall I specify? On which kind shall I discourse, or how much of the hidden shall I uncover? Which shall I confess . . . ?" (Prayer

28.1). Even in this surest way of becoming one with Christ, soul-searching and confession are a constant endeavor, preparatory requisites for the next experience of the mystical union with Christ. "And what is overwhelming for me to say in sequence here, in remembrance of your great beneficence, is to become divine by the grace of election and joining you, Creator, by partaking of your lordly body. Uniting with your luminous life is the fulfillment of the blessed promise, which, in accordance with Paul's words, the Law could not accomplish" (Prayer 52.3).

Thus, the Pauline term in Christ must have held deep meaning for Gregory, perhaps more than the apostle's corporate metaphors: body, temple, marriage, and clothing, each of which offers a particular yet related perspective—union, participation, oneness, and incorporation, respectively—for envisaging life "in Christ" The recurring singular in you and with you are tantamount to reminding the Lord of this kinship with him, reinforced through participation in the sacrament that is itself a reminder of the extent of God's love for humankind. This concept of participation is central to understanding Gregory's faith and thought, a faith that responds to and participates in the search for deeper understanding especially of the Spirit, the bond in this relationship; it groans for such understanding. It seeks to know more about the incomprehensible mystery that enables participation in the "glory" and "righteousness/justice" of the indefinable God.<sup>54</sup> Even when pondering the mystery of the chrism and chrismation—symbols of the bond—Gregory exclaims: "But how can I discourse on this, thinking that I understand it completely, when not even angels can verbally explain a fraction of it, let alone its essence!" (Prayer 93.14).

Participation "in Christ" and in the Spirit become indistinguishably one and the same, meaning that salvation is at every point dependent on divine action, though not in such a way as to exclude human involvement. Believers "in Christ" are empowered by the Spirit to lead a life of holiness in the present world order, virtually indistinguishable from eternal life into which the present merges or evolves. All this could "mystically" be experienced in the present, as almost realized eschatology. Christ has numerous salvific benefits for fallen humanity, especially for those who believe in him, those who find themselves in him. These benefits hinge on the Son's union with the Father. It is in this Father-Son relationship that the believers' identity as children of God is defined, with the Spirit as the bond cementing their relation to and participation in the divine."

The privilege to ponder the indefinable God is conceivably the greatest blessing salvation/restoration brings in its train. Yet none, not even all the attributes of God together, cataphatic and apopathic, are sufficient to define him, for he is beyond definition. The opening adulations and concluding doxologies are full of these divine attributes. Still, one is left not only to distinguish between the various attributes of God (between divine justice and grace, divine wrath and love, etc.) but also to reconcile their opposite verities. Gregory is a master at this, since for him God's love for humankind,

demonstrated through the Incarnation, surpasses all his other attributes. Finding oneself in the presence of God can also be disconcerting. "But woe to my always miserable, wretched soul, because my composition in words makes me mix the voice of good news with mournful protestations, inviting justice and judgment, decision and penalty, investigation and exposure, scolding and torches, nakedness and embarrassment, disclosure and shame, impeccability and reward, offenses and punishments" (Prayer 38.2). Vis-a-vis these paradoxes, the love of God becomes much more pronounced.

As noted earlier, the allegorical interpretation of Gen 1:27 and 2:7, understood similarly as referring to the human mind, is widespread in early Christian mysticism—from Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria to the Cappadocians and beyond." The far-reaching effects of this understanding are demonstrable in Gregory's prayers. Believing that the mind is what constitutes the image or breath of God in humans compels the believer to extend his or her capacity of thinking to the uttermost: to reach out for God, the very Archetype of this divine element and source of human creativity; to seek God contemplatively, with an endeavor to unite with him experientially. Thoughts become the offerings one brings to God, with the more profound thoughts about God being deemed the best offerings one could bring to him, the Creator of All. Thoughts find expression in words that can be presented to God as a more tangible offering. Indeed, there is a divine invitation to do so: "Take words with you and return to the Lord. Say to him: 'Forgive all our sins and receive us graciously, that we may offer the fruit of our lips" (Prayer 28.4, quoting Hos 14:2). Since none should appear empty-handed before God (Exod 34:20; Deut 16:16) and animal sacrifices are a thing of the past, Gregory finds words of true contrition and repentance as the best offering one could bring to the Giver of all.

### Gregory's Esteem for His Book

As noted above, the prayer book is offered as a fragrant sacrifice of words to God, while at the same time it is offered as a help to ailing humanity. The book holds the promise of healing, first and foremost of spiritual malady, of which the author presents himself as the personification, one who has suffered all the consequences of sin. Hence, he could claim that the book is for all people and for the healing of all ailments, subject to the readers' confession with these penitential prayers—as the reader joins him in prayer.

With these confessions, revealing exceeding sinfulness, Gregory presents himself as one who has internalized every sin in the world since its very beginning. Speaking to his soul, he says: "For you have appropriated the full yield of vain deeds, all the evils from the first man to the last of his progeny, and that in great abundance—even new ones, odious and repugnant to God, your Creator" (Prayer 9.2; cf. 72.1), and again: "I have all earthly (ills) within me and (thus) am a petitioning representative of the whole world" (Prayer 28:2; cf. 72.3). With so much sin, he deserves every conceivable punishment.

"And if harsher condemnations than these are needed against my unruly soul, I commit them to writing here, I write and do not spare myself from becoming the dry wood to fuel Gehenna" (Prayer 71.3).

Having thus appropriated all sin of all time and of all people to himself and having identified himself as a book inscribed with woes all over (Prayer 39.2), Gregory has in effect the credentials to claim a universal significance for his book,<sup>57</sup> commending it for its remedial effects. What makes the book salutary is the fact that it is a book of confession. His emphasis is on the healing power of confession. This focal point constitutes the context in which his statements about the book are to be seen, and this he states early on. The book is for all Christians, for all ages, and for all classes of people to be edified by it. Of the book, he writes at various points:

**This newly sung book of laments is descriptive of (feelings) common to every race of rational beings, wherever they may be planted on earth, (expressed) by one aware of the passions besetting all, who as a companion well informed of everyone's needs has transferred them to his own image. It is for the whole body of diverse congregations of Christians worldwide . . . . May earnest supplications be made on behalf of some and good counsel be given to others through the prayers in this book. I have endeavored, through the power of your Spirit, to compose these diverse entreaties and to present the petitions of all, so that they may come daily with them before your great compassion. (Prayer 3.2) Heal the souls and forgive the sins of those who read this (book) with a pure heart, release them of their debts and free them from the bonds of guilt. Let there be a gushing of tears from those edified by the same, and may it prompt yearnings for repentance. (Prayer 3.3)**

**Should the peril of death besiege a person in pain, may redemption be found through praying with this (book) for hope of life, o Giver of life. Should one agonize with doubt to the point of being pierced in the heart, may it be healed through your lovingkindness with this (book). (Prayer 3.4)**

**And may you make this book consisting of prayers of lament, begun in your name, Most High, into a life-giving remedy to heal your creatures' ailments of body and soul. (Prayer 3.5)**

**Now, whoever takes the salutary medication of this humble book, to pray with it, if the one who draws near is a sinner, I too will join him with these my words; and if the one drawing near is righteous, may I find mercy through these same (words) together with him. (Prayer 66.1)**

Most of Gregory's subsequent statements are commensurate with these, including the weaponization of the book to counter Satan and to uncover the snares of demons (Prayers 65.2; 88.3). A couple of statements indicate that he considers his book to be monumental (Prayers 66.1; 88.2).

## DEMONIC BODIES AND THE DARK ECOLOGIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN CULTURE by Travis W. Proctor [Oxford University Press, 9780197581162]

Drawing insights from gender studies and the environmental humanities, *DEMONIC BODIES AND THE DARK ECOLOGIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN CULTURE* analyzes how ancient Christians constructed the Christian body through its relations to demonic adversaries. Through case studies of New Testament texts, Gnostic treatises, and early Christian church fathers (e.g., Ignatius of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian of Carthage), Travis W. Proctor notes that early followers of Jesus construed the demonic body in diverse and sometimes contradictory ways, as both embodied and bodiless, “fattened” and ethereal, heavenly and earthbound.

Across this diversity of portrayals, however, demons consistently functioned as personifications of “deviant” bodily practices such as “magical” rituals, immoral sexual acts, gluttony, and pagan religious practices. This demonization served an exclusionary function whereby Christian writers marginalized fringe Christian groups by linking their ritual activities to demonic modes of (dis)embodiment. The tandem construction of demonic and human corporeality demonstrates how Christian authors constructed the bodies that inhabited their cosmos--human, demon, and otherwise--as part of overlapping networks or “ecosystems” of humanity and nonhumanity. Through this approach, Proctor provides not only a more accurate representation of the bodies of ancient Christians, but also new resources for reimagining the enlivened ecosystems that surround and intersect with our modern ideas of “self.”

### Review

"Travis Proctor's exciting and innovative book shows how early Christians diversely constructed the bodies of demons as a means of defining and limiting their own bodies and the bodies of their worshiping communities. It not only contributes significantly to New Testament and early Christian studies, but it also advances cutting-edge conversations in the humanities concerning religion and posthumanism." -- David Brakke, Joe R. Engle Chair in the History of Christianity and Professor of History, The Ohio State University

"This theoretically informed treatment of demonic bodies draws our attention to the often-overlooked cosmic ecology in which early Christians were enmeshed. Proctor fleshes out the non-human actors who populated the Christian universe and offers an ecological reading that brims with relevance for our modern environmental thinking." -- Candida Moss, Edward Cadbury Professor of Theology, University of Birmingham

"Travis Proctor's *DEMONIC BODIES* is a fascinating and original work, one that will be of interest to many scholars of early Christian ideas on demons and the body. Its sophisticated analysis of numerous early Christian texts using the lens of disability, ecological, and post-humanist studies makes an important contribution to the field. His overarching argument that regardless of whether ancient thinkers argued for the incorporeality/immateriality of demons or for their embodiment, the development of their arguments were inseparable from their development of early Christian anthropologies is a compelling one." -- Heidi Marx, Professor, University of Manitoba

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## **Evil Entanglements; Demons and Bodies in the Ancient Mediterranean**

This is a book about demons—the residual spiritual offspring of primordial fallen angels (or fallen angels themselves) who waged an obstinate onslaught on humans in general, and the followers of Jesus in particular. But reader beware: demons are notorious for telling half-truths. In his *Literal*

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Commentary on Genesis, published in the early fifth century, Augustine explains that demons use their “far more subtle” (*longe subtilior*) bodies to inform humans of events that have occurred elsewhere in the world, deceiving humans into thinking that their informants possessed skills of divination (12.17.34–38). Similarly, the second-century Christian apologist Tatian advises his readers that demons “slip on the masks” of the Greco-Roman gods in order to fool unsuspecting worshippers into offering them sacrifice (Address to the Greeks 16.1). Christian writers also warned that those who consort with demons are sometimes apt to take up their ways, falsehoods included. It will become clear that the present author is no exception, as this book-about-demons will at times shapeshift into a book-about-humans, and back again.

According to early Christian accounts, demons afflicted human victims with harmful maladies, usurped their bodies, and dissuaded or distracted them from appropriate worship practices. On these points, Christians largely agreed. On other demonological issues, Christians diverged. Are demons gaining strength, or waning in importance? Do demons “haunt” particular places, or is their presence primarily occasioned by certain human actions? Do demons have their own bodies, or are they purely “ethereal” entities that can only inhabit the bodies of others (e.g., humans and nonhuman animals)? The latter question was apparently the subject of some dispute. According to Origen of Alexandria, for example, some Christians claimed that demons were incorporeal, while others argued for the “fine” corporeality of demons:

**Now this [demonic body] (*daemonici corporis*) is by nature a fine substance and thin like air (*subtile quoddam et velut aura tenue*), and on this account most people think and speak of it as incorporeal . . . It is customary for everything which is not like [the human body] to be termed incorporeal by the more simple and uneducated of humans (*incorporeum a simplicioribus vel imperitioribus nominatur*) just as the air we breathe may be called incorporeal because it is not a body that can be grasped or held or that can resist pressure. (On First Principles, pref.8; emphasis mine)**

Even a brief survey of early Christian literature substantiates Origen’s observation: early Christians held variant viewpoints on demonic (in)corporeality. Several Christian writers depict demons as lacking bodies; Ignatius of Antioch, for example, refers to demons as “bodiless” and contrasts their ethereal existence with the “flesh” of human corporeality (Letter to the Smyrnaeans 2–3). Other Christian authors, by contrast, posit that demons indeed have bodies, even if composed of thin material “stuff” (see later discussion).

But what would it have meant to argue over whether a demon has a “body,” especially in the context of Greco-Roman antiquity? Origen’s previously quoted comments regarding the “fine” or “thin” body of demons alert the modern reader to the important observation that while ancient terms for the body



(Gr., <sup>σώμα</sup>; Lat., corpus; Copt.) parallel modern usage in their reference to the “physical” bodies of humans and other creatures, they were also frequently applied to a much broader range of “embodied” entities that had a more ethereal material composition. In his landmark treatment of the issue, Dale Martin helpfully traced how post- Cartesian dichotomies between “immaterial” mind/ soul and “material” body can be misleading when applied to the ancient world.<sup>6</sup> Most significantly, it should be stressed that “corporeal” did not always simply equate to possessing a body similar in “material” composition to humans. Rather, as Gregory Smith puts it, ancient conceptions of the body comprised “a more or less finely graded range of material existence, ranging from the tangible human body and its parts (inside and out), to the fine- material stuff of souls, demons, and air (including pneuma in its various forms).”<sup>7</sup> Many ancient thinkers, for example, held that embodiment might be defined not only by physical constitution, but also by the ability to act or be acted upon, extension through space, or three- dimensionality. The Epicurean Lucretius, for example, held that the possession of corporeality was necessary in order for anything to act or be acted upon; every active being in the world, therefore, including ethereal entities such as souls, were necessarily considered “embodied” in Lucretius’s understanding. Stoic intellectuals similarly argued that corporeality was not restricted to those entities possessing bodies similar to humans, but extended to anything that exists within the world (whatever its substance). Finally, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian of Carthage, the subjects of Chapters 4 and 5, respectively, equate corporeality with possessing three dimensions (length/ height, depth, and breadth), rather than a specific material constitution. These intellectuals are just a few examples of what we might call “expansive corporealists,” that is, ancient thinkers or traditions that were willing to grant corporeality even to entities that were composed of rather ethereal “stuff.” This concept means that we, as modern readers, must allow ancient terminology for “body” to encompass a wider range of entities than our cognate terminologies typically permit.

Significantly, ancient writers from a wide variety of intellectual traditions included demons among the classes of embodied entities, a point superbly laid out by Gregory Smith in his 2008 article “How Thin Is a Demon?” But in such cases, what was the “stuff” of the demonic body? Many writers of the ancient Mediterranean— Greco- Roman traditionalists and Christian intellectuals among them— characterized demons as possessing bodies made of pneuma (“spirit”; <sup>πνεῦμα</sup>, spiritus, nNeyMk). In antiquity, pneuma often referred simply to “breath” or “spirit,” but was also used to describe the composition of “thin- bodied” entities (e.g., the human soul, angels, demons). The Christian apologist Tatian, for example, claimed that the composition of demons was “spiritual” (<sup>πνευματικὸν</sup>). Origen of Alexandria similarly asserted that the air in the atmosphere around the earth was of similar substance to that of demons. The Neoplatonist Porphyry of Tyre also argued that demons had bodies (or “vessels”) composed of pneuma, which allowed these entities to change shape and become visible

to humans. As a final example, the Greek Magical Papyri (PGM) include spells that seem to presume the pneumatic composition of “demonic” assistants.

Ancient descriptions of demonic composition as “pneumatic” or “soul-like” might imply to contemporary readers that demons were indeed “bodiless,” or perhaps lacking “solid” material physiology. But, as Smith aptly notes, “when it comes to demons in Roman and later antiquity . . . tidy material divisions between mind and body are best checked at the door.” Indeed, ancient writers typically characterized *pneuma* as “fine material”— that is, it possessed some form of material “stuff,” even if imperceptibly so. Demons’ pneumatic or “airy” physiology, moreover, was closely related to their residence in the “intermediate” atmosphere between earth and the heavens, a connection noted by several ancient authors. For many in antiquity, therefore, the “stuff” of the demonic body was as real and tangible as the air humans breathe and the atmosphere that envelops the earth. “Demons . . . were thoroughly mixed up with matter,” Smith fittingly concludes.

Nevertheless, despite the relative popularity of expansive corporealism, not every ancient thinker was quite so eager to extend embodiment to ethereal entities like demons. Most famously, Plato (and many of his intellectual successors) posited a rather strong dualism between body and soul, arguing that the soul as an “intelligible” entity should be distanced from the “corporeal” nature of the body. What is more, we have seen already how Origen disparages the “simple and uneducated” for equating “incorporeal” with, so to put, “things that do not have bodies like humans” (see previous discussion). Tertullian of Carthage makes a similar remark with regard to the soul, noting that “the tenuousness and subtlety (*tenuitatis subtilitas*) of its structure militates against the belief in its corporeality” (On the Soul 9.6). Tertullian’s and Origen’s comments both attest that, despite their own expansive corporealism, other thinkers in antiquity often equated “corporeality” with “possessing a body similar to that of humans”; in such cases, demons would presumably be classified as “incorporeal”. Within early Christian literature, we encounter a likely example of such reasoning in the work of Ignatius of Antioch.

Nevertheless, as Dale Martin has noted, “for most ancient philosophers, to say that something was incorporeal was not to say that it was immaterial.” Indeed, while “incorporeal” was sometimes used to indicate that something lacked the normal “fleshly” body of humans, this did not necessarily mean that an entity was purely immaterial or lacking a physical constitution altogether. Rather, strict immateriality or incorporeality was most often reserved for the highest divine beings (or abstract concepts and ideas); entities that acted within the mundane or supra- mundane cosmos were typically presumed to have some kind of physical constitution, whether or not it was characterized as a “body.” This is a significant insight for what follows, in that even when demons are described as (or

implied to be) incorporeal, they were still often imagined to be active agents in the world, wreaking havoc despite (or thanks to) their rather thin physiques.

*Demonic Bodies* captures the diversity of early Christian portrayals of demonic (in)corporeality by exploring instances in which Christian writers explicitly ascribe some form of corporeality to demons (e.g., Chapters 3, 4, and 5) as well as cases in which it is implied that demons lack bodies (e.g., Chapters 1 and 2). While Origen opines that such ideational diversity is due to varying levels of intelligence among Christians, my findings suggest that Christian demonological discrepancies are informed at least in part by concomitant divergences concerning the makeup of the (ideal) Christian body. Put another way, Christian demonological constructions took shape in tandem with concurrent anthropological concepts. My interest in the Christian body signals my indebtedness to gender- and cultural- studies scholarship that traces the social contingency of human embodiment. Studies of early Christianity have drawn extensively on this brand of scholarship,<sup>28</sup> but one aspect of ancient embodiment has remained relatively underexplored: the interconnection between cultural constructions of the body and surrounding nonhuman environments. This approach requires the marshaling of new theoretical resources for telling fresh histories of the early Christian cosmos.

### Theorizing Early Christian Ecologies

Scholars, activists, and civic leaders are increasingly grappling with what it means— and will mean— to be human in a time when the bearers of that label have wrought destruction on a grand scale to ecosystems, creatures, and global environments. Many contemporary scholars have argued that modern constructions of the human body as separate and disconnected from its surrounding nonhuman environments have been primary culprits in historical ecological malpractice. Bruno Latour famously argued in *We Have Never Been Modern* that one of the distinctive “practices” of modernity has been the creation of “two entirely distinct ontological zones: that of human beings on the one hand; that of nonhumans on the other.” Linda Nash has traced similar histories within the realms of medicine and environmentalism, noting how (premodern) “ecological” anthropologies typically viewed human bodies as “malleable and porous entities that were in constant interaction with the surrounding environment,” whereas the “modern” period witnessed the creation “of a distinct and bounded body, clearly separate from its environment.” Contemporary environmental theorists frequently point to this distinctly “modern” view of the body, most often traced to the thought of Descartes, as the root cause for modern mistreatment of nonhuman nature. And so Laurel Kearns argues, for example, that the “dualism” between human and nonhuman has led to the “othering” of nonhuman entities and environments (as well as humans associated with them), and thus to their designation as entities “deserving less respect, less justice, and less acknowledgment.”

In response, posthumanist theoretical perspectives have scrutinized the historical consolidation of “human” as a cultural category, while also drawing attention to the many interconnections between humans and nonhuman ecosystems, as part of a general attempt at disrupting the isolation of humans from their nonhuman contexts. A “posthuman” approach, then, designates “the variegated efforts to rethink the human,” which collectively respond “to the legacies of humanism by breaking up, fracturing, distributing, and decentralizing the self-willing person, questioning its subjectival unity and epistemological conceits.” Along such lines, Kim TallBear calls on scholars to investigate how humans and other (nonhuman) entities “are coconstituted with cultural, political, and economic forces.” Through this process, we can begin the process of “thinking-with” the nonhuman, such that “the domain of ways of being and knowing dilates, expands, [and] adds both ontological and epistemological possibilities.”

Such “posthuman” connections are not unique to our modern period; rather, humans and nonhuman others “have always performed an intricate dance with each other. There was never a time when human agency was anything other than an interfolding network of humanity and nonhumanity.” The historical connections between humans and nonhumans push us to consider not only posthuman futures, then, but also what we might call “prehuman” pasts— that is, how premodern humans historically conceived of their relationship with nonhuman entities and environments in ways that trouble human/ nonhuman boundaries. In this way, Denise Kimber Buell notes how “the ‘post’ of posthumanism need not indicate an attempt to ‘get beyond’ the human but rather a marker of the desire to question and transform what humanness can be and may become.” *Demonic Bodies* posits that early Christian cosmologies provide key opportunities for exploring such “prehuman” ecologies, and that investigating ancient ecosystems has the potential both to inform our understandings of ancient subjectivity and to dilate contemporary theories of human/ nonhuman interconnections.

Extant early Christian texts reveal the degree to which ancient writers (and, most likely, many of their readers) imagined and experienced themselves to be enmeshed in cosmic environments teeming with hosts of nonhuman entities, including god(s), demons, angels, ghosts, and nonhuman animals, to name but a few. Nevertheless, when entities such as demons and angels have been considered in early Christian studies, they have typically been grouped under analyses of “supernatural” cosmologies, rather than the “real” environments as part of which humans lived and moved. This categorization may be due in part to the difficulty of assessing the impact of entities, such as demons or angels, which are less “available” to modern readers for close analysis and investigation. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that nonhuman entities were no less impactful to ancient Christian worldviews and lived realities, as the ancient Christian body “was embedded in a cosmic matrix in ways that made its perception of itself profoundly unlike our own.” Ellen Muehlberger has traced similar insights with

respect to ancient angels, noting how such nonhuman entities “are real to religious practitioners” insofar as they are capable of “influencing behavior and the generation of new ideas because they are given parts of late ancient Christian culture.” In this vein C. Michael Chin has called on scholars to conduct multifaceted “cosmological historiographies,” which duly appreciate that “events and actions are necessarily the products of multiple interacting agents, only some of whom are human.” *Demonic Bodies* investigates how Christian writers of the first– third centuries CE created Christian modes of thought and practice as coconstitutive with nonhuman, demonic entities. While previous studies have emphasized the significance of demons for issues of early Christian identity and practice, I turn attention specifically to the demonic body (or its absence), noting how it was part of the broader production of multispecies (i.e., human and nonhuman) cosmological ecosystems.

My focus on demonic and human (in)corporeality builds upon the robust scholarly interest in ideational perceptions and portrayals of the body. In this line of inquiry, the body and its concomitant materiality or gender/ sexuality are not natural attributes, but culturally contingent products of ideological constructions. I examine how the body is a “performative” entity, or “a stylized repetition of acts” that produces the corporeal “self.” My focus on early Christian ritual, in particular, traces how bodies emerge through “a process of materialization,” entailing “reiterative and citational” practices that echo and allude to prior corporeal performances.<sup>44</sup> To aid in my exploration of the body’s relation with nonhuman entities, I utilize the lens of “trans- corporeality,” adapted from the work of environmental theorist Stacy Alaimo. This concept calls attention to the ways in which “the human is always intermeshed with the more- than- human world,” to such an extent that “the substance of the human is ultimately inseparable from ‘the environment.’” Trans- corporeality draws attention to the fact that humans are constantly ingesting, absorbing, or coming into contact with air, water, plants, animals, toxins, bacteria, and viruses, to name just a handful of the nonhuman entities that constitute our most immediate environments. According to Alaimo, considering these kinds of trans- corporeal exchanges between human bodies and nonhuman entities “enacts an environmental posthumanism, insisting that what we are as bodies and minds is inextricably interlinked with the circulating substances, materialities, and forces.” Posthuman here does not gesture toward a teleology of human progress, then, but comprises “an assertion that, to echo Bruno Latour, we have never been human— if to be human begins with a separation from, or a disavowal of, the very stuff of the world.”

*Demonic Bodies* traces this insight into antiquity, demonstrating how ancient Christian notions of the human body were inter- implicated with demonic corporeality. Of course, writers in the ancient Mediterranean, including early Christians, held to a wide variety of views on the physical constitution, origin, and ultimate fate of the human body. In each chapter, therefore, I provide detailed overviews of the specific anthropologies evinced by each author or text(s), and note how their views of the

human body in particular draw upon or contribute to concomitant views on demonic (in) corporeality. In doing so, *Demonic Bodies* traces how trans- corporeal relationships between humans and nonhumans are not only characteristic of our “posthuman” present, but also an important element in understanding our ancient “prehuman” past.

My specific focus on early Christians’ trans- corporeal relations with demons— malevolent beings par excellence of Christian ecosystems— is part of a conscious attempt to capture the “dark ecologies” of human experience. Environmental theorist Timothy Morton has noted how the foundations for contemporary environmental awareness too often precede either from viewing nonhuman “nature” as an entity external to the human subject or from idealized ethics that view human- nonhuman interconnections purely in romanticized terms. On the latter point, Lisa Sideris has argued that contemporary Christian eco- theologians too often ground their environmental ethics on notions of ecological “benign interdependence,” which (rightly) stresses interconnections between humans and nonhumans, but (misleadingly) implies that these interrelationships are uniformly positive. Humanity’s interconnection with nonhuman entities, however, comprises what Morton aptly calls a “demonic proximity”— the two “become entangled” in ways that are ambivalent and even harmful. One might here think of toxic waste sites, polluted rivers, disease- carrying mosquitoes, or carnivorous predators, all of which are part of ecological relations— pollution, spread of disease, or predation— that have the potential to bring harm to humans or others.

Hence a challenge for modern environmental theorists and ethicists: how does one theorize environmental interconnection such that our ecological “awareness” includes due acknowledgment of these rather disconcerting ecological linkages? *Demonic Bodies* emerges from the conviction that formulating more robust environmental ethics depends at least in part on telling “darker” environmental histories: our multispecies historiographies must call attention to our trans- corporeal relations with nonhuman ecosystems, even (or especially) when those relations are ambivalent or harmful.

Ancient demonology may seem an odd place to turn for such a task. What do Christian “supernatural” beings have to do with environmental “realities”? As Morton notes, however, the modern dichotomy between external “reality” and internal “imagination” is problematized by ecological perspectives: “If the very question of inside and outside is what ecology undermines . . . , [then] surely this is a matter of seeing how ecosystems are made not only of trees, rock formations, and pigs (seemingly ‘external’ to the human) but also of thoughts, wishes, or fantasies (seemingly ‘inside’ our human heads)?” Even those elements of human culture considered “fantastical” or “imaginative” (e.g., religious “mythologies”), then, can be important constituents of humanity’s environments. Stuart Clark has noted elsewhere, for example, how Christian writers, despite modern construals of demonic beings as

“supernatural” creatures, consistently depicted (evil) demonic entities as part and parcel of the “natural world.” Indeed, as discussed previously, numerous ancient intellectuals— including Christian writers such as Athenagoras and Tertullian, as well as non- Christians like Apuleius of Madaura and Plutarch of Chaeronea— argued that demons had their “natural” abode in the “airy” atmosphere above the earth, where their ethereal substance was most at home. Hence no exploration of ancient Christian “ecosystems” would be complete without taking account of the myriad cosmic entities— demons among them— that populated early Christian worlds.

Ancient demonologies present an opportunity, therefore, to reflect on how early Christians conceived of their “dark” ecological connections with malevolent entities, and how such relations contributed to the formation of Christian cultures. *Demonic Bodies* traces in particular how early Christian perceptions of demonic propinquity contributed to the simultaneous valorization and marginalization of particular Christian corporeal paradigms, and thus to the creation of asymmetric cultural valuations of the human body. My tracing of the human body’s trans- corporeal relationship with demons, while troubling the historical stability of the human subject, does so as a first step in proposing new ways of understanding human culture and its many interconnections with nonhuman others.

## Outlining the Project

*Demonic Bodies* argues that ancient Christians described and experienced their bodies as trans- corporeal entities, which were caught up in a multitude of interactions with nonhuman others, demons among them. I trace the trans- corporeal relationship between humans and demons in three ways: physical connections, conceptual constructions, and ritual performance. First, many Christian writers claimed that the human body was vulnerable to becoming physically entangled with or influenced by demonic creatures; we see this vulnerability especially through anxieties surrounding demonic possession or attack (Chapters 1 and 5) and illicit demonic influence over the human mind or soul (Chapter 3), as well as the metamorphosis of human corporeality into some kind of “demonic” state (Chapters 2 and 4). In this way, Christians imagined the boundaries of the Christian body as rather unstable and porous, sometimes easily traversed or altered by ambiguously corporeal entities such as demons.

Second, *Demonic Bodies* traces how conceptual constructions of demonic (dis)embodiment informed attendant constructions of proper and improper Christian (human) corporeality. Specifically, I argue that Christian descriptions of demonic (in)corporeality reflect shifts and differences in early Christian anthropology, insofar as the attributes that characterize constructions of proper human embodiment are frequently portrayed as inverted or deficient in Christian representations of demonic (dis)embodiment. Ignatius of Antioch, for example, asserts the “bodiless” nature of demons, while

simultaneously arguing for the salvific value of the flesh. Conversely, Clement of Alexandria stresses the “corpulent” and “fattened” nature of demonic corporeality, to be contrasted with the “thinned” flesh of the idealized Christian intellectual. As evidenced by these two examples, Christian disagreements regarding the nature of the demonic body frequently contributed to and drew upon adjacent discrepancies regarding human (in)corporeality. I note how in this process the demonic body proved doubly useful— as an entity with a rather unsettled (in)corporeal nature, on the one hand, demonic bodies shifted in conversation with the concerns and ideologies of various Christian authors and communities. And yet, as nonhuman creatures of a higher- order cosmic sphere, demons served Christian writers well in undergirding their diverse anthropologies and heresiologies with more stable cosmic foundations.

Third and finally, I outline how the threat of physical entanglement with demons, combined with conceptual constructions of demonic (dis)embodiment, informed particular Christian ritual practices and thus contributed to Christian corporeal performances. Throughout the work I use ritual to denote the way in which humans engage in formal, rule- governed, symbolic, and performative activities that distinguish a particular time or space as sacred or important.<sup>58</sup> My work examines in particular how early Christian demonologies helped to shape (and were shaped by) ritual discourses, which enacted “bodily dispositions” that held “practical sense” for their practitioners.<sup>59</sup> In this way, demonic (in) corporeality played an important part not only in reflecting early Christian bodily ethics, but also in reproducing Christian corporeal performances. Through conceptual demonization and attendant ritualizations, I argue, Christian writers assembled inequitable ecosystems whereby particular Christian groups, rituals, or ideas were marginalized through their linkage to evil cosmic agents.

Across these three areas— physical connections, conceptual constructions, and ritual enactments— *Demonic Bodies* outlines how demonic (in)corporeality played an important role in how the human body took shape as a transcorporeal, ecological entity.<sup>60</sup> “To think ecologically,” Levi Bryant states, “is not to think nature per se but to think relations between things.” *Demonic Bodies* explores the bodily relations between demons and humans, noting how these two creatures were mutually enmeshed in cosmic ecologies, and thus were a part of complex, multidirectional, and multi- agential corporeal ecosystems. My emphasis on ecological enmeshment, moreover, draws attention to the fact that, in the same way that an organism might have multiple and variable relations with the various other entities within its ecosystem, so also the Christian body experienced interconnections with the demonic in numerous ways; whether via demonic possession, attack, temptation, or transmutation, the relation between Christian corporeality and its demonic counterpart took on a variety of forms.

The project comprises five case studies, each of which traces the Christian body’s trans- corporeal relations through a specific theme: (dis) ability, physiology, changeability, animality, and abjection,



respectively. The first two chapters inaugurate the study through examinations of early Christian traditions regarding “bodiless” demons. Chapter 1, “Disabled Demons: Demonic Disembodiment in Second Temple Judaism and the Gospel of Mark,” examines how the Gospel of Mark portrays demons as impaired, disembodied entities, closely mirroring ancient Jewish traditions that identify demons as the residual souls of antediluvian giants. The disembodied status of the demonic, in turn, informs their misplacement as foreign “spiritual” entities in a fleshly world. In this regard it is notable that two of the major exorcism narratives in Mark involve Jesus’s interaction with “foreign” (i.e., non-Jewish) peoples. In the second part of the chapter, therefore, I trace how the Second Gospel’s exorcism narratives utilize Jesus’s expulsion of “foreign,” impure spirits to delineate relations between Jewish and non-Jewish members of the Jesus movement. The chapter concludes by tracing how the Second Gospel constructs the human body as prone to possession by external spirits, as evidenced in the exorcism narratives as well as Jesus’s implicit claim to being possessed by the “holy spirit.” While many ancient corporeal paradigms held that such porosity was characteristic only of “weak” bodies, the Gospel of Mark emphasizes Jesus’s masculine potency through his “binding” of the Strong Man through exorcism. In this way, the disabled body of the demonic emerges as a key component in the Second Gospel’s construction of the potent abilities of Jesus the exorcist.

In Chapter 2, “Bodiless Demons: Ignatius of Antioch, the Coptic Apocalypse of Peter, and the Demonic Body of Jesus,” I turn to another tradition of “bodiless” demons, found in Ignatius of Antioch’s Letter to the Smyrnaeans. There, Ignatius claims that any Christian who believes in a phantasmal Jesus will be “just like what they believe,” that is, they will be “without bodies” and “demonic” (Smyrn. 2). Through this equivalency, Ignatius caricatures his opponents’ views of Christ by equating them with a demonic Christology. Furthermore, Ignatius condemns his opponents to a bodiless and demonic afterlife. Elsewhere in his letters, Ignatius emphasizes the importance of Jesus’s existence as a dyadic flesh-and-spirit body, as well as the continued presence of Jesus’s flesh and spirit in the Christian Eucharist. Ignatius’s citation of demonic incorporeality, therefore, serves Ignatius well in circumscribing the Christian community by constraining proper Christian embodiment: a docetic Christian believes in and will become a “bodiless demon,” and will thus lack the required corporeality for proper participation in the orthodox Church and its unifying ritual, the Eucharist. I conclude the chapter by juxtaposing Ignatius’s portrayal of bodiless demons with the Coptic Apocalypse of Peter’s depiction of demons as entities mired in the fleshly world in order to demonstrate how variant demonologies informed divergent materializations of the Christian body.

In the three chapters that follow, I examine early Christian constructions of demonic corporeality that, unlike those traditions in the Gospel according to Mark and letters of Ignatius, emphasize demons’ possession of fine-material bodies. In Chapter 3, “Changeable Demons: Demonic

Polymorphy, 'Magic,' and Christian Exorcism in the Writings of Justin Martyr," I explore Justin Martyr's claim that demons, like their angelic fathers, mutated and assumed various forms as part of their efforts to deceive humans, promote improper worship, and inspire persecution against Christians. I argue that Justin's distinctive highlighting of demonic changeability emerges alongside his counter- emphasis on the "immovability" of the Christian God, which, in turn, functions to undercut the polymorphic Greco- Roman pantheon's collective claim to divinity. In the second part of the chapter, I explore Justin's distinctive retelling of the myth of the Watchers in his 2 Apology, which omits the characters of the giants in its recounting of demonic origins. In doing so, Justin promotes a closer correspondence between fallen angels and demons, highlighting his simultaneous ascription of polymorphic capabilities to both angelic fathers and demonic sons. In the chapter's third part, I explore how Justin associates demonic changeability with "magical" trickery, which aids the Apologist's constructions of proper Christian exorcism as a "simple" practice distinct from "magical" alternatives.

In Chapter 4, "Belly- Demons: Clement of Alexandria and Demonic Sacrifice," I explore Clement of Alexandria's exhortation that Christians not mix the "body of the Lord" with the "table of demons" by engaging in gluttonous eating habits. I note that, following Paul's comparable claims in 1 Corinthians, many early Christian writers claimed that demons promoted animal sacrifice because they consumed the blood and smoke produced as part of the sacrificial process. In his own rendition of this claim, Clement of Alexandria portrays the demonic body as animalistic and grotesquely "fattened" due to its excess consumption of sacrificial fumes. Clement contrasts the demons' corpulence with his construal of the ideal Christian body: chaste, thin, and constantly engaged in contemplative practices that "strip away" the material body. The demonic body, then, informs and undergirds Clement's ritual program by providing a negative stereotype of those bodily attributes that Clement urges his readers to eschew.

In Chapter 5, "Abject Demons: Tertullian of Carthage, Roman 'Religion,' and the Abject Body," I examine the intermixture of demonic and Christian bodies in the writings of Tertullian of Carthage. I begin by exploring Tertullian's construction of humanity's dual flesh- and- spirit body in *On the Soul*, wherein he emphasizes the pervasive attachment of demonic spirits to the human soul. This demonic affliction stems, Tertullian claims, from inadvertent participation in demonolatry via Roman "religious" rites. The only method by which Roman citizens can remove their attendant demonic spirit is through Christian baptism, a practice that Tertullian views as essential in the creation of a new, demon- free Christian body. In this way, the demonic body functions within Tertullian's writings as a kind of abject entity— one that is foreclosed as part of the ritualized construction of the Christian body and yet loiters as a threatening epitome of those elements unbecoming of Christian corporeality. The lingering threat of the abject demon surfaces mostly clearly in Tertullian's *On the Shows*, a

treatise that warns Christians of the myriad activities contaminated by demons, which therefore threaten to pollute the body and undo the salvific work of Christian baptism. I note in particular how Tertullian's citation of the threat of demons undergirds Tertullian's prescriptions regarding appropriate Christian cultural practices, designed to exclude "foreign" Roman cultural activities.

In the final chapter, "Conclusion: Christians among Demons and Humans," I place the study's findings in conversation with explorations in the humanities with regard to the "post-" and "nonhuman." I note there that early Christians depicted the demonic body in widely divergent ways. Whether disembodied or corporeal, fattened or ethereal, depictions of demonic (in)corporeality were as diverse as the Christians who articulated them. Yet a consistent feature of early Christian demonologies is the way in which demons are enmeshed with their human counterparts. On the one hand, Christian descriptions of demonic corporeality reflect shifts and differences in early Christian anthropology insofar as they inversely correlate to articulations of the ideal human body. In this way, the demonic body contributed to the formation of exclusionary environments, which, in turn, became an important part of how Christian writers, readers, and listeners imagined, examined, and performed their own modes of embodiment. The early Christian body emerges, then, as a kind of "posthuman" (or, perhaps more appropriately, "prehuman") entity, a being that is thoroughly enmeshed within its nonhuman cosmic environments— always evolving and materializing in and through the concomitant development of adjacent nonhuman entities, including demons.

Building on this insight, the final chapter concludes by reflecting on how exploring the materializations of demons (and nonhuman entities, more broadly) in ancient Christian literature can provide a fruitful avenue not only for understanding antiquity, but also for addressing contemporary cultural and ecological problems. In this way, this project demonstrates that contemporary posthuman and ecocritical theorizing not only has much to contribute to studies of antiquity, but also that (ancient) history— the narratives humans tell themselves about themselves— has an enduring importance in informing how humans understand and interact with nonhuman others, and thus has much to contribute to contemporary ecological thought and practice. <>

**THE CONCEPT OF INTRINSIC EVIL AND CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL ETHICS** edited by Nenad Polgar and Joseph A. Selling - Contributions by James T. Bretzke, S.J.; Stephan Herzberg; Sigrid Müller; Nenad Polgar; Stephen J. Pope; Gunter Prüller-Jagenteufel; Joseph A. Selling; Edward C. Vacek, S.J.; Andreas M. Weiss And Werner Wolber [Fortress Academic, 9781978703247]

One of the most sweeping, categorical, and absolute phrases that has ever been employed by the hierarchical teaching authority of the Roman Catholic Church refers to a concept called 'intrinsic evil'. In short, intrinsic evil is invoked to describe certain kinds of human acts that can never be morally justified or permitted, regardless of the intention of the person who performs them or any circumstances within which they take place. The most common examples of things that people recognize as being classified as intrinsically evil are, suicide, euthanasia, abortion, and the use of contraception.

The ease with which the term 'intrinsic evil' gets right to the point, thereby making the fairly complex field of ethical reflection seem manageable and widely accessible, is one of the reasons for its attractiveness within Roman Catholic ethical teaching. However, this kind of simplification risks or even encourages avoidance of critical questions such as, "Where does this concept come from and what meanings are associated with it?", "Is it supposed to express an ethical judgment or to form it?", and "Is there a substantial difference between intrinsically evil acts and morally wrong acts?". The contributors to this volume engage with these and similar issues surrounding the formation and use of the concept, and in the process dispel the naïve belief that the concept can somehow escape the complexity of ethical discourse or establish certainty of ethical judgments that is otherwise unattainable. In light of this realization, the most important issue becomes whether the concept can still be useful for Catholic theological ethics. Although the contributors to this volume do not completely agree on this issue, they have shown that a critical scrutiny of the concept must necessarily precede settling this issue and that the concept might not be able to withstand such critical judgment.

The book provides a description of the origin and meanings of the concept of intrinsic evil. While the term itself tends to create confusion rather than clarity, eliminating its use does not imply that we cannot still have a meaningful discussion about ‘things that should never be done’.

## Review

The contributors to this book have provided a truly deep analysis of a subject that has played a central role in Catholic ethics for a long time. By examining the language of intrinsic evil from various points of view, they have produced important insights into numerous matters, including the inconsistency in the use of the term, problems resulting from its usage, and the need for a dynamic, personalist approach to ethics, rather than a static one. Whether they agree or disagree with individual contributors to this volume, scholars wishing to join in debate about intrinsic evil will do well to make this book a significant part of their research.

— **Bernard Hoose, Heythrop College, University of London**

This book offers an accurate and in-depth analysis of the concept of intrinsic evil. It considers historical instances, systematic articulations and applications to moral fields, such as sexual ethics. The theme of the moral negativity of an action is put in relation to the notion of the agent as subject of her/his choices.

This turn toward the subject does not weaken the question of moral evil and does not weaken the structure of ethical discourse, degrading it to something subjectivist and relativistic. On the contrary, it emphasizes with vigor and effectiveness, the responsibility of moral action, both in personal and collective agency. For such a perspective it is necessary to have a sensitivity first of all for the human good as a whole and to develop a moral passion that helps to make it concrete in the paths of history.

That takes us in a different direction than intrinsic evil, and this book is a powerful help for developing that newer pathway.

— **Antonio Autiero, University of Münster**

At the end of January 2018 an international, expert seminar was hosted in Vienna to discuss a much used concept in twentieth century Catholic theological ethics, intrinsic evil. Over the past forty years, the concept, used especially in sexual teachings, has prompted philosophical

and theological ethicists to raise occasional critiques about its meaning and use. Now due to the dedicated work of Nenad Polgar, Sigrid Müller, and Joseph Selling we have the seminar's results that thoroughly, objectively, professionally, and critically analyze the concept from a variety of perspectives. Suffice it to say, those earlier doubts are now clearer. This collection effectively suggests, I think, that the credible utility of the concept has run its course. An important, long-needed, rich investigation, beautifully edited in this collection.

— James F. Keenan, SJ, Boston College

Recent Catholic teaching, especially in *Veritatis Splendor*, has too often used the technical moral theological concept, 'intrinsic evil', as an authoritarian bludgeon to aggressively suppress theological conversation on, and discernment about, controversial ethical issues, especially in sexual ethics. This invaluable collection of essays by noted scholars critically engages the tradition, and one another, to deconstruct the concept by exploring its historical, philosophical, theological, and ideological roots, and to move the tradition forward with a comprehensive and comprehensible framework for constructing foundational ethical concepts.

— Todd A. Salzman, Amelia and Emil Graff Professor of Theology, Creighton University

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**The Proliferation of "Intrinsic Evil" by Nenad Polgar and Joseph A. Selling**

The concept of intrinsic evil has acquired a foundational status within the official documents of the teaching office of the Catholic Church on ethical issues. Putting aside some early and sporadic references to it, its rise in the official documents of the Church started with the promulgation of Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Casti Connubii* and was closely tied to issues in sexual ethics. After that and up until the start of the most recent pontificate of Pope Francis, one could hardly find an official document on sexual ethics that did not make use of the term by pointing out that some sexual acts are always morally wrong, no matter the circumstances or intention of the agent, and hence "intrinsically evil."

This approach, of course, begs the question precisely why certain acts are considered "always morally wrong." In the past, many of these sexual acts were condemned because they were said to be "contrary to nature," or against the natural law. However, in the minds of many moral theologians the appeal to what is and is not "natural" has been seriously called into question. Having abandoned any direct appeal to "nature," official teaching on sexual activity now simply labels certain activities as "intrinsically evil" which we are subsequently told are "always morally wrong"—without being given any explanation of why that is so.

Perhaps due to its presumed efficiency in dealing with thorny issues in the Church, in his encyclical *Veritatis Splendor* (VS) Pope John Paul II ventured to expand the area in which the concept of intrinsic evil could be used. In order to achieve this, he first disentangled the concept from its exclusive use in the area of sexual ethics by pointing out that there are "objects of the human act that are by their nature 'incapable of being ordered to God.'" The Church's moral tradition, he argued, calls these intrinsically evil and this view is not only an important part of the moral doctrine of the Church, but even a Scriptural teaching (VS, 80-81). When the encyclical attempts to demonstrate what it means by this, examples of intrinsically evil acts are taken from the pastoral constitution, *Gaudium et Spes* (GS), 27, which mentions "genocide, [...] voluntary suicide, [...] whatever violates the integrity of the human person, such as mutilation, physical and mental torture and attempts to coerce the spirit [...]," and so on.

When one takes into account this widening of the area in which the concept can be used, it is perhaps not surprising that the concept worked its way into political discourse, where it started to mark "a Catholic approach" to various issues, especially in the United States. In that sense, the examples include the document of the U.S. bishops on the political responsibility of Catholics, *Forming Consciences for Faithful Citizenship*, the U.S. bishops' objection to a health care program that would finance the use of contraceptives, which "remains a grave moral concern," and the various individual statements of bishops and other Catholic political commentators who regularly invoke the term intrinsic evil. Of course, the "grave moral concern" refers to a belief that contraception is intrinsically evil. Furthermore, the former document (*Forming Consciences*) detected a number of "acts" which fit the category of intrinsic evil: abortion, euthanasia, human cloning, the destruction of embryos, genocide, torture, racism, targeting noncombatants in war, treating workers as mere means to an end, deliberately subjecting workers to subhuman living conditions, treating the poor as disposable, and redefining marriage to deny its essential meaning.

This Magisterial insistence on the importance and the broadening of the scope of the concept of intrinsic evil becomes clearer when seen in the context of various theological debates that have been going on in the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council. These debates within theological



ethics have been sanctioned by the Council itself, especially by the Council's document *Optatam Totius*, which stated: "Special attention needs to be given to the development of moral theology. Its scientific exposition should be more thoroughly nourished by scriptural teaching." Although the Council did not elaborate in detail what this development would entail, many theological ethicists understood it as a clear sign of the Council Fathers' dissatisfaction with the old manual tradition of doing theological ethics and, accordingly, they answered the Council's call.

At first, this seemed to imply that only the basis of theological ethics should be widened by updating the discipline, while its conclusions would remain fundamentally the same. However, this amount of catching up made at least some theologians realize that the task of developing theological ethics could not be contained within the framework of finding more and better arguments for the same conclusions, but should instead go much deeper by re-examining methodological presuppositions of the whole discipline. These theologians who were involved in the project of re-examining ethics later became known as revisionists. On the other hand, there were those who held that the Council certainly did not give theological ethicists such a broad mandate and that their efforts to renew the discipline, through either terminological or methodological updating, could not relativize in any way the conclusions that had already been reached within the manual tradition and accepted by the teaching office of the Church. These latter theologians became known as traditionalists.

Since these two theological "schools" became so sharply divided on the interpretation of the mandate that the Council gave to theological ethicists, it is perhaps not surprising that they regularly found themselves on opposing sides in almost every debate that has been going on within the discipline of theological ethics for the last fifty years. Through all of this, the (ir)relevance of the concept of intrinsic evil has become a crucial issue that not only has tremendous methodological significance for the future of theological ethics, but is also seen as decisive for the very identity and the mission of the Catholic Church in the field of ethics.

Despite the fact that Pope Francis tried to sidestep the debates that have been going on in the area of theological ethics after the Second Vatican Council by taking a distance from the kind of Magisterial interventions that characterized the pontificate of Pope John Paul II, ironically, the most recent example of the importance of the concept of intrinsic evil is related to the promulgation of his apostolic exhortation *Amoris Laetitia* (AL). Although the document avoids the concept and tentatively explores a different style of pastoral guidance, it is precisely this that some found objectionable. Thus, shortly after the exhortation was published, a number of cardinals issued five dubia or "doubts" about the document in which they summon the Pope to explain himself on certain points that they find unacceptable or even heretical. Three of these five dubia invoke the concept of intrinsic evil and VS, which leaves no doubt on the angle of approach and mind-set of its authors.

Nevertheless, the pontificate of Pope Francis is also providing an opportunity to explore the issues surrounding the concept of intrinsic evil in a more theologically circumspect way than was possible until recently. Furthermore, there are reasons to believe that this pontificate signals the end of the "Church under siege" paradigm in which the concept found its natural habitat, and announces a new paradigm of discussion and dialogue. Within this new paradigm, the importance of the concept of intrinsic evil for the identity and the mission of the Church has already been brought into question, but its final fate remains to be settled and its comeback is not beyond the imaginable.

### The Workshop and The Structure of The Book

In February 2016 one of the authors of these lines (Nenad Polgar) received a generous grant from the Austrian Science Fund for a project titled Origin(s), Meaning, and Relevance of the Concept of Intrinsic Evil that was to be carried out at the Faculty of Catholic Theology of the University of Vienna, Austria. As the project was entering the final phase, a portion of the grant was used to organize an expert workshop entitled The Concept of Intrinsic Evil in Catholic Theological Ethics that was held in Vienna, January 30-31, 2018. Developed in cooperation with Sigrid Muller, the dean of the Faculty of Catholic Theology of the University of Vienna and Joseph A. Selling, professor emeritus at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies of the Catholic University Leuven, the workshop aimed at bringing together a number of prominent English- and German-speaking theological ethicists in order to assess the role of the concept of intrinsic evil in theological ethics.

The workshop deliberately avoided following the typical structure of academic conferences in which long papers are read and discussions are kept to a minimum. Instead, all participants were obliged to prepare short position papers well in advance and to read the contributions of all the other participants before the workshop took place so that the two-day meeting could be almost entirely used for critical and constructive discussions. In this way, the organizers hoped, an opportunity would take place to allow different views to be openly discussed so that new insights might be allowed to emerge whereby we could take a step forward in the analysis of the concept of intrinsic evil.

When the workshop ended, the participants were asked to expand their short position papers into chapters of approximately five thousand words, incorporating ideas and perspectives that emerged during the discussions. The chapters in this book represent the reflections of the individual participants in this exercise.

The structure of the book and its chapters largely follow the thematic sessions that were held during the workshop and offer the reader an insight into the lively debate that ensued. This is reflected not only in its division into five parts, each containing two chapters, but also in the fact that a good

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number of chapters pick up the points made by other authors and provide further reflection on them. After the five parts containing the ten chapters, the concluding chapter draws upon all the contributions and offers some final thoughts.

Part I, "The Origin and Meaning(s) of the Concept of Intrinsic Evil," explores some historical references to this concept and provides the necessary background for a more detailed discussion of the concept in the parts that follow. Writing from a philosophical perspective, Stephan Herzberg's chapter, "Aristotle on Intrinsically Bad Actions," provides an analysis of Aristotle's concept of the mean as it relates to actions that are "bad in themselves." Herzberg offers a common and substantive reading of the meaning of the notion of acts bad in themselves. Although he uses Aristotle as the starting point, he also poses a hermeneutical question on contemporary interest in the concept of intrinsic evil and traces the development of this contemporary discussion. In the end he comes back to Aristotle in order to show that "The Philosopher" uses this concept (not the term) as a "placeholder" for the morally unthinkable. This being so, it would be unreasonable to expect the concept to have clearly defined boundaries and/or constitutive moral characteristics.

Nenad Polgar's chapter, "The Concept of Intrinsic Evil: An Exploration of Some Theological Sources," pursues this tension between what appears to be a clear contemporary definition of "intrinsic evil" and a somewhat vague notion of "acts that ought never to be done" through a number of theological sources. The main point that he makes is that the older notion of "acts that ought never to be done" cannot strictly be identified with the later concept/ term "intrinsic evil." Although this identification seems to underlie the contemporary usage of the concept of intrinsic evil in theological discussions, a clear recognition of the anachronism involved would make the concept much less controversial.

Part II, "The Concept of Intrinsic Evil in Sexual Ethics," engages with the role and the usage of the concept in its primary habitat, Catholic sexual ethics. In that regard, Stephen Pope's chapter, "Intrinsic Evil in Catholic Sexual Ethics: Time to Move On," first briefly sketches some key factors in the ongoing discussion of the usefulness of the notion of intrinsic evil. These "key factors" are established in a brief historical survey of associated ideas in Aristotle, Augustine, and Aquinas, but the bulk of the chapter focuses on the post-conciliar debate within the field of theological ethics. He arrives at five problematic points related to the usage of the concept of intrinsic evil in sexual ethics. On the basis of these points he proposes that theological ethics ought to abandon the usage of the concept and suggests that perhaps Pope Francis has already initiated such a move.

Gunter Pruiller-Jagenteufel's chapter, "Intrinsic Evil in Catholic Sexual Ethics: New Insights, New Approaches, New Logic," expands further on the "inherent logic of intrinsic evil" and argues in favor of transforming the basis of the concept from the/a natural law approach to a human dignity approach.

Hence, the bulk of the chapter analyzes how the concept of intrinsic evil functions within the natural law approach, where it detects moral evil in human acts, and what kind of distinctions it establishes. This "logic," he suggests, is in itself an argument against adopting or defending this approach. Nevertheless, he disagrees with Stephen Pope and a number of other contributors to this volume that the concept should be abandoned. Instead, he argues for its reinterpretation along the lines of results of an ethical analysis. inspired by personalism.

Part III, "The Concept of Intrinsic Evil and Veritatis Splendor," moves the discussion on the concept into its "later phase" of application in other areas of Catholic ethics. James Bretzke's chapter, "Intrinsic Evil in Veritatis Splendor and Two Contemporary Debates," introduces the reader into the controversy surrounding the promulgation of the encyclical Veritatis Splendor and argues that the interpretation of the concept of intrinsic evil lies at the center of this controversy. He identifies a number of ways in which the encyclical's usage of the concept can be interpreted, but favors the "inclusive" interpretation. This interpretation emphasizes that the object of the act cannot be determined on the basis of the act's physical description, but necessarily includes some notion of intention and circumstances; that is, the so-called moral object. Furthermore, he argues that this interpretation not only lies in the background of the encyclical's notion of intrinsic evil, but is also the dominant understanding of the concept of intrinsic evil within the tradition. Nevertheless, he does not argue in favor of his thesis "directly," but instead demonstrates through two other contemporary debates that adopting this thesis might be the best way to overcome the impasse in theological ethics, while showing due respect to the Magisterium and the tradition of the Catholic Church.

Sigrid Muller's chapter, "What Are Intrinsically Evil Acts?" takes issue with a number of points James Bretzke makes in his chapter: first, his statement that "intrinsic evil is used metaphorically and politically, but no one knows what it is"; secondly, the way he understands the specification of a human act in terms of its intention and circumstances; thirdly, the distinction he made between the absolute moral truth founded in God's objective moral

order and our understanding of this truth. Muller also offers a concise survey of the work of more prominent German-speaking theologians as a starting

point of her own reflection. This leads her to a definition of intrinsically evil acts that takes into account contemporary developments within the field. In the process, she also takes a stand on the three issues of Bretzke's contribution.

Part IV, "The Concept of Intrinsic Evil in Fundamental Theological Ethics," engages directly with methodological issues surrounding the concept of intrinsic evil that were progressively identified in the preceding chapters. Joseph Selling's chapter, "The Naming of Evil in Fundamental Theological

Ethics," notes the general dissatisfaction with the usage of the concept of intrinsic evil in theological circles and proposes that one of the reasons why this concept is deficient and confusing is the fact that theological ethicists have not paid enough attention to the terminology that they are using. Hence, his starting point is the proposal of a more coherent terminology for describing various elements within the human act. In the process of developing this, he also points out links between the terminology employed and the method being used. In terms of the latter, he shows that the usage of the concept of intrinsic evil favors a certain conceptualization of human acts that starts with a consideration of their physical objects and only subsequently moves to circumstances and intentions. As opposed to that, he suggests a reversal of that order that would start with an examination of the (circumstantiated) intention of the agent and then move to the (circumstantiated) object of the act. He argues that this is, in fact, a more faithful interpretation of Aquinas's theory of action and he demonstrates the advantages through a number of vivid examples. If adopted, this "new" approach would eliminate the usage of the concept of intrinsic evil as simply unhelpful when it comes to the challenges of describing human acts in a morally adequate way.

Werner Wolbert's chapter, "Intrinsic Evil and the Sources of Morality," takes the issue of terminological (and methodological) confusion within the field of theological ethics a step further. He points out and demonstrates with a number of examples from the moral manuals and ecclesial documents that all the key terms (circumstance, intention, object, and distinctions based on these) involved in the discussion on intrinsically evil acts are ambiguous and/ or homonymous, which often leads to wrong conclusions. These confusions lead him to suggest that the *fontes moralitatis* are not the right context for discussing intrinsically evil acts, even if such a concept can be maintained. Instead, the issues that surround the concept ought to be discussed within the context of normative ethics in general, since what is branded intrinsically evil is an outcome of a process of moral reasoning (on the basis of normative criteria) and not a tool of such an analysis.

Part V, "The Future of the Concept of Intrinsic Evil," analyzes the role of the concept within various ethical perspectives and addresses the question whether the concept will have any role in the further development of the discipline of theological ethics. Andreas WeiB's chapter, "Intrinsic Evil in Different Ethical Perspectives," analyzes the role of the concept in normative ethics, the doctrine of the sources of morality, metaethics, and parenetic speech while paying particular attention to how Bruno Schaller and Peter Knauer approached the issue. After reflecting on the post-conciliar debate on the concept of intrinsic evil, he ends with a note of caution on what might be lost if the Church/theology stopped employing the concept of intrinsic evil. Namely, he believes that the Church's ability to issue "strong moral statements" partly depends on the usage of this (or similar)

concept(s) and fears that getting rid of it might mean "throwing out the baby along with the bathwater."

Edward Vacek's chapter, "Pope Francis's Heresy?" offers a reflection on the pontificate of Pope Francis in relation to the concept of intrinsic evil. Vacek focuses on what he reads in AL and comments on what the critics are saying about the document. Finding this critique unjustified, he expands more on the three key terms of the apostolic exhortation: mercy, conscience, and conversion. He argues that the way these frame the future debate within theological ethics does not leave room for concepts such as intrinsic evil.

Finally, Polgar and Selling's concluding chapter, "What Is Intrinsic Evil?," recapitulates insights offered by all the preceding chapters and uses these as the starting point for "building a bridge to the future" of theological ethics. The overview of insights reached by the preceding chapters detected some "weak points," that is, aspects of the issue of the concept of intrinsic evil (such as the objective moral order, the human good and evil, hierarchy of goods, change in moral teaching and practice, etc.) that were certainly raised but not sufficiently resolved in the course of the workshop. Thus, this final chapter sketches an outline of morality and theological ethics by elaborating further on these "weak points" and how they relate to the concept of intrinsic evil. The position that the concept of intrinsic evil has no place within this outline of morality and theological ethics comes through, we believe, quite clearly.

The reader will naturally make up his/her own mind about this position. However, if the chapters gathered in this volume manage to demonstrate what is at stake in the controversy surrounding the concept of intrinsic evil, their authors will consider it well worth the effort. <>

**THE MIRROR OF SIMPLE SOULS** by Margaret Porette,  
translated by Edmund Colledge O.S.A., J. C. Marler, Judith  
Grant, Foreword by Kent Emery, Jr. [Notre Dame Texts in  
Medieval Culture. University of Notre Dame Press,  
9780268014315]

**A DIABOLICAL VOICE: HERESY AND THE RECEPTION OF THE  
LATIN "MIRROR OF SIMPLE SOULS" IN LATE MEDIEVAL  
EUROPE** by Justine L. Trombley [Medieval Societies,  
Religions, and Cultures, Cornell University Press,  
9781501769610]

In *A DIABOLICAL VOICE*, Justine L. Trombley traces the afterlife of the *MIRROR OF SIMPLE SOULS*, which circulated anonymously for two centuries in four languages, though not without controversy or condemnation.

Widely recognized as one of the most unusual and important mystical treatises of the late Middle Ages, the *MIRROR* was condemned in Paris in 1310 as a heretical work, and its author, Marguerite Porete, was burned at the stake. Trombley identifies alongside the work's increasing positive reception a parallel trend of opposition and condemnation centered specifically around its Latin translation. She's discovered fourteenth- and fifteenth-century theologians, canon lawyers, inquisitors, and other churchmen who were entirely ignorant of the *Mirror's* author and its condemnation and saw in the work dangerous heresies that demanded refutation and condemnation of their own.

Using new evidence from the *Mirror's* largely overlooked Latin manuscript tradition, *A Diabolical Voice* charts the range of negative reactions to the *MIRROR*, from confiscations and physical destruction to academic refutations and vicious denunciations of its supposedly fiendish doctrines. This parallel story of opposition shows how heresy remained an integral part of the *Mirror's* history well beyond the events of 1310, revealing how seriously churchmen took Marguerite Porete's ideas on their own terms, in contexts entirely removed from Marguerite's identity and her fate. Emphasizing the complexity of the *MIRROR OF SIMPLE SOULS* and its reception, Trombley makes clear that this influential book continues to yield new perspectives and understandings.

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O my Lover, what will beguines say,  
And the religious,  
When they shall hear the excellence of your  
divine song?  
Beguines say that I err,  
priests, clerics, and Preachers,  
Augustinian, and Carmelites,  
and the Friars Minor,  
Because I wrote about the being of Pure Love.

—Marguerite Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*

In these lines from her book, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, Marguerite Porete both conveys her own frustration and concern over the reception of her work and ominously foreshadows the events about to unfold around her. Marguerite, who lived in the county of Hainaut at the end of the thirteenth century, wrote the *Mirror* as a mystical dialogue, in which various allegorical characters discuss how a human soul becomes completely annihilated in love and union with the divine. While plenty of other writers of her time—women and men—outlined similar spiritual journeys, Marguerite expressed herself in bold, paradoxical, and at times shocking terms that, as shown here, even she acknowledged might unsettle her readers and listeners. Eventually, her *Mirror* was to be condemned by ecclesiastical authorities not once but twice: first in the town of Valenciennes and again several years later in Paris. The above verse hints that, even while Marguerite was still writing, storm clouds were already gathering. When these clouds finally burst in 1310, Marguerite Porete was tried, condemned, and burned at the stake for heresy in the Place de Greve in Paris. The *Mirror* was meant to share her fate.

But the *Mirror*, like so many banned books, was not so easily stamped out. It was not destroyed but instead shed its association with Marguerite's name and fate and circulated across late medieval Europe. It was translated out of its original Old French picard dialect into three languages: Latin,



Italian, and Middle English. It was transcribed into Middle French. It was read, copied, and valued by a wide range of people, some of whom were the very types of people Marguerite had previously counted among her critics. It moved across not only France but also Italy, Germany, England, and Bohemia, appearing in the hands of monks, vicars, priests, and even apothecaries. Many of these readers showed little concern over what they saw in the Mirror. Notes in the margins of a French copy point to the "beauty" of its passages and the "marvelous" things it says; another note in a Latin copy exclaims, "o, how well said!" (o quoit bene dicit!). A fifteenth-century Tuscan monk copied a Latin Mirror into a manuscript made for the edification of his brothers, tucked into a codex alongside not only works by Bonaventure and Ambrose but also one of his own compositions?

This acceptance was not always wholehearted. Closer scrutiny shows the slight tarnish of unease on the bright surfaces of these later versions of the Mirror. The same monk in Tuscany who included the Mirror alongside his own work also included a warning in its incipit: *Caute legendus, et non ab omnibus*—"To be read cautiously, and not by everyone." The Middle English translator of the Mirror added explanatory glosses to some parts of their translation after they learned that "some word is there of have be my stake." One copyist of a Latin Mirror referred to it as *speculatissimus*, implying that it was extremely speculative or unclear; another Latin copyist at the Benedictine monastery in Subiaco believed the Mirror was unsuitable for printing because it was "too high for the simple" and quasi scandalous. The same copyist noted places where the Mirror seemed to contradict "all the doctors of the Church." Another monk, a French Celestine in Amber t, penned a work entitled *La discipline d'amour divine*, which aimed to correct and clarify some of the Mirror's more "dangerous" assertions.' But, despite these misgivings and feelings of uncertainty, these readers and copyists still brought the Mirror into their spiritual lives. They did not throw the wheat out with the chaff. Its difficulties could be glossed, rather than burned. To all appearances, then, the Mirror had made it into the realm of orthodoxy or had at least made a delicate treaty with it.

For many years, the remarkable success of the Mirror—its positive acceptance into late medieval spiritual reading—has been the dominant story in scholarship of its post-1310 career. It is a fascinating story of a book that triumphed over initial adversity and escaped the censor's hand. But this book focuses on another, more troubled story that has been less visible. Where some readers saw passages that merely needed additional explanation, others, like those who burned Marguerite Porete, saw the "pestilential sickness" of heresy. Late medieval theologians, preachers, inquisitors, and canon lawyers—none of whom knew of the Mirror's 1310 condemnation or the identity of its author—preached or wrote against the Mirror as a heretical text; some even physically destroyed it. Their attention this time was trained on copies of the Mirror in Latin, a linguistic tradition that was often regarded as the "ultimate accolade" for a vernacular work.' These Latin manuscripts tell another side

of the Mirror's story: they reveal renewed persecution and condemnation of the Mirror, entirely in ignorance of its earliest troubles, and in some cases more than a century after those took place. In just eight lines, then, the verse from the Mirror with which I began not only foreshadows Marguerite's original run-in with authorities but also encapsulates the longer history of opposition that dogged her Mirror both in the days leading up to her execution and long after those events as well.

This, then, is a book about a book and the history of the opposition that book faced. It details a series of attacks on *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, attacks that existed alongside its positive reception in other circles and that were aimed almost entirely at its Latin version. This book primarily uses manuscripts within the Mirror tradition itself to tell this story, supplemented with contemporary sermons, monastic records, and letters. Some of these sources have long been known but are understudied, while others are newly discovered. This evidence fundamentally challenges how we perceive Marguerite Porete, the Mirror, and both of their places within late medieval intellectual and spiritual life. It demonstrates that the Mirror was a controversial work in its own right and provoked charges of heresy in multiple different times and places, completely separated from Marguerite's name and fate. Many late medieval intellectuals took the Mirror seriously, on its own terms, and saw in it ideas that they found deeply troubling. This means that, whatever other circumstances were at play in the trial of Marguerite Porete, her and her book's fate in 1310 should not be attributed solely to clerical prejudices, politics, or misrepresentation of her work. As this book will show, fear over the implications of Marguerite's ideas was very real and produced real consequences. Uncovering this other side of the Mirror's reception also has larger implications, furthering our understanding of the variety of medieval spiritual life and the ambiguity of heresy and orthodoxy, and also raising crucial questions about the condemnation of texts in the late Middle Ages.

### **The Beguine and the Burned Book: Introducing *The Mirror of Simple Souls* and the Trial of Marguerite Porete**

Most scholars who have spent time studying the Mirror can probably remember the first time they read it. Usually, the memory involves a combination of bafflement, surprise, incredulity, fascination, and probably a certain amount of despair. Fittingly, all of those emotions also appear within the pages of the Mirror itself, suggesting that even its own author wrestled with it in some way. It is not a book that lends itself easily to summarization. There is no plot or even a clear linear progression. It often contradicts, doubles back on, and repeats itself. Given that Marguerite was attempting to communicate the uncommunicable—the soul's complete union with God himself—this is perhaps understandable and may even have been deliberate.

Although, as Sean Field has remarked, "nothing can replace the experience of reading the Mirror oneself," what follows is a rough summary of its ideas and form. The Mirror of Simple Souls (*Le mirouer des simples rimes* / *Speculum simplicium animarum* / *Specchio Belle anime semplici*) revolves around the concept of *anéantissement* / *adnihilatio*, or "annihilation" of the soul, which Marguerite presents as the height of spiritual perfection. An annihilated soul is one with God in a state of nonbeing, in which the soul has no will, no desire, and no self of its own. The union is indistinct and immovable: the self has so completely dissolved that there is no distinction between soul and God, and no concern, either internal or external, can shake the soul out of the state of annihilation once it has been attained, not even sin. This is best expressed by one of Marguerite's more (in)famous passages: "Such a Soul neither desires nor despises poverty nor tribulation, neither mass nor sermon, neither fast nor prayer, and gives to Nature all that is necessary, without remorse of conscience."

The attainment of *anéantissement* is achieved through the negation of the will; no thought for the material world or the self can remain. This includes leaving behind not only personal thoughts and desires but also anything that has to do with the created world. This means that church-prescribed actions such as penances, prayers, charitable works, and even the practice of the virtues have no place on the path to annihilation. Marguerite is careful to note, however, that she is not advocating for a life of immorality and sin; rather, the annihilated soul perfectly embodies and rules over the virtues. For Marguerite, one must not strive for God but should rather dissolve and melt into God by destroying one's own identity and one's will. While the journey to becoming annihilated permeates the entire book, near the end it is laid out in a linear fashion for the reader as being achievable through seven specific stages or steps, which culminate in the soul's complete disintegration into God.

Marguerite was not an equal opportunist. She makes it clear that the spiritual life she describes in her book is one superior to all others and is not open to everyone. She makes a distinction between "the Lost" and "the Sad," the former being those who carry on using their will and participate in church works who are oblivious to the higher spiritual life and the latter being those who know that there is a better spiritual path but do not know how to attain it? Those souls who do know the path to annihilation and have achieved it belong to "Holy Church the Greater" (*Sancta Ecclesia Maior*), which is superior to the institutional church, dubbed "Holy Church the Lesser" (*Sancta Ecclesia Minor*). Marguerite does not make these distinctions in a punitive sense—the Lost, the Sad, and all those in *Ecclesia Minor* may not achieve the highest and best form of spiritual life, but they will live a good life and be saved. Marguerite does, however, write that they will be saved in a lesser way than those who are annihilated: in an "uncourtly" way, to use her words.'

The Mirror is set up in a dialogic format. The main voices of Love, the Soul, and Reason discuss the Soul's path to annihilation, with other minor characters, such as Christ or Pure Courtesy, occasionally speaking at random intervals. Reason is the unenlightened voice who is held up as the main obstacle to annihilation. She constantly questions and exclaims over what Love and the Soul say about the life of spiritual perfection (her favorite phrase is "o God! What are you saying?"). Reason cannot comprehend what she is told and mocking Reason for her stupidity is one of Love and the Soul's favorite pastimes. At one point, Reason even dies of shock at what she hears from Love and the Soul—an event that the Soul celebrates." Marguerite specifically links Reason with the world of the lesser institutional church. She makes it clear that those who adhere to Reason are too preoccupied with worldly things and the self to be able to achieve or understand annihilation and dismisses them as "beasts and asses." Set up in opposition to Reason are Love and the Soul, who discuss the pathway to annihilation and teach the reader what is necessary to achieve such a state." The Soul acts as narrator, describing her experiences and spiritual progress. Love is the teacher, guiding and bringing the Soul to anéantissement and admonishing Reason for her frequent questions and "foolishness." Love is a divine force of "nothingness" that binds the Soul to God, containing no will and no desire.

Marguerite Porete, the author of this swirling, paradoxical text, is almost as mysterious as the Mirror itself. We know very little about her life. The story of her trial has received a flurry of attention in the last two decades, and a steady cascade of both new evidence and reconsideration of existing evidence means it is in an almost constant state of change. Marguerite Porete's life and trial comes to us through only two main primary sources: her trial documents, all contained in carton J428 held in the Archives nationales de France in Paris, and what hints can be gleaned from the pages of the Mirror. Brief descriptions of her execution are also found in four fourteenth-century chronicles of French origin. Marguerite, perhaps born around 1260, was a laywoman who came from the county of Hainaut and lived either in or near the vicinity of Valenciennes in what would today be northern France, right on the border with modern Belgium. In the thirteenth century, Hainaut belonged to the German empire, though Valenciennes lay in an area that was more politically ambiguous." Although she wrote in French and was tried in Paris, John Van Engen has pointed out that culturally Marguerite would have been more Netherlandish than French." Nothing certain is known of her family or background, though it is quite likely that she came from or at least had connections to a well-off, possibly noble family, since evidence from the Mirror indicates that she was highly literate and familiar with courtly culture!" In her trial documents she is referred to as a "beguine" (beguina), which usually denoted a laywoman living a semireligious, unadorned life of poverty and chastity, a form of life that was most popular in the Low Countries and in Germany from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries." While there has been some debate over whether or not Marguerite was "really" a beguine—that is, associated with an established community—Sean Field has pointed out that this point is moot, as the

"fluidity" of the term in the early fourteenth century meant that it was used to describe a woman's self-presentation as much as her links to a formal community, or as a pejorative.

Recently, however, evidence has emerged that indicates that Marguerite was a member of the beguine community at Valenciennes, the beguinage of St. Elizabeth." Huanan Lu has examined archival documents that stem from the investigation of the beguines of St. Elizabeth, conducted by the Premonstratensian abbot of Vicogne in 1323 on the orders of Bishop Peter of Cambrai. When the abbot, Godefridus, asked the beguines whether they knew of anyone who had "disputed on the highest trinity and divine essence," preached, or introduced any opinions contrary to the sacraments or the faith, the beguines responded there was only one, named "Marghoneta," but that she had been executed and had not gained any followers." As Lu argues, this, surely, is a reference to Marguerite Porete; it seems too great a coincidence to be anyone else. While the reference is brief, it nevertheless shows that Marguerite had indeed belonged to a beguinage at some point, and it definitively places her as a resident of Valenciennes.

Marguerite probably composed the *Mirror* in the 1290s, though no certain date can be given. There is evidence to suggest that she most likely composed it in stages, revisiting and rewriting pieces here and there, rather than creating it all in one go. Between the years 1297 and 1305—perhaps around 1300—the *Mirror* came to the attention of Guido de Collemezzo, the bishop of Cambrai from 1297 to 1305. He "publicly and solemnly" condemned the *Mirror* and ordered for it to be burned in public in Valenciennes. Marguerite herself was not condemned, but Guido set down in a letter that, should she recirculate her book in any way, she would be relaxed to the secular arm for execution." Sometime around this first condemnation—there is some debate as to whether it took place before or after—Marguerite showed her work to three churchmen in order to garner their opinions on it. As it turned out, these three men praised the *Mirror* rather than condemned it." These appraisals are found within the *Mirror* itself, in the Middle English, Latin, and Italian (following the Latin) traditions only; they are not first-person, personal accounts but are reported secondhand by Marguerite herself. The three men consulted were John of Querenaing, a Franciscan; Franc, a cantor of the abbey of Villers; and Godfrey of Fontaines, a master theologian at the University of Paris." Of the three, only Godfrey is identifiable, as he was a famous theologian of his time; Franc and John have yet to be identified. Each one praised the *Mirror*'s sophisticated spirituality and did not find it heretical, although both John and Godfrey advised that Marguerite not circulate it widely.

These warnings, however, were not taken on board. It eventually came to the attention of Jean of Chateauvillain, the bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, that Marguerite had rewritten or recirculated her book in some way. It was Jean who in all likelihood alerted inquisitorial authorities to her defiance of Bishop Guido's order. She was interrogated first by Ralph de Ligny, the inquisitor of Lorraine, to whom

she admitted recirculating her book, and then she confessed again in the presence of Philip of Marigny, the new bishop of Cambrai (from 1306 to 1309) who had been appointed after Guido de Collemezzo was transferred to the bishopric of Salerno. Philip then, in the autumn of 1308, sent Marguerite to Paris, into the custody of William of Paris, Dominican inquisitor and personal confessor to the king of France, Philip IV the Fair (r. 1285-1314). This meant that Marguerite had now entered the custody of a man who was essentially an agent of the Capetian court; it therefore also meant she was thrust into a highly charged environment of political-religious wrangling over the fate of the Knights Templar, who had been arrested by Philip IV in 1307, an effort that William of Paris had led. Marguerite's trial also involved multiple other figures who had close ties to the Capetian court, indicating that Capetian interests influenced how her trial was both conducted and recorded.

In a strange turn of events, shortly after Marguerite entered William's custody, a man named Guiard of Cressonessart publicly came to her defense. Guiard called himself the "Angel of Philadelphia" and seems to have been a proponent of Joachite ideas similar to those adopted by certain followers of the Spiritual Franciscans. No concrete connection between him and Marguerite Porete has yet been established, and while we do not know exactly how Guiard defended her, it was enough to attract the attention of William of Paris, who arrested and imprisoned him. Both Marguerite and Guiard refused to take the inquisitorial oath and confess. Although she could have been immediately condemned as a relapsed heretic, William of Paris instead left Marguerite (and Guiard) in custody for a year and a half. Then, in the spring of 1310, William moved their cases forward. He initiated a meticulous process against both Marguerite and Guiard, involving several legal and theological consultations.

First, in March, William gathered together a group of five canon lawyers and fifteen master theologians to consult them on whether each prisoner could be considered a heretic on the basis of their continuing refusal to confess; the theologians in this case declined to offer an opinion on the grounds that the case as it stood was more relevant to the canon lawyers. The written opinions of the five canon lawyers were issued on 3 April, in which they declared that both prisoners could be considered heretics and could be condemned on the basis of their contumacy." Shortly after this, Guiard finally confessed to William, which led the canon lawyers to pronounce him a heretic a second time, on the basis of his testimony. Then, on 11 April 1310, William brought the *Mirror* into the proceedings for the first time. He took several extracts from it and presented them to twenty-one master theologians from the University of Paris for assessment, a process not unlike how the university policed the works of its own members." No details about the book—its title, author, or that it was written in the vernacular—are mentioned in the document that recounts the consultation. William submitted at least fifteen articles to the panel; the precise number is unknown. This is noted

in the response of the theologians, which cited two of the articles, labeled the "first" and the "fifteenth." These articles read as follows:

**[1] That the annihilated soul gives license to the virtues and is no longer in servitude to them because it does not have use for them, but rather the virtues obey its command.**

**[15] That such a soul does not care about the consolations of God or his gifts, and ought not to care and cannot, because such a soul has been completely focused on God, and its focus on God would then be impeded."**

An additional article is quoted in the chronicle of the "Continuer of Guillaume de Nangis" as part of an account of Marguerite's execution:

**That the Soul annihilated in love of the Creator, without blame of conscience or remorse, can and ought to concede to nature whatever it seeks and desires.**

The theologians judged the Mirror to be heretical and, after a final consultation with the canon lawyers, this time revealing to them the details of Marguerite's first transgression in Valenciennes and the judgment of her book, William publicly sentenced and condemned both Marguerite Porete and Guiard de Cressonessart in the Place de Greve on 31 May 1310." Guiard, who had confessed, was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but Marguerite was relaxed to the secular arm for execution as a relapsed heretic. The next day, on 1 June 1310, she was burned at the stake. The "Continuer of Guillaume de Nangis," based at the abbey of St. Denis, reported that "she showed . many signs of penitence at her end, both noble and devout, by which the hearts of many were piously and tearfully turned to compassion." While sentencing Marguerite, William of Paris also condemned the Mirror, ordering for it "to be exterminated and burned" and declaring that—on pain of excommunication any who possessed the work were required to turn it in to the Dominican convent of St. Jacques in Paris by the end of the month.

While the Mirror was burned, it was certainly not exterminated. As Kathryn Kerby-Fulton has observed, manuscript culture "was not much amenable even to authorial control, let alone authoritarian control. As already noted, the Mirror survived and went on to have a spectacular afterlife in late medieval Europe, one that demonstrated just how limited the medieval church's scope for effective "censorship" was. While this book focuses mainly on the Latin tradition, a basic knowledge of the other linguistic versions of the Mirror helps to clarify the bigger picture of its reception. The different versions resonate with one another not just linguistically and philologically but also historically. The reception the Mirror received in its vernacular versions is both the backdrop to the Latin's circulation and the main springboard for the argument of this book, as they represent the positive side of the Mirror's reception and have been the dominant focus of Mirror scholarship. It will be useful, therefore, to trace what the Mirror's post-condemnation incarnations looked like.

## Plan of the Book

This book is primarily organized around three manuscript case studies, with one chapter providing context and evidence from other contemporary sources. A general sense of chronology underlies the order in which they are presented, but it does not strictly dictate how the analysis proceeds. Instead, it is structured more around the different kinds of attacks the Mirror received: theological and canon-legal refutation, "character assassination" through tropes and heretical stereotypes, and physical destruction. Chapter 1 provides context to the three manuscripts, detailing the reception of the Mirror in Italy and Germany in the first half of the fifteenth century as it appears in contemporary records. The chapter analyzes the Mirror's numerous appearances in sermons, letters, monastic records, and inquisitions. These appearances demonstrate the complicated reception of the Mirror, highlighting both hostility and popularity, and the chapter outlines the implications of these appearances. Chapter 2 examines Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Latin 46, a manuscript that once contained a complete Latin Mirror but now holds only a few fragments, as the rest of the work was cut out of and/ or unbound from the codex. In addition to providing new codicological information on the manuscript, this chapter shows the process of and reasons behind this Mirror's removal. It demonstrates how its textual company points toward an attitude of suspicion toward the codex as a whole and argues that it potentially has connections to both southern Germany and northern Italy. Chapter 3 looks at Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4953, which contains a theological refutation of several extracts taken from the Mirror, compiled as a list of errors. The chapter argues for the potential origins of this list in an inquisition against the Mirror conducted in Venice in 1437 and that it also likely had connections to debates between the Greek and Latin churches at the Council of Florence in 1439. It then examines the contents of the list itself, detailing the arguments and sources that were used to denounce the Mirror's doctrine. Chapter 4 examines the recently rediscovered Padua, Biblioteca universitaria di Padova, MS 1647 and gives the first in-depth analysis of its contents. This manuscript, like MS Vat. lat. 4953, contains a number of refuted errors taken from a Latin Mirror but takes a decidedly canon-legal approach to its refutations and employs vitriolic rhetoric that paints the Mirror as diabolical.

Throughout the book, I present examples of the Mirror being treated not just with unease or slight suspicion but as an undoubtedly heretical text. These examples show that the Mirror was considered heretical on both theological and legal grounds, but they also reveal that these attacks did not remain within the dry boundaries of purely academic refutation. The Latin Mirror was also assailed as diabolical and dangerous and attacked with classics from the antiheretical toolkit that had been used more often against people than against texts. The aim is not to discount or dismiss the positive reception of the Mirror but rather to show that a parallel thread of opposition ran alongside this acceptance. Following such a thread reveals the power the Mirror had, how its descriptions of self-negation and divine union could simultaneously compel and repel readers. Tracing the dark side of



the Mirror's reception adds yet another layer of complexity to its multifaceted history and solidifies its place as one of the most intriguing and important mystical works of the late Middle Ages. <>

## **DRAWING SPIRIT: THE ROLE OF IMAGES AND DESIGN IN THE MAGICAL PRACTICE OF LATE ANTIQUITY by Jay Johnston and Iain Gardner [De Gruyter, 9783110477283]**

A pioneering interdisciplinary study of the art, production and social functions of Late Antique ritual artefacts. Utilising case studies from the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri and the Heidelberg archive it establishes new approaches, provides a holistic understanding of the multi-sensory aspects of ritual practice, and explores the transmission of knowledge traditions across faiths.

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This volume has been many years in the making and many of its arguments, revised readings and propositions have waited patiently for publication. Its foundations were set in 2012 at a time when the role of images and their relations to other aspects of Late Antique magical ritual corpora was substantively underexamined. Now, most certainly, the topic is one of flourishing and active international debate. This introduction will outline the remit of the initial project, briefly discuss the troublesome term 'magic' and précis this volume's contents. A thoroughly interdisciplinary undertaking, this project and volume was formed by scholars open to wide-ranging debates and the mettle to question long-held conventions in their own fields. As a major outcome from the project "The Function of Images in Magical Papyri and Artefacts of Ritual Power from Late Antiquity" 2012-2016, funded by the Australian Research Council' — many other results are referenced throughout — this volume's foundations remain those that were detailed as the project's initial impetus (parts of which have subsequently become *de rigueur*).

Core to the project's conceptualization in 2012 was the significance of the art historical work of Hans Belting and David Freedberg and the anthropological propositions of Alfred Gell as they pertained to image affect, agency and ontology. This was combined with an 'Esoteric Aesthetics' approach (see Chapter 1) which brought to the fore two critical points:

- (i) that subjects and objects can be understood to be invisibly ontologically interrelated with one another (as is the case in a variety of worldviews) leading to materiality and figuration itself to be understood as having its own agency or affect;
- (ii) the scopic regimes employed in utilizing magical papyri could not be assumed to be those that are 'standard' for contemporary scholars. Indeed, the acknowledgement that perceptive skills can be trained (often via ritual practice) and that this development is accompanied with attendant changes in epistemological skill (including the often castigated realm of extra-sensory perception) was understood as crucial to any consideration of the material.

Images could no longer be considered as mere 'passive' illustration to be lightly consumed by the 'active' viewer. They were understood to have an agency and network of ontological relations of their own. As chapter one outlines, the ramifications for scholarship of these points are not easily accommodated. However, at minimum, a more self-reflective acknowledgment of the limitations of dominant contemporary scopic regimes in the interpretation of this material is required. This is not to argue that they have no veracity —

the contemporary 'view' is in operation throughout this volume — but it is to acknowledge that current modes of 'reading' are far from the entire story and to entertain with seriousness expanded forms of vision, perception and ontological relation.



IMAGE OF MARY ACCOMPANYING A PRAYER ATTRIBUTED TO HER. P. HEID. INV. KOPT. 685 P.9 685 P.9. ©AN PAPYROLOGISCHES INSTITUT, RUPRECHT-KARLS-UNIVERSITAT HEIDELBERG

Secondly, at the time of commencement interpretations of magical papyri had privileged the study of the written texts rather than undertaking sustained analysis of the abundant iconography. Indeed, there had been no substantial engagement with questions of the production and function of the artefact as a whole, the role of images and design elements, nor issues such as orality and agency (that situation has definitely changed in the intervening years). Therefore, the project's overarching claim has always been that accurate interpretations of these artefacts and ritual

practices cannot be produced without considering both text and image elements as of equal importance for scholarly analysis and as necessarily integrated with one another. Each partakes of the context of its particular vernacular and for heuristic purposes can be analyzed separately; however, for an understanding of the ritual corpora per se these elements must be considered in tandem. This is the overarching frame that guides the analysis and innovative new readings and translations found in this volume.

The project has also been wantonly interdisciplinary drawing together areas of study, especially Late Antique ritual magic, 'western' esotericism, art history and visual culture, and the philosophical areas of aesthetics, ontology and epistemology. At the time of the project's formation the field of 'western' esotericism (considered as a subfield of religious studies) had yet to engage substantively with issues of the image or 'ancient magic'; having the focus of its disciplinary origins in the Renaissance and modern occult traditions. Nonetheless, gnosticism, Hermeticism, magic and alchemy have always been identified as core to the field and subsequent scholarship has indeed featured ancient magic.<sup>5</sup> Significant to the field of 'western' esotericism is a range of hermeneutic propositions about how to 'read' esoteric discourse, texts and images. That images could be deemed ontological was not yet the vibrant topic of debate it is now. Wouter Hanegraaf had expressed perplexity in regard to the lack of scholarship in the proposition that images might "somehow be animated . . . nothing short of amazing." John G. Gager noted the lack of engaged study of images found on Late Antique amulets and curse tables (his own focus in that particular volume were the textual elements) and proposed an ontological framework for their interpretation: "In general terms the meaning or function of these figures is obvious: like the voces mysticae which they represent, they embody and make present the reality of the various actors mentioned in the spell (the human target and the supernatural beings, rarely the client)." Moving these images from being almost invisible to scholarly sight, as well as taking seriously the worldviews drawn from esoteric hermeneutics that accord, for example, an ontologizing of matter and image/design, was the basic platform of the project.

Accompanying this interdisciplinary remit was the aspiration to 'trouble' disciplinary boundaries, which, for example, siloed material based on perceived religious affiliation or on linguistic grounds. The intention was to build on Eva R. Hoffman's call for the critical effacement of such boundaries in "Remapping the Art of the Mediterranean." The accretion



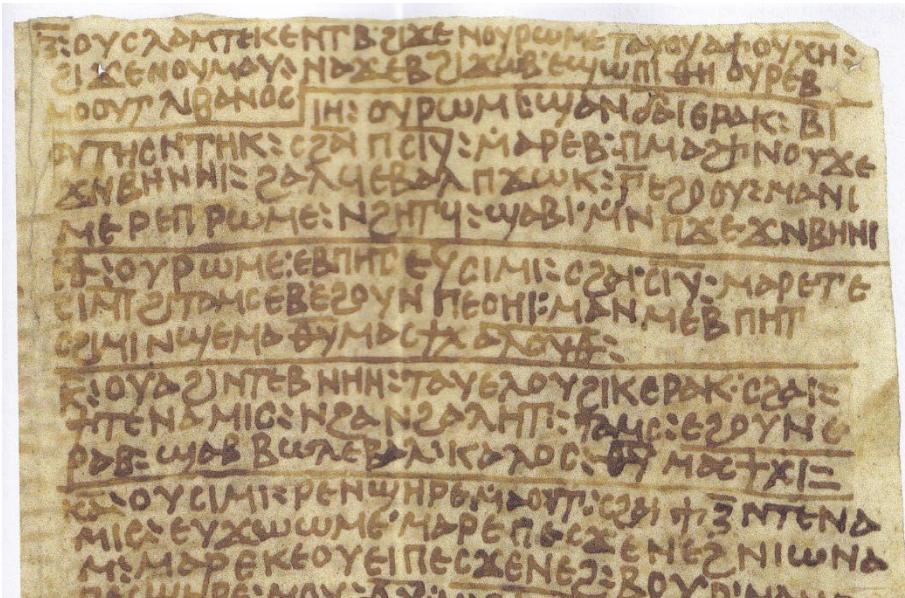
and cross-cultural utility of visual, design and textual elements is in evidence in the analysis made here.

The consideration of each of these elements can be considered in alignment with an Aesthetics of Religion approach. This is a field that has emerged strongly, particularly in northern Europe over the last decade. It is concerned with how religions construct, deploy, discipline, value and inhibit the senses and the resulting aesthetic relations.<sup>9</sup> This is inclusive of how perceptive capacities are foundational to concepts of self, other, space, materiality, etc. This approach considers the examination of aesthetic relations, imperatives and agendas as generating theories that pertain to the "sensory and bodily aspects of recognition" and perception. Therefore, the creation and use of magical material culture is understood to both produce and maintain shared ontological/metaphysical worldviews (it is not simply an end product of such). Further, it is not a matter of 'simple' apprehension, but a culturally conditioned and embodied cultivation of perception. Such a perspective considers the relation to image in ritual practice not to be purely oracular, but an embodied perceptual relation utilizing a range of senses and epistemologies (including the imaginal); inherently based in metaphysical worldviews.

Established as the original pillars of the project, these approaches have been aptly supported by broader turns in the Humanities in regard to material and otherthan-human agency, the wealth of new analysis and attention being paid to figural elements in Late Antique magical papyri, and challenges to the stain of subversion that accompanies the term 'magic'. This latter point is worthy of a few qualifying remarks for the context.

### Managing 'Magic' and Content Overview

'Magic' is a tricky term. The taint of illegitimacy still haunts its use in the academy (despite the numerous projects of which it is the subject). It appears the terminology still carries the inherent difficulties of its historical use including the colonial legacy of its nineteenth century construction, especially as deployed in the then emerging fields of anthropology and religious studies. One of the most prevailing general attitudes has been to place magic in an oppositional relation with 'religion'; a conceptual binary that has, thankfully, been the subject of critical revision. The material focus of this volume demonstrates the futility of such binary definitions. However, the term's remit and its cultural specificity are always contingent. It is this need for reflexivity in its understanding and application that underpins its presentation



THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL FLANKED BY TWO POWERS. P. HEID. INV. KOPT. 686 P. 16. © PAPYROLOGISCHES INSTITUT, RUPRECHT-KARLS-UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG



on occasion in 'scare quotes' within this volume (made at the discretion of the individual author).

Despite increasing recognition of the multiplicity of meanings and practices to which it may refer, the academy has sought to 'contain' the porous boundaries of worldviews and practices that the term 'magic' is taken to denote. These range from calls to cease using the term magic and replace it with a "critical category" approach to the terms "religion" and "ritual," with emphasis on associated designations like "binding" and "divination." This

critical theory approach in which terminology (e.g. 'religion,' 'ritual') is understood as discursively created and maintained — that is there is no stable object of study to which the terminology actually refers — is a mainstay of discourse studies (following the work of Michel

Foucault). Such an approach is particularly concerned with analysis as to how specific discursive contexts define, enable and limit any given experiences; and the understanding of the same, including how they are culturally valued. It aims to identify and scrutinize the operations of hegemonic power which changes in differing contexts, audiences and historical epochs. Bernd-Christian Otto and Michael Stausberg's approach to magic can be read as responding to the relative nature of terminology that discourse approaches evidence. They seek to "rehabilitate" magic as a term; resisting an urge to define it via a list of "traits", but rather consider it as embodying "an open list of typical features." In particular, they argue for the expression "patterns of magicity" in an effort to acknowledge cross-cultural difference in the designation of 'magical' practice. Also working in the wake of post-structuralism, Christopher Lehrich does not seek to avoid proposing a definition for magic. He argues that it should not be presented as a universal category, but always as a term that "manifests within a specific historical domain." What these two approaches share, and the reason for referencing them here, is a basic understanding that there is no such object/practice as "magic" per se. What does and does not fall within the terms remit is culturally sanctioned; as is the term's usage itself.

Working from an anthropological and phenomenological approach Susan Greenwood argues for what she deems "magical consciousness" as a universal "mode of perception." This may be considered a corollary to concepts of relation and worldviews that underpin various esoteric traditions, for example 'creative imagination' and forms of correspondent logic (discussed further in Chapter 1). In Greenwood's rendering, "magical consciousness" is a form of perception which has attendant epistemological ramifications. I would not share any proposition of universalism: that the perceptive and epistemological range of both the producers and users of magic, and in this particular context ritual papyri, might extend beyond or be different to those of my own and others with whom I share a cultural formation. This is entirely reasonable; indeed, a crucial factor. Such a proposition is embodied in this project's concern with scopic regimes. I would however, not want the term 'consciousness' to lead to an understanding of magic as a purely disembodied cerebral operation. It is to be understood as thoroughly embodied (in physical and metaphysical bodies) as well as pertaining to everyday lived realities. The worldview in which magic 'makes sense' should not be considered the purview of an elite or sect.

The mode of consciousness approach has also been developed in specifically ancient world contexts. Marianna Scabini and Joseph E. Sanzo examine the term for its heuristic usefulness while emphasizing it as a "register of late antique, medieval and early modern imagination." Sanzo in particular calls for an approach with "taxonomic flexibility." In a well-known move to avoid the polemical abyss that historically engulfs the term magic, Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki's make a preference for the term "ritual" ("ritual power"). Similarly, Andrew T. Wilburn, in a significant volume that encapsulates the material turn to magic (inclusive of issues of agency), also focuses on ritual, particularly in the private sphere. However, ritual itself is quite an elastic term and does not necessarily evade definitional conundrums.

Some of these concerns, particularly issues of epistemology, are considered further in the first chapter; although this volume is not particularly concerned with definitional debates beyond acknowledgment of the culturally contingent nature of the term 'magic'. Rather than magical practices being viewed as peripheral and the province of seditious individuals or small groups, it accords with recent attention developed in Late Antique studies that evaluates the central role of community leaders (scientists, doctors, priests, rabbis, scribes etc.) and the identification of workshops for the production of ritual material. The definitional wrangling in regard to 'magic' reveals a movement towards control of what — if issues of material and ontological agency are to be accorded legitimacy — is beyond such human containment. It is a tricky term and it is hoped that its complexities are not rendered smooth via the ways and means in which it is deployed in this volume. There is no intention to paper over the rich contradictions and conundrums its use affords. Each of the authors have engaged with its remit collaboratively and individually and to varying degrees.

The volume opens at its most speculative with Johnston's chapter "Magical Images': An Esoteric Aesthetic of Engagement" which provides a deeper consideration of the philosophical, art historical and methodological imperatives that infused the project. This chapter is a work of theory (there are no images!) and is perhaps best avoided if conceptual exploration is not the reader's forte. In Chapter Two Julia Kindt presents analysis of specific image and design elements in the magical and alchemical handbooks of the Theban Magical Library: "Evoking the Supernatural: Text and Image in Greco—Egyptian Magical Papyri." The Heidelberg Coptic Papyri are the focus of Iain Gardner's sustained analysis. Furnishing two chapters, the first (Chapter Three) evaluates issues of context including dating, production and provenance. The second (Chapter Four) provides substantive and remarkable revisions to



the interpretation of its content. Exemplifying innovation in the analysis of the materiality and material relations (including textual sources) of magical practice, Korshi Dosoo takes a multifocused approach to effigies and the ritual aspects of binding magic in his chapter "Two Body Problems: Binding Effigies in Christian Egypt and Elsewhere" (Chapter Five). Finally, continuing a concern with the dual, Johnston experiments in the interpretation of the image from the final page of P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 686 fol. 4r, The Exaltation of Michael the Archangel, in "Image Play on Angels and Insects."

Collectively these chapters are concerned with how spirits were drawn: figuratively, invisibly and ritually. The magical practices considered herein 'draw' spirit into action via ritual operation, as they draw spirit illustratively and ontologically on papyri. These spirits are both text and image. <>

### **HETERODOXIA IBERICA** edited by Jorge Ledo

This new series publishes high quality philological editions of a selected number of influential works or authors forbidden by the Iberian Inquisition, or challenging the idea of an Imperial Spain/Portugal. The volumes are all accompanied by studies by leading scholars in the field. An important criterion for inclusion in the series is that the chosen text is either unpublished or does not have a modern, scholarly edition. As such, the series presents a highly innovative content. The series will reflect the cultural and intellectual production of all Iberian authors, Jewish and Morisco authors, but also of reformers and/or Catholic authors who challenged prevalent religious, political, or literary discourse.

## Investigations into Magic, an Edition and Translation of Martín Del Río's *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* series

### INVESTIGATIONS INTO MAGIC, AN EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF MARTÍN DEL RÍO'S *DISQUISITIONUM MAGICARUM LIBRI SEX, VOLUME 1* by José Manuel García Valverde and Peter Maxwell-Stuart [Series: *Heterodoxia Iberica*, Volume: 6.1, Brill, 9789004441545]

Martín Del Río (1551-1608) was a remarkably learned Jesuit scholar. His prolific output includes six volumes of *Investigations into Magic* which sought to be the last word on magic, witchcraft, and allied subjects such as divination and superstition, and a detailed manual of advice for judges and confessors engaged in combatting what was seen at the time as a dangerous threat to the spiritual life of humanity in this world and the next. First published in 1599-1600, *Investigations* was heralded as a major contribution to the armoury of the Counter-Reformation, and went through several editions, the last appearing in 1747.

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**INVESTIGATIONS INTO MAGIC, AN EDITION AND  
TRANSLATION OF MARTÍN DEL RÍO'S DISQUISITIONUM  
MAGICARUM LIBRI SEX, VOLUME 2 by José Manuel García  
Valverde and Peter Maxwell-Stuart [Series: Heterodoxia  
Iberica, Volume: 6.2, Brill, 9789004441552]**

The sixteenth century saw the world as being mortally threatened by Satan who was encouraged by the widespread popularity of magic and other occult practices. Church and

society struck back to defend people from this tidal wave of wickedness. Del Río's panoramic and detailed treatise provided a powerful weapon in that battle. Far from dry scholarship, however, 'Investigations' is an engaging, fascinating, earnest conversation between Del Río and his readers and a major contribution to understanding key aspects of everyday sixteenth century behaviour and the problem of evil.

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## **Del Río's Life and Literary Corpus**

Callimachus is said to have observed, μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κακόν, 'a big book is a big evil,' and since Del Río's work is large enough in itself, perhaps a long introduction would serve merely to test the reader's patience to breaking point whereas he or she will need every ounce of it to cope with the immense detail with which Del Río embellished what he clearly intended to be the ultimate word on the subject. These preliminary words will therefore be kept as few as possible in order to let Del Río speak for himself. Is he worth the reader's effort? Yes, he is. To be sure, he is not an easy companion and, indeed, can sometimes be exasperating, but his sheer diligence in an age without the ready aids of modern scholarship, not to mention his battles with increasing bad health and near-blindness and the discomforts and dangers (to express them no more vividly than that) of sixteenth-century travel by land and sea in a Europe riven by war and local lawlessness, elicit one's admiration and this, in turn, increases one's curiosity to find out what he has to say. For all its length, his book is no mere dry or rambling compilation of quotations; nor is it simply a re-hash of what others had said a dozen times before. It is indeed partly an exhaustive survey of material relating to magic and allied beliefs, practices, and theories, but it is also a record of one man's quirky, but carefully-considered meditation upon an interaction between the physical and non-physical worlds which seemed to be growing rapidly out of control and posing an existential menace to humanity. It is perhaps no accident that Del Río was a Jesuit, a member of God's shock-troops whose task was to fight the forces, human or not,

which threatened to subvert God's plan for the well-being and salvation of His creation. A war is not won by tactics alone. Strategy is essential and strategy depends on as full an understanding as possible of the enemy in all his strengths, weaknesses, and likely intentions. Hence Del Río's thoroughness. He saw himself not only as a spokesman for the Catholic Church, but also as her doughty defender and principal strategist, since his work was laying the foundations of her future invincibility in her struggle with the forces of evil in the secular world. His intentions (and indeed achievement) in the *Disquisitiones* thus go well beyond those of any other contemporary writer on the subject-matter, whose aims were in general more limited and less grandiose, and his voice, which not only informs the whole work, but breaks through his text over and over again, is not merely combative, but assured and distinctive in a way which commands the reader's close attention.

Martín Antonio del Río was born on 17th May 1551 in Antwerp which was then a bustling trading-centre in the Duchy of Brabant in the Spanish Netherlands. Nomenclature can be misleading. During the sixteenth century, for example, 'the Netherlands' included territories remarkably different in character, language, and government, not to mention religion later on, owing political allegiance to rulers as disparate as the Spanish Habsburgs, the Church, the Spanish Crown, and independent Dutch authorities. 'Belgium,' too, a term which appears quite frequently in Del Río's work, in effect referred to the Spanish Netherlands during his life-time, that is, territories governed de facto by Philip II of Spain as a result, first of Charles V's declaration in 1549 that the seventeen provinces of which they were constituted was a Habsburg fiefdom and then, from 1556 onwards, after Charles V's abdication as Holy Roman Emperor and the succession of Philip II to the Spanish throne.<sup>1</sup> It was not long before this led to a revolt and in 1568, in part at least because of a growth of radical forms of Protestantism, especially Calvinism, which made themselves felt throughout the Netherlands, and the strong counter-measures adopted by the Spanish authorities, the opening salvoes were fired in a conflict which would later be termed 'the Eighty Years War.' A significant part of Del Río's life, therefore, saw his native country (although he may not have viewed it in quite those terms) riven by political instability and religious tension. Indeed, this instability and tension affected him and his family personally, and it was not until he joined the Society of Jesus in 1580—not in the Netherlands, but in Spain, the land of his parents' birth—that politics moved from the forefront of his mind to the back and were replaced, perhaps not entirely, but certainly for the most part, by religion and the battle, as he saw it, for higher truth. His father, Antonio Del Río, was a Spanish merchant, originally from Castile, and his mother, Eleonora López de Villanova, also came from merchant stock in Aragon.<sup>2</sup> Antwerp had developed into a major port concentrating on the commerce of fairly expensive items and attracted a large number of Spanish and Portuguese traders. Friso Wielenga succinctly expresses its situation at this time:

A thriving economic and military strategic northern hub was building up round Antwerp, and this was of key significance to the consolidation and expansion of the position of the Habsburgs in Europe and the rest of the world.

As a member of the Spanish influx which was coming to dominate the higher echelons of Antwerp society, Martín, therefore, along with his younger brother, Jerónimo, grew up in comfortable surroundings and in what would now be called an upwardly-mobile family which had high expectations of itself and its immediate future and at one point their father, according to Heribert Rosweyde, was able to build a new, almost palatial family home in one of the most fashionable and expensive parts of the city, where the Del Ríos received and entertained Margaret of Parma and the Duke of Alba, two governors-general of the Spanish Netherlands, when they stayed in Antwerp.

Rosweyde tells us that Martín received at least part of his early education in Lier which is about eighteen miles south-east of Antwerp. Why did he go there rather than stay in Antwerp? The answer may lie in the increased status and fresh property acquired by his father Antonio. In 1557 he bought the castle and lordship of Cleydael which is nearly seven miles due south of Antwerp and then, in 1561, when Martín was just over ten years old, Antonio bought him the seigniorial rights of Aartselaar which is just over seven miles due south of Antwerp and only about one and a half miles south-east of Cleydael. Lier, however, is nearly eighteen and a half miles from Antwerp, nearly thirteen from Cleydael, and nearly thirteen again from Aartselaar. These distances suggest it would have been too far for Martín, still a child at this time, to have travelled from either Antwerp or Cleydael or Aartselaar to Lier on a daily basis, and that therefore that it is more likely he either received the majority of his education, at any rate, in Antwerp, or was sent away, as Erasmus was at the age of nine, to benefit from a school particularly known for its Classical education.<sup>4</sup> It included a good grounding in Latin and Greek, to which he later added Hebrew and a working knowledge of Chaldee [Aramaic]. He will also have spoken Spanish and Flemish at home and in town, and at some date acquired German, Italian, and French, the latter either learned or burnished during his years as a student in Paris. On 1st December 1563, at the age of twelve and a half—young, but not remarkably young for this by the standards of the time—he matriculated in the University of Leuven and continued his study of the arts there for three years before going to Paris to study philosophy for two years.

It was while he was in Leuven that the political and religious situation in the Netherlands, which had been growing increasingly fraught as Calvinists in particular took advantage of a weak central authority and an open attempt by some nobles to seize power for themselves and to have the anti-heresy laws repealed, to practise their religion openly and, indeed, aggressively. Del Río was in Antwerp, perhaps at the end of his studies in Leuven while he was making preparations for a journey to study jurisprudence at the very recently founded University of Douai, his likely next place of study,



which opened its doors to students in 1562, and saw the damage religious rioters had done during late August, 1566 to the images in the Church of Our Lady.<sup>5</sup> His studying jurisprudence in Douai is an indication that he was preparing himself for a secular career which would promote the interests, wealth, and status of the Del Río family, and his continuing such studies over the next seven years in Paris, Leuven, and Salamanca, as well as Douai, lends emphasis to this. In Paris he noted the damage done to a stained-glass window in the Church of Saint-Médard.

Paris was a somewhat dangerous place to be living in during the 1560s. Religious wars afflicted dreadful damage on both life and property and although an uneasy truce ended the preliminary stage of conflict in March 1563, by 1567 it had broken out again. Fortunately for Del Río, he was probably over a hundred miles away in Douai at the time. It was not until March 1568 that another truce was called, but if Del Río ended his academic year in Douai and arrived in Paris after that March, he would have avoided the worst of the fighting, although not the tension which continued to grip the city. While in Paris he attended lectures on Aristotle and theology given by Juan Maldonado, a Spanish Jesuit who had arrived in 1565 to occupy the chair of theology in the Collège de Clermont. Maldonado also gave an influential series of lectures on demonology, but not until 1571–1572, by which time Del Río had left Paris, first for Leuven and then for Salamanca. He did, however, have a brief brush with magic in as much as he frequently had sight of Maître Gonin, a notorious magician who survived his trial on a capital charge.<sup>7</sup> Del Río's 'saepe vidi' and 'audivi' suggest the man was pointed out to him and that Del Río was kept up to date with the gossip about him rather than knowing him personally. The brush was therefore at a distance and probably cannot be counted as a stimulus to his later interest in magic and demonology.

From Paris, Del Río moved back to Leuven where he received his LL. B on 8th May 1572. At about this time he was taught mathematics, which will have included astrology, by Jan van Ostaeyen [Joannes Stadius] a noted professor of both subjects, who went on to become mathematician to Philip II of Spain and the Duke of Savoy.<sup>8</sup> Del Río had not been a typical student in the meantime, in as much as he had prepared editions of two Classical authors, the third-century AD grammarian, Julius Solinus, and the fourth-century AD poet, Claudius Claudianus, both of which were published in 1572 (not '1571' as Rosweyde has it for Solinus in his Life). For his work on the former, Del Río borrowed a manuscript from Justus Lipsius whom he had probably met in the late 1560s, and dedicated the work to Cardinal Antoine de Granvelle, who was Viceroy of Naples at the time, but who had been one of the most influential figures in the government of the Spanish Netherlands during the early 1560s. For his edition of Claudian, Del Río borrowed a manuscript from Victor Gislain (1543–1591) a physician and philologist whom he describes in the courteous way of the period as 'a man of remarkable learning.' Interestingly enough, an edition of Claudian had been published in Antwerp the year before by

Theodore Poelmann, a self-made scholar who worked for the publishing house of Plantin which also published Del Río's edition.

Having gained his bachelor's degree, Del Río then made preparations to continue his legal studies in Salamanca. This time he was accompanied by his younger brother, Jerónimo. An overland journey from either Leuven or Antwerp in high summer would perhaps have been less preferable than covering part of the distance by sea, and sailing from Antwerp to Bilbao or Santander may not have taken too long, although pirates were a constant danger and the Bay of Biscay was notorious for its adverse winds which were quite capable of holding up ships for days or even weeks at a time.<sup>9</sup> Once disembarked, however, Martín and Jerónimo could have travelled overland to Salamanca in about three weeks. The distance from Bilbao to Salamanca is about 247 miles, and from Santander about 197 miles. They would clearly have needed to break this into stages, and the most obvious stopping places along the route are, perhaps, Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid, Cuéllar, and Segovia, none of which need have been more than two days' ride from one another. Martín matriculated on 1st December 1572 and at some point during the following year he heard about the trial of a notorious prostitute in Madrid, who had confessed, under torture, to having used the brains of a young donkey to make a magic philtre. Apparently she was found guilty, flogged, and sent into exile. It may also have been at this time that he was shown 'an enormous vault, the relic of a college of execrable irreligion' which Queen Isabella had ordered to be blocked up a century ago.<sup>10</sup> In 1574, on 13th December, he received his Master's degree in law, but apparently did not leave Spain immediately, because in 1575 we find him living in Madrid. The Netherlands were dangerous at this time. The Duke of Alba had been sent to counter and suppress actual and potential rebellion and this he did with great brutality until he was recalled to Spain by Philip II. The new Governor, Luis de Requeséns y Zuñiga, pursued a somewhat more moderate policy, but he died suddenly on 5th May 1575 and was replaced by Philip II's half-brother, John of Austria, who was not so willing to compromise. Pedro Henriquez de Alevedo, Count of Fuentes, who would later become Governor-General, had been present at Del Río's graduation in 1574. He was a man of high influence at the Spanish Court and may have suggested that Del Río visit Madrid for the time being rather than return to the perils of home. His may not have been the only welcoming voice. Cardinal de Granvelle was in Madrid in 1575, as was the Duke of Alba whom the Del Río family had entertained in Antwerp, not to mention Del Río's cousin, Luis, who was well-known to the Duke. So the Del Río name on its own could have been sufficient to recommend young Martín and Jerónimo to the highest echelons of Madrid society. While he was there, Del Río had another brush with the preternatural. 'In 1575, when I was living in Madrid, one used to see a boy who belonged to the tribe [of clairvoyants]. The talk is that they can see things which lie in the very bowels of the earth—water-channels, rich veins of metals, and dead bodies under their grave-monuments'.<sup>11</sup> As in the case of Maître Gonin, however, this appears to be no more than Del Río's noticing someone on

more than one occasion (perhaps a street-performer, the word genus ['tribe' or 'stock'], may suggest the boy was a gypsy) being inquisitive and receiving a few details from one or more of the locals.

Once again, Del Río appears to have put his time to scholarly use by editing and commenting on ten tragedies by Seneca. In spite of his untruthful claim in the preface to this work, *Adversaria* ('Arguments' or 'Assertions') that he had completed it at the end of 1571, it seems clear from a letter written by Del Río to Christophe Plantin from Burgos, possibly on his return to the Netherlands from Madrid, and a reply from Plantin, dated 7th November, 1575 that it was actually ready for the press in the early winter of that year, when indeed it duly appeared.<sup>12</sup> In 1576, however, Del Río's life began to undergo a series of changes which would see him, first, apparently begin to achieve the kind of secular advancement in career for which his education had been preparing him, but then take an entirely different direction. The year did not bode well. Tension in Antwerp reached breaking point and on 4th November the city was sacked by Spanish troops, furious because they had not been paid for a considerable time. The pillage lasted for three days and was brought to a temporary end on 8th November by an agreement, the so-called 'Pacification of Ghent,' which was meant to provide both sides with some kind of breathing-space. It did not last and the Del Río family found itself on the wrong side, because on Christmas Day soldiers invaded Cleydael and stripped it of everything valuable, including Martín's extensive library. Martín's cousin, Luis, had already been arrested and imprisoned, his father under suspicion of embezzlement, and the family left more or less destitute. But by 1577 Martín was in Brussels where, after the arrival of John of Austria as the new Governor-General in November, 1576 and his formal entry in May the following year, he and Luis enjoyed a resurgence of good fortune, with Martín being appointed to the Council of Brabant on 7th November. His father, however, was not so lucky. He was arrested in August and then forced to agree to repay (in part) some of the money he had peculated from the Treasury, but in November, while Martín's star was rising, Antonio fled the Netherlands and never returned. It was during 1578 that Del Río, acting in his judicial capacity, as he says, was offered a little grimoire and a box containing a mandrake root which had belonged to a university graduate. (Had he died or been arrested on a charge of magic which resulted in confiscation of his goods?). The mandrake root Del Río tore to shreds and threw on the fire. He does not say what he did with the grimoire.

On 1st October 1578, however, John of Austria died and Del Río acknowledged his debt to his patronage by publishing what he calls, in a clear reference to Julius Caesar's reports on his campaigns in Gaul, *Commentarii* ('Memoirs') an extensive account of recent events in the Spanish Netherlands, with Don John as the hero of the narrative. The loss of his patron, however, unsettled Del Río and these memoirs make it clear that he saw the struggles taking place in the Netherlands as those of good against evil, Catholic truth against Protestant heresy, religious orthodoxy against irreligious

heterodoxy. Whether he was at this stage beginning to see himself as a spokesman for and defender of the Catholic Church is a moot point, but by the end of December, 1579 he had come to the conclusion that the direction his mind was taking was consistent with the aims and ideals of the Society of Jesus, and had written to the Superior General, with the support of the Jesuit Provincial of the Spanish Netherlands, to say he had decided to enter religion under the auspices of the Society.

He was told to go to Valladolid but stopped in Paris to make arrangements for the publication of his *Interpretation of the Codex and the Institutes of Civil Law* which duly appeared in 1580. From Valladolid, he was sent to Villagarcía de Campos, about 32 miles away, to begin his novitiate, and we next hear of him on what was to be an almost endless series of travels for the rest of his life. On 23rd June, 1584 he was in León where he noticed a large number of gypsies flooding into the city for the Corpus Christi procession and on 25th September, having been ordered to return home to the Netherlands, he was in Burgos, presumably on his way to Bilbao or Santander where he could pick up a suitable ship. In his *Investigations into Magic*, he records that he knew two men—one in Burgos, the other in Salamanca—who had had encounters with ghosts, and he also tells an anecdote about a nobleman of his acquaintance from Burgos who thought, wrongly, that he was fighting a ghost at night and had to be rescued from his fantasy by people from the neighbourhood who had been woken up by the noise he was making. Neither of these anecdotes, however, is necessarily datable to this year.<sup>14</sup> By 23rd October he was in Bordeaux, presumably lodging in the city's Jesuit house, and there he stayed, ill or malingering, for just over two years, clearly unwilling to go back to a country which now held such bitter memories for him. Bordeaux was not unpleasant, in spite of an outbreak of plague in 1585 which was heralded, as Del Río noted ('I saw them myself') by an autumn flowering of roses in the Jesuits' garden. He was also told, although not necessarily at this time, about a local advocate who used to keep a familiar spirit in a glass bottle. When the advocate died, his heirs, too frightened to destroy it themselves, brought it to the Jesuit college where the Fathers waited until the heirs had gone and then hurled it into one of their ovens where it burst with a simple crack. He also tantalises us with a remark appended to his saying that evil spirits can transform themselves into an angel of light and into the Mother of God: 'I know this happened because I was living in Bordeaux at the time.'<sup>15</sup> It is perhaps likely to be an incident he was told about rather than one he had seen himself, because he would surely have made more of it had he been an eye-witness. On 17th February 1586, his father died in Lisbon. Antonio had never recovered from his disgrace eight years earlier and his wife had not followed him into his self-imposed exile.

Having delayed obedience to his superiors' instructions to go back to the Netherlands as long as he could, finally, on 23rd December Del Río left Bordeaux and became a student again, studying theology at Mainz where he received the tonsure in 1587 and in the Jesuit college in Leuven where he was

ordained priest in 1589. At Mainz he may have been taught by Jan Buys, a fellow-Netherlander, who taught theology at Mainz for twenty years, round about the time Del Río was there. So too was Petrus Thyraeus who may also have been one of his tutors, since he taught theology in Mainz from 1574 until 1590. He had a particular interest in ghosts and invasive demons which resulted in his writing books which Del Río later used as part of his background reading for *Investigations*. He notes that the university had a particularly good library and records an incident of monastic demonic magic in 1509 which he took from one of its books. He also remarks a piece of contemporary gossip, the execution in Trier of a notorious wise-woman [saga] who had been found guilty of magically stealing milk from other people's cows. These and similar instances from his reading or personal experience during the 1580s and 1590s suggest that he had or was developing an interest in magic and planning to write about it at some time.<sup>16</sup> After studying theology there and in Leuven, where Joannes Sturmius from Mechelen was teaching dialectics and metaphysics from 1585 until 1591, he was posted to Douai and Liège where he added the role of teacher to student and, among other subjects, began to teach philosophy. While in Douai, he may have met Claude Dausque who received his teaching degree in theology there, later became a Jesuit, and wrote one of the dedicatory poems to Book 3 of Del Río's *Investigations*. Del Río also refers to Jan Decker, already established as a lecturer in Douai and Leuven, from whom he was seeking clarification of a phrase in one of St Catherine of Siena's lectures, as his colleague in theology, and gives further evidence of his interest in magic and allied subjects at this time. There are, he says, people who pretend to be the souls of dead husbands and so persuade widows to marry them. 'I know there is someone who frequently does this in Leuven.' He also had an epistolary conversation about predictive dreams with his friend Justus Lipsius, 'while I was living in Leuven,' and tells us that he once gave a public lecture on magical knots and ligatures there, perhaps while he was a student.

This interest should not surprise us. The final decades of the sixteenth century in Europe saw a marked increase in the level of witch-prosecution and, indeed, the prosecution of all types of magical practitioner. This was preceded and accompanied by political turbulence, a ratchetting of religious tensions, and several notable attempts to warn people, learned and unlearned alike, that Satan was conspiring with ever-growing numbers of maleficent human beings to overthrow both Church and state, and the Spanish Netherlands was a mirror of all three. Waves of witchcraft prosecutions swept through Flanders and Brabant, and it so happened that the first execution for witchcraft in Brabant was that of Cathelyne van den Bulcke in 1589, which took place in Lier, where Del Río received his primary education. It was soon followed by others. Meanwhile, sermons, broadsides, and pamphlets, not to mention the theatre of public executions themselves, underlined the message and served to excite both an uneasy curiosity and neuroses already heightened by war and its accompanying terrors.

In 1593–1594 Del Río was in Tournai, preparing to take his final vows. His health had not improved and, indeed, seemed to be getting worse, particularly during winter, but he managed to publish his *Treatise on Latin Tragedy*, with a grateful dedicatory preface to Justus Lipsius who had given him help and advice, and smoothed relations between Del Río and the publisher, which had proved somewhat fraught. Seneca's portrait of the magician Medea in the tragedy which bears her name clearly stimulated his interest in magic and demonology in particular (as opposed, let us say, to the ghosts and predictive dreams which had tended to catch his imagination thus far) but he was still alert to anything unusual, such as the remora fish which could hold back a sailing-ship in mid-voyage, a specimen of which he says he saw in Jacques Plateau's house in Tournai, or the large wooden crucifix whose figure used to grow a hair and beard and had to be shaved each year, which he saw in Damme, a town near Bruges.<sup>19</sup> Not long afterwards he returned to Leuven where he had a conversation with the Dean of St Rumbold's Church in Mechelen. A man was out walking with a gun, he said, when a number of crows and other birds started to shriek at him. He levelled his gun at them and shot one, but could not find the body, only an iron key. When he showed the key later to a friend, the man recognised it as belonging to a neighbour of his, and when they went to the house, they found a woman there, lying dead from a gunshot wound—clearly a witch who had changed shape and been caught by the bullet.

By the end of December 1595, however, Del Río's patience with the Netherlands was under strain. Local problems connected with the Jesuit college in Leuven and the university were partly to blame, and it is likely he was over-working, because he was not only collecting material for *Investigations*, but also completing *Blossoms for Mary* and preparing it for publication; and all this, it seems, was exacerbated by his continuing bad health which, he complained, was becoming worse, especially during the winter.<sup>21</sup> He was eventually given permission to go back to Spain in 1597, as we can tell from the dedicatory letter which prefaces *Blossoms*. 'Friendship, admiration, and gratitude,' he wrote to Charles de Billehé, one of Ernst of Bavaria's close counsellors, 'were all strong reasons which impelled me without hesitation to dedicate this little book to you before I left for Spain.' He never got there. Rosweyde says he changed his mind at the thought of the difficulties and perils attendant on the sea-voyage and went to Liège instead. (Actually he went on board, but the ship had to turn back, and Del Río cried off going to sea again). It was here that he heard about the trial and execution of a Flemish Benedictine, Jean del Vault, for diabolic magic. The information came from one of the judges, Pierre Dheure, a friend of Justus Lipsius since 1588, who had introduced him to Del Río. The affaire Stavelot began in 1592 when monks in the abbey of Stavelot began to fall ill and Del Vault was accused of being the cause. For some reason it was not until 1595 that Prince Ernst of Bavaria was alerted to Del Vault's apparent involvement, and not until spring 1596 that Del Vault was subjected to questioning about it. He confessed, with a remarkable amount of detail, to practising diabolic magic

and to attending witches' Sabbats, and was executed the following year. Apparently he had a mark of the kind that were often called 'witch's marks' on his back, which was tested in the usual way, that is, probed by a long needle. This drew no blood and caused no pain and was thus an indication of his having become a servant of the Devil.<sup>22</sup> These sensational details apart, Del Río continued his long-standing curiosity about behaviours which impinged upon the realm of magic, noticing that 'this year [1597] in Leuven' an itinerant female physician had put out an advertisement saying that people who wanted to make use of her remedies ought not to allow regular (i.e. male) physicians or priests to touch them, otherwise they would lose their power—a caveat he took to indicate that the woman was dealing in harmful magic.

It was round about this time, according to Rosweyde, that Del Río completed his *Investigations into Magic*, although 'he did not publish these commentaries when he wrote them but allowed them to mature for three years.' A publication date of 1599 for Books 1–4 suggests that Rosweyde was right, and also that Del Río's writing them coincided with a wave of witch activity in the Netherlands' Jesuit province during the years 1589 to 1596. (They may, in fact, have started as a teaching course, as is suggested by two mss., one in Edinburgh, the other in Brussels, written by two men who were students in Leuven at the time). In November 1597, Lipsius and Del Río were discussing a title for the work and in June 1598 Lipsius sent him a short poem which appears as the first of three prefatory poems in the 1608 edition. Lipsius also sent a manuscript copy of the book to the Moretus publishing house in August 1598, and when this was refused (on what grounds is open to speculation) the manuscript was sent to Gerard van Rivieren, a publisher recently moved to Leuven from Liège, and published in three parts between 1599 and 1600.<sup>24</sup> It seems to have been well, although not uncritically, received—on 27th November, 1599 Pierre Dheure, having read Book 2, wrote to him about the Stavelot affair, a lengthy letter which Del Río subsequently incorporated into Book 5—and had scarcely been out a few months before Van Rivieren was asking Del Río about the possibility of a second edition. It was then, generally speaking, a satisfactory end to the year in which Del Río had, at long last, taken his final vows as a Jesuit.

In August, however, he was on his way to Graz in Austria, nearly 670 miles away. The Jesuit college there had been founded fairly recently and on the first page of Book 5 of the revised and expanded *Investigations*, Del Río recorded his appointment as Professor of Holy Scripture there. He was not alone. His colleague from Leuven, Jan Decker, moved there in 1600 to become Chancellor of the University. A few months before Del Río arrived, the Jesuit Fathers in Graz had had to deal with a young man, Nicholas Prutenus, who had signed a pact with the Devil. As a result of this and his subsequent horror at what he had done, he became suicidal, but someone persuaded him to come to Graz and from March until June 1600, with the Jesuits' help he fought against his diabolic involvement

and finally broke free. ‘The Jesuits here preserve the story, written in his own hand, in their college,’ noted Del Río, ‘and while I was writing this, I had it in front of me.’<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, as well as becoming exercised by the appearance of a pirated version of *Investigations*, Del Río published a lengthy didactic poem by a fifth-century writer, ‘Orientius.’ It is a long succession of elegiac couplets on the subject of how to attain salvation, and the only surviving manuscript was held by the Benedictine Abbey of Anchin where Heribert Rosweyde discovered it and passed it on to Del Río for editing. This Del Río did, perhaps while working on the earlier stages of *Investigations*, and so produced the edition princeps and provided the poem with a title, *Commonitorium*, ‘A Letter of Instruction’ or perhaps, ‘A Reminder.’ The following year he was awarded his doctorate in divinity (rather late, it might be thought, for so learned a man) and published poems by the seventh-eighth century writer Aldhelm, mainly *The Eight Principal Vices*, Aldhelm’s versification of his own prose work on virginity. Del Río clearly had a copy of the manuscript at hand while writing Book 6 of *Investigations*, because he informs the reader that ‘this has not yet been published but is in a manuscript [...] in Liège,’ and goes on to quote one or two of the verses. He also refers to the case of a husband and wife ‘who were hanged here in Graz in 1601’ after claiming that they alone protected the Church from harm and predicting that the world was about to come to an end.<sup>28</sup> This last was part of his revision and expansion of *Investigations*, which he obviously undertook almost as soon as the first edition had appeared on the bookstalls. In September 1602, this process was given an extra fillip because he was asked for his expert opinion in connection with a debate on the conduct of and necessity for recent witch trials in Bavaria, which had been taking place during the last years of the 1590s. His was by no means the only opinion being canvassed. Several universities were sent ‘questions arising in the case of witches,’ but it was a mark of the impact his *Investigations* had made already that he should be asked.

His sojourn in Graz ended not long afterwards, because by July 1604 he was in Salamanca, to the delight of many. By the following February, however, his superiors had ordered him back to Graz, but he delayed and delayed and finally got his own way. He was not particularly keen to stay in Salamanca—he regretted the poverty of the library there in comparison with that of Leuven—and so being ordered to go to Valladolid was not unwelcome and there he stayed until the summer of 1608. The volume of his publications increased, almost as though he were afraid his poor health and increasingly bad eyesight would cut him short before he could fulfil the tasks of comment on and explication of the Scriptures which he had envisaged for himself. A commentary on the Song of Songs, dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand of Styria whom he had met at the Jesuit college in Salamanca, appeared in 1604, and a Defence of [Dionysius] the Areopagite in 1607. This last was actually a reply to Joseph Scaliger’s criticisms of what he had said about Dionysius in *Investigations* and, more generally, Scaliger’s dismissal of the authenticity of the text long attributed to Dionysius. The almost frantic rate



of publication reached its climax in 1608 with Del Río's commentaries on the book of Lamentations, the book of Genesis (intended to be the start of a scholarly review and examination of the whole Bible, a plan he did not live to complete) and the unfinished Lighthouse of Sacred Wisdom, part of that potentially enormous project of Biblical commentary of which his Genesis was the start.

Rosweyde describes Del Río's last weeks. As a result of representations Del Río made to Acquaviva, he was summoned back to the Netherlands, a call he reluctantly obeyed in the summer of 1608. He left Valladolid on 8th August and reached Brussels, 'after a rough journey by land and sea,' on 18th October. The effort, however, had killed him and he died three days later and was buried in the Jesuit church in Leuven. He was half-way through his fifty-eighth year.

### Investigations in Context

The final decades of the sixteenth century saw an increase in the fear that Satan's activity in the world was becoming more deadly and more effective as he pressed forward in his battle for human souls with the help of human beings who, willingly or perforce, surrendered themselves in one way or another to evil and took to magic in particular, either to satisfy an illegitimate curiosity about the working of the created universe, or in the mistaken idea that magic represented a high road to the presence of God during the present life-time, or out of a selfish desire to increase their own prosperity at the expense of other people, or to exact revenge on others, or achieve a reciprocal physical love where it did not exist, or cure illness in non-medical ways, or boost self-esteem by astonishing or frightening others with displays of more than human power. The reasons for this increase in interest were complicated and by no means uniform over the whole of Europe. As Ronald Hutton puts it, 'The new construct [of witchcraft] took a long time to develop and an even longer time to spread widely, and was a thoroughly late Mediaeval one based on orthodox Christian ideas and preoccupations.' We also have to bear in mind the outbreak of savage wars, such as those in the Netherlands, which were partly political and partly religious, and those in France which were profoundly about religion, but no less political for all that. But in addition to France and the Netherlands, Germany, Scotland, Switzerland, Poland, and Luxemburg were all affected by the theory that Satanism was rampant and that older, somewhat more tolerant attitudes to the practice of 'folk' magic were no longer appropriate, although they still had their defenders among so-called 'sceptics.' So it is scarcely surprising to find that from 1580 onwards, a swell of books dealing directly or indirectly with witchcraft and allied topics began to flood a market-place of willing and fascinated readers.

In France, for example, Jean Bodin published his *Madness of Sorcerers, Caused by Evil Spirits* in 1580, a book which formulated a theory of diabolic conspiracy with particular clarity and recommended a combination of casuistry and severity to combat and then eliminate it. In 1581, Giovanni D'Anania published *The Character of Evil Spirits* which, among other things, discussed the Sabbat, and Nicolas

Jacquier's Scourge of Heretics Who Cast the Evil Eye appeared in print for the first time, too. The following year saw the Jesuit Petrus Thyraeus's Theological Disputation on the Appearances of Spirits, and in England Reginald Scot's Discoverie of Witchcraft. In 1584 Johannes Ewich published his Character of Witches, with a German version the following year, and Bernardo da Como's Treatise on Witches was reprinted in Rome. In 1585 Hermann Wilcken published his Christian Thoughts and Memories about Witchcraft, and the Polish Jesuit, Marcin Laterna, his A Spiritual Harp which condemned witchcraft in relation to the First Commandment in particular and proved so popular that it was reprinted seven times during his own lifetime. In 1586 Pierre Le Loyer put into print Spectres, his detailed study of ghosts and other apparitions, and the publisher Nicolaus Bassaeus produced a collection of essays, the Theatre of Poisons, on various aspects of witchcraft and magic including, for example, Hermann Witekind's Christian Memory about Witchcraft in which he argued against the widespread waves of prosecution. This was followed in 1587 by Sébastien Michaëlis's Pneumology, or Discourse on Spirits. In 1589 Leonardo Vairo published a treatise on the evil eye, and Peter Binsfeld, the suffragan Bishop of Trier, his Treatise on the Confessions of Workers of Harmful Magic and Wise Women, partly to answer questions about the reliability of such confessions in the legal process, his conclusion being that they reflected the frightening truth about what witches were capable of doing, and partly to provide practical advice on how best to conduct pre-trial examinations and then the trials themselves.

The 1590s were equally productive. In 1590 Pierre Crespet published The Hatred of Satan and Evil Spirits for Humankind, and in 1591 the Jesuit Benito Pereira printed his Against Deceptive and Superstitious Practices, by which he meant principally magic, interpretation of dreams, and astrology. In the same year, Johann Gödelmann published his Treatise on Magicians, Workers of Poisonous Magic, and Witches. Cornelius Loos's Genuine and False Magic, which got him into serious trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, received partial publication in c.1592, in 1593 Konrad von Anten published Gynaikolusis, which was about the testing of women for witchcraft by subjecting them to the cold-water ordeal, and in August 1594, Thomas Stapleton delivered an important lecture to the Academic Assembly of Leuven, outlining twelve reasons for linking heresy with the rise of witchcraft. In 1595 Nicolas Rémy, an experienced provincial French lawyer, published The Worship of Evil Spirits which was partly a learned compilation of evidence from ancient and modern sources about harmful magic and its practitioners, and partly a detailed account of witchcraft in practice, drawn from his own experience as a judge and from court records which he plundered for illustrative anecdotes and instances. Giovanni Battista Codronchi, a physician, published his treatise on Illnesses Caused by Poison and Poisonous Magic in the same year, as did Girolamo Menghi his Manual of the Practice of Exorcism. In 1596 Bernardo da Como's Treatise on Witches was reprinted yet again in Rome, and in 1597 James VI of Scotland's Daemonologie, written in about 1591, received its belated publication; and

Henning Grosse published his *Magic, or Wonderful Stories about Ghosts and the Appearances of Spirits*, while in 1598 Petrus Thyraeus returned to the printing-press with a detailed examination of ghosts, spirits, and other such phenomena in his *Infested Places*. The century was rounded off by the publication in 1599 of Pierre de Bérulle's account of the demonic possession of Marthe Brossier the previous year, and *A Discourse on Lycanthropy* by Sieur de Beauvois de Chauvincourt. The seventeenth century began in 1602 with Henri Boguet's *Discourse on Workers of Magic*, a combination of a manual for the conduct of witch-trials and Boguet's accounts of his personal experience as a judge in southern Franche-Comté during the previous decade; a French translation of Juan Maldonado's lecture-notes on angels and evil spirits was published in 1605, and the year before Del Río died saw the appearance of Philipp Elich's *Daemonomagia: 'An Erothmatic Little Book on the Wicked Deeds of Evil Spirits'*.

Del Río's *INVESTIGATIONS INTO MAGIC*, therefore, appear at the tail-end of a notable burgeoning of interest in all aspects of the intrusion of the spirit-world into the physical, not merely that represented by witchcraft, and his attempt to survey the whole field exhaustively is typical of his intellectual ambition—one thinks of his unfulfilled plans for Biblical commentary, for example—and of his wish to make sure that his survey would leave no gaps for others to exploit or arguments he had not pre-visited and circumvented with a ready, crushingly detailed answer. His use of Latin for this purpose was an obvious thing to do—it was the language par excellence of international intellectual debate—but was also symbolic. The Universal Church was under spiritual attack and so the universal language in which its truths were preserved and handed down the generations would be the instrument wherewith to combat its multifarious enemies. France in particular, however, quickly developed the habit of writing in the vernacular, its foremost demonologists appealing, at least initially, to a French rather than an international audience, although Latin translations certainly followed before too long. Scotland and England, too, and to some extent Germany, also concentrated their fire on local manifestations of occult phenomena. But most others turned their attention to a wider readership, and for this Latin was still considered essential. Churchmen, particularly Jesuits and Dominicans, were, as one might expect, engaged in defending Christianity, but so were other professional men such as physicians and lawyers, Catholic or Protestant, as the case might be. The former were intrigued by the causes, apparently non-physical, of behaviours or symptoms which bore resemblance to forms of physical ill-health, the latter by the conduct of trials in which the details could be difficult or near-impossible to prove in the normal way, by the legality of methods used to produce such proof, and by the question of whether magical activity in general could genuinely constitute an offence in the legal sense of the word at all.

Del Río himself, however, was quite clear about what lay behind these current problems. ‘Nothing,’ he says in his prologue to the whole *Investigations*, ‘has spread this disease more quickly and more copiously throughout England, Scotland, France, and the Spanish Netherlands than the dreadful plague of Calvinism,’ and although he acknowledges that ‘philosophers, experts in the law, and theologians’ had all written about the subject, he maintains that they had done so with one eye on their own particular field of expertise whereas, ‘I, if I may say so, have been well versed in all three disciplines over a long period of time,’ the implication being that he was well qualified to take a broader and therefore more devastating view of the present situation. His approach in *Investigations* is unremittingly combative on the side of the Catholic faith. Even when he refers to the Guezen (‘beggars’) people actively resisting Spanish rule in the Spanish Netherlands, he concentrates, not on their politics, but on their religion. ‘[They eat] up everything like locusts with their Calvinism, their Lutheranism, and their Anabaptism.’ We readers therefore know where we are, because regardless of the self-fashioning motives which Jan Machielsen quite rightly sees in Del Río’s literary corpus as a whole, *Investigations* is at once a call to arms, a dissection of the religious enemy, and a set of proposed means for the complete overthrow of the Devil’s plans for the subversion of humanity and it is therefore perhaps no accident that *Investigations* begins and ends with superstition, ‘an elusive and slippery term,’ as Euan Cameron observes.

## Book 1

Book 1, chapter 1 starts with St Isidore of Seville’s etymology of the word and Book 6 ends with twelve admonitions to confessors, the last of which begins, ‘The Devil is accustomed to violate the sanctity of prayers with many attendant superstitious practices.’ This theme, amounting to a preoccupation, is no accident. ‘Superstition’ was how Satan lured his victims into his clutches, and it was a complaint common to the various Protestant denominations that Catholicism either was inherently or had become a form of organised superstition in itself. Condemning superstition, therefore, was for Del Río not only an essential blow against the Devil, but also one in defence of the Church, her teachings, and her rituals.

Book 1 is devoted to magic, which Del Río begins by providing various terms for magical practitioner in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, fairly typical of him in his editorial mode, although other writers on magic did something similar, as can be seen from Johann Weyer’s *Conjuring Tricks of Evil Spirits* Book 2, chapter 1. Lambert Daneau discusses the meaning of the word ‘sorcier,’ Reginald Scot two Hebrew terms, and Niels Hemmingsen begins his treatise, *Advice on How to Avoid Magical Superstitions* (1575) with some brief etymologies, but no one is more thorough or, indeed, more comprehensive than Del Río.<sup>36</sup> He then divides magic into two broad categories he calls ‘natural’ and ‘artificial’ and, after a brief look at the supposed early ‘founders’ of magic, he turns to his two categories, by the first

of which he means magic connected in one way or another with the physical universe. He subdivides it further into what he calls ‘operative’ and ‘divinatory,’ and then starts to examine the connection between magic and astrological influences upon human beings. (As we have seen, he will have learned at least some basic astrology along with mathematics while he was a student in Leuven under Jan van Ostaeyen). This leads him to discuss the power of the mind, especially as it is expressed through the imagination—that is, the faculty of creating images or storing those given to one by an external agency—and therefore the ability of some people to affect others via invisible forces streaming out from them in the form of touch, sight, vocal sound, or breath, which either affect someone else directly or through a physical object such as a cloth. (This gives Del Río the opportunity to contradict claims made by the present English monarch, or claims made on her behalf, that she could cure scrofula by touch. She cannot, of course, says Del Río, because she is a heretic). But claims made by others to be able to cure by touch are either dubious or depend on the curer’s having made a pact with an evil spirit, a conclusion which brings him to ‘instrumental,’ that is, ‘instrumental’ magic. By this he means magic done via some kind of human agency and includes automata and conjuring-tricks of various kinds, but also magical drawings or pictures which put their creator’s intentions into operation via the power of an evil spirit often using astrological influxes to transmit that power. Astrology then brings Del Río by one train of thought to numbers and by another to music, especially as it appears in the sing-song voice of someone chanting an incantation, and thence to the magical creation or consecration of various kinds of amulet.

He ends Book 1 with several chapters on alchemy which, however, have something of the air of being tacked on to his over-all discussion of magic, even though he does try to fit it into the scheme of the first Book by saying that if gold is produced, but is not genuine, it belongs to the class of conjuring-tricks, and if gold is produced and is genuine, ‘it may then be being effected with the help of an evil spirit.’ He does a competent job, as one might expect, in offering an etymology of the word ‘alchemy,’ and some of the early history of the technique. Then, however, he seems to realise the scale and complexity of the subject he is trying to discuss—‘[It] involves many questions, and if I wanted to discuss them with any accuracy it would be the work, not of a single section, but of an entire book’—and yet he plunges headlong into the arguments generally made for the genuineness (or not) of the gold produced by this method. He comes to the conclusion (a) ‘that this way of making gold is not contrary to the nature of things,’ and (b) ‘that this kind of effect does not surpass the power of Nature,’ but that (c) if a human being successfully imitates in his laboratory the immensely long processes of natural transformation of one metal into another, he is either fortunate in the success of his assiduity, or he has been assisted by an evil spirit. A review of alchemical literature tells Del Río that some people may indeed have been successful, in spite of the presence of frauds and cheats and hucksters, and he concludes that alchemy is not a practice suitable for the poor and ignorant, who often attempt

it, but for 'natural philosophers' who are better educated and better resourced and therefore know what they are doing. He ends with a brief discussion about whether alchemy is a legal or illegal activity—it depends on why it is being practised, is his conclusion—after which he bows out with what sounds almost like a sigh of relief. 'But this is enough about a subject which is not a topic of constant conversation everywhere'.

## Book 2

The second Book is the longest of the six. It deals with magic involving evil spirits and is treated in thirty Questions, the first of which asks if there is such a thing and the second deals with its origins. Del Río concludes that there is no such thing as 'white' magic and that therefore magic of the type he is describing must be 'black,' and hence undesirable and, in fact, forbidden. He then proceeds to the essential condition which makes such magic operative, namely, a pact, explicit or implicit, with an evil spirit, and describes the various signs which indicate that an individual has made such a pact. He asks a series of questions anent the kind of powers claimed by magical practitioners as a result of this pact. Are the effects they produce ever genuine, what kind of effects are they, and does history have anything to tell us about these? What sort of control, if any, do magicians have over the natural order of things and the law of the universe? Since the natural order of things obviously includes animals, as well as humans, one has to ask if magicians can control them by non-natural means and whether they can go as far as to create monsters; and this in turn leads Del Río into a discussion of whether non-physical entities such as evil spirits can perform physical acts such as sexual congress with human beings and so produce children. He concludes that children can indeed sometimes be produced this way, but that because the evil spirit has used a human male's sperm (having none of his own) the resulting child will be the offspring of a human father, not the evil spirit. Sex with spirits brings the discussion to the indiscriminate copulation said to take place during a Sabbath and thence to questions related to aspects of the Sabbath itself. The first is the old chestnut about whether people are transported there physically or only in imagination. Del Río hedges to some extent but concludes, sensibly enough given the premises from which he is working, that such a physical transvection is possible but does not necessarily happen every time or merely because the witch says or thinks it does.

If it is possible for evil spirits to carry physical bodies from one place to another in a physical environment, what else are they theoretically and actually capable of doing? Can they, for example, change the body of one species into that of another? Here Del Río deals with another of the standard questions about witches—their ability to metamorphose from their own human shape into that of an animal—and again comes to a cautious conclusion. Such change is possible, but one must always be prepared to make reservations about individual claims and bear in mind the possibility that the

individual is mistaken, or that the metamorphosis is nothing more than an illusion or a conjuring-trick. The next questions are connected, but somewhat loosely, to this general topic, although there is no particularly direct thread leading from one to the next. It is as though Del Río were taking the opportunity to clear up one or two disparate points before pursuing his principal theme again. Can magicians and evil spirits make animals talk, and can evil spirits have certain long-term effects on human beings, such as enabling them to go without food or sleep for a very long time, change one sex for the other, or restore youth to an old man? But then Del Río embarks on an allied topic which had long interested him—appearances of the dead. This involves his discussing how much power or influence an evil spirit, or Satan himself, can have over someone's soul, and is followed by a long historical discourse on appearances of the dead, real or apparent, from the first century AD onwards. Since some such appearances may be deceptive, the result of illusions created by evil spirits who themselves may be as varied as the illusions they create, Del Río asks how it is possible for an evil spirit to make itself visible when it is by definition a non-physical entity. Finally, he summarises his arguments by asking whether the Devil actually can make a human being rise from the dead, and whether magic has any power over evil spirits, the answer to this second point being that even if a magician seems to be exercising control over an evil spirit, the spirit may simply be pretending to let him do so, or the magician is using a more powerful evil spirit to control one less powerful. The same caveat, however, applies to this as to the former.

With Book 2, the first volume of *Investigations* comes to an end. It closes with something of a cliff-hanger: 'This is enough about magic [as a whole]. Let us proceed to harmful magic.' Whether the division of the whole treatise into three separate volumes was Del Río's idea or that of his publisher is therefore neither here nor there. Readers of the first volume were promised more of a subject which was undoubtedly most topical at the time and bound to attract a learned public whose appetite for such things was being catered for, as we have seen, during the 1580s and 1590s. Hence they were kept waiting, even if they did not have long to wait, from the Easter book-fair until the Michaelmas book-fair in Frankfurt in 1599.

### Book 3

Book 3 is divided into two separate, but related parts. The first deals with maleficium, that is, harmful magic and the physical objects through which it operates, and the second with superstitious practices which are clearly connected with and dependent on the former. Del Río did not originally intend to return to the subject of superstition but changed his mind as a result of discussing malefice, a thorny topic, as he acknowledges. 'I add this second part because it occurs to me that there are a few, less intractable things to be said on that subject.' When it comes to harmful magic, he is forthright—'I am not arguing whether it exists or not. I take for granted that it does'—and thus he launches into his

review of it. Harmful magic, he says, can be discussed under two headings, 'intention' and 'efficient cause.' The first is self-explanatory, the second refers to a combination of three factors which are always present in any such act: (a) God permits it to happen (b) the magical operator wilfully consents to receive the assistance of an evil spirit in carrying it out, and (c) he or she co-operates with the evil spirit in the operation of the act. First, then, he examines the malefice which sends people to sleep. This relates especially to witches who want to roam undiscovered or to thieves who use it to make their breaking and entering houses easier for them, and under this heading Del Río discusses the so-called 'hand of glory,' the hand of a corpse which has been treated and set alight to guide both witches' and thieves' paths without their being detected. Next Del Río turns to philtres, 'anything which causes or is intended to cause someone to fall in love and be drawn into the madness of Venus.' He begins, as he often does, with various words for such things and historical examples of their use, before noting how harmful, i.e. poisonous, some of them can be because of their ingredients, quite apart from any magic which might inform them. He goes on with antidotes and remedies. Some, which depend on natural substances to work entirely by natural means and do people no harm are licit, and if one has any doubts about this, including the suspicion that they are mixed up with superstitious belief or practice, one should avoid them altogether.

Next Del Río discusses what he calls hostile malefice, that is, magic harmful in itself which is intended to inflict serious mental, emotional, or physical damage on another person. This maleficium he divides into separate kinds. The first is the evil eye whereby harm is done by a simple look or glance. The popular view of this—that sight can be infected by the imagination of the looker and thus do harm—Del Río dismisses as a fairy-tale and notes that physicians in particular are agreed on this. Natural philosophers, on the other hand, offer a more sophisticated explanation, that the effect of the evil eye is or can be caused by 'some poisonous property lodged in the decayed humours or vicious temperament of the person who is doing the looking' and is communicated to someone else via the arousal of the first person's vital spirits which infect the nearby air and thus the infection spreads until it comes into contact with a second person's eyes: whereupon it enters them and so the damage is done. Del Río has his reservations about this, based on his reading of Alonso Tostado. Infection, in any physical sense, can apply equally well to transfer between other parts of the body, but this is not called 'the evil eye.' Etymology shows that the Latin word for it, *fascinatio*, is derived from a Greek word which refers (a) to envy and (b) to a certain way of seeing, and this therefore shows that the phrase should be limited to an action of the eyes motivated by malice. The simple fact, however, is that the evil eye achieves its intended effect because an evil spirit uses it to express his own innate hostility towards and envy of the human race, but unfortunately some educated opinion has gradually been overtaken by superstition and assimilated itself with popular ignorance. This discussion leads on naturally to *veneficium*, 'poisonous magic in the proper sense of the word.' It works by someone's



ingesting food or drink in which poisonous substances have been mixed, or being smeared with them, or inhaling them, the substances being the vehicle whereby an evil spirit does the actual work of harming. Again, Del Río has certain reservations. He does not believe that poisonous substances possess so much power in and of themselves that they can work through several layers of clothing, for example, and in these cases, he says, 'I recognise an attack by the Devil because of a pact, not the power of the poison.' He is also not convinced that enchanted weapons can kill simply because they have been enchanted and is certainly not convinced that the crime of picking pockets and cutting purses can be classed as one of hostile magic.

Other examples follow—those of magically inducing an abortion, creating difficulties in giving birth, or drying up a mother's milk—but are interrupted by a section perhaps more logically associated with enchanted weapons rather than the administration of poisonous substances. This section finds room for 'magical' archers and image-makers, the former depending on an evil spirit's help to make their aim unerring, as do the latter, 'those who make images which they either stab with needles, melt in the fire, or break in pieces.' Having illustrated both types with many historical examples, Del Río then returns to the notion of poisonous infection and discusses illnesses caused by an evil spirit. The spirit does this in various ways, by increasing the amount of black bile in someone's system, for example, thereby inducing melancholia (an illness both physical and emotional) or by causing people to vomit up large, solid objects (which serve as a sign of demonic interference) although in some cases there may be a natural, or near natural, explanation. Del Río finds, however, that a popular explanation for this phenomenon is unbelievable, namely, that an evil spirit stretches the body's passages, opens them, inserts an object, closes the passages, and then opens them once more when he wants the patient to expel the object. This, of course, is all in reference to demoniacs, humans possessed by one evil spirit or several, although Del Río goes on to distinguish between those individuals who are under demonic attack from the outside (obsessed) and those taken over completely (possessed). But then he returns to the topic suggested by abortion and birth and discusses impotence—'there is no malefice more common than this these days'—caused by the man's being 'bound' and thus incapable of sexual intercourse either with one woman or with many, although he may be impotent with one and potent with others. There are, says Del Río, several possible causes: hatred, suspicion, slander, illness in one of the couple or in both, mental images hostile to the performance of the act, the vital spirits' being prevented from making their way to the penis, the drying up of fertile semen, erectile dysfunction, or when the woman is too small to allow the man to enter her. In other words, impediments may be entirely physical or originate in a mental or emotional incapacity, and while the former may be entirely (but not necessarily) natural, the latter may well have a preternatural cause, and incompatibility stemming from mutual dislike or hatred certainly falls into this category.

Del Río rounds off this particular section of the Book with a slightly strained connection between adversely inflamed feelings and the actual magical destruction of property by fire before going on to consider the kind of people liable to be attacked by workers of harmful magic. ‘Anyone’, of course, is one possible answer, but small children are a common target, and evil-doers rather more frequently than good people. Some judges are exempt, but only if they are personally just and virtuous. In all this, Del Río emphasises the essential part played by God’s permission—God allows sacred objects to be misused and abused in magic, for example, in order to punish wicked priests and clerics—but in general terms He allows the Devil to run riot (within bounds) for two principal reasons: (i) to show human beings that they can overcome evil if they put all their faith and trust in Him, and (ii) so that humans thereby have an opportunity to increase their store of virtue and become more aware of the truth of the Church’s teachings. (This also throws into relief the falsity of what heretics believe and do). God may also allow evil spirits to attack people as a punishment for their sins—arrogance, envy, lust, inflicting pain on others, attacking the true Faith, blasphemy, cursing or invoking evil, usury, lack of pity for the poor, contempt for holy things, sacrilege, and despair—and to afford them an opportunity to be drawn to repentance.

Having considered these points in detail, Del Río brings the first part of Book 3 to an end, postponing his discussion of how people can legitimately counter all these acts of harmful magic until Book 6, and turns to a review of superstitious practices which may appear to be merely foolish, since they are meaningless in themselves, but actually contain the danger of providing an entrée for an evil spirit so that he can suborn the individual who uses them and turn him or her to evil. These practices are of various kinds, but they all have in common the expectation of personal benefit gained by illegitimate means. They include such things as the use of magical images or incantations with the hope of effecting the cure of an illness; the abuse of prayers and the wearing of relics for a similar purpose; the observation of omens, or of particular times for carrying out ordinary actions such as gathering herbs, on the grounds that specific times are more propitious for this activity than others; and many actions intended to ward off illness or bad luck. (Del Río spends a whole section here attacking the work of a fifteenth-century writer on exorcism, Felix Hämmerlein, whose treatise he clearly regards as intellectually and doctrinally slipshod). Book 3 then ends with a section which appears to have been tacked on in order to include material he has either not used earlier or which has come his way too late for him to be able to graft it into place with any degree of elegance, largely a gallimaufry of the kind of superstitious behaviour he has just been describing.

## Book 4

Book 4 is devoted to divination which, as Del Río points out, can mean somewhat different things, such as prediction, foreknowledge, prophecy, conjecture, and foretelling. He begins with prophecy

and its manifestations in the Bible, starting with a discussion of the Urim and Thummim, jewels on the High Priest's breastplate. As he frequently does, Del Río examines the etymology and meaning of these terms before expanding his investigation into other aspects of Biblical prophecy. Next he considers how to tell the difference between a revelation of some future event, which has been sent by God and one which comes from the Devil, a distinction fraught with difficulty, but one which can be made by the individual who is in receipt of it being suspicious of it and putting his or her trust entirely in God. Prophecies, says Del Río, may happen to a good Catholic, but not, for example, to devil-worshippers or heretics, or mad people, or overt and regular sinners. One should therefore take into account both the moral and physical constitution of a person who claims to have received a revelation from God. If the person is a woman, one should be particularly reserved, since women are more open than men to being deceived by the Devil, although one should also bear in mind that there are many genuine examples of holy women who have been so graced by God. One also needs to take into account the nature of the revelation itself. If it proposes or encourages actions which are sinful, its origin is clearly demonic; but even if it appears to be recommending things which are religious and proper, one should still be wary in case there is anything untoward or worthless or wicked mixed up in it, or in case what it reveals could have been obtained by purely human means (reading, common sense, intuition, for example) and is therefore not a genuine revelation from God at all. A revelation should also be consistent with other proven revelations and not contradict them or turn out to be at odds with them, and finally, the circumstances of receiving a revelation must also be taken into account and tested—by one's making the sign of the cross, for example.

From prophecy Del Río turns to divination which he sees as a combination of individual cognitive process very much assisted by signals and words coming to the individual from elsewhere. It differs from prophecy on the one hand and conjecture on the other, he says, because it is a particular activity stemming from an individual's pact with an evil spirit. Divination reveals the unknown past as well as the hidden present and unknown future, although the evil spirit behind it cannot know everything, such omniscience belonging to God alone. He does, however, have the advantage of a better memory and more acute perception than a human being and hence has the ability to make use of these to produce apparently miraculous knowledge of past, present, and future. If, however, the Devil is unable to dazzle and mislead people this way, he resorts to ambiguity if and when he answers questions, and so the underlying presence of the pact which makes divination sinful, superstitious, and heretical, can easily be detected. When invocation of evil spirits is overtly used during divination, it means either that the oracle or prophecy is being made by an evil spirit, or that the diviner is pulling the wool over people's eyes. Two ways of achieving the latter are the use of ventriloquism and fake trances, and the circumstances under which they can be done often amount to necromancy if an evil spirit in the guise of a dead person is evoked to give the oracle or answer questions. Next Del Río lists

various other techniques used in divination, such as hydromancy, crystal-gazing and its variant, onychomancy, the sieve and shears, and the key and the Bible, all of which were commonly practised in Del Río's day. Observation of omens, however, may be legitimate if it involves no more than sailors' or farmers' looking at signs in Nature and predicting weather from them; but it is a different matter if the observation is at all similar to that of ancient augurs, for example, and seeks to divine the future beyond what may legitimately be done from such things as bolts of lightning or the flight of birds.

The casting of lots is clearly one effective way of duping people, as are yet more methods Del Río lists and describes before turning from enumeration and description to summarising the kind of sin, mortal or venial, involved in these activities. After this, since he has been preoccupied with divination which depends on physical objects to act as media between the diviner and whatever may be the source of the divination, it is not surprising to find him returning to astrology again and a discussion of conjecture based on natural phenomena. Sailors, farmers, and diviners are not the only people to scrutinise Nature in search of an answer to questions involving past, present, and future, of course. Physicians and physiognomists do this, as well as chiromancers, their practice being essentially part of physiognomy. Chiromancy may be licit as long as it adheres to interpretation of the hand to ascertain someone's general character, temperament, and disposition without resorting to astrology by associating marks or protuberances on the hand with the planets and so going beyond what can reasonably conjectured from Nature alone. Chiromancy is frequently practised by gypsies and this automatically makes it a suspicious and undesirable divinatory technique. Apparent Scriptural allusions to chiromancy are nothing of the kind and are made because people have misinterpreted the text. Interpretation of dreams depends on knowing what has caused the dream and is thus open to misapprehension. A temporary imbalance in a person's physical constitution, for example, may cause dreams which are then misunderstood as having a different and more significant origin, and hence their interpretation could be entirely wrong. Dreams sent by evil spirits are self-evidently no truthful guide to anything and in consequence the only reason for taking any notice of them is to guard against being misled by them in future. God also sends dreams, of course, but interpretation of them 'is suitable only for those to whom God has revealed the way to interpret them.' Del Río returns briefly to the subject of casting lots, which he divides into two kinds. The 'distributive' lot, whereby one might choose who should speak first in a lawsuit or decide how an inheritance should be divided, can be licit provided it is done in a God-fearing, just, and peaceable fashion without any hint of superstition or questioning of God's judgement. The second kind, the 'lottery,' is actually part of a legal process conducted under the auspices of the state to decide who can win a prize, and since it is a kind of sale, it must not involve fraud or sharp practice.

Finally, Del Río turns to purgation and its various manifestations, particularly those embodied in the ordeal. Canonical purgation involves swearing an oath to testify to one's innocence of a charge or set of charges and is a perfectly legitimate process, in spite of the objections of François Hotman whom Del Río lambasts as 'a low-born, pettifogging lawyer,' before turning to a series of purgations in popular use, none of which he wholeheartedly approves. A direct public appeal to God's judgement is, in effect, asking God to perform a miracle for one's personal benefit and is therefore undesirable at the least. Ordeal by single combat is prohibited by divine law and Holy Scripture. Proving one's innocence by carrying a hot coal or a piece of red-hot iron a certain distance and remaining unscathed thereafter has been frequently used in the past—Del Río gives several illustrations of this, including certain people's miraculous survival afterwards—and a similar use of hot or boiling water, supervised by a priest in a semi-religious ceremony, are contrary to canon law. Ordeal by cold water is preceded by celebration of Mass, after which the person undergoing the ordeal enters a pool or river to see whether the water accepts him, in which case he is submerged, or rejects him, in which case he floats. Practice of this ordeal used to be common but is now forbidden by Papal decree.

In parts of Germany, however, it is still used to test the guilt or innocence of those accused of practising harmful magic and, having mentioned this, Del Río turns to a work by Adolf Scribonius which tries to defend the practice and objects to Scribonius's theory that the efficient cause underlying the water's rejection of a witch is 'the character of water which has an inbuilt hatred for female workers of harmful magic, inbuilt by Nature's creator.' Del Río objects that while some of Scribonius's argumentation may be true, he abuses Scripture during the course of it, as does another Catholic lawyer on the same subject, whose arguments Del Río now reviews in detail, demonstrating that he, too, is inadequate as a commentator. After dismissing these two, Del Río offers his own conclusions. (1) Ordeal by water has been forbidden by more than one Pope. (2) This ordeal is a kind of divination and is therefore superstitious. (3) It involves a pact made with an evil spirit. (4) Genuine miracles are never deceptive, whereas this ordeal sometimes is. (5) If the ordeal does not work by Nature or as the result of a genuine miracle, it must have worked as the result of a demonic pact. (6) Not obeying the Pope in spiritual matters is defiance of God. (7) A civil judge who permits use of this ordeal without good and sufficient reason is committing a sin. A last short section listing four other ordeals in popular use seems to have been added here either because Del Río was unable to fit these disparate ordeals into his schema, or because he came across the information too late to be able to weave it into his narrative.

A single sentence, dismissive and perhaps a touch weary, ends Book 4: 'This is what I have to say about all types of magic, and let this be the end of Volume Two.' No cliff-hanger here or promise of what is to come in the last two Books of the treatise.

## Book 5

In his introductory letter to Prince Ernst of Austria, Del Río outlines the latent schemata of the whole *Investigations* in terms of epidemiology: how does a disease begin, how does it progress, and what are the remedies for it? This is not exactly what he has done so far, but he is right in saying that the last two Books will concentrate on remedies—what civil judges should do and take into consideration when faced by alleged crimes of magic, and advice for confessors in a same or similar situation. To the extent that his treatise is a survey and examination of magic in its various forms and guises, *Investigations* is actually complete by the end of Book Four, but of course it could not be considered properly finished without taking into account the licit and illicit ways it can or should be countered, and in this it is similar to Johann Weyer's *Conjuring-Tricks* or, indeed, the last sections of *The Hammer of Women Who Practise Harmful Magic*, although it is noticeable that while Institoris and Weyer choose to discuss remedies first and end their treatises on civil trial and punishment, Del Río does the opposite. It is also noticeable that Del Río does not take *Hammer* as a blueprint for Book Five, either. Indeed, he does not refer to it all that much in the whole of *Investigations*—about two dozen times altogether—and more or less consistently attributes the work to Jakob Sprenger alone rather than to Heinrich Institoris or to both men.<sup>38</sup> But, he says, he is well aware of the large number of books available to judges, whose advice may lead to confusion, and the variations in local practice which have led to wayward judicial decisions, and so while claiming to be slightly surprised to find himself returning to secular law after so many years' absence, he says he will do his best to bring order to his recommendations, for which he will rely on such legal experts as Giulio Claro, Egidio Bossi, Diego de Simancas, and especially Prospero Farinacci, recently published in Frankfurt in 1606.

The crime of practising harmful magic is one of mixed jurisdiction and is 'excepted' in the sense that it involves things which are peculiar to it and are not dealt with under the general provision of the law. A judge, therefore, must take these into account, knowing that he has a certain leeway when it comes to sentencing those found guilty of this offence. When an investigation is to be initiated, it must first be agreed that an indictable offence has been committed, and this presupposes that an accusation or denunciation has been made. The circumstances of the alleged offence must be laid out specifically along with the evidence intended to prove that the offence has been committed. It is also a requirement that the accused person should not already have been acquitted of the offence by some other court or been granted amnesty by his or her prince. The judge trying the case must be competent to do so, which means that because harmful magic is a crime of mixed jurisdiction, he must be learned in canon as well as civil law. The circumstantial evidence relating to the crime must be solid, plausible, and relevant, must relate directly, not indirectly, to the person accused, and the source of the evidence has to be considered. Does it come, for example, from a single accomplice or from several? From a known enemy of the accused? From someone who is under-age? From a man or

from a woman? The question of who can be tortured and under what circumstances takes up a lot of Del Río's argument, and while there are many circumstances which may persuade a judge to order torture and specify whether this should be severe, moderate, or light, it is equally a matter upon which lawyers are not entirely agreed.

Establishing the reputation, good or bad, of the accused is also a complex business. The accused's running away before arrest or trial is one indicator, his or her threatening other people another, and the verbally sworn or written evidence of several individuals—Del Río mentions the figure ten in connection with this—may also prove helpful to the judge in making up his mind on this point. Less compelling and less certain pieces of evidence against someone include being able to have prevented an act of harmful magic and failing to do so; speaking up in defence of someone accused of practising such magic (this is because such people are usually heretics as well); concealing or sheltering magicians or witches; telling lies anent the offence; and being inconsistent or hesitant in giving evidence. Even slighter pieces of evidence are discovering a dead body near the accused's house, or someone's lingering near a place where such a crime has been committed, or being found in possession of things which could be used for harmful magic. Del Río, however, dismisses the phenomenon of a corpse's bleeding in the presence of the accused, and is uneasy with supposed indicators such as the accused's being ugly, or coming from a notorious neighbourhood, or swearing a lot, or being irreverent or over-religious, or being unable to shed tears during torture, or even having a so-called 'witch's mark'.

He now turns to the business of laying information and examining witnesses. Listening to witnesses should usually be done by judges or inquisitors and they have the power to compel witnesses to appear before them. Accomplices and people with a bad reputation can be heard, but if they later recant their evidence before they themselves are executed as accomplices, the judges should ignore the recantation. If they revoke it before they have been found guilty and sentenced, however, their recantation should be taken seriously. Sworn testimony given in front of a judge is also worth more than testimony given extrajudicially. Excommunicates may be heard in cases of alleged magical practice because their evidence is not excluded in cases of heresy, and cases of alleged magical practice potentially involve heresy. Whether, when, and how to arrest someone against whom such information has been laid should, in Del Río's opinion, be left to the judge's discretion. An arrest may take place anywhere, even in church, and a thorough search of the accused's house must be undertaken. Del Río then considers one or two points which follow the person's arrest and imprisonment to await trial. The idea that these people can cast the evil eye on the judge is nonsense, but the Devil can certainly visit his followers in prison and do them harm or incite them to commit suicide, so they should not be kept in prison for a long time before coming to trial.

When they do come before a court, the question of torture arises. Del Río discusses who can be tortured, under what circumstances, and what superstitions to avoid in connection with this. First, the judge should avoid torture if there is any other way of getting at the truth, but if there is not, he should use his discretion, bearing in mind Paul III's Bull which seeks to limit the time and extent of judicial torture. A person cannot legally be tortured more than three times and if he clears himself of guilt during these torture-sessions, he must be released and released without reservation or being required to give sureties. Individuals may be tortured regardless of rank or status, the exceptions being children under the age of fourteen and pregnant women. In respect of superstition on these occasions, one must be aware that magical practitioners may have occult means of keeping silent under torture, but attempts to undermine those ways must not involve superstition of any degree at all, which is why many of the recommendations of *The Hammer of Women Who Practise Harmful Magic* are undesirable. There are ways of investigating and uncovering the truth other than the use of torture. One is by lying to the accused and tricking him. Del Río says he does not approve of this, although he is ready to accept a degree of equivocation from the judge and actually hedges on the notion of outright deception. Introducing people who will eavesdrop on the accused's conversation or pretend to be friendly in order to elicit information from him or her is acceptable, but Del Río is still uneasy if this involves inducing the accused to lie instead of telling the truth. Confession settles the question of guilt, provided the confession has not been obtained by force or in any other illegal fashion. Abjuration by the accused of former magical practice is similar to confession, whereas canonical purgation is enough to clear an accused who is labouring under a bad reputation and his or her crime cannot be proved. Acquittal means either that the accused has cleared him or herself of the charges, or that they have not been proven.

Having dealt with acquittal, Del Río now turns to condemnation and starts, not with the more serious offences, but with the less, such as fortune-telling. This, he says, may well involve an evil spirit and if it does, it also involves heresy. (Del Río gives several examples by way of explanation). Nevertheless, judging this point is not altogether easy and 'the weight of the suspicion must be balanced by the character of the persons involved and other attendant circumstances.' From this, Del Río passes on to more serious magical offences, dismissing Johann Weyer's attempts to distinguish between types of magical practitioner, 'as if one's opinion about them should be based on what they are called and not on what they have done.' Punishment of divination which does not involve heresy may be left to the judge's discretion. In the case of clerical offenders, punishments range from degradation to exile. If they are heretics as well, however, they can be handed over to the secular arm. Del Río then cites a large number of theologians who support the notion of the existence of a pact between the magical worker and an evil spirit and also that of the reality of physical phenomena such as sexual intercourse between the magician and succubi and incubi, raising hailstorms, and physical transvection, even



though in the latter case witches' defenders claim it happens only in the women's imagination. Theologians and lawyers are clear that those who make a pact with an evil spirit are heretics. The argument that they are deluded is true only occasionally, and so a judge is right on most occasions to accept the truth of the individual's confession on this point, whether obtained as a result of torture or not. After all, what does one mean by 'deluded' and does being deluded release someone from the moral responsibility of his or her actions? There is too much evidence from all over Europe to doubt that what witches confess they have done is largely no delusion but reality, and physicians offer further proof of this.

In coming to a final conclusion about someone's confession, the judge should take into account who is making it and what confirms their confession. (All kinds of abominable crime have been committed elsewhere and at other times in the world, but the worst is the contemporary crime of witchcraft, particularly as regards the Sabbat). He must also determine why the accused entered into a pact with an evil spirit and so committed the offences. How were these offences committed, with whose help, and where and when did they take place? In the event that the answers to all these questions involve a pact with an evil spirit, the accused should be executed, even if he or she has not harmed crops or animals or called up the spirits of the dead. The punishment should thus be commensurate with the seriousness of the crime. Execution means, in addition, that these people will not have the chance to do harm or further harm, will not provide a bad example to others, and will not themselves suffer greater punishment because they have lived to do even more harm to other people. Del Río now gives further consideration to specific crimes committed by magical practitioners: apostasy, sodomy, murder, and singing incantations intended to curse, and if the practitioners have had direct help from the Devil in committing these and similar crimes, they are no less wicked than assassins and should be punished accordingly. Next he reviews legal arguments over the difference between divination done by clerical offenders only once and without involving apostasy and divination done more than once accompanied by apostasy. The former is appropriately punished by degradation, the latter by burning on the grounds that in the second case they are apostates and heretics.

Finally, Del Río gives extensive thought to the canon *Episcopi*. When did it originate? What is its authority, how great is that authority, and exactly what does the canon mean? He follows this with objections to those who interpret the canon differently and points out that the contemporary consensus of theologians and legal experts is that the canon does not apply to modern witches. These witches willingly traffic with the Devil and yet their defenders try to use the canon to prevent them from being executed. Their influence on the decisions of the courts, royal ministers, and even on princes themselves is baleful. They are thus a danger to themselves and to the state, and are stupid, foolhardy, and presumptuous; moreover, their opinions run counter to what has been shown to be the

truth. A few final points. (i) Books of magic cannot be left to anyone in the wills of those who are executed as witches. Such books must be burned. (ii) Those who are to be executed should be allowed to receive holy communion after they have confessed and been given absolution. (iii) As for the burial of the executed criminal's body, the custom of the region should prevail, but Del Río is in favour of their being given Christian burial if they have confessed and been given absolution before being executed.

Here Del Río adds an appendix based on a lengthy letter from Pierre D'Heure who had just read the recent first edition of *Investigations* in November 1599. A further appendix consists of Del Río's answers to forty-one questions from Maximilian I of Bavaria, asking advice of various universities and Del Río as a known authority in connection with the prosecution of workers of harmful magic.

## Book 6

Book 6 is addressed to confessors in their role as judges of sins and passers of sentence upon those sins. It begins with a combination of checklist and contents as Del Río lists the kind of thing a confessor should look for in a penitent, guides him in the sort of questions he should ask, and issues advice relating to his own conduct in hearing the confession and imposing penance. Del Río then turns to detailed advice and comment. First, he says, the seal of confession must be maintained, and confessors must not allow secular judges to worm information out of them anent what a penitent may or may not have said. A priest, however, may reveal details of an actual or potential offence he has been told about out with the sacrament of confession itself, and in fact he should do so if he is summoned to court as a witness. He may also reveal what he has been told during the sacrament if the penitent gives him permission to do so. Otherwise, the seal of confession is inviolable and a priest who breaks it should be defrocked and imprisoned for the rest of his life. The way the confession is made is important. It must be complete and sincere. Witches scarcely ever make a complete confession, so the confessor must ask detailed questions aimed at eliciting the full truth of their past conduct. He must counteract the Devil's lies that they will feel no pain during torture or execution, or that they have been too wicked to benefit from confession, or that they will damage their reputation if they confess, and he must not look for signs such as ability or inability to shed tears as indicators of true repentance or hardness of heart, since these are unreliable. He must also make sure that the penitent confesses his or her sins of apostasy, heresy, and idolatry and that the penitent makes restitution for the harm he or she has done. Del Río then ends this section with a technical discussion on whether priests belonging to the mendicant orders have the right to absolve all such cases.

Next he turns to the confessor's role as spiritual physicians and examines the remedies, licit and illicit, which can be or are applied to spiritual illness. He starts by giving a good many examples of superstitious cures and magical remedies. These he takes from Jewish, ancient pagan, early Christian,

and contemporary religious and superstitious practice. Those legal experts who think it permissible in civil law to make use of malefices for well-intentioned purposes such as curing illness or warding off storms are mistaken. Divine and Church law forbid anyone to do such a thing. Likewise, in spite of what a number of people say, it is not permissible to go to a worker of harmful magic and seek such a remedy or to ask him or her to remove a malefice, although if it can be shown (as sometimes it can) that the worker of harmful magic can remove a malefice by lawful means, or without having recourse to harmful magic, this may be acceptable. Indeed, one may legitimately use a certain amount of light force to induce him or her to remove it. One may also remove and destroy a malefice oneself, but in doing so one must not expect a miraculous cessation of its underlying harm—that would be superstitious—and one must remember that the Devil is not bound by such tokens and can do harm (God permitting) whenever he wishes. Nevertheless, removal and destruction of such a token, as long as one is clear in one's own mind that by doing so one is making use of someone else's sin to disconcert the evil spirit and not co-operating with him in any way, is an acceptable and desirable act. This is the opinion of a very large number of theologians from all over Europe, and Del Río provides several examples to support his case and to answer, at length, objections to it.

Removal of malefices may or may not provide a licit remedy for hurt or damage caused by harmful magic, but it is not the only one. There are natural remedies, too. Stones, herbs, animal-parts, compound drinks, and suffumigations may all work and Del Río provides many examples, and also lists physical signs exhibited by those suffering the effects of harmful magic, including those of demonic possession. When it comes to these natural remedies, Del Río looks to physicians to provide him with information about those which are likely to be effective, using Battista Codronchi and Frédéric Jamot as two of his principal sources, and quoting from them extensively. But finally he turns to supernatural remedies provided by the Faith and the Church, by which he means principally the sacraments—baptism, the Eucharist, and extreme unction in particular—along with ecclesiastical exorcism, and he provides very detailed illustrations of their effectiveness, including a very long account of a complex, but ultimately successful, exorcistic process carried out by Jesuits for the benefit of a young man of good family from Bratislava between March and June, 1600. Good works, such as fasting, alms-giving, and prayer are also highly effective. At this point Del Río makes a sustained attack on Jacques Auguste de Thou who had written a poem highly critical of the Church and her ministers before returning to his subject and discoursing on the power of prayer, especially prayer to the Blessed Virgin, and of the sign of the cross, and of holy water. Other objects blessed by the Church, such as candles, salt, and bread, he says, also play a part in countering harmful magic, as do Scriptural texts worn or carried on the person, and the ringing of a Catholic church's bells. These remedies attract criticism from heretics, of course, and Del Río ends this part of Book 6 with an extended attack on Johann Gödelmann's objections to Catholic exorcism in its various forms, and

Joseph Scaliger's questioning the authenticity of Dionysius the Areopagite's Hierarchy. His pen drips sarcasm and his remarks, as it turns out, were a prelude to further hostilities out with *Investigations*. It is, alas, a sour note on which to draw this monument of scholarship and fervid diligence to its close.

Book 6 then ends with twelve pieces of advice. These emphasise the reality of evil spirits and the absolute prohibition against making a pact with them; the duty of judges to punish anyone who does so; the grave spiritual dangers of superstition; how confessors can differentiate between the sources of unusual phenomena; safe remedies; monition against being over-inquisitive and using magic to help one discover answers to one's questions; advice against using magical practitioners; advice for exorcists; and a recommendation against the addition of any superstition to one's prayers. With these Book 6 and thus the whole work comes to a conclusion.

### Del Río's Sources

Del Río's sources are famously extensive, ranging from a variety of Greek and Roman writers, through Holy Scripture and the Fathers of the Church, to authorities and commentators from the Mediaeval period and his own day. The indices of writers included at the end of each of his three published volumes, however, give no notion of this range. The complete list at the end of the 1608 Lyon edition, for example, provides only twelve names, nine of which are Classical—Euripides, Pliny the Elder, Sammonicus, Suetonius, Varro, Vegetius, Vergil, and Ulpian—and one Mediaeval (Marbod of Rennes) and one early modern (Marsilio Ficino). The 1612 Mainz edition, however, does provide an extensive list of his Biblical quotations and references to canon law, along with a list of the names of the many authors he used or to which he referred. If we take for granted that he was familiar with, or able to quote or refer to, a large number of Classical and later antique writers because of his schooling and his interest in Latin tragedy, and that his training first as a lawyer and then as a theologian will have familiarised him with the Church Fathers and Mediaeval legal writers and theologians, we may be able to follow him as he kept up to date with contemporary or near-contemporary publications, some of which he may have met through the citations of a number of learned authors, but many of which seem to represent his own continuous reading. Like any conscientious academic he would try to keep abreast of current publications in order to sharpen and broaden his own teaching, and we can see this to some extent in the books from which he quotes or which he acknowledges as sources of information for *Investigations* from 1580 onwards, the year in which he started to make the transition from secular lawyer to Jesuit.

He had conceived an interest in harmful magic earlier, of course, during his study of Senecan tragedy, when the figure of Medea had made an impression on his consciousness of the darker side of magic, and this initial impulse was logically followed by a wish to examine further the causes of such magic. Thus, he picks up on Jean Bodin's *Madness of Sorcerers, caused by Evil Spirits*, Andrea Cesalpino's

Aristotelian Inquiry into Evil Spirits, both published in 1580, and Nicolas Jacquier's Scourge of Heretics Who Cast the Evil Eye, written in 1458 but first published in 1581,<sup>39</sup> and follows this thread throughout the 1580s with A Theological Disputation on the Apparition of Spirits, a thesis published by the Jesuit Petrus Thyraeus in 1582, Girolamo Menghi's Cudgel of Evil Spirits (1584) Valerio Polidori, The Practice of Exorcism (1585) Pierre Le Loyer on ghosts (1586) and Sébastien Michaëlis on spirits (1587). This is accompanied during the same period not only by what Bodin and Menghi have to say about witches, but also by Johann Ewich's Character of Witches (1585) and Hermann Wilcken's Christian Thoughts and Memories concerning Witchcraft (1585) although he will have read this in translation, and an early interest in the cold water ordeal (Wilhelm Scribonius, The Examination and Purgation of Witches by Cold Water (1583) and Hermann Neuwaldt, An Explanation of the Purgation or Examination of Witches Thrown into Cold Water 1584). Del Río also seems to have been collecting information on extraordinary or unusual phenomena, (a posthumous printing of Antoine Mizauld, Nine Hundred Memorable, Useful, and Delightful Things, 1584) and customs related to spirits or magic found in foreign countries (Pietro Bizzarri, History of Persia, 1583, Juan González de Mendoza, History of Very Notable Rites and Customs in the Kingdom of China, 1586, Martin Ignacio de Loyola's account of his missionary journeys in 1582–1584 which was published in Rome as part of Mendoza's history of China, and Cornelius Kempis, Origin, Geographical Position, Character, and Extent of the Frisians, 1588).

During the later 1580s and early 1590s, Del Río seems to have extended his interest to prophecy (Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias, True and False Prophecy, 1588) and to the advent of Antichrist (Claude Caron, Antichrist Unmasked, 1589) the themes of which can be tied together by such publications as Pierre Crespet, The Hatred of Satan and Evil Spirits for Humankind, 1590, which more or less equated ancient heresies and modern Protestantism with the Devil, the Jesuit Francisco Ribera's commentary on the Apocalypse (1590) and hence, perhaps, Tommaso Bozio's Signs of the Church Against Every Heresy (1591) all of which Del Río had read.<sup>40</sup> Magic, however, continued to exert an interest for him, as can be seen from his knowledge of Giambattista della Porta's extended work on natural magic, which appeared in 1589, and Leonardo Vairo's book on the evil eye ('De Fascinatione') which was published the same year. But more important to him than either was Peter Binsfeld's Treatise on the Confessions of Workers of Harmful Magic and Wise Women which appeared in 1589. He cites or refers to him more than 130 times—more than 55 in Book 5 alone—although he does not always necessarily agree with him, since his answer to question 40 at the end of Book 5 ('Should Binsfeld's dictum, etc') is a simple, sharp no. But in 1591 there appeared Johann Gödelmann's Treatise on Magicians, Workers of Poisonous Magic, and Witches, and the Right Way to Recognise and Punish Them. Gödelmann was a Lutheran and therefore a heretic—not that Del Río was averse from making use of Protestant writers: they were grist to his mill and he gives evidence of being acquainted with Johann Althaus, François

Hotman, Denis Godefroy, Pierre Ayrault, Jacopo Brocardo, Richard Dinot, and Jan Malecki, whose religious affiliations ranged from Lutheran to Calvinist—but Del Río does not dismiss him entirely every time he cites him, as in Book 5, Section 11, ‘here I agree with Ponzinibio and Gödelmann,’ although he does go on to say he thinks they are both wrong on a separate point. The following year, however, Cornelius Loos published what he could of his controversial book, *Genuine and False Magic*, intended to be a rebuttal of Binsfeld’s treatise, and Del Río clearly disapproves of him, although he tries to be kind (‘On whose soul may God have mercy,’ he says in *Investigations* Book 5, Section 4) before reprinting the recantation Loos was forced to make in Appendix I of Book 5.

At this point in his reading, Del Río seems to be preparing to write Books 5 and 6 in particular. He refers to Luis de Molina, *Justice and the Law*, Fulvio Pacciani, *Treatise on the Burden of Proof* (both 1593) to Prospero Farinacci whom he much admired and who published his *Practice and Theory of Criminal Law* in parts between 1594 and 1614, Book 3 of Pierre du Four de Saint-Jolly’s *Imperial Ordinances* and Daniel Moller’s work on the constitutions of Saxony (both 1595) and Giambattista Baiardi’s additions to Giulio Claro (1597) while relevant to Book 6 are Rodrigo Dosma Delgado, *The Authority of Holy Scripture* (1594) Giovanni Battista Corradi, *Responses to Questions of Conscience* (1596) and Jean Chapeauville, *Treatise on Reserved Cases* (also 1596) and relevant to both is Nicolas Rémy, *The Worship of Evil Spirits*, published in Lyon in 1595. This probably represents the extent of his immediately relevant up-to-date reading for *Investigations* by the time he was discussing a title for the book with Justus Lipsius. But there may still have been time for him to have read Luís Frois’s *Letters from Japan* (Latin edition 1598) Petrus Thyraeus on places infested by evil spirits (1598) and Johann Bökel’s book on magical philtres which appeared in 1599. Publication of *Investigations* did not stop such reading, of course, but it seems to have slowed it down considerably as Del Río turned his attention almost exclusively to Biblical subjects. We do, however, find him referring to the Jesuit Martín de Roa’s *Remarkable Places and Things*, and Zaccaria Visconti’s book on exorcism (both 1600); Vincenzo Ondedi’s legal text, *Decisions and Conclusions* (1601) and, from 1604, Giacomo Graffi on decisions of conscience and Tomás Maluenda’s *Antichrist*, whose criticisms of *Investigations* riled Del Río into attaching a lengthy defence in the prologue of the work, dated 1606 and written from Salamanca.

This brief review of his reading, which does not include his much wider and more eclectic knowledge of and acquaintance with books published before the 1580s, and the manuscript material he was also able to use, gives some indication of his erudition, but one also has to bear in mind that he did not concentrate only on theologians and lawyers, but included evidence from historians, physicians, missionaries’ reports, personal communications, explorers’ memoirs, and writers on magic and allied subjects, not to mention a broad range of Classical and later antique writers. No wonder, then, that his

learning was highly regarded by contemporaries. Pierre de l'Ancre, for example, called him 'the greatest, the most exceptional, and the best regarded person who has ever written on this subject'.<sup>41</sup> Had he actually read everything he quoted or to which he referred? Obviously we must be cautious and not accept it all at face value, but Del Río is very careful to give exact references—the margins of his published text teem with them and many others are incorporated into the text itself—and every so often he recommends further reading as well. It is perfectly true, of course that he will probably have come across multiple references ready-made for his purposes in one or two of the authors he has before him, but in general terms, and with an eye on the way he develops his themes, we can probably say that the impression his work gives of being based on an enormous and unremitting commitment to reading as much as possible on each of his subjects is neither misleading nor mistaken; and when one bears in mind that Del Río had none of the electronic resources available to a modern scholar, was rarely in one place long enough to build up the kind of extensive library he lost by pillage and destruction in 1578 (not to mention being able to afford it): that he had to rely on the inevitably mixed resources of the library of whichever university he was seconded to for the time being, which might well not include the works he particularly needed at any given moment, and that borrowing from another town or city must always have involved a lengthy wait (not to mention the hazards of land and sea travel at the time) his achievement seems all the more remarkable.

One feature of *Investigations* is notable to the modern eye—the lack of personal reminiscences and anecdotes to illustrate the points he was making. In one sense there was no need for them. Everyone at the time was surrounded in a way difficult for us to understand by overt magical or superstitious practices performed almost without thinking, sometimes (as the Church both feared and warned) straddling magic and near-magic and religion in ways which tended to blur the distinction between them.<sup>42</sup> Del Río will not, as far as this is concerned at any rate, have been different from any of his contemporaries and so illustration by reference to his own experience will have been redundant and will not have helped to advance his thesis. What he needed to show was that magic was deeply embedded in the secular world, that it had been so for a very long time, and that it was manifesting itself in a particularly virulent fashion at the present time. Illustrative material immediately relevant to those themes was helpful. Personal anecdotes, by and large, were not.

To be sure, there are a few such—the damage to the Church of Our Lady in Douai, the clairvoyant boy in Madrid, the remora fish in Tournai, and one or two others—but they are made en passant and do not form any significant part of his argument.<sup>43</sup> In this he is quite unlike, say, Henri Boguet who based his work on his personal experience as a judge, or Nicolas Rémy who expressly explains in the prefatory letter to the reader of his *Worship of Evil Spirits* that because he had not been collecting the material necessary to write his account, 'I began to select and record whatever seemed best suited to

my purpose from my examinations of accused individuals during the last five years.’ Neither Boguet nor Rémy, however, was constructing the immense structure Del Río had in mind—a monument of scholarship which would at one and the same time answer any and every question anyone might have anent magic and superstition in all their forms, and provide an unanswerable battery of facts which could serve in the defence of the Catholic Church in a world in which heresy and Satanism were rampant, while constructing a new science of demonology and (perhaps incidentally) establish an international reputation for himself at a time when Europe seemed to be particularly rich in scholarship. Personal notes and anecdotes, then, would have been out of place in so serious and lofty a venture.

This does not mean, however, that Del Río’s individual voice is missing. He has a nice turn of phrase—‘I enjoy listening, teaching, and learning. I don’t like moving the same saw back and forth’—and an effective line in sarcasm—‘wherever he turns he finds country bumpkins and devoted fans to whom his virtuousness straight away has a perceptible smell, as marjoram has for pigs’<sup>45</sup>—and he frequently addresses his reader (more than thirty-three times in all). ‘Reader, I think you realise [...]. You notice, don’t you, Reader [...]. Are you astonished, Reader? [...]. Consider, noble Reader [...]. [A tragedy] which I shall tell you about later. But please, Reader, bear in mind [...]. Do laugh, Reader.’<sup>46</sup> Apostrophising the reader is a feature of other writers of the period, certainly, but no one does it quite as frequently as Del Río, or appeals to him in the same personal way. Del Río’s style of doing so turns Investigations into a series of university tutorials in which a knowledgeable, friendly lecturer conveys what he has to say via conversation, stopping at intervals to make sure his student has understood the point, has not misunderstood the point, and is following the thread of the argument, the tutorial being peppered with indications of where the student can find further information. Dry it most certainly is not.

## The Introductory Poems

It was a frequent custom for a book to be puffed with the help of complimentary poems prefacing its main text, and Del Río has no fewer than five at the start of volume 1 of Investigations, following his diatribe against Tomás Maluenda and the required permissions and privilegia from both secular and religious authorities. The first is in Latin, written by his friend Justus Lipsius and is a short little recommendation written in Phalaecian hendecasyllables, a verse-form often used by Catullus, Statius, and Martial. It does its intended job, but is curiously run-of-the-mill, far less complex than the offerings by Rosweyde and Jamot which follow, and not even as enthusiastic as that by Goudanus. It emphasises Del Río’s learning and piety but could scarcely do less. Did Rosweyde think so too? His longer poem, emphasising the history of magic, but ending with an identification of Del Río and the ancient oracle at Delphi, is called a *parodia*. This indicates that the piece in question is a reply to



another piece, perhaps in the same metre, perhaps on the same subject, written in a parodying or burlesque fashion. Rosweyde's poem is not in the same metre, since it is written in iambic trimeters, so the *parodia* must be referring to the subject-matter. Could it be that Rosweyde was jealous of Lipsius's place in Del Río's affections? In his *Life*, he quotes from a letter he received from Del Río, asking for his assistance to find out why some of Lipsius's books were not being published, and saying, 'I am asking this with some warmth (*calide*) because I am warmly fond of Lipsius (*calide amo*).' Expressions of affection between men were common enough at this period, relayed via the verb *amo*, commonly translated as 'I love,' but referring to a much wider range of affection, but will simply have the force of 'he is my best friend, we're like brothers,' and *calide* (literally 'hotly') combined with this, merely underlines the strong tie of affection, not implying anything like the German 'schwärm,' for example. Nevertheless, this phraseology does not preclude the possibility that Rosweyde may have been a little jaundiced by the knowledge of Del Río's strong affection for someone other than himself and the *parodia* was a carefully controlled and modulated piece of sniping from the safety of the scholar's desk.

Frédéric Jamot's contribution is in the loftier style of the dactylic hexameter, a verse-form generally used for epic poetry. It is in Greek with a Latin translation. Jamot seems to have been Flemish. We do not know his dates, but he certainly studied for a while in Paris and was married and had two sons. By profession he was a physician. He was an accomplished writer and translator, producing verse paraphrases of the psalms of David in 1566, a collection of Greek and Latin poems in 1593, and a *Parodia Pindarica*, an imitation of Pindar's verse-forms, in 1598. His contribution to the initial verses of *Investigations* appeared in 1600 in Greek with a Latin translation and was expanded for the Mainz edition of 1603.<sup>47</sup> On 1st August, 1600 he sent a lengthy reply to Del Río's questions about natural remedies for the effects of harmful magic, a reply Del Río was happy to acknowledge and include in his text of *Investigations*.<sup>48</sup> His poem is slightly odd. He begins with a brief account of how magic began and then turns to the present, describing modern magic appropriately enough, given his profession, as a set of diseases which Del Río, 'esteemed for his healing skill,' is beginning to cure by offering this book of his as an antidote. The slight oddity involves the bulk of the rest of the poem which consists of a panegyric of sixteen other named Jesuits who have been and are contributing to the fight against the forces of error and illicit magic. Including Del Río in their number is, of course, a compliment but, apart from the fact that Del Río quotes from or refers to many of them during the course of *Investigations*, they represent something of a diversion from what one might have thought is the essential point of such a poem—praise for the book and Del Río himself as its author. To be sure, Jamot does return to Del Río at the end of the poem with laudatory remarks for his courage in standing up to evil and says that the Spanish Netherlands will quite rightly sing his praises in the future. Nevertheless, one cannot help wondering whether Jamot did not actually know Del Río except

by reputation and so padded out his poem to make it look a more considerable recommendation than it actually was.<sup>49</sup>

Jamot's poem is followed by a brief set of iambic trimeters by 'Juan Gauda' who may have been a Flemish Jesuit, Jan van Gouda (1571–1630). These do exactly what they are meant to do—entice a potential reader into reading a book about the triumph of good over evil by a scholar of international renown. The mention of the universities of Portugal along with those of the Spanish Netherlands and Spain may simply reflect the extent of Del Río's reputation but may also indicate that the writer did not know Del Río personally, or at least very well, since Del Río never actually taught in Portugal. The date and place attached to the verses, 4th August, Valladolid, may refer to Del Río's receiving them, since he was in Valladolid at that time.

Volume 2 begins with two laudatory poems. The first is in Greek with a Latin translation, both versions being written in anacreontics, and is by Claude Dausque (1564/6–1644) a Jesuit who first studied and then taught at the college of St-Omer before leaving for Douai in 1601 and Lille in 1603. At some point between 1608 and 1610 he left the Society of Jesus and moved to Tournai where he continued his life as a scholar. It is possible that he and Del Río met in St-Omer. Del Río records seeing *ignes fatui* there at the shrine of the saint, and this is perhaps most likely to have happened while he himself was at Tournai in 1593–1594. In his piece for Del Río, Dausque adopts the metaphor of disease and cure and makes an even more direct appeal to the potential buyer to purchase and read *Investigations*—exactly what is required of such a poem. The second, by another Jesuit, Karl Goossen, draws a contrast between lies and truth and emphasises Del Río's truthfulness, as well as calling him a prodigious genius, a man with an honourable reputation, and someone whose faith has been fully tested. The tone of the poem, however, is combative. It addresses a would-be critic and talks of his making threats to credulous people and of his being an imposter and a liar, 'arrogant and ungodly.' It is always possible, of course, that this is simply a literary device, a small piece of rhetoric, allowing Goossen to be different in his approach to the task of praise and puffery, but it is also possible that he is reflecting an incident in which some particular individual offered stringent criticism either of Del Río himself or of *Investigations*, and that Goossen was leaping to the defence of a fellow-Jesuit.<sup>50</sup>

The third volume has only one prefatory poem, a Pindaric ode in Greek, with a Latin translation, by Pierre Bouille, who appears as 'Tertius Bouillius' in the Lyon edition of 1608. Pierre Bouille was a Walloon Jesuit and is best known for his *Brief History of the Discovery and the Miracles of the Image of Our Lady of Foy*, found in an oak at Foy, near Dinant in 1609. If anything, his contribution is a greater panegyric of Del Río than any of the others, since it equates Del Río not only more than once with the sun, but implicitly with Christ who descended into Hell to liberate worthy souls from Satan's clutches, and it is interesting that Bouille should have chosen to mention Book 3 in particular, since

this deals with the aspects of magic seen at the time as especially dangerous—the practice of harmful magic and the foolishness of superstition.

The poems in general, then, are clever but not particularly distinguished, which is more or less what one expects of the genre. Writing this kind of puff is not easy, since the result is little more than an advertisement for someone else's work and the writer may or may not be personally acquainted with the author—not that that is necessarily a guarantee of a more interesting result, as can be seen from Justus Lipsius's lackluster contribution. Indeed, perhaps the most intriguing poem is that by Karl Goossen whose inimical approach to a potentially critical reader delivers a somewhat unexpected broadside and enlivens what could otherwise be a somewhat thankless task for both poet and reader.

### Investigations' Later Influence

Investigations, as we have seen, seems to have been conceived during the late 1580s and the 1590s when there was a burst of witch activity in the Spanish Netherlands and not only there, of course, but just over the border in Trier where, between 1581 and 1593, there was widespread prosecution of witches. 'Since everyone thought the continual crop-failure was caused by witches on account of their devilish hatred,' wrote Hans Linden, a canon of Trier Cathedral, in his History of Trier ('Gesta Treverorum') 'the whole country wanted them to be eradicated'.<sup>51</sup> Del Río himself was in increasingly poor health at this time, being moved by his superiors from university to university, partly to teach and partly to complete his training as a Jesuit, and publishing or preparing to publish his treatise on Senecan tragedy and his collection of essays on the Virgin Mary. However, he had obviously been collecting material relevant to Investigations for a long time, excerpting in the usual manner of scholars whenever he could, or copying out whole manuscripts or at least extensive portions of them, as the opportunity presented itself. By November 1597, he and Justus Lipsius were discussing a title for the work. Del Río appears to have called it *On Magic*—clearly a working title—and Lipsius suggested *Magic, tout court, or Investigations into Magic*, which last obviously met with Del Río's approval. In June 1598 Lipsius sent Del Río his prefatory poem, and the whole work received the approval of the Jesuit Provincial, Olivier Manare, on 6th July that year, along with permission from the Royal Censor, Wilhelm Fabricius, for the publication of the first two Books. In August 1598 Lipsius sent a copy of the manuscript to Jan Moretus who rejected it on the grounds he was too busy to publish it. Wilhelm Fabricius then approved Book 3 on 8th February 1599 at Leuven, and the censor Silvester Pardo, the remaining three Books on 4th (or possibly 17th) 1599. Finally, Del Río dedicated the whole work to Prince Ernst of Bavaria at Leuven on 9th March 1599 and the first two Books appeared for sale at the Frankfurt Easter book-fair that same year, Easter then falling on 11th April. Books 3 and 4 were sold in Frankfurt during the Michaelmas book-fair 1599, the feast-day being 10th or 11th October, and finally Books 5 and 6 appeared at the same fair at Easter 1600 = 2nd April.

Apparently, sales were good and another publisher produced a three-volume edition in Mainz that same year, while the initial publisher talked about yet another edition as early as January 1601. Meanwhile legitimate, printings appeared in Mainz in 1603, in Lyon in 1604, an unapproved version in Frankfurt and an approved version in Venice in 1606, and then an approved printing in Lyon in 1608.<sup>52</sup> Investigations continued to be in demand after Del Río's death. There was a French translation in 1611 and printings in Lyon in 1613; in Venice in 1616; in Mainz in 1617 and 1624 (quarto); in Köln in 1633; in Venice in 1640 and 1652; in Köln in 1657, 1679 and 1720; and finally, in Venice in 1746 and Köln in 1755. Its influence does not seem to have waned during that time. Even before Del Río was cold, we find Francesco Guazzo pillaging it extensively and shamelessly for his own *Compendium of Women Who Work Harmful Magic* (1608) and we find it being referred to by the Englishmen Richard Bernard in his *Guide to Grand Jurymen with respect to Witches* (1627) and Sir Robert Filmer, *An Advertisement to the Jurymen of England, touching Witches* (1653). Gottfried Spinaeus cited Del Río in his dissertation on whether the sound of church bells can dispel thunderstorms, frosts, ghosts, and the Devil (1661). So did Meric Casaubon in 1668, and John Wagstaffe in *The Question of Witchcraft Debated*, 1669 and 1691. The Scottish lawyer, Sir George MacKenzie, saw Investigations as a prime source of information on witchcraft (*Pleadings in Some Remarkable Cases*, 1672; *Laws and Customs of Scotland*, 1678). In Germany, as Jan Machielsen points out, university students were still plundering it for their dissertations during the 1680s and 1690s;<sup>53</sup> Pierre Bayle felt obliged to include him in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1695–1697) while James Robertson, the defence advocate in the trial of a Scottish witch, Christian Shaw, in 1697, used Investigations to support his arguments on behalf of his client. Copies were to be found in the libraries of Jesuit colleges in Upper Hungary, and he was quoted and referred to frequently by Johann von Flörcke in his treatise, *The Crime of Invoking Spirits* (1721). We even find that a copy of Investigations was discovered among the effects of a house-painter and practising magician, Dominique Lalanne, in 1760.<sup>54</sup> Del Río himself, however, had to contend with mixed receptions. A fellow-Jesuit, (Nicolas Suys, 1572–1619) who spent most of his life teaching the humanities at Douai, wrote a biography under the name 'Hermann Langevelt,' which was published by Jan Moretus in 1609. André Baillet, (1649–1706) a French critic and scholar, said of him, 'One sees, then, a savant who, in the ordinary way of things, is nothing but a show-off'—a not very promising start, although he actually goes on to praise him for his humility in spite of his being so learned.<sup>55</sup> Voltaire, however, as one might expect is scathing, calling him 'procureur général de Belzébuth,' although this is by no means as dismissive as Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) who, in retaliation for Del Río's dismissal of him, remarked, 'In my opinion, Del Río knows nothing [...]. He is an ignoramus who merely accumulates'.

But what are we, without allowing confessional likes or dislikes to get in the way, to make of Investigations? Scaliger's reference to accumulation is, separated from its personal and religious

gripping, true enough, in as much as it is a habit, not to say temptation, with scholars to gather as much information as they can in order to nail their point as firmly as possible. Pliny the Elder, too, ‘accumulated’ in order to build his complete picture of the physical world as he conceived it, and he also called his work an ‘investigation,’ (*Historia Naturalis*). What Scaliger probably had in mind, however, was what he may have seen as the lack of discrimination in Del Río’s gathering. If everything is grist to the mill, the bread may cease to be palatable and, indeed, may turn out not to be bread at all in the end. Nevertheless, expectations of what is required of scholarship do not remain static, and the habit of using verse as well as prose and both from any historical period in order to make a specific point relating to a specific time was by no means peculiar to Del Río. It was a feature of both Mediaeval and early modern scholarship. Del Río merely collected as much as everyone else would have done (and did) to clinch an argument, and then added more than most of his contemporaries were either willing to do or capable of doing. He may have been mistaken in thinking that if more is better, the most possible is better still, but he was not alone in this and his contemporaries were duly impressed, if not necessarily by the argumentation, certainly by the persistence and industry.

Nevertheless, Del Río does not entirely lack discrimination and comprehension, as Scaliger seems to be trying to suggest. He may not have tried any cases of witchcraft himself, but he was not a trained lawyer, theologian, and linguist for nothing and quickly sees verbal or linguistic flaws in an opponent’s arguments, pulls them apart, and exposes them ruthlessly, as his (relatively measured) diatribes against William Tooker and Johann Gödelmannn, for example, illustrate. But his over-riding concern is the effect any form of magical practice, overtly allied to superstition or not, is having upon contemporary society. It is a virus which, at best, can make people spiritually ill and at worst kill their souls altogether. It has a long history in human affairs and finds a ready companion and ally in heresy. To combat one is, therefore, to combat both. Combat, however, must be conducted according to the rules set down for it by God and by human beings (hence Del Río’s disapproval of the various forms of ordeal) and so when it comes to witchcraft—that is, the deliberate practice of harmful magic by those who have wilfully allied themselves with the Devil—its practitioners should be prosecuted in an appropriate court of law and the provisions of the law observed. A next-generation Jesuit, Friedrich Spee von Lagenfeld, however, vividly demonstrated in his *Warning on Criminal Cases* (1631) that in practice this was more likely to be honoured in the breach than in the observance, and Del Río himself was not always consistent in his opinion, as his answers to legal questions posed by Maximilian I of Bavaria show. (See Book 5, Appendix II).

These days the reader of *Investigations* is more likely to turn to Del Río as a repository of an enormous quantity of anecdotal evidence relating to magic, gathered from the ancient world right through to Del Río’s own time, but plundering him for one’s own purposes, while

convenient, is actually to do him a disservice. While it is perfectly true, as Jan Machielsen has so magisterially shown, that Del Río was not above fashioning his scholarly work to promote and enhance his own reputation in contemporary society, as far as *Investigations* is concerned it will miss an important point if he is read in the absence of an awareness and appreciation of his over-arching and deeply-felt intention in writing this particular treatise. Read in extenso and not just dipped into, the book betrays a passion and a deep concern for humanity not altogether hidden by the mounds of diligence which went into its composition, and if nowadays we do not have precisely the concerns which motivated Del Río to write it, we can still be alive to the driven devotion to truth, as he saw it, which kept him chained to his desk for so many years. To the argument that someone's genuine enthusiasm for a cause we may find passé (or even distasteful or wicked) is no excuse for holding opinions with which we do not agree, one must answer that history is like that and that if one wants history always to be on our side, we are going to be immensely disappointed, because it rarely is. The past does, or should, challenge the presumptions of the present, and Del Río does this for us in a particularly learned and diverting fashion. <> <>