



PROGRAMMA 2017

The Program of Liberal Studies
University of Notre Dame

PROGRAMMA

A Newsletter for Graduates of the Program of Liberal Studies
The University of Notre Dame
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Faculty Editor

Henry Weinfield

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THE VIEW FROM 215

Thomas Stapleford

January 2017

News that one is about to become department chairperson elicits a common response: “Congratulations, ...and condolences!” Being department chair in the modern university brings both joys and headaches, opportunities to help students and colleagues alongside administrative tedium.

Fortunately, I have been blessed to inherit a department that is thriving. Undergraduates continue to be drawn to PLS even while overall enrollment in Arts & Letters has fallen; indeed, our current enrollment is at its highest point since I joined the department in 2003. Meanwhile, as our Faculty News illustrates, my colleagues continue to blend deep commitment to liberal education with high-level scholarship. Among other highlights, Robert Goulding is spending the academic year as a fellow at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study; Steve Fallon will take up a prestigious Guggenheim Fellowship this spring; Gretchen Reydams-Schils will be a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Hebrew University next year; Jennifer Martin was just awarded a 2017 Manfred Lautenschlaeger Award for Theological Promise; and Walt Nicgorski’s much-anticipated volume on Cicero’s political philosophy appeared this fall from Palgrave MacMillan. In August, we welcomed the newest member of our faculty, Tarek Dika, an expert on early modern philosophy and phenomenology who recently received his PhD from Johns Hopkins University.

Of course, 2016 was not without its losses as well. Kent Emery retired in June after having been a part of the Program for almost three decades and teaching a broad range of its courses, including both Literature tutorials,

both Theology tutorials, and the tutorial in Intellectual and Cultural History. Kent delivered this year’s Opening Charge (reprinted below), which longtime readers of *Programma* will recognize as a contribution to the ongoing conversations about the history and nature of liberal education that have featured regularly in these pages.

Alongside the other usual *Programma* features (including the homily from the All Soul’s Mass and the winning essay for the 2016 Cronin Award), this issue also includes a short overview of core results from our 2013 Alumni survey, with more detailed reports available on our website. Although we have been using these results internally for some time, the faculty member in charge of the analysis (i.e., me) has been delinquent in compiling a formal report. (Hopefully that delay does not presage a habitual tardiness in my administrative work!) Nonetheless, I am pleased to release the results now, and I am very grateful to everyone who took the time to participate.

The enthusiastic response to our survey is but one example of the care and passion which our alumni have shown for PLS. In taking over as chair, I have been deeply conscious of the Program’s legacy and of how much it has meant to so many people over the last sixty-six years. Thank you for the many ways in which you have supported that endeavor, and please know that we are deeply appreciative. My best wishes and prayers to you and your families in this new year!

**ANNOUNCING THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL
PLS/GP SUMMER SYMPOSIUM
JUNE 4-9, 2017**

Creation

Once again the Program of Liberal Studies will offer a week of seminars for alumni of the Program, their relatives and friends, and anyone else eager to read and discuss important texts and ideas as part of a welcoming and lively intellectual community. Several of the sessions will engage with questions surrounding the theme of Creation. All sessions will be taught by current or emeritus/a faculty of the Program of Liberal Studies. Please consider joining us for what promises to be an exhilarating week.

Below find a list of the classes, followed by more detailed descriptions and information.

Jennifer Newsome Martin — *How to Start from Before the Beginning: Biblical Creation and its Antecedents* (2 classes)

Katherine Tillman — *The Pre-Socratics and the Urstoff* (2 classes)

Denis Robichaud — *Views on the Eternity of the World in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (2 classes)

Henry Weinfield — *Dante's Paradiso* (3 classes)

Walter Nicgorski — *Thomas More's Utopia* (2 classes)

Joseph Elkanah Rosenberg — "A Heap of Broken Images": Reading "The Waste Land" (2 classes)

Phillip Sloan — *Creationism and Science: New Insights into an Old Question* (5 classes)

**How to Start from Before the Beginning: Biblical Creation and its Antecedents
Professor Jennifer Newsome Martin
2 classes**

This two-day seminar will analyze the first (Priestly) creation narrative in the book of Genesis in light of the ancient Babylonian creation-flood myths that pre-date it. Particular attention will be given to the literary relation between the *Enuma Elish* and the Genesis account, a relation that might be categorized as a kind of "subversive mimesis." Our turn on the second day to Benedict's Lenten homilies given at the Liebfrauenkirche in Munich in 1981 will demonstrate not only the difficulties attendant on approaching the biblical creation story in a mode of fundamentalist literalism but will also provide some constructive principles for considering the theme of creation more broadly in its biblical, theological, anthropological, environmental, and scientific dimensions.

Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others, trans. Stephanie Dailey (Oxford World's Classics). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. ISBN # 978-0199538362.

Pope Benedict XVI, *'In the Beginning': A Catholic Understanding of the Story of Creation and the Fall*. (Ressourcement: Retrieval and Renewal in Catholic Thought). Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005. ISBN # 978-0802841063.

Day 1: Genesis 1:1-2:3; "The Epic of Creation" (*Enuma Elish*), in *Myths from Mesopotamia*
Day 2: Benedict XVI Homilies, "God the Creator," 1-18; "The Meaning of the Biblical Creation Accounts," 19-40; "The Creation of the Human Being," 41-58; "Sin and Salvation," 59-78.

The Pre-Socratics and the *Urstoff*
Professor Katherine Tillman
2 classes

What is the primordial matter out of which all things come to be? If it is one, how do the many evolve from it? If it is many, how does it hold together as a unity, or does it? Is this underlying stuff something that changes or does it not change? These are some of the big questions the first philosophers of the West, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., wondered and inquired about. In the fourth century B.C.E., Aristotle's explicit commentary on their answers is itself an introduction to his own thoughts about the basic causes of the being and becoming of all that is.

Readings: *A Presocratics Reader: Selected Fragments and Testimonia*, chaps. 1-13. Second Edition. Ed. with Introduction by Patricia Curd. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 2011. ISBN 978-1603843058

Aristotle, *Metaphysics* (350 B.C.E.) Book I, sections 1-10. Tr. W. D. Ross, "The Internet Classics Archive": <classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/Metaphysics/html>,
Or: Penguin Classics, New Ed Edition, Tr. and Intro. Hugh Lawson-Tancred, 1998. ISBN 978-0140446197

Views on the Eternity of the World in Antiquity and the Middle Ages
Professor Denis Robichaud
2 classes

In beginning our discussion with Aristotle (322-384 BC) this course picks up where Prof. Tillman's course ends. Aristotle argues in a number of places that the world is eternal. Was this self-evident to him or the result of careful reasoning? His texts and their later interpretations became the catalysts for rigorous debates on the nature of time, being, and the world. In addition to Aristotle we will study the themes and arguments of two important philosophers (one Pagan; one Christian): the late ancient Platonist Proclus (412-85 AD), and the medieval Thomas Aquinas (1225-74). Proclus (who was the last leader of the Academy in Athens) wrote a famous tract *On the Eternity of the World*, which drew the criticism of the Christian philosopher John Philoponus (c. 490-c. 570). Philoponus, in turn, wrote two tracts against the eternity of the world

(one against Proclus; another against Aristotle). Centuries later the works of Aristotle (along with their commentaries) that were recently translated and rediscovered in the Latin West caused new philosophical and theological controversies. Schoolmen were puzzled; how could Aristotle – *il maestro di color che sanno* (the master of the men who know), as Dante says – argue that the world is eternal? Can creationism be defended by reason or is it something known only through faith and revelation? The University of Paris condemned Aristotle’s teachings on the eternity of the world in the 1270s, but Aquinas also entered into the fray.

Day 1: Aristotle, *Physics*, 1.7; 8.1-3; *Metaphysics*, 12.1-2; 12.6-7; Proclus, *On the Eternity of the World*, arguments 3-6.

Day 2: Aquinas, *On the Eternity of the World*, pp. 18-72.

-Aristotle, either <http://classics.mit.edu/Browse/browse-Aristotle.html>, or the volume used in the PLS: *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. by Richard McKeon with an introduction by C. D. C. Reeve (New York: The Modern Library, 2001). ISBN 978-0375757990

-Proclus’s *On the Eternity of the World*, excerpt assigned to be circulated. Those wanting the complete (and expensive) version: *On the Eternity of the World*, ed. and trans. H. Lang and A. D. Marco (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). ISBN 978-0520225541

- Aquinas, *On the Eternity of the World* (Medieval Texts in Translation no. 16), second edition (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University 2010). Pp. 18-72. ISBN 978-0874622164

Dante’s *Paradiso*
Professor Henry Weinfield
3 classes

Last summer we worked through the *Purgatorio*, so this coming summer, as promised, we shall read and discuss Dante’s *Paradiso*, the final canticle of his *Divine Comedy*. Our reading of the *Paradiso* fits into the overall theme of Creation of this year’s symposium; for as Dante and his guide Beatrice climb the heavenly spheres, they come closer and closer to the source of all creation. A culminating achievement, the *Paradiso* has been described as a great experiment in poetry, an attempt to articulate what is fundamentally ineffable.

Our text will be Allen Mandelbaum’s translation of the *Paradiso*. It is available both as a Bantam paperback (ISBN 978-0553212044) and in an edition published by Everyman (978-0679433132). We shall read the poem as closely as we can (our three seminar classes allow us to divide the 33 cantos of the poem into approximately 11 per session). In preparing for the symposium, please read the notes along with the poem itself.

Thomas More's *Utopia*
Professor Walter Nicgorski
2 sessions

As we end this year of 2016, we celebrate the 500th anniversary of the appearance of Thomas More's "little golden book." It is one of the most puzzling and intriguing classics of all time. This truth was captured by C.S. Lewis when he once observed, "All seem to be agreed that [*Utopia*] is a great book, but hardly any two agree as to its real significance: we approach it through a cloud of contradictory eulogies." More is revered by Catholics as a patron saint both of lawyers and statesmen (these categories do not necessarily overlap!). His *Utopia* has provided inspiration for Marxists, libertarians and social democrats. In our seminars we will explore the relationship between Parts I and II as we ask the large question about More's overall intent. King Utopus and our practical reason are the creators of this city-state that could be "paradise." We will attend to its residents' views of the first and last things. It is best to have read the whole before you arrive at Notre Dame, but, of course, our first session will focus on Part I and our second on Part II.

The text: If you own a copy that has the complete text (Parts I and II as well as More's prefatory letter to Peter Giles), that will be sufficient, and the presence of various translations around our table will be an asset. If you are purchasing an edition, I recommend the Cambridge University Press paperback edition edited by George Logan and Robert Adams (ISBN 978-1107568730). See you all in the land of "no where."

"A Heap of Broken Images": Reading "The Waste Land"
Professor Joseph Elkanah Rosenberg
2 classes

One of the foundational texts of modernism, T.S. Eliot's "The Waste Land" has befuddled, angered, enthralled, and mystified readers for close to a century. It has been hailed as "the most vital, the most important poem of the modern era," and derided as a "pompous parade of erudition." Eliot, late in his life, referred to the poem as a "piece of rhythmic grumbling." In this two-day seminar, we will ask just how one is to read a poem as fragmented and disconnected as the "The Waste Land." Are we as readers meant to sew the fragments together? Does it matter whether or not we can trace every allusion? Or is the poem a sphinx without a secret? In relation to the theme of this year's symposium, our seminar will allow students time to contemplate at least briefly the relationship between creation and destruction.

Please note that there are numerous editions of "The Waste Land" available. Students are recommended to use an *unannotated* edition if possible.

Creationism and Science: New Insights into an Old Question
Professor Phillip Sloan
5 classes

This course is intended as a follow-up to the single session on Darwin and Creation in the summer of 2015. In this case we will deal both historically and conceptually with the issue. The intent will be to get us past the tired “evolution and creation” debates that have badly muddied the waters and that have generated several misconceptions on how the Christian doctrine of creation relates to natural philosophy and its successor, modern physics and biology. This topic will be engaged by early efforts to give “allegorical” readings of the Book of *Genesis* and how this was transformed into a realist claim about the developmental history of nature. We will terminate by readings from a contemporary theoretical physicist interested in the dialogue of science and theology

Readings:

Collection of readings from primary sources will be posted in a secure website for the course.

Hanby, M. *No God, No Science? Theology, Cosmology and Biology* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016) PB. ISBN 978 1 4051-5801. \$45. Also on Kindle.

Barr, S. *Modern Physics and Ancient Faith* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006) ISBN 0-268-02198-8. \$23

DATE	TOPIC	READINGS	ASSIGNMENT
6/5	<i>Opening Session</i> 1. Dealing with Bible and Creation: Voices from Tradition	Selection from Augustine, <i>On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis</i> (Reader)	Reader Selection; Hanby, Chp. 2
6/6	2. Early Modern Reflections: Hypothetical and Real “History” of Nature	Descartes, Selection from <i>Principles of Philosophy</i> , Part IV; Burnet <i>Sacred Theory of the Earth</i> (Readings)	Reader Selections, Hanby, chp. 3
6/7	3. The Grand Enlightenment Synthesis and its Successors	Selections from Buffon, <i>On the Epochs of Nature</i> ; Robert Chambers, <i>Natural History of Creation</i> ; Darwin, <i>Origin of Species</i> , final chapter.	Reader Selections Hanby chps. 4-5 Barr, chps 1-3 (these are short chapters)
6/8	4. Contemporary Catholic Theology and Creationism’	Readings in Hanby and Barr	Hanby, chp. 7 Barr, chps 9–11,13
6/9	5. Contemporary Catholic Theology and Creationism	Readings in Hanby and Barr	Hanby, chp. 9 Barr , chps. 19-20

WHO: PROGRAM FACULTY, ALUMNI, FRIENDS, AND FAMILY
WHAT: SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL PLS/GP SUMMER SYMPOSIUM
WHEN: JUNE 4-9, 2017
WHERE: NOTRE DAME CAMPUS
WHY: TO SHARE BOOKS, REFLECTIONS, AND FRIENDSHIP

Housing will be available in an air-conditioned dormitory on campus (\$53 per night for single, \$41/person/night for double).

In reviewing our Symposium finances, we realized that our registration fees (which have not changed over the last decade) have failed to keep pace with rising costs. Although we would like to keep the Symposium as affordable as possible, we also want to ensure that it operates in the black. To meet that goal, our registration fee this year will be \$750 for the week (or \$1,000 for two people). After April 30, the rate will increase to \$850 per participant.

Registration fees cover faculty stipends, breakfast and lunch for five days, an opening reception and cook-out Sunday evening, and a formal dinner on Thursday. Courtesy of the Richard Spangler Fund (see below), the department will try to make arrangements for those eager to attend but for whom the registration fee would be an obstacle.

If you would like us to reserve a space for you at the 2017 PLS Summer Symposium, please fill out the online registration form on this website. The course is open to alumni as well as friends of the Program, so if you have a friend or acquaintance who would be eager to be involved, feel free to share this information.

Symposium website:

<http://pls.nd.edu/alumni/summer-symposium/>

Direct link to registration:

https://notredame-web.ungerboeck.com/coe/coe_p1_all.aspx?oc=10&cc=ALLREG

NOTICE: Stipends available for attending the Summer Symposium!

The Program has funding available for a number of small grants to cover expenses related to our annual Summer Symposium, thanks to the recently established Richard Spangler Fund. Richard Spangler (Class of 1977) was an enthusiastic and dedicated participant in these seminars, and family and friends have established this fund to honor him.

If you are interested in receiving such a stipend, please contact the office at pls@nd.edu.

ALL SOULS MASS

November 9, 2016

Rev. Nicholas Ayo, C.S.C.

Today we come together to commemorate the deceased faculty, family, and students of our community in the Great Books Program. It is an annual prayer gathering around the celebration of the Eucharist. The obituary will be read at the “prayers of the faithful” following the gospel and homily. Most of us here today I suspect do believe that something outlasts the disintegration of the materials of this world and our very fragile body. All of us I think surely hope that something survives the disintegration of time. In short, we yearn for there to be an eternity and for human being to be a part of that eternity.

In the Church calendar, today just happens to be the remembrance of the dedication of the Lateran Basilica, the church of the Bishop of Rome and a church thereby honored as the mother of all Catholic churches worldwide. The Catholic Church, however, is not primarily a building, which building is needed only for uplifting worship space and to keep the rain off our heads. The Catholic Church, unlike the temples of the Greeks or the Temple of Jerusalem is not primarily God’s house, but rather God’s dwelling in God’s people, one and all assembled for worship. We are the living stones that make up the Church and in us God dwells and in us all together, both the living and dead, gathered in one prayer. Christians believe that God’s presence is a real presence of God in our hearts and in our lives. This building will fall down. All the Crossroad project around the stadium will be reduced to dust by wind and rain in a few million years, just as the sun will expire in a few billion years and planet earth will become a star cinder, deadly dark and cold. Nothing lasts forever; only people live forever. The people assembled here this afternoon and those to be remembered here and now are living stones, each one of us destined to be the eternal assembly of God.

Recall the Gospel story of the two disciples on their way out of Jerusalem, the holy Temple city. They are dispirited and discouraged, since the one who gave them hope had been crucified and was dead. No one knows where Emmaus is that they were headed for, and they represent all of us on our way and often without a clear destination that gives us hope in the face of death. Jesus comes as a stranger whom they do not recognize and talks with them, explaining how the death of Jesus should be understood as God undoing the guilt of the victims and scapegoats of our human attempt to unite our divided communities by killing a chosen victim. God finds our victims innocent and death will not have the last word. God will have life as the last word and forgiveness offered all round “Father, forgive them. They know not what they do.”

Think about the scene. This is a dead man talking. Dead men don’t talk. The Mafia designs cement shoes precisely because the dead do not tell tales. Here is a dead man talking, and he is really dead. If Jesus’s 34th birthday was the day after he died, then Jesus is still 33. He is dead, but he is walking and he is talking. All this is too good to be true, but their hearts are burning within them as they listen to Jesus undo the God of blame and shame and take the part of the victim and the part of life over death. God is not into death at all, nor vengeance, but only forgiveness and being with the people God loves. The two disciples do what we are doing now. They invite Jesus to a communal meal, and in that moment they come to recognize that the stranger is Jesus himself and Jesus with no touch of death or resentment, but only with a forgiving presence. Jesus is soon to disappear but only so that his real presence may be recognized always and everywhere -- in us, in our beloved dead, in our scarcely know neighbors, in those of different

persuasions, and always and everywhere when our eyes are opened to see God in Jesus as that dead man talking. What we hear in the Gospel may depend on many factors and differences among us, but the Church of living stones

proclaims that only people live forever, whether we ever fully recognize that or not. In short, our hope is not in the time of humankind but in the eternity of God with us.

OPENING CHARGE 2016
Great Books: A Genealogy and Destiny
September 7, 2016
Kent Emery, Jr.

For students who wish to be initiated into the long tradition of humanistic learning, the Great Books Program of Liberal Studies is by far the best major at the University of Notre Dame. In this Charge, I shall locate the origin of the idea of Great Books in mid-nineteenth-century France, and trace its genealogy through Victorian England and thence to the United States and to the Program at Notre Dame. As is well-known, Great Books curricula were successfully established in major American universities in the 1920s, notably at Columbia University and the University of Chicago. In 1937 a Great Books program was established as the exclusive curriculum at St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland; St. John's set the pattern followed since by many small colleges, which are now the normal venues for instruction in Great Books. In the first half of the twentieth century, Great Books programs became a characteristically American phenomenon, which was the product of an intellectual movement with its own distinct principles, identifying features and well-defined practices.

Probably in order to supply a noble lineage to the idea of Great Books, some leaders of the American movement claimed that the idea originated in the so-called 'Greats' curriculum at Oxford, that is, the course in *Literae humaniores* ("more humane letters") that was fully established at the University in 1850 and remained essentially the same until 1968, though a mitigated form of the course remains an option for study at Oxford to this day. Any actual connection between Oxford 'Greats' and the American Great Books movement, however, is tenuous at best and probably non-existent; nevertheless,

there are features of the Oxford curriculum that cast light on common features of Great Books programs, while other features of the Oxford course expose precisely what American Great Books programs intentionally eschewed.

The integrated honors course in classics, philosophy and ancient history, or *Literae humaniores*, was conceived in response to severe criticisms of the classical curriculum at Oxford in the early nineteenth century, which focused exclusively on literary texts, and on composition of Greek and Latin verse and prose in imitation of ancient models. As stated by the great scholar and Anglican divine, Sydney Smith (1771-1845),

the present state of classical education cultivates the imagination a great deal too much, and other habits of mind a great deal too little, and trains up many young men in a style of elegant imbecility... No man likes to add the difficulties of a language to the difficulties of a subject, and to study metaphysics, morals, and politics in Greek, when the Greek alone is study enough without them.... [Thus] a classical scholar of 23 or 24 years of age is a man principally conversant with works of imagination.... All the solid and masculine parts of his understanding are left wholly without cultivation; he hates the pain of thinking.¹

¹ Quoted in Richard Jenkyns, "The Beginnings of Greats, 1800-1872," in *The History of the University of Oxford, volume VI: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part I*, ed. M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1997, 513-20, at 515.

In response to many such criticisms, the University Statutes of 1850 established *Literae humaniores* as a four-year classical curriculum in which the “acquisition of competence in Greek and Latin was ... seen as a means to an end; the cultivation of literary taste had to yield its pre-eminence to the ‘solid and masculine’ study of history and philosophy.” The linguistic requirements remained stringent: the first two years of the course, called ‘Mods’ after the arduous examinations or ‘Moderations’ that the students were required to take, consisted of an intense study of Greek and Latin, which students had already studied in school, composition in Greek and Latin, and the reading of Greek and Latin poets (the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* were mandatory), dramatists and orators (notably, Demosthenes and Cicero). The last two years of the course, specifically called ‘Greats’, were devoted to the study of ancient philosophy and history. In philosophy, students read mainly the works of Plato and Aristotle, in Greek, but, innovatively, for the sake of comparison, they were also required to read works in modern philosophy, from Descartes to Kant. For ancient history, they read not only the ancient Greek and Roman historians, but also key works of modern scientific historiography, typically by German scholars. In the last two years the students also read rhetoric, either Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* or rhetorical works by Cicero. In sum, the Oxford ‘Greats’ curriculum was “a study of history and ideas, based upon the original sources, and backed up by testing of the undergraduate’s competence in understanding and manipulating the classical languages.”²

The Oxford Greats course is the archetype, in the modern English-speaking world, of

² My historical summary is based on Jenkyns, 513-20; the article “*Literae Humaniores*” in *Wikipedia* offers a useful sketch and presents the alternatives available in the current program (https://en.wikipedia.org/Literae_Humaniores).

integrated curricula in the humanities, based on the study of primary sources. In its integration of the study of literature and philosophy, its conception of the former as propaedeutic to the latter, its bias for the ‘ancients’ in comparison with the ‘moderns’, its emphasis on the reading of primary sources, especially works by the greatest writers who express the “best that has been thought and said,” the Oxford course in *Literae humaniores* indeed anticipates guiding principles of the American Great Books movement. But the differences are decisive. In the Greats course one reads ancient texts in their original tongues; the prerequisite for *Literae humaniores* was that one have already studied Greek and Latin in elite public schools; accordingly, the Oxford course was designed for training a ruling class that would govern the affairs of a far-flung empire. In contrast, as we shall see, the governing intention of American Great Books pedagogy is resolutely democratic, which entails reading works in translation. Moreover, the American Great Books movement determinedly abandoned, and frequently directly opposed, modern philological, historical study, which, it was judged, probably correctly, almost invariably yields a “relativistic” understanding of old texts that diminishes their “timeless” meaning, and thus would seem to deflate their value for a society that has neither an ancient nor a medieval past.

The prophetic Forerunner of the idea of Great Books emerged in an intellectual world quite remote from the Dons in the Colleges and along Logic Lane in Oxford. Auguste Comte (1798-1857), who studied and then taught at the École polytechnique in Paris, was the first formulator of the modern ‘positivist’ philosophy, according to which every rationally justifiable assertion must be scientifically and empirically verifiable, or be capable of logical or mathematical proof. The positivist does not begin inquiry or analysis with some sort of theological or rational ‘first principles’, but

rather with what is actually and evidently posited, or given, in nature, history and society. According to these criteria, the formerly authoritative modes of thought, theology and metaphysics, are understood to be void of any objective truth-value.³ Comte is generally acknowledged to have founded the modern philosophy of science, which, we shall see, plays a vital role in Great Books pedagogy, not least at Notre Dame. Comte hypothesized that the sciences “must inevitably develop in the order of decreasing generality and increasing complexity”; the mathematical exactness of any science is in inverse proportion to the complexity of the phenomena it treats. According to this criterion, the physical sciences are classified in a sequential order: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology. Like logic in philosophy, mathematics is an *organon* or instrument of discovery for the subsequent sciences. Each succeeding science depends upon, but is not reducible to, the former. Significantly, this natural order of the physical sciences matches the very historical order in which they were discovered. For that reason, Comte argued,

the philosophy of science is inseparable from the history of science.⁴

The sequence of physical sciences is propaedeutic to an ultimate architectonic science, the very name of which Comte invented, namely the positive science of *sociology*. Sociology, which because of its complexity was the last human science to develop historically, reduces historically-given social facts to laws and synthesizes the whole of human knowledge in a theory of historical human progress. According to Comte, humanity has progressed in three successive historical stages. In the first, *theological* stage, the human mind searched for the primary and final causes of phenomena and explained “apparent anomalies in the universe as interventions of supernatural agents”; in the second, *metaphysical* stage, the questions remained the same, but in the answers supernatural agents were replaced by abstract entities and principles; in the third, *positive* and scientific state, “the mind stops looking for causes of phenomena, and limits itself strictly to laws governing them.” The absolute notions of theology and metaphysics are replaced by relative, provisional scientific concepts, which over time approach ever closer to the truth without ever fully attaining it.⁵

³ My sketch of Comte’s thought derives mainly from Harry Elmer Barnes, “Comte, Auguste,” in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 6, Chicago-London-Toronto etc. 1967, 248-51; Michel Bourdeau, “Auguste Comte,” in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/comte/>), 2008, revised 16 Oct. 2014; “Positivism” (“Comte’s positivism”), in *Wikipedia* (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Positivism>), last revised 11 August 2016. For many decades, the leading source for the study of Comte’s thought among English-speaking readers was *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, freely translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau, 2 vols., London: John Chapman 1853, recently reprinted by Cambridge University Press 2009. Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) was a progressive, feminist social reformer in England, often said to be the first woman “sociologist” (in Comte’s terms); her volumes are an artful abbreviation and synthesis of Comte’s *Cours de philosophie positive*, 6 vols., Paris 1830-1842. As we shall see, Martineau was scarcely the only British enthusiast for Comte’s philosophy.

⁴ For the conceptual and historical sequence of the natural sciences, see volume 1 of *The Positive Philosophy*, trans. Martineau (1853), Books I-V, 18-480; the ultimate science of biology culminates in phrenology and what we would call ‘human brain science’. See also Barnes, “Comte, Auguste,” 249 (quotation); Bourdeau, “Auguste Comte 4.2: The classification of the sciences and philosophy of science”; “Positivism,” in *Wikipedia*, 5.

⁵ Bourdeau, “Auguste Comte 4.1: The law of the three stages.” The principles of Comte’s new social science or ‘sociology’ and the three historical phases of human development are treated in volume 2 of *The Positivist Philosophy*, trans. Martineau (1853), Book V, chaps. 1-11, 2-433.

Comte judged that by the early nineteenth century humankind had reached the threshold of its final, positivist stage, which thereafter would be a continual work-in-progress. In this final stage, humankind will be governed exclusively by positive scientific laws, by a “pure social morality” that no longer needs to have recourse to some idea of ‘God’ or imagined supernatural entities. Comte realized that this advance in the human condition would be extremely difficult and painfully slow, for man’s natural inclinations to Egoism are far more powerful than his natural inclination *vivre pour autrui* (“to live for others”), that is, more powerful than the human instinct for *altruism*, another fateful word imposed by Comte. Indeed, consideration of the stages of human history reveals that society cannot live without a universal moral authority and a universal religious practice. It was this moral concern that led Comte to devise his “Religion of Humanity,” the principle of which is Love, the foundation of which is Order, and the goal of which is scientific and moral Progress.

The Religion of Humanity is what Comte called a *complete positivism*, the main purpose of which is to increase altruism, whereby humans habitually will act for the common good. The new Religion is characterized by “a continuous dominance of the heart,” whereby the mind and the scientific progress it creates serve the altruistic instincts of the human heart. (This tenet of the Religion of Humanity, one will observe, resonates deeply with Notre Dame’s mantra of “knowledge in the service of others.”) For this reason, women, in whom moral and altruistic instincts are by nature the strongest and most acute, are crucial to the progress of society. Precisely because of their moral and altruistic role, women must be excluded entirely from public or political life; their domain and responsibility is the cultivation of private morality, for which reason they must “be given dignity, discipline and austerity

through the monogamous family, indissoluble marriage and perpetual widowhood.”⁶ In short, as wives, mothers and chaste Platonic lovers, women are the inspiratrices of the men who drive scientific and political progress. Comte found his own such Beatrice, Mme Clotilde de Vaux (†1846), with whom he had an intense Platonic relationship for two years before her death; it was to her that he dedicated his chief work on the Religion of Humanity. The ideal woman in the final positive stage of humanity, in short, is a secularized Virgin-Mother.⁷

Thomas Huxley rightly described Comte’s Religion of Humanity as “Catholicism minus Christianity,” a fact that Comte scarcely disguised. He declared explicitly that “the organization of the Catholic Church, divorced from its supernaturalism, might well provide an ideal structural and symbolic model” for the new Positivist Religion. Accordingly, he proposed the worship of a human and natural Trinity, embracing man and his whole physical environment, consisting of the ‘Supreme Great Being’, that is, humanity past, present and future; the ‘Great Fetish’, or the earth and the entire visible world, and the ‘Great Mean’, or cosmic space. The Positivist Religion has its own seven sacraments, which replace the Catholic sacraments: the sacrament of ‘Introduction’, for example, corresponds with Baptism and the sacrament of ‘Incorporation’, or one’s absorption into the history of humanity, corresponds with the Eucharist. Likewise, the religion has its own priesthood and supreme High-Priest. Its priests would be scholars, physicians, artists and poets, who serve as “international ambassadors of altruism, teaching ... arbitrating disputes, and directing public opinion”; the priests were required to be

⁶ Barnes, “Comte, Auguste,” 250a.

⁷ Comte’s understanding of the vital social role of women is clearly indebted to Rousseau.

married, so that they would continually experience the ennobling influence of women. Like the Catholic Pope, the High-Priest of Humanity would exercise universal spiritual authority; his seat would be in Paris, which would replace Rome as the center of religion. As we shall discuss presently, the Positivist Religion has its own liturgical worship and calendar.⁸ The progress of the new Religion necessarily will be arduous and slow. Until it is fully realized in society, the old religion that once unified Europe in the Middle Ages can still play a positive role, as Comte says:

Till such time as positivism, invoking humanity, works out the moral and political synthesis attempted by Catholicism in the name of God, the mystical condensation of the medieval religion will serve as our daily guide in the study and improvement of our nature.⁹

Comte lived what he taught: by his own testimony, he read a chapter of the *Imitation of Christ* every morning and a canto of Dante's *Divine Comedy* every evening.¹⁰

According to Comte's 'law of the three stages' of history, as positivism transformed rationalist philosophy into science, so *complete positivism* will in turn transform science into the Religion of Humanity.¹¹ In order to understand the path humanity has

⁸ See Barnes, "Comte, Auguste," 250a; Bourdeau, "Auguste Comte 5.3: The religion of Humanity"; "Religion of Humanity," in *Wikipedia* (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion-of-Humanity>).

⁹ Auguste Comte, quoted in W.B. Carnochan, "Where Did Great Books Come From Anyway," in *Stanford Humanities Review* 6.1 (1998), 1-8, at 4.

¹⁰ Carnochan, 3.

¹¹ Bourdeau, "Auguste Comte: pp. 10, 12; "Positivism: Comte's Positivism," in *Wikipedia*, p. 6.

trodden and thereby discern the path that it must now trod, it is essential that one know comprehensively the previous transitions from the theological and metaphysical phases to the positive phase of human development. Adepts of sociology, the theology of the final stage of human history, therefore must come to know the "best that has been thought and said" in the major realms of knowledge and art; this knowledge must at once be broad and economical, so as not to divert too much attention from the scientific investigations and social tasks needed to prepare for the future.

The cornerstone of the new social order would be a universal education based on positivist principles. To this end, Comte compiled a compendious library for the general education of citizens in the new sociological age, which he titled alternatively "The Positivist Library for the Nineteenth Century" or the "Library of the Proletariat for the Nineteenth Century." The library comprises an enumerated list of books that outstandingly promoted the progress of humanity, in other words, 'Great Books'. Comte seems to be the first to have compiled such a list, which was first published in 1851 in his *Catechism of Positivist Religion*. The list comprises 150 volumes—a number that became standard for lists of Great Books—containing some 270 distinct works of about 140 authors. The list is divided into works of poetry, science, history and "synthesis," i.e., philosophy, morality and religion.¹² In respect of the Renaissance *studia humanitatis* and its nineteenth-century descendent, the Greats curriculum at Oxford, which integrated

¹² Auguste Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste, ou Sommaire exposition de la religion universelle en onze entretiens systématique*, Paris 1852 (reimpr.: édition électronique par Jean-Marie Tremblay, 2002), 22-26; translated from the French by Richard Congreve, *The Catechism of Positive Religion*, London: John Chapman, 1858, 39-431; cf. Carnochan, "Where Did Great Books Come From Anyway?" 2-4.

works of poetry, history and moral and political philosophy, the distinguishing feature of the Positivist Library is the section on the natural sciences; after Comte, the inclusion of works of natural science became a constant, singular feature of Great Books pedagogy.

The Library's section of Poetry and Fiction (30 volumes) includes works by the most renowned ancient Greek and Latin poets and dramatists, which are to be read in (French) translation. Medieval and modern vernacular literary works, however, e.g., *The Cid*, Dante, Petrarch, *Don Quixote*, French and Spanish playwrights, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, are cited in editions in their original tongues. Later English redactions of the list do not cite these editions, suggesting that the poems and plays can be read in translations, should they exist. Like most subsequent lists of Great Books, Comte presumes to include some "recent classics," notably the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott, which are to be read in the chronological order of their plots, and the poetry of Lord Byron, save the poem *Don Juan*, which, Comte judged, cynically dishonors the highest attributes of men and women. The section on Religion and Philosophy likewise contains ancient, medieval and modern works. It begins with Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, and thereafter includes, e.g., the Bible and the *Koran*, Augustine's *City of God* and *Confessions*, Descartes' *Discourse on Method*, Bacon's *Novum Organum* and Pascal's *Pensées*. Other Christian works on the list include Bernard of Clairvaux's *On Loving God*; Comte's favorite, the *Imitation of Christ*, in the French translation of Corneille; Cardinal Bossuet's exposition of Catholic doctrine, his *Discourse on Universal History*, *History of Protestant Variations* and *Sacred Politics*, along with De Maistre's *Treatise on the Pope*, which had a decisive structural influence on Comte's sociology. One will note that, although Comte surely included Protestant writers in the literary section of the Library, in the "synthetic" section he

includes only Catholic Christian writers, for he judged that from a "purely religious point of view," Protestantism is "a destructive and critical movement," and such negative efforts have no place in either his Library or Positivist Calendar. There are conspicuous omissions in Comte's list of philosophic works, notably Plato, Thomas Aquinas, Hobbes, Vico, Montesquieu and Kant, all of whom played key roles in his own philosophical synthesis. Comte noted that although they were indispensable to the history of thought, there are reasons for omitting such writers in a Library for the general education of the proletariat. He believed rightly that "intellect and will suffer grievously from ill-directed reading," and that readers of his varied Library would need to be guided by sound principles of judgment and evaluation;¹³ fittingly, therefore, the concluding items on his whole list are the volumes of his own *Positive Philosophy*, *Positive Politics* and *Positivist Catechism*.

The Library's sections on Science (30 volumes) and History (60 volumes), reflecting the progressive nature of empirical sciences, are somewhat different in character than the Sections on literature and philosophy. The section on Science includes foundational texts and "classics" that Comte judged had permanent value, for example, works by Hippocrates, Descartes, Lagrange, Lavoisier, Bichat and Buffon, but many others are simply authoritative, up-to-date summaries for general readers, which he knew would need to be replaced as the sciences advanced further. Similarly, the section of History includes classics of historical writing, e.g., Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, Tacitus, Voltaire, Hume, Gibbon, but also volumes that were authoritative historical accounts in his day but soon would be outdated.

¹³ Carnochan, "Where Did Great Books Come From Anyway?" 2-3, reporting comments of Frederic Harrison (see below) on the titles in Comte's list.

Any compendious list of Great Books necessarily will suffer what are seen to be egregious and lamentable omissions, such as the important philosophers omitted in the Positivist Library. This frustration is remedied by Comte's *Positivist Calendar*, the liturgical calendar of the Religion of Humanity, which Comte published in 1849, two years before the publication of the *Positivist Library*. The Calendar was intended to prepare for "the final transition of the great occidental republic composed of the five advanced populations of France, Italy, Germany, Britain and Spain," which have existed in cultural solidarity since the time of Charlemagne.¹⁴ The Calendar, meant to replace the Catholic Gregorian calendar, is completely rationalized, having 13 months of 28 days each, so that each month begins on a Monday; the extra 365th day at the end of the year is marked by a 'Festival of All the Dead', which on the extra day in leap years is followed by a 'Festival of Holy Women'. Year one of the Calendar corresponds with the first year of the French Revolution (1789). The Calendar

¹⁴Auguste Comte, *Calendrier positiviste, ou système général de commémoration publique, destiné surtout à la transition finale de la Grande République occidentale composée des cinq populations avancées, française, italienne, germanique, britannique, et espagnole, toujours solidaires depuis Charlemagne*, Paris: Librairie scientifique - industrielle de L. Mathis 1849. The Calendar was soon presented in English by an American author in a volume which includes also the Positivist Library: Henry Edgar, *The Positivist Calendar: or, Transitional System of Public Commemoration instituted by Auguste Comte, Founder of the Positivist Religion of Humanity, with a Brief Exposition of Religious Positivism; and an Appendix, containing I. A Concordance of the Calendars; II. The Positivist Library, and III. Narrative of the Rise and Progress of Positivism*, New York 1856. The frontispiece bears the apt Latin epigram: *Diis extinctis, Deoque, successit Humanitas*. The French and English versions of the Calendar reproduced at the end of this text come from, respectively, Comte's *Catéchisme positiviste* (1852), 202, and from *The New Calendar of Great Men*, ed. Frederic Harrison, *et. al.*, 1920, xxii-xxiii (see n. 18, below).

commemorates daily the greatest teachers of every art and science who have contributed most constructively to the intellectual, moral and social progress of humankind; in effect, it serves well as a data-base from which one can retrieve treasures both old and new, namely Great Books and other cultural monuments (cf. copies of the Calendar, pp. 29-30, below).

A copy of the Positivist Calendar would fittingly be displayed in the PLS office and in the Seminar rooms. Each month commemorates one of the arts or sciences or a cultural period of human civilization. On the four Capital days of the month, equivalent to the Gregorian Sundays, are celebrated the giants of the respective art or science or historical period; the other days of each month are dedicated to other great teachers of Humanity, arranged weekly in chronological order. The Calendar nicely provides alternative commemorations for weekdays in leap years, thereby expanding the repertory of intellectual and cultural worthies. The first month, which represents Theocratic Civilization, is named *Moses*; it commemorates mythic and ancient lawgivers, a week full of oriental sages, Hebrew prophets, John the Baptist, and concludes with a memorial of Mohammed. In order follow (2) the month of *Homer*, which commemorates Ancient Poetry; (3) the month of *Aristotle*, which commemorates Ancient Philosophy; (4) the month of *Archimedes*, which commemorates Ancient Science, including the Arabic physician, Avicenna; (5) the month of *Caesar*, which commemorates ancient Military Civilization. The sixth month of *St. Paul* commemorates Catholicism; it begins with St. Luke and celebrates Fathers of the Church, medieval monks and saints, the inspiratrices Heloise and Beatrice, such modern saints as Ignatius Loyola, Charles Borromeo, Catherine of Siena and Teresa of Avila, and concludes with Cardinal Bossuet. No culturally destructive Protestant figure finds place in the Calendar, but on the

penultimate day of the month of Catholicism, curiously, are remembered the Quaker William Penn, and in leap years, the Quaker writer George Fox. The seventh month of *Charlemagne* commemorates Feudal Civilization. The eighth month of *Dante* commemorates the Modern Epic, in weeks anchored by Ariosto, Tasso and Milton, but also includes memorials of lyric poets and novelists, as well as a week full of Renaissance painters. Thereafter follow (9) the month of *Gutenberg*, commemorating Modern Industry; (10) the month of *Shakespeare*, commemorating Modern Drama, including a week memorializing opera composers (e.g., Gluck, Beethoven, Rossini, Bellini, Mozart); (11) the month of *Descartes*, which commemorates Modern Philosophy, and embraces memorials of philosophers from Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas to Hume, Kant, Hegel and De Maistre; here one will find the philosophic giants omitted in the Proletariat Library. The twelfth month of *Frederick the Great* commemorates Modern Politics and celebrates political leaders and writers stretching from the Middle Ages to Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and Simon Bolivar. The year culminates in the thirteenth month of Modern Science, named *Bichat* after the founder of modern descriptive anatomy, Marie-François Xavier Bichat (1771-1802). The month begins, inevitably enough, with Copernicus, and its four Cardinal days commemorate Galileo, Newton, Lavoisier and Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), the founder of phrenology.

My argument is that Comte's Positivist Library and Calendar effectively provided a complete historical, cultural and intellectual rationale for what later became Great Books pedagogy, and established its genetic template. Indeed, the essential features of Comte's program encompass the very identifying features of Great Books pedagogy, namely the compilation of a compendious list of great works, which in principle should be studied in chronological

order, upon which is based a general education in human civilization designed to produce socially responsible citizens; the inclusion of key works of ancient and modern mathematics and science in a pedagogy that otherwise recapitulates traditional curricula integrating philosophy with literature, history and the arts; a warrant, in the Calendar, for including works of music and painting in the teaching program. Especially interesting in a paideia meant to provide a general education for the new scientific era of human history, which was inaugurated in 1789, are the healthy number of Christian authors included by Comte in his Library and commemorated in his Calendar. Such works are not read because they any longer have any objective, scientific truth value; rather, they are included on strictly positivist principles, because, like the writings of Thomas Aquinas, they have contributed provisionally to the on-going development of human thinking, and because they have been historically significant in the long narrative of human moral progress from ignorance and savagery. Moreover, because the achievement of a "pure morality" in the new era will be extremely difficult, and because the echoes of the theological phase of human spiritual history resonate longer in the complex science of sociology than they do in the simpler physical sciences, such works as the *Imitation of Christ* or writings of Theresa of Avila are still able to inspire benign, positive moral effects that increase altruism.

Perhaps more than in his native France, Comte's thought found enthusiastic followers and disciples in Victorian England. John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was deeply influenced by Comte's philosophy of science, but he was appalled at the Religion of Humanity with all of its Catholic baggage. The novelist Mary Ann Evans, *alias* George Eliot (1819-1880), on the other hand, was an advocate of Comte's secular Religion and its injunction "to live for

others,” without however embracing its Catholic cultural features.¹⁵ The most ardent disciples of Comte’s whole positivist philosophy and the Religion of Humanity were two Dons at Wadham College in Oxford, Richard Congreve (1818-1899) and his student, Frederic Harrison (1831-1923), who himself became a tutor at Wadham. Wadham College was a fit place for the reception of Comte’s thought; since its founding in the seventeenth century it had an outstanding tradition in the study of the modern sciences: in the 1650s the celebrated Oxford Philosophical Club met at Wadham, under the direction of the College’s Warden, John Wilkin (1614-1672); in the 1660s Wilkins and the other members of the Club were the leading figures in the foundation of the Royal Society in London. Tellingly, as undergraduates both Congreve (in 1840) and Harrison (in 1853) had received Firsts in *Literae humaniores* at Oxford. Congreve, Harrison and two other Wadham men, Edward Spencer Beesly (1831-1915) and John Henry Bridges (1832-1906), both of whom also had studied *Literae humaniores*, became the leading promoters in England of Comte’s thought and of the Religion of Humanity. Congreve founded the London Positivist Society in 1867 and the Positivist Church of Humanity in 1878; Harrison, Beesly and Bridges, after a dispute with Congreve, formed the English Positivist Committee at Newton Hall in London in 1881; Harrison served as the President of the Committee from 1880 to 1905.¹⁶

¹⁵ See Bourdeau, “Auguste Comte 6: Conclusion,” pp. 17-18, and the articles in *Wikipedia* on “Positivism: Comte’s positivism,” p.6, and “Religion of Humanity: Influence,” pp. 2-3.

¹⁶ “Richard Congreve,” in *Wikipedia* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Congreve); “Frederic Harrison,” in *Wikipedia* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederic_Harrison); “Edward Spencer Beesly,” in *Wikipedia* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Spencer_Beesly).

In 1875, Congreve, Harrison, Beesly and Bridges collaborated in translating *The Positivist Philosophy of Auguste Comte* in four volumes.¹⁷ Most pertinent to our discussion, however, are Congreve’s translation of Comte’s *Catechism of Positive Religion* (1858), which includes (pp. 39-43) the “Positivist Library for the Nineteenth Century” (see n. 12, above), Harrison’s translation of, and commentary on, *The Positivist Library*, first published in 1886, and most impressively of all, his volume in collaboration with S.H. Swinny and F.S. Marvin, titled *The New Calendar of Great Men*, containing “Biographies of the 559 Worthies... in the Positivist Calendar of Auguste Comte,” first published in 1892, and revised and enlarged (708 pp.) in 1920.¹⁸ Significantly, the British Positivists never envisioned that Comte’s Library and educational program would serve as the basis for any curriculum in the universities. Comte’s Positivist Library and Calendar were specifically intended for the

¹⁷ Each collaborator was responsible for one volume; the collection was published in the series Positivist Publications in London, 1875: Vol. I: *The General View of Positivism, and Introductory Principles*, trans. J.H. Bridges; Vol. II: *Social Statics, or the Abstract Theory of Human Order*, trans. F. Harrison; Vol. III: *Social Dynamics, or the General Theory of Human Progress*, trans. E.S. Beesly; Vol. IV: *The Theory of the Future of Man*, trans. R. Congreve.

¹⁸ For Richard Congreve’s *Catechism of Positive Religion*, see n. 12, above. Frederic Harrison, *The Positivist Library of Auguste Comte*, London: Reeves and Turner 1886, 41 pp. (at the end is a List of Positivist Publications, which includes the entry for the 4 volumes of *The Positivist Polity of Auguste Comte*); Harrison included a revised version of “The Positivist Library” as chapter 26 in his *Among My Books: Centenaries, Reviews, Memoirs*, London: Macmillan and Co. 1912. Harrison, S.H. Swinny and F.S. Marvin first published *The New Calendar* in 1892; the revised, enlarged edition is *The New Calendar of Great Men. Biographies of the 559 Worthies of All Ages and Nations in the Positivist Calendar of Auguste Comte*, London: Macmillan and Co. 1920. Marvin and Swinny studied *Literae humaniores* at Oxford; Swinny became the second Editor of the *Positivist Review* after E.S. Beesly.

sociological education of the proletariat. Under the inspiration of Comte, workers' libraries lined with shelves of Great Books in translation were established in various *arrondissements* in Paris, some of which exist to this day. Accordingly, Congreve, Harrison and Beesly were active in London in supporting labor movements; from 1857 onwards, Harrison taught at the Working Men's College in London, the oldest extant institution for adult education in Europe, which was founded by Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872) and other Christian Socialists in 1854 for the purpose of providing a liberal education for workers and skilled artisans.

There is no clear evidence that Comte's Positivist Library served as the basis for a curriculum at the Working Men's College, though Harrison and others surely used Great Books in translation in their classes at the College. Otherwise, the College played an important role in the history of the idea of Great Books. As W.B. Carnochan remarks, "by the late nineteenth century the habit of drawing up lists of books became a mania" in England, "a development that had the consequence of ever more rigorously canonizing the canon." The most famous list of all, of the 100 Best Books, was compiled by Sir John Lubbock, 1st Baron Avebury (1834-1913), who among his numerous activities served as the Principal of the Working Men's College from 1883 to 1896. At an address he delivered at the College in 1886 (the same year Harrison published his commentary on Comte's Library), Lubbock first presented his list of 100 Books, which he then published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* for January 11, 1886. Lubbock's list of Best Books—and the very idea of such a list—provoked a heated debate, contributions to which were published in a special supplement of the *Gazette* (Extra no. 26, 3 May 1886), which sold at least 40,000

copies.¹⁹ Lubbock's list, and other Victorian lists of Great Books, seem to have been intended primarily as guides for a self-taught edification, not as the basis for a university humanistic education, which pertained properly to the course in *Literae humaniores*.

Historically, then, Comte's Positivist Library and Calendar set in motion the idea of a general liberal education based on Great Books, which was promoted in progressive circles in Victorian England, and then, in the first half of the twentieth century, blossomed and was institutionalized in the United States. Logically, Comte's *Complete Positivism* provided a comprehensive, wholly coherent rationale according to which the teaching of Great Books makes perfect sense. As far as I know, no American Great Books program explicitly adopted Comte's sociology as the basis of its pedagogy. Even so, although American Great Books programs have conceived various and different rationales for their practice, wittingly or unwittingly, by their intrinsic gravity (or *pondus*, as Augustine calls it) they continually default to positivist principles and arguments as the most effective explanation and surest justification of what they do.

Besides the disciplines that they all comprehend (literature, philosophy and theology, natural science, historical writing), and a certain common core of Great Books on their otherwise various canonical lists, American Great Books programs share other large features of Comte's program, not least of which is a commitment to a 'general education' intended principally to form thoughtful democratic citizens. This latter end accounts for the prominence of political philosophy in Great Books programs. One

¹⁹ All of the information in this paragraph comes from Carnochan, "Where Did Great Books Come From Anyway?" 4-5; Carnochan treats Harrison's commentary on Comte's Library on 3.

will remember that the first work of philosophy listed in Comte's Positivist Library was Aristotle's *Politics*. Not by chance, the first major publication of Richard Congreve, the evangelist of Comte's thought and Religion in England, was an edition of the Greek text of Aristotle's *Politics* with English notes and comments.²⁰ Comte did not include Cicero on his first list, but in subsequent notes he instructed that Cicero's *De officiis: On Moral Duty* be added to the list, as it was in later editions of the Library.²¹ As O.B. Hardison showed some years ago, historically American higher education in the humanities was conceived in terms of Cicero's subordination of philosophy to the political purposes of an eloquence founded in wisdom, intended to promote the civic common good and fortify the moral character of citizens in a republic.²² This political and cultural agenda, especially well-articulated in Cicero's *De officiis* (just recently added to the PLS list), befits perfectly the original, overarching political intentions of Great Books pedagogy. That Great Books pedagogy was not intended to form an academic elite but to cultivate the virtues of democratic citizenship among the proletariat was institutionalized early-on in the Great Books Seminars conducted in public libraries across the nation. For many years, my father-in-law directed these Seminars in the Charleston, South Carolina Public Library, not without political drama. One morning in 1955 he awoke to discover on the front page of the *Charleston News and Courier* that the Seminars he was directing at the Public Library were spreading Communism among the citizenry

²⁰ Richard Congreve, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ: *The Politics of Aristotle with English Notes*. London: John W. Parker and Son, 1855.

²¹ Harrison, *The Positivist Library*, 28.

²² See O.B. Hardison, *Toward Freedom and Dignity: The Humanities and the Idea of Humanity*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press 1972.

of old Charleston; to be sure, the very night before he had led a discussion on Thomas Aquinas' theory of Natural Law, in the small paperback volume of excerpts on the topic published at a cost of 75 cents by the Great Books Foundation. In any event, the Wadham College Positivist, Edward Beesly, who befriended Karl Marx and corresponded with him, would have been delighted to learn that the reading of Great Books on the common good had been the subject of such a charge. To this day, the tradition of missionary democratic outreach, at the very origin of the idea of Great Books, is embodied in the Program of Liberal Studies at Notre Dame, whose faculty conduct Great Books Seminars at the Homeless Center in downtown South Bend and at the State prison in Westville, Indiana.²³

The idea of a "general education," central to the idea of Great Books, is closely related to the idea of forming thoughtful democratic citizens, for in judging matters of the common good, citizens are called upon to evaluate the opinions of specialists and scientific experts concerning things which they themselves cannot judge expertly, for example, Global Warming. On this point, advocates of Great Book pedagogy have been wont to evoke Aristotle's words at the beginning of *On the Parts of Animals*:

Every systematic science, the humblest and the noblest alike, seems to admit of two distinct kinds of proficiency; one of which may be properly called scientific knowledge of the subject, while the other is a kind of general acquaintance with it. For an educated man should be able to form a fair off-hand judgement as to the goodness or badness of the method used by a professor in his exposition. To be

²³ Recently I heard on Chicago radio (WFMT 98.7 FM) that the alumni/ae of the Junior Great Books program founded in Chicago in 1962 and still going are going to celebrate a grand reunion.

educated is in fact to be able to do this; and even the man of universal education we deem to be such in virtue of his having this ability. It will, however, of course, be understood that we only ascribe universal education to one who in his own individual person is thus critical in all or nearly all branches of knowledge, and not one who has a like ability merely in some special subject. For it is possible for a man to have this competence in some one branch of knowledge without having it in all.²⁴

Politically, such a general knowledge is a defense against sophistry. For Aristotle, the art of logic and the highest science, metaphysics, are the instruments whereby to judge the plausibility of the claims of particular sciences. The political dimension of a universal, general knowledge is likewise pronounced in Plato's *Apology*, in which Socrates by a dialectic that leads ultimately to the ideas of the Just-in-itself and the Good-in-itself tests the speech not only of the sophists who make up the governing class, who know nothing, but also of the artisans, who know their craft well, but otherwise, like so many academic specialists, are incapable of discerning the common good. The general knowledge that Plato and Aristotle strove to inculcate by metaphysical principles Comte proposed to achieve by the positivist principles of the architectonic science of the new age, sociology.

Yet the notion of 'general knowledge' bespeaks a glaring anomaly in the American idea of Great Books: as did not happen in France or England, Great Books programs in America were established as curricula in colleges and universities. The early

²⁴ Aristotle, *De partibus animalium (On the Parts of Animals)* I (639a1-10), trans. William Ogle, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon, New York: Random House 1941, 643.

American advocates of Great Books pedagogy, indeed, were severely critical of the undergraduate instruction that typically pertains in universities, which by the 1920s already followed the model of German research universities, which aggregated separate departments of highly specialized disciplines, and produced armies of specialists and technocrats. According to this scientific conception, literature, philosophy and history were studied in the highly specialized philological manner that had been introduced, for example, in the program of *Literae humaniores* at Oxford. The leading American spokesmen for Great Books thus championed a vigorous reform of undergraduate higher education, and, against scholarly specialists, argued the utility of reading Great Books in translation and of cultivating, as Sydney Smith put it, "the solid and masculine parts" of students' minds by introducing them to a discussion of the perennially Great Ideas. By a cunning of reason, therefore, the first American Great Books programs were established in two power-houses of specialized research in the humanities and natural sciences, Columbia University and the University of Chicago. Not so surprisingly, the General Honors program based on the reading of Great Books founded at Columbia by John Erskine in 1920, and the Great Books program established in 1945 by Robert Hutchins, assisted by Mortimer Adler, at the University of Chicago, which remarkably constituted the exclusive curriculum of the undergraduate College, received a barrage of constant criticism from their specialist colleagues in the university, notably for the programs' supposed 'a-historicism', a common criticism of Great Books pedagogy that continues unabated to this day.²⁵ The

²⁵ See Tim Lacy, *The Dream of a Democratic Culture: Mortimer J. Adler and the Great Books Idea*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013; reviewed on 9 September 2014 on the Web-site of S-USIH (Society for U.S. Intellectual History) by Robert Greene II, "Philosophy, History, and the Dream of the Great Books Movement" (at S-

original programs at Columbia and Chicago soon proved unsustainable within their research universities: the program at Columbia was discontinued in 1928, and the program at Chicago was disbanded shortly after Hutchins' resignation as President of the University in 1951. Both programs were eventually reconstituted in mitigated, diluted form as undergraduate core curricula. The experience of Great Books in research universities led to what became the normal venue for such programs, which typically constitute the exclusive 4-year curricula in small colleges, which function as intense intellectual seminaries, in which the original academically counter-cultural intent of Great Books pedagogy can be enacted without resistance.²⁶

USIH.org/2014/09/philosophy-history-and-the-dream-of-the-great-books-movement.html). Such stalwart defenders of the western intellectual tradition as Alasdair MacIntyre and John Rist have criticized Great Books pedagogy on the same grounds. In his Opening Charge to the Program of Liberal Studies in 2011, titled "On Reading Great Books in a Postmodern Age," Thomas A. Stapleford addresses MacIntyre's explicit and implicit criticisms of Great Books pedagogy. Stapleford contrasts MacIntyre's [historicized] understanding of 'rationality' with Mortimer Adler's remarkable *Syntopicon*, devised to serve as a topical guide and idea-index to the 54 volume set of Great Books published by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1952). Although he realizes that today the enterprise of the *Syntopicon* can seem "bizarre," like Greene, Stapleford is not wholly unsympathetic to the work (Stapleford's Charge is posted on the PLS Web-site). Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," in *History and Theory* 8 (1969), 3-53, from an historical and philological perspective, offers a famous, indeed devastating, criticism of the notion that Great Books contain "timeless ideas," and is especially critical of the interpretative notions of a leading figure in Great Books pedagogy, Leo Strauss (see esp. 12-13).

²⁶ See the rankings of "The 25 Best Great Books Programs" (<http://www.bestcollegereviews.org/features/best-great-book-programs/>). It is evident that a curriculum devoted exclusively to Great Books is an important criterion for the rankings, for programs in research universities are not near the top, e.g., the University of Chicago is number 25, the Program at Notre Dame is number 17, and the Core at Columbia

In this regard, then, the Great Books program at the University of Notre Dame is exceptional. The aptly named General Program of Liberal Education was founded at Notre Dame in 1950 by Otto Bird, who had studied at the University of Chicago and became a close, longtime associate of Mortimer Adler. Bird directed the General Program from 1950 until 1963. One should note that in 1950 Notre Dame was not really a research university, but primarily a liberal arts college. On the model of Hutchins' program at Chicago, Bird desired the General Program to be the exclusive 4-year curriculum in the Notre Dame's College of Arts and Letters; that never happened, and the General Program soon enough was reduced to being a 3-year major among many others.²⁷

Otherwise, it was not self-evident that a Great Books program could be instituted in a Catholic college or university. First of all, more than half the common stock of Great Books—books by the large majority of the authors celebrated on the Positivist Calendar—were on the Roman Index of Prohibited Books (on which Comte himself holds an honored place);²⁸ to read such books, students at Notre Dame needed the

College is number 10. Exemplary St. John's College is number 4; the top two rated programs are (1) Torrey Honors Institute: Biola University (La Mirada, California) and (2) New St. Andrews College (Moscow, Idaho).

²⁷ For a statement of the original Program's pedagogical rationale, see Otto Bird, *Summer Session Report on the General Program - 1953*, edited by Phillip Sloan, 15 pp. (the original document, preserved in the PLS archives, is 29 pp.). For reflections on the development of, and changes in, the Program, see the reflections of the sequence of Chairs of the Program (including Bird), *The First Fifty Years*, edited by Nicholas Ayo, Michael Crowe and Julia Marvin, Notre Dame, IN 2000 (posted on the PLS Web-site).

²⁸ Comte's *Course of Positivist Philosophy* was placed on the Index in 1864.

permission of the President, and in fact, the Director of the Program each semester needed to get permission from the Chancery to teach the many Prohibited Books on its list. Secondly, it was a Protestant conviction of American Great Books ideology that students should read and discuss the books *sola scriptura*, according to their own wits, without the expert guidance of scholarly authority; this conceit runs against the grain of ancient Catholic pedagogical tradition of instruction by way of authoritative commentary (e.g., on Scripture, Aristotle, Virgil, the *corpora* of Civil and Canon Law): Dante the poet, for example, was quite bright, but he was not able to navigate Hell, Purgatory and Paradise without the help of dozens of guides, and his own works became the subject of massive commentaries. Thirdly, Catholic critics of the idea of Great Books suspected, not without reason, that such a pedagogy would inevitably tend to undermine the idea of certain, absolute truth, in the realm of reason as well as faith, and in the end would produce crops of skeptics, who in their ill-directed reading had encountered one opinion after another, none of which they were well-able to judge. In short, probably wholly innocent of Auguste Comte's *Complete Positivism*, they suspected that Great Books pedagogy necessarily implied, if not a thorough-going skepticism, a merely 'provisional' or relativistic understanding of 'truth', exactly as Comte would have it.

Otto Bird addressed these concerns on the basis of his own well-formed intellectual convictions. Bird was a convinced follower of Thomas Aquinas, who had written his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Toronto under the most eminent modern student of Thomas' thought, Étienne Gilson, and he had worked closely with the non-Catholic Hutchins and Adler, who had come to believe that many of the problems of American culture and education were best addressed by recourse to the principles of Thomas' comprehensive thought. In his

autobiography, Bird recalls that the General Program

was intended and organized to be a program professing the faith of the Roman Catholic Church.... But we still went further. For although there are admittedly several different, even competing, Christian philosophies and theologies within the Church, we further committed ourselves to the philosophy and theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas. That commitment was stated clearly and made the basis for the courses... devoted to the systematic study of these two disciplines.... The method in each was the same and consisted of the intensive reading and analysis of a basic text chosen as providing the best way to the truth upon its subject.²⁹

Thus, the intensive teaching of texts by Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas in the Philosophy and Theology tutorials was meant to provide students with the general principles whereby they could judge and evaluate the sequence of Great Books they read in the Seminars. From the vantage-point of Comte's 'Law of Three Stages', the General Program at Notre Dame was mired in the 'theological' and 'metaphysical' phases of intellectual history, a long way from the final 'positivist' or 'sociological' stage of human development. Besides the Seminars and the tutorials in Philosophy and Theology, the General Program included tutorials in Language and Mathematics and Science. Influenced by another famous teacher at the University of Chicago, Richard McKeon, Bird conceived and structured the tutorials in the General

²⁹ Quoted from Otto A. Bird, *Seeking a Center: My Life as a Great Bookie*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press 1991, in Chris Damian, "The Great Books at Notre Dame," posted on-line on 9 January 2013 (<https://universityideas.wordpress.com/2013/01/09/a-history-of-notre-dames-great-books>).

Program in terms of the ancient and medieval *trivium* and *quadrivium*. The equivalent of grammar and rhetoric were taught in the Language tutorial, which featured the close reading of literary texts, in the spirit of the then fashionable ‘New Criticism’. Aristotelian and formal logic were taught systematically in a philosophy tutorial; Bird himself was a well-regarded specialist in the history of logic. More loosely, the quadrivial arts—arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy—were covered in the Mathematics and Science tutorials, which featured not only the reading of Great Books in the respective disciplines but also the students’ reenactment of classic experiments in the history of science. Thus the General Program accentuated an essential element of Comte’s positivist educational program, the philosophy and history of the natural sciences; the prominence of this element of the curriculum is indicated by the longstanding relationship between the Program’s scientific specialists and the University’s graduate program in the History and Philosophy of Science (HPS). It was likewise in terms of Bird’s quadrivial conception that the discipline of music, originally understood in its ancient theoretical and mathematical form, made its way into the Program’s curriculum, where it has remained ever since.

In effect, Bird thus structured the General Program in terms of the medieval reduction of the arts to the Queen of the Sciences, Theology, and to the Queen’s handmaiden, Philosophy. Although the Program could be criticized by colleagues on various scholarly grounds, its manifestly Catholic character could not be doubted. From our perspective today, Bird’s General Program might look nostalgic and reactionary, but in the perspective of the 1950s, nothing could be further from the truth. For, throughout the first six decades of the twentieth century, a revived Thomism, promoted in the most prestigious Catholic universities and

research institutes in Europe and North America, was in high-fashion among Catholic academics, and was promoted by the papacy as the foundation of the Church’s often critical approach to the modern world, the prevailing thought of which, it was thought, represents a serious philosophical decline. In a recent prize-winning book (with a Preface by John McGreevy), Florian Michel records the deep influence of various French scholars and advocates of Thomism on Catholic thought in North America in the years 1920 to 1960. Michel dedicates a signal chapter to the University of Notre Dame (“Notre Dame à la croisée des chemins”), where in the 1950s three important, often opposing, strands of French Thomism jostled with each other. The Philosophy Department was then dominated by the politically and religiously conservative Thomism of Charles De Koninck and the “Laval School”; the newly-founded Maritain Center, directed by Joseph Evans, vigorously championed the liberal and progressive Thomism and the “Integral Humanism” of the America-loving Jacques Maritain; the scholarly Medieval Institute favored the historical Thomism of Étienne Gilson, who had played a key role in establishing the Institute and whose work was highly esteemed by secular scholars.³⁰ In other words, at the time the General Program was founded, the Gilsonian Thomism of Otto Bird stood at the cutting-edge of intellectual life at Notre Dame.

As Comte would doubtless have foreseen, however, Bird’s General Program turned out to be only the first phase of a threefold development in the history of Great Books at Notre Dame, the first phase of which was ‘theological and metaphysical’, the second ‘theological’ without the metaphysics, and

³⁰ Florian Michel, *La pensée catholique en Amérique du Nord. Réseaux intellectuels et échanges culturels entre l’Europe, le Canada et les États-Unis (années 1920-1960)*, Paris: Desclée De Brouwer 2010, 381-442.

the third, finally, ‘positive and sociological’. On Easter Tuesday 1972, on the day after my wife and I entered the Catholic Church, the President of the venerable Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto informed me that at the Vatican Council II the Church had “abandoned the Middle Ages,” which to that point had inspired not only the philosophic but also the social and political models for its response to modernity. Indeed, during and after the Council, the intellectual life at Notre Dame changed breathtakingly; the University rapidly became a leading center of progressive, reformed Catholicism, a place where, as a former Provost used to say, “the modern Church does her thinking.” The Great Books program at Notre Dame has always been perfectly attuned with the currents coursing through the University. Auspiciously, in the world-wide *annus mirabilis* of 1968, the Program underwent a revolution, by means of which, like the Church itself, it was “updated” in the “Spirit of Vatican II,” in order better to meet the challenges of the “Modern World,” which it embraced with “Joy and Hope.” The Seminars and the disciplinary tutorials remained, but the Seminars were re-organized and the content of most of the tutorials was completely overhauled. In general, the content of the tutorials became materially more like upper-level electives in the corresponding departments of the University, and their highly formalized structure in Bird’s Program was abandoned. The most significant changes occurred in the Philosophy and Theology tutorials. In the Philosophy tutorials the focus on Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas was dropped and replaced by various strains of modern phenomenology. This change reflected what was going on in Philosophy departments in such other Catholic universities as Boston College, the Catholic University and Villanova. Meanwhile, the Philosophy Department at Notre Dame took a different path, plunging into the Anglo-American school of Analytic Philosophy, a turn which

in the long run has proved to be more successful academically.³¹ The enthusiastic embrace of phenomenology in the Philosophy tutorials was driven not least by the fact that the modern Catholic theologians who had been the most influential in the revolutionary reform of the Church had almost completely rejected Scholastic thought in favor of a theologized version of the philosophy of Heidegger or Husserl. Since then, depending on the individual teaching the course, the Theology tutorial largely has been guided by one or another phenomenological theologian, Karl Rahner, Joseph Ratzinger or Hans Urs von Balthasar, with dollops of John Paul II thrown into the mix. The “Spirit of Vatican II” lay behind other significant changes in the curriculum. For example, after many years of contested debate among faculty in the Program, the so-called “Oriental Books” were finally admitted onto the Seminar list, mostly under the guise of the ecumenical and inter-faith dialogue among the World’s Great Religions enjoined by Vatican II. On this point, from another perspective, in terms of the historical *longue durée* it would appear that the Great Books Program at Notre Dame has finally entered the sociological age of Auguste Comte, who dedicated a whole week to oriental sages in the first month of the Positivist Calendar.

Overall, the theological revolution of 1968 had one major effect. In large, as in most American Great Books programs, the old General Program embodied a dialectical structure, a contest between the Ancients and the Moderns, in great part favorable to the former and critical of the latter.³² Such a

³¹ The turn of the Notre Dame Philosophy Department to Analytic philosophy under the leadership of the Rev. Ernan McMullin is documented by Michel, and more amply by Kenneth M. Sayre, *Adventures in Philosophy at Notre Dame*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press 2014.

³² This dialectic is evident in Bird’s *Cultures in Conflict: An Essay in the Philosophy of the*

dialectical structure, for example, is still predominant in the Great Books programs at St. John's College and in the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago. Animated by the "Spirit of Vatican II," however, the reformed Program at Notre Dame quickly developed a kind of existential commitment to valorize modernity and modern thinking, which had so long been criticized and even condemned in the Catholic Church and its educational institutions. In the reformed Program of Liberal Studies, as in the University in general, the mentality of the old Oath against Modernism was happily relegated to the dust-bin of history and was replaced by a virtual oath to accentuate the positive in modern thought wherever possible, which was pretty much everywhere.

The religious conceptions and enthusiasm, of an all-Catholic faculty, that motivated the reform of 1968 have proved to be a one-generation phenomenon, in PLS as everywhere else, but the structures that the reformers put in place have proven to be flexible, and therefore durable. At the same time that the Program was implementing its reforms, the University at-large was aggressively transforming itself into what it is today, a full-blown research university, with the consequence that there has been an ever-increasing emphasis in the undergraduate curricula on imparting to students "research skills." As we have seen, Great Books pedagogy in the United States was originally conceived precisely as a criticism of such specialized training in one branch of knowledge; for that reason, as we have noted, the survival of Great Books programs in research universities has been

precarious, and the idea of a 'general education' has typically been consigned to introductory core curricula, often taught by graduate students and short-term postdoctoral fellows. In light of Notre Dame's transformation into a research university, the Program of Liberal Studies deftly dropped its original epithet 'General', mainly because of its negative connotations of dilettantism and amateurism or "lack of professionalism." With the dropping of the name vanished also the *ex professo* criticism of mainstream higher education that had been a salient feature of the American Great Books movement.

As the University transformed itself, so PLS, without stress or dramatic re-conceptualization, steadily evolved into a co-ordinated multi-disciplinary program, in which each of the disciplines it comprehends became a separate "component," or mini-department, comprised of expert, highly-specialized faculty, who typically are "concurrent faculty" of other departments in the University and often teach in their graduate programs. The faculty is united on a sound positivist principle: the common teaching of the same material reading lists for the Great Books Seminars. In this scheme, all of the disciplines are on an equal footing; neither philosophy nor theology holds any special hierarchical status or plays any architectonic role, but are simply disciplines among others. Indeed, unlike literature, science and philosophy, most American Great Books programs do not treat theology as a separate discipline; if theological works are read, they are mixed in, as Comte would have it, with philosophical and literary works. In PLS, Theology makes its claim as a separate entity on sound positivist principles, as an historically-given contributor to the progress of Humanity, celebrated, for example, in the sixth month of the Positivist Calendar, and again, as a discipline positively emphasized in educational institutions, like Notre Dame,

Humanities, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976. In the 1950s and 1960s, the very learned historians and philosophers of science at the Dominican Study-House in River Forest, IL, mainly from the perspective of Aristotelian natural philosophy, conducted a consistent critique of epistemological presuppositions of modern science.

sociologically associated with the Catholic Church.³³

Students in PLS, in turn, are well-trained to become competent in reading, talking and writing about the various forms of literary, philosophic, scientific and sociological discourse. By way of the hugely popular ‘double-major’, moreover, to their interdisciplinary experience in PLS students are free at the same time to be initiated into one of the specialized disciplines, say, English literature or film or biology or economics or management or accounting. On the level of both faculty and students, then, the Great Books program at Notre Dame has comfortably insinuated itself into a full-blown research university, and therefore ought to thrive within the University for years to come. Another prominent feature of the current Program merits final comment: PLS is remarkable for the large number of its ‘altruistic’ students who after graduation “live for others” in voluntary service of Humanity, at least for a few years. In sum, it would appear that in almost every dimension, the contemporary Program of Liberal Studies by its inner gravity has ever more closely reverted to the default settings of all such programs, which were first conceived and established in mid-nineteenth-century France by Auguste Comte.

It appears to me that, as a result of huge cultural forces, the Program of Liberal Studies is now poised to experience a ‘cunning of reason’ that it did not foresee or did nothing to bring about: What was conceived as a program of general education for a democratic citizenry will now become, willy-nilly, the preserve of a cultural elite.

³³ In the discussions surrounding the recent revision of the core curriculum at Notre Dame, many argued for dropping the courses in Theology required of all students. The leaders of the Theology Department successfully defended their privilege mainly on such positivist grounds.

As I have documented, the idea of Great Books was conceived and came to flourish in the period of the greatest expansion of literacy in the history of the world, which took place in northern Europe and North America from the middle of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. During that time literacy became virtually “universal,” and itself became a prime agent of democracy. That literacy became nearly universal is quite remarkable, if one considers that for most of human history it was the exclusive accomplishment of relatively small cultural elites. Understandably so, if one thinks about it: deciphering the imaginative and intellectual meaning of little black marks on a page, which thence initiate virtuous or wicked purposeful action, is not something that is innate or intuitive to human nature. Developing this skill in humanity has required the massive human effort signified across the months of the Positivist Calendar. But with the advent of electronic communications media, especially now, portable information-devices, which communicate by powerful visual images, the age of script-literacy and of the book or codex as the main, indispensable instrument of social communication is quickly passing away, as was famously and poignantly prophesied by a former teacher of mine, Marshall McLuhan, who invented the pregnant aphorism, “the medium is the message.” McLuhan explained how electronic media actually reconfigure the wiring of the brain, as has been substantiated in neurological-brain research. This will now occur all the more rapidly throughout the species by means of the ubiquitous hand-held information-device, which allows one to experience electronic stimulus and response continuously, always by images, however accompanied by short verbal prompts. From intrepid enthusiasts of the Protestant Reformation, the Scientific Revolution and all things modern, we hear often that the change from the manuscript to the book printed by moveable type effected

a radical transformation of human consciousness, duly commemorated, one should note, in the ninth month of the Positivist Calendar, named *Gutenberg*. But the perceptual continuity of the manuscript codex and the printed book is far greater than that of the printed book and the electronic information-device. In short, reading Great Books, and mastering the complex cognitive structures of the speech translated into their marks, will soon become the Mandarin art of an ever-shrinking elite, if it has not already. In Comtean terms, readers of Great Books will constitute a kind of secular religious order, who, in the words of another teacher of mine, “will take the veil for literature.”

Book culture, of course, will not wholly disappear, it will simply be left behind as the primary vehicle of cultural communication. Book-readers will be an elite group, but not an elite that holds the reins of cultural power, or can pay for mega-party boxes atop Notre Dame stadium. Great Bookies

must be imaginatively prepared for that destiny. Typically, lists of Great Books conclude with suggestions for further reading. In the past, students in PLS from year-to-year commonly shared a few books that were not on the curriculum, which were part of their informal education. For instance, when I arrived in PLS in 1985, one of those books for a long time had been *Leisure, the Basis of Culture* by Josef Pieper (1952); my very utterance of the title signals how far the Program of Liberal Studies has evolved since then. For the current and next generation of Great Bookies, I would recommend for their off-course common reading two books that vividly depict the fate of those who persist in reading Great Books. Both books were written in the mid-twentieth century, at the apogee of the culture of universal literacy and the aspirations of the American Great Books movement: they are Ray Bradbury’s *Fahrenheit 451* (1953) and Walter M. Miller’s *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (1960).

CALENDRIER POSITIVISTE

POUR UNE ANNÉE QUELCONQUE

OU

TABEAU CONCRET DE LA PRÉPARATION HUMAINE.

	PREMIER MOIS. LA THÉOLOGIE INTELLE.	DEUXIÈME MOIS. HOMÈRE. LA POÉSIE ANCIENNE.	TROISIÈME MOIS. ARISTOTELE. LA PHILOSOPHIE ANCIENNE.	QUATRIÈME MOIS. ARISTOTELE. LA SCIENCE ANCIENNE.	CINQUIÈME MOIS. CESAIRE. LA CIVILISATION MILITAIRE.	SIXIÈME MOIS. SAINT PAUL. LE CATHOLICISME.	SEPTIÈME MOIS. CHARLEMAGNE. LA CIVILISATION FÉODALE.
Lundi	1 Prométhée	Hésiode	Aristotele	Théophraste	Miltiade	Saint Luc	Pélagos
Mardi	2 Hercule	Tyréas	Anaximandre	Hérophile	Léonidas	Saint Cyrille	Othon le Grand
Mercredi	3 Ophèle	Andron	Anaximandre	Hérophile	Artaxerxès	Saint Alban	Henri l'Obscur
Jeudi	4 Olympe	Andron	Democrite	Hérophile	Xenophon	Saint Alban	Villiers
Vendredi	5 Roméus	Theophraste	Hérodote	Gélon	Phocion	Saint Maurice	Don Juan de Lépano
Samedi	6 Roméus	Esope	Hérodote	Gélon	Phocion	Saint Maurice	Jeon Schickel
DIMANCHE	7 Nana	Theophraste	Hérodote	Gélon	Phocion	Saint Maurice	Aitred
1	8 Belus	Scopas	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Charles Martel
2	9 Scythie	Zenobé	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Le Cid
3	10 Nana	Leconte	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
4	11 Pyramide	Lysippe	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
5	12 Les Druides	Apelles	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
6	13 Pandarra	Phidias	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
7	14 Eoch	Esope	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
8	15 Luc-Tan	Plaute	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
9	16 Meng-Tan	Terence	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
10	17 Les théocrates du Tibet	Terence	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
11	18 Les théocrates du Japon	Juvénal	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
12	19 Les théocrates de l'Inde	Lactance	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
13	20 Manco-Capac	Lactance	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
14	21 Constructus	Aristotélisme	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
15	22 Abraham	Ennius	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
16	23 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
17	24 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
18	25 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
19	26 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
20	27 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
21	28 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
22	29 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
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27	34 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
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29	36 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
30	37 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
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32	39 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
33	40 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
34	41 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
35	42 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
36	43 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
37	44 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
38	45 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
39	46 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
40	47 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
41	48 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
42	49 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
43	50 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
44	51 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
45	52 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
46	53 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
47	54 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
48	55 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X
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100	107 Saoud	Lucrèce	Pythagore	Pythagore	Thémistocle	Constantin	Alphonse X

(Calendrier positiviste, édition apostrophée, page 282.)

FOCUS ON NEW FACULTY

Tarek Dika

This academic year we welcome Dr. Tarek Dika into PLS's Philosophy component. Tarek received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University in Intellectual History, having written a dissertation entitled "Descartes and the Origin of the Modern Problem of Finitude." He also holds an M.A. from Johns Hopkins in Philosophy and a B.A. from the University of Michigan in Comparative Literature. His B.A. thesis was entitled "Hegel and the Cult of History."

Tarek has two main research interests. The first is early-modern philosophy and science, with a focus on Descartes, and the second is phenomenology, with a focus on Husserl, Heidegger, and such French thinkers as Levinas and Marion. Tarek is currently teaching Metaphysics and Epistemology and Great Books Seminar IV.

Tarek loves jazz, and from what we hear is a pretty fair drummer. We are delighted to have him as the newest member of the PLS faculty.

FACULTY NEWS

Christopher Chowrimootoo published an article, entitled “‘Britten Minor’: Constructing the Modernist Canon,” in *Twentieth-Century Music* (2016). He has also presented papers at the meetings of the North American British Music Studies Association (Syracuse, 2016), American Musicological Society (Vancouver, 2016), and International Musicological Society (Tokyo, 2017). In June 2017, he will host a three-day conference on “Music and the Middlebrow” at Notre Dame’s London Global Gateway.

Frederick J. Crosson [1928-2009] His book, *Ten Philosophical Essays in the Christian Tradition* (2015), edited by Michael Crowe and Nicholas Ayo with Contributions from M. Katherine Tillman and Mark Moes, has now been reviewed by Professor Nicgorski at the invitation of *Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews* (<http://ndpr.nd.edu/news/ten-philosophical-essays-in-the-christian-tradition/>), 2017.1.2.

Michael J. Crowe graduated from PLS in 1958 and taught full time in PLS from 1961 until retirement in 2002. He continues to be somewhat active in retirement, for example, by editing along with Fr. Nicholas Ayo a collection of ten essays written by his former teacher and colleague Fred Crosson: *Ten Philosophical Essays in the Christian Tradition* (UNDPress, 2015) (see above). One of Crowe’s recent publications discusses an aspect of the relation of Christianity to belief in extraterrestrial intelligent life; see *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science*, 50:2 (June, 2016), 431–49. He co-teaches one course per year in a local senior center on the Sherlock Holmes stories. An essay linked to this is titled “A New Interpretation of the Sherlock Holmes Stories” and is scheduled to appear in a Sherlockian publication: *The Sixth Casebook of the Illustrious Clients*, published by Wessex Press. He and his wife enjoyed a cruise in summer of 2016 in southern France.

Steve Fallon was one of three scholars of English literature in the United States and Canada to be named a John Simon Guggenheim Fellow in 2016; he is spending the 2017 calendar year fellowship working on his book project, “John Milton, Isaac Newton, and the Making of a Modern World.” His essay on “Milton, Newton, and the Implications of Arianism” appeared in *Milton in the Long Restoration* (Cambridge UP, 2016). He published an essay on “Milton in Intellectual History” in the *New Companion to Milton* (Blackwell, 2016) and another on “Milton after Wordsworth: Paradise Lost and Regained in ‘Nutting’” in the journal *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 13 (2015). He has just sent off to Cambridge UP a co-edited volume titled *Immortality and the Body in the Age of Milton*, which will appear late in 2017. He continues to be heavily involved in the Notre Dame/Holy Cross College liberal arts degree program at Westville Correctional Facility. The happiest news this year is that he will be father of the bride, though less stressed and not nearly as funny as Steve Martin; Claire marries (or, by the time this is published, will have married) Greg Krieg in Brooklyn in April.

Jennifer Newsome Martin has been selected as one of the ten international winners of the 2017 Manfred Lautenschlaeger Award for Theological Promise (formerly the John Templeton Award for Theological Promise) for her recent book, *Hans Urs von Balthasar and the Critical Appropriation of Russian Religious Thought* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2015). More information can be found here: http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fiit/mlaward_en.html

Julia Marvin writes that in the past year she visited both ends of the North American Plate with trips to Iceland, where she saw the Northern Lights, and the American West, where she hiked to the bottom of the Grand Canyon and back in record heat. Her big book on medieval chronicles and their manuscripts will appear this spring, published by York Medieval Press. The title is nearly as long as the book: *The Construction of Vernacular History in the Anglo-Norman prose "Brut" Tradition: The Manuscript Culture of Late-Medieval England*.

Felicitas Munzel writes: "This past year I have been heartened to see that the call for "education for freedom" is not merely a historical relic of Robert Maynard Hutchins' University of Chicago. Interest in the theme and specifically with attention to Immanuel Kant's philosophy is being expressed by some members of the Philosophy of Education Society and faculty at Teacher's College, Columbia University. In March 2016 a panel was held on my work at the Philosophy of Education Society's 72nd Annual Conference in Toronto, Canada. In November 2016 a colloquium was held on my work at Teacher's College, Columbia University. There are plans underway to follow up these endeavors with a symposium on my work on Kant's conception of pedagogy in a volume of the journal *Studies in Philosophy and Education* to appear this year.

Walter Nicgorski So good to have special visits with a number of you PLS grads in this past year. Mike McGinley's winter visit along with his young family was a great opportunity to catch up with his legal career and concerns. Tony Lawton was on stage here last February, and we had a very good conversation the morning after. Celebrating, last May, Allison Murphy's Ph.D. with her mother and friends was a special moment in our regular meetings over the years as she did graduate work in Philosophy at Notre Dame. Then, come the last home football game and with waning interest in that clash and with our daughter

Ann and family here, other members of the Class of '85 came by for good visits. My wife and I were grateful to see Sharon Houk, John Breen and Dan Stewart. Finally, it seems like nearly just the other day as I write this, Carl Bindenagel and his parents returned for a time to their beautiful Lake Shore Drive apartment in Chicago, and we were able to visit them there after Christmas on St. Stephen's day.

Some highlights from the professional front. I finally fulfilled a long-standing duty to self and others and got the big Cicero monograph published. It is titled *Cicero's Skepticism and His Recovery of Political Philosophy*. Palgrave Macmillan is the publisher, and they priced it outrageously high, while promising an inexpensive paperback edition within two years. I gave a keynote address on Thomas More's classical sources for *Utopia* at a 500th birthday celebration for that work at the University of Dallas. Stephen Smith, PLS grad and professor of English at Hillsdale College, was the official seminar leader for the discussion of *Utopia* during the celebration. I am hoping to have learned from the Program's former students when I approach our seminar sessions with a number of you in our Return to the Classics summer program. Finally, an alert to those of you in the Hilton Head area; I will be there April 20th for the Hesburgh Lecture on *The Federalist Papers, A Unique and American Great Book*; get details from the Notre Dame Club there or the Alumni Association. All best wishes for 2017.

Andrew Radde-Gallwitz spent the Fall Semester of 2016 putting finishing touches on a book manuscript entitled *Gregory of Nyssa's Doctrinal Works: A Literary Study*, which will appear with Oxford University Press in due course. His volume of newly translated early Christian texts, the first installment in the *Cambridge Edition of Early Christian*

Writings, will appear this Spring. His article, “Private Creeds and their Troubled Authors,” appeared in the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* at the end of 2016. He is currently translating works by Augustine and Gregory of Nyssa for publication. After a semester of research leave, he is happy to be back in the classroom, where he is currently making his way, along with some terrific students, through Dante’s *Divine Comedy* in Seminar III and the Pentateuch in the Bible tutorial. This summer, he will travel to Rome for a research symposium with early Christian scholars from the US, the UK, Israel, and Australia.

Phillip Sloan taught a section of senior ICH in the fall. In the spring of 2016 he transported some of his PLS science units to a prison context to create an unusual history and philosophy of science course in the Notre Dame-Holy Cross College Westville Prison Initiative (syllabus on request). He continues to do research on issues intersecting the history of life science and bioethical and science-religion questions. He has also been a regular participant in the work of the John J. Reilly Center and the Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Studies. He and spouse Katherine Tillman will both give presentations at the Sagrado Corazon University in San Juan, Puerto Rico in February at the invitation of PLS alum and now President of the university,

Gilberto Marxuach-Torres. As “Papa” to ten grandchildren and six great grandchildren, he also has many other activities keeping him occupied!

Tom Stapleford spent 2015-2016 on a research leave funded by the National Science Foundation to work on a new book project about official statistics and democratic governance. Alongside his new duties as department chair, he is also serving as a co-PI on a major grant from the Templeton Religion Trust that is examining the place of cognitive and social virtues in laboratory biology. He continues to enjoy teaching the Science tutorials and was delighted finally to complete the full sequence of Great Books Seminars just prior to going on leave!

Henry Weinfield is working on a new collection of poems, tentatively entitled *The Ironies*. In addition, he continues to work on his translation of the sixteenth-century French poet Pierre de Ronsard, and is also writing an essay on poetry since 1950 and the Bible. Recently he has been involved in editing the poetry of Allen Mandelbaum (1926-2011), whose translations of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and Dante’s *Commedia* are read in Seminars II and III respectively.

PROFILES ON PLS ALUMNI

Thomas Hardiman (PLS, 1987)

by Henry Weinfield

Judge Thomas M. Hardiman is currently a federal judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. He was nominated to that position by President George W. Bush in January 2007 and confirmed by the U. S. Senate (95-0) in March of that year. He had previously served as a judge on the United States District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania, having been appointed to that position by President Bush in 2003. After graduating from Notre Dame in 1987, he received a law degree in 1990 from Georgetown University Law Center, where he served as an editor on the *Georgetown Law Journal*. He practiced law in Washington, D.C. for two years before moving to his wife Lori's hometown of Pittsburgh, where they reside with daughters Kate and Marissa, and son Matthew.

As everyone now knows, Judge Hardiman was recently a finalist for the Supreme Court nomination that ultimately went to Judge Neil Gorsuch. I learned that he was being considered (when he was one of a larger group of judges being mentioned) from his daughter Kate, who is currently a senior in the Program. I asked Kate if her father would be willing to be interviewed for *PROGRAMMA*, and he immediately responded in the affirmative, but sensibly suggested that it might be better to put off the interview until after the nomination process had been concluded.

The day after the nomination was made public, I received the following e-mail from Judge Hardiman:

Dear Henry,

I write happily unburdened by the search for the next Justice of the Supreme Court. I would be happy to speak with you by phone in the next few days or respond to written questions, as you wish. I am eager to do anything I can to advance the cause of liberal education in general and the Great Books in particular.

Yours,

Tom

I must say, I thought that was very nice!

Without further ado, then, here are Judge Hardiman's answers to the questions I posed:

HW: *How did your experience at Notre Dame and in PLS influence you as an individual and as a jurist?*

TH: "I want to emphasize that this fascinating career I have enjoyed, both as lawyer and judge, would not have been possible without my three years in the Program of Liberal Studies. I concluded my freshman year at Notre Dame deep inside the cave, but three years later I left an

educated person. I don't mean to imply, of course, that I knew all I needed to know; rather, I was able to discern what I knew from what I didn't know. Even more importantly, I am convinced that the time I spent with the Great Books taught me to be the kind of husband, father, son, brother, and neighbor that I had aspired to be. As I mentioned to family and friends assembled at a celebratory dinner after my second investiture, if I were forced to choose between this career that I love and my wife and children, I would go back to driving a cab in a heartbeat.

My experience as a PLS student greatly influenced me as a person, lawyer, and jurist. In the personal realm, it's difficult to imagine how one could study and discuss the Great Books for three years without becoming a changed person. Early in our course of study we heard that "the unexamined life is not worth living." This dictum, and many other profound statements to which we were exposed, challenged us to live intentionally and passionately, i.e., to avoid being one of the many who "lead lives of quiet desperation." As a lawyer and judge, PLS prepared me well for the massive quantity of reading that one encounters as a law student, practicing lawyer, and judge. In addition, we learned to debate and to discuss important questions, which was terrific preparation for being a trial lawyer, whose task is to persuade judges and juries. Those same verbal skills are important to judges as well, who are obliged to ask essential questions to find the truth and reach the most just result. In the context of appellate judging, the art of questioning is critical to a successful oral argument and the ability to deliberate on cases with two (and sometimes many more) colleagues in a professional manner is imperative. And it's essential to be able to disagree without being disagreeable. I have fond memories of spirited discussions with classmates and professors which were always instructive and polite. I don't recall any acrimony or unkind words during any debates that occurred in PLS classes."

HW: *What is your judicial philosophy, and what does the experience of being a judge mean to you?*

TH: "Every federal judge takes an oath to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States. (Here's the oath of office: "I, ____, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will administer justice without respect to persons, and do equal right to the poor and to the rich, and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge and perform all the duties incumbent upon me as ____ under the Constitution and laws of the United States. So help me God.") I have taken that oath twice now and have done so with the utmost solemnity. If the United States is to continue to be, as John Adams wrote in his *Novanglus Papers* (1774), a "government of laws and not of men," it is imperative that judges interpret our Constitution and laws honestly to ensure that justice is done in each individual case. After thirteen years as a federal judge, I remain grateful to be a part of what I consider the greatest judiciary in the finest nation the world has ever seen. This inheritance is a sacred trust that has been passed down by the jurists who have come before us, which has imbued in me a profound sense of duty and stewardship. Working alongside those who have passed away in recent years after serving as judges into their nineties is a humbling feeling as well. Many of these individuals were part of the "Greatest Generation" who, upon returning home after liberating peoples from the evils of Nazism, Fascism, and Communism, devoted themselves to the rule of law as lawyers and judges. One can't help but realize what a privilege it is to attempt to follow in the footsteps of these American heroes."

STUDENT AWARDS

2016 Willis Nutting Award

Sherry Zhong

The graduating student who contributed most to the education of classmates and teachers.

2016 Otto Bird Award

Liam E. O'Connor

The senior thesis judged to exemplify the best ideals of liberal learning.

“One Door Opened to Another Closed”: Collateral Consequences as Barriers to Rehabilitation and Integration for Former Offenders

Directed by Clark Power

2016 Susan M. Clements Award

Margaret R. McDowell

A female senior who exemplifies outstanding qualities of scholarly achievement, industry, compassion and service.

2016 Edward Cronin Award

Cassandra A. Dinaro 2017

For the best paper submitted in a PLS course.

“This Bodes Some Strange Eruption to our State”: Astronomy and Ptolemaic Cosmology in

Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*

This paper appears in this issue of *Programma*.

2016 Stephen Rogers Endowment for Graduate Studies

Alexander Arnold

Margaret R. McDowell

2016 The Monteverdi Prize

Ann Gallagher

THE 2016 EDWARD J. CRONIN AWARD WINNER
**“This Bodes Some Strange Eruption to Our State”:
Astronomy and Ptolemaic Cosmology in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet***

Cassandra A. Dinaro
Class of 2017

Engaging in an interdisciplinary reading of William Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* reveals surprising patterns in the play. In particular, many of the play’s editors have expressed confusion at Shakespeare’s frequent evocation of Ptolemaic cosmology in a play written after the Copernican model became the more common one. Some have paid little attention to this apparent oversight on Shakespeare’s part, and others have attempted to explain it away with unlikely theories about elaborate allegories.¹ In this essay, I have attempted to engage with this seeming paradox and offer an explanation of the role of Ptolemaic cosmology in the text that respects both Shakespeare’s acumen as a writer and the integrity of the play as a text.² I argue that an interdisciplinary reading of *Hamlet* that examines the role of astronomical imagery reveals something of the way that Shakespeare constructs character and meaning in the tragedy.

For Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, editors of the third edition of the Arden Shakespeare *Hamlet*, the love poem that Polonius claims Hamlet gave Ophelia presents a number of problems for close

readings of the text. For Thompson and Taylor, these problems arise from attempts to reconcile Hamlet’s claim that he writes bad poetry with his later confidence in writing a speech to add to *The Murder of Gonzago* (Taylor 246n118), but the love poetry presents questions in itself:

Doubt thou that the stars are fire,
Doubt that the sun doth move,
Doubt truth to be a liar,
But never doubt I love. (II.2.114-117)

The text of the brief poem makes two cosmological claims: first, it makes a claim about the nature of the substance of the stars; second, it claims a geocentric model of the universe. Thompson and Taylor paraphrase the line succinctly in a footnote, writing, “The gist of the stanza is: ‘You may question the unquestionable, but do not question that I love you’” (246n114-117). Their interpretation of the line shows that Hamlet presents his cosmological claims as examples of certainty that serve to illustrate the certainty of his own devotion to Ophelia. Thompson and Taylor seem certain about their paraphrase, explaining that in 116, the meaning of the word “doubt” shifts to refer to suspicion instead of questioning (246n116), in order to reconcile an apparent contradiction. If the meaning of doubt does not shift, Hamlet would seem to suggest that it is certain that the stars are made of fire, that the sun does move, *and* that truth is a liar. Thompson and Taylor’s interpretation relies on linguistic ambiguity to avoid the paradox.

¹ See for example, the argument that Peter Usher makes in his analysis of the play, which attempts to make *Hamlet* into an allegory of the Copernican Revolution. Usher, Peter. *Shakespeare and the Dawn of Modern Science*. Cambria, 2010.

² The “text” in this case refers to the text of the Second Quarto, which provides the basis for the first volume of Arden Shakespeare’s third edition of *Hamlet*.

Of course, this interpretation becomes necessary only under the assumption that Hamlet writes without any irony. In fact, this is an unlikely proposition. Hamlet often uses cruel ironies in order to further the impression he gives of madness. For example, later in the play, he addresses Ophelia in contradictory terms, claiming first that he loved her (III.i.114), and then claiming that he never loved her (III.i.118) without addressing the shift that occurs in the space of four lines of speech. Later, he humiliates Ophelia by publically casting crude aspersions on her chastity, first asking to lie in her lap³ (III.ii.108), and then rebuking her for assuming that he meant “country matters” (III.ii.110), which Thompson and Taylor confirm functions as a euphemism by its use of a crude pun (305n110). In short, Hamlet clearly has no qualms about using Ophelia to further his plan of assuming madness in order to hide his suspicions about his uncle. Given this characteristic, speculating that he would write a love poem that claims that things that are clearly untrue or impossible in hopes that Ophelia would pass it on to her father is not unreasonable. In fact, this resolves another issue in the love poem. Thompson and Taylor note that past editors have struggled to interpret the second line of the poem because, by the time of *Hamlet*’s first performance, Shakespeare would have known that the heliocentric model was outdated (246n114-117). In his book, *1599: A Year in the Life of Shakespeare*, James Shapiro argues that Shakespeare had a purpose in using a discredited cosmology to illustrate the supposed certainty of Hamlet’s love: “In such a universe [one in which Ptolemaic science has been discredited], truth may well turn out to be a liar” (299).

³ C.f. Thompson and Taylor 304-305n109-10 for a discussion of the sexual innuendo inherent in this question and the history of similar innuendos in Elizabethan theatre.

Shapiro operates under the assumption that Hamlet wrote the letters to Ophelia at an earlier date, presumably before the death of his father, and meant them sincerely, but his assertion that the use of Ptolemaic astronomy creates a sense of upheaval and uncertainty in the poem makes sense regardless of Hamlet’s level of sincerity. Shakespeare must have personally experienced the sense of upheaval that the overturning of supposed fundamental truths produces. Shakespeare would have been eight years old when Tycho Brahe observed the supernova in the constellation Cassiopeia in 1572 (Olson 69). This anecdote illustrates that Shakespeare was born in the days when a respected astronomer could cling to the Ptolemaic model of the universe, but, as Shapiro, Thompson, and Taylor have noted, this model was out of favor in England by the time he wrote *Hamlet* in his adulthood. Like his characters, Shakespeare lives in a world where even the laws of physics are subject to fluctuation and change. As a shrewd playwright, Shakespeare could easily tap into the atmospheric uncertainty about the structure of the universe in order to heighten his audience’s sense of unease.

This is not the first occurrence of this device in the play. The Ghost⁴ prefaces his account of his murder with an initially obscure image that itself relies on geocentric cosmology: “I could a tale unfold whose lightest word / Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood, / Make thy two eyes like stars start from their spheres...” (I.v.16-17). Thompson and Taylor note that, in this context, “spheres” refer to the sockets of the eyes, but that the image references the orbits of the stars (212n17). In fact, the image relies on a punning analogy. An eye should be fixed to its sphere (socket) just as the

⁴ In order to avoid potential confusion over the identical naming of father and son, I will consistently refer to King Hamlet as “the Ghost” and Prince Hamlet as “Hamlet.”

stars are believed to be fixed to the celestial sphere. The Ghost is telling Hamlet that if he could tell his story of purgatory, its sheer horror would cause disastrous physical consequences for Hamlet. Furthermore, these consequences represent an upending of a natural physical order. Blood shouldn't freeze and eyes shouldn't pop out of their sockets.⁵ Similarly, stars should not escape their spheres. Interestingly, Thompson and Taylor do not comment on the odd syntax of line 117, which introduces a confusing ambiguity. The phrase "two eyes like stars start from their spheres" allows multiple readings. The eyes can in themselves resemble stars, or the action of starting from their sockets could cause the resemblance. Such a reading would recall the dissolution of the geocentric model as the dissolution of a natural order of things. That the Ghost would reach for this as an image suggests that the dramatic effects of the changing science serves as a common vocabulary for Hamlet and his father. Hamlet recognizes the significance of this image because he and his father have both experienced the cultural shift away from this model in the same way that Shakespeare has.

In reading a different passage from an earlier scene, Shapiro draws a conclusion that might help to illuminate the reason the breakdown of the Ptolemaic system can serve as a common language to express this trauma. Shapiro argues that the Ghost "evokes a lost Catholic past, but is also a ghostly relic of a chivalric age" (276). Shapiro situates Hamlet at the end of the chivalric era, and writes that the death of those ideals contributes to the play's sense of nostalgia and isolation. Reading *Hamlet* in the context of the transition between the Ptolemaic and Copernican cosmological models allows us to extend Shapiro's logic to the scientific images in the play. Images

⁵ Perhaps this is a more colorful reworking of the Ghost's words, but it is not an inaccurate representation.

of Ptolemaic cosmologies become their own "ghostly relics" that occupy a linguistic space similar to the ghost's position with respect to the play's plot. Ptolemy and his astronomy haunt the language, offering a measurable impact on the way that the language unfolds despite the fact that Shakespeare's world is rapidly abandoning the era that they represent. In fact, much like the ghost, the Ptolemaic model operates with a type of mythic function.

Consider a small example that occurs during Ophelia's funeral. While grieving his lost love, Hamlet claims that he is more willing than Laertes to be buried with her. In order to illustrate his point further:

And if thou prate of mountains let them
 throw
 Millions of acres on us till our ground,
 Singeing his pate against the burning
 zone
 Make Ossa like a wart. (V.i.269-72)

To paraphrase the general meaning of these lines, Hamlet is mocking Laertes' earlier declaration of grief, in which he begged the gravedigger to cover him with enough dust "[t]o'ertop old Pelion or the skyish head / Of blue Olympus" (V.i.241-2). Hamlet has outdone Laertes by claiming that, if Laertes has decided to brag about mountains, then Hamlet wants them to pile the dirt even higher, until the mound reaches so high that it burns itself on the sun's orbit and makes Pelion's twin mountain look insignificant (Taylor 431n271 and 428n242-3). On the surface level, this line says little beyond the boast itself, but careful examination reveals its gesture toward cosmology. Thompson and Taylor gloss the "Singeing his pate against the burning zone" of line 271 as "scorching its top as by touching the sun's orbit" (431n271). The gloss clarifies the connection between the line and cosmology; the sun orbits, so we are dealing, once again with the Ptolemaic system. In this particular instance, though, Shakespeare directly links

the hyperbolic imagery with myth. Pelion and Ossa are, according to myth, the mountains the Titans tried to use to reach Olympus and conquer the gods (428n242-3). This association has two immediate effects: first, connecting Ptolemaic thought to myth makes it seem like part of the myth itself, thus making it less real to anyone familiar with the connection; second, it integrates Ptolemaic thought with the large body of Classical mythic tradition, thus giving it a fantastical but respected pedigree. As in earlier occurrences of Ptolemaic imagery, Shakespeare associates the invocation of the stars with the concept of something that is not quite right (here it is the funeral of a young girl), but here he gives it extra weight by its connection to mythology.

The play contains one other instance in which Shakespeare uses the astronomy to explicitly describe grief. Unsurprisingly, it too invokes the Ptolemaic model. The instance occurs earlier in the same scene, and, here, the Bard invokes the heavenly bodies themselves. When Hamlet first announces himself to the funeral goers, he declares:

What is he whose grief
Bears such emphasis, whose praise of
sorrow
Conjures the wandering stars and makes
them stand
Like wonder-wounded hearers? This is I,
Hamlet the Dane. (V.i.243-7)

The language of the declaration invokes a surprising element of regality to the speech. Hamlet says that his grief has the power to call up the planets and hold them still (Taylor 246n245). In addition, Thompson and Taylor note that the declaration of Hamlet's identity with the addition of the title "the Dane" may indicate that Hamlet here declares himself the rightful ruler of Denmark (428n246-7). This interpretation meshes well with the image of the planets coming to a halt. Anyone who has the power

to make them do so must exert a natural authority over them. Hamlet may be drawing on a tradition of the divine birthright of kings in order to illustrate what he believes is his own natural authority.⁶ Despite the connections to an assumed natural order, the imagery here still follows Shakespeare's pattern of evoking the astronomy to illustrate that something is wrong or out of place. While perhaps Hamlet himself would argue that the ability to exert control of nature, since it is not a literal ability, represents a divinely ordered universe in which Providence can assist the rightful ruler of a country because his rule is likewise divinely ordered, the image of a planet coming to a stop contradicts the actual natural order of things. Furthermore, these planets stop because they are "wonder-wounded," an image that seems perhaps apocalyptic in assigning actual wounds to the planet. Even Hamlet's attempts to appropriate the Ptolemaic imagery to reassert natural order have thus gone awry.

Amid all this imagery of the Ptolemaic system, one small allusion shines like a (very, very) bright spot for Copernicans. In the first scene of the play, Barnardo makes a reference to a certain star, "westward from the pole" (I.i.35). In 1998, an astronomer, Donald Olson, published an article in which he argues that he has identified this star. Having determined from a number of textual clues that the first scene of the play takes place in November, Olson runs through the possible candidates for a star visible in that region of the sky in Northern Europe at that time of night and month of the year. Olson offers a surprising candidate in the form of the Supernova of 1572. Having examined a number of alternatives that previous editors of Shakespeare had presented up to that

⁶ Sadly for Hamlet, he loses something of the dignity that this declaration of his divine right might have otherwise given him when he leaps into Ophelia's grave and begins threatening to fight Laertes.

point in time, Olson argues that his solution is the only option that preserves the timeline of the play. Both Thompson and Taylor and *The Science of Shakespeare* author Dan Falk use Olson's findings to argue a connection between *Hamlet* and astronomer Tycho Brahe. Both arguments also cite an anomaly in the cast of characters: Rosencrantz and Guildenstern's names occur among Tycho Brahe's relatives listed in an engraving of him, though Falk cautions against trying to use this as definitive proof of a connection because there are other places Shakespeare could have encountered these names together (157).

Regardless of whether Shakespeare intentionally invoked Brahe, the choice of the Supernova of 1572 as the star by which Barnardo estimates the time in his account of the Ghost's appearance does suggest something else. Before 1572, the supernova did not appear in the night sky. If Barnardo tells time by it, the choice would mean that he tells time by an object that has created noticeable change in the night sky, which, in the grand tradition of Aristotle, natural philosophers had regarded as immune to quantitative change until that supernova appeared. By linking the events that Barnardo recounts to something as unforeseen as Brahe's star, Shakespeare has invoked the enormity of the change that the star inspires. In addition, he has Horatio account the story of the omens that reportedly surrounded the assassination of Julius Caesar. As early as the play's opening lines, Shakespeare has given the audience warning of the changes about to go

underway, and once again he has linked change in the night sky to unrest on Earth.

As we have seen, the stars in *Hamlet* serve to reinforce a narrative of deception, isolation, and uneasiness, as well as to portend massive changes. In writing his play, Shakespeare took advantage of the fluctuating state of his contemporaries' understanding of their place in the universe in order to illustrate the intensity of his character's plights. Despite the burgeoning respectability of the Copernican system, it was the precarious position of the Ptolemaic system that made it the ideal tenor for conveying the connotations Shakespeare needed it to convey. Situating his tragedy against the backdrop of the changing night sky allowed Shakespeare to raise the stakes of the play to make *Hamlet* one in which the face of the cosmos is as much at risk as the fate of the kingdom.

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2016 SENIOR THESIS TITLES

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RESULTS OF THE 2013 ALUMNI SURVEY

Thomas A. Stapleford

In spring 2013, PLS embarked on its first alumni survey in almost three decades. Much of the motivation for the project came from questions posed by prospective students and their parents, who, in the wake of a major economic downturn and rising college tuition, understandably wanted to know more about what happened to PLS students after graduation. Though we had lots of anecdotal evidence on that score, neither the university nor the college had any data about what alumni were doing more than one year after having left Notre Dame. At the same time, though, preparing students for the job market has never been the primary goal of PLS, and even as we gathered employment data, we also wanted to paint a richer picture of what the Program meant to its graduates and how it had affected them.

We knew the survey would be significantly more complex than anything we had attempted to do before, which in itself suggested an online approach. Moreover, as our pool of alumni had grown substantially since the last survey, and since we hoped to include both quantitative and narrative responses, the cost of mailing and transcribing printed surveys would be prohibitive. Accordingly, with the help of the Center for Social Research at Notre Dame, we created an online questionnaire and solicited responses through our social media groups (Facebook and LinkedIn), our department e-mail database, and *Programma*. We had 676 alumni complete all or part of the survey, which is a great response rate for an online study.

Some problems arose from how we phrased questions and even the survey title itself. For example, several people suggested that the survey ought to be an “alumni/ae survey,” not an “alumni survey.” While *alumni* is the masculine plural and *alumnae* the feminine, Latin traditionally used *alumni* to describe mixed-gender groups (which is why most universities still use *alumni* unless they are referring to an all-female group of graduates). After some consideration, we opted to keep with the Latin usage since it was consistent with both the original language and with contemporary English practice.

The largest issues, however, came in our attempt to categorize jobs within broader industries or fields. For various reasons, we had to select from existing employment classification systems, eventually choosing ONET from the U.S. Department of Labor. ONET has many strengths, but its categories do not always correspond with people’s intuitive view of their own occupation. For example, ONET has no classification for “publishing.” One can be an “editor,” or a “writer,” or even a “printer” (all of which exist under “Arts, Audio/Visual Technology, & Communications”) but in ONET’s world, someone who manages editors and makes decisions about what to publish works in “Business, Management, & Administration -> Management.” Likewise, in what understandably confused many respondents, military service appears as “Government and Public Administration -> National Security” (which sounds more like the CIA!). Despite these challenges, many of you nobly made your best effort to select some kind of sensible and reasonable response, often giving us more details and clarification in the autobiographical section.

In fact, the autobiographical narratives have been one of the most fascinating aspects of the survey. Though there are no easy ways to analyze qualitative responses, the narratives offer a rich sense of our alumni, and I am very grateful to everyone who took the time to tell us

something about how their life unfolded after leaving the Program. We truly have an extraordinary and diverse group of graduates!

Right now, we have two reports based on the survey available on our website in the “Prospective Students” section: <http://pls.nd.edu/prospective-students/alumni-survey-results/>. These cover respondents’ evaluations of the Program and their postgraduate education. We hope to have another report in the future about employment history.

Some core results of the quantitative portions of the survey include the following:

- 97% of respondents reported that they were Very Satisfied (71%) or Satisfied (26%) with their PLS education. Less than 1% described themselves as Unsatisfied, and no one was Very Unsatisfied.
- 87% said that they would be Very Likely (63%) or Likely (24%) to recommend PLS to current undergraduates. Only 5% stated that they would be Unlikely or Very Unlikely to do so. (The remainder were neutral.)
- When asked if PLS had helped them to find employment, 36% of respondents were neutral, while 46% agreed that it had and about 17% felt that it had not.
- When asked if their PLS education had helped them perform better in their professions, 94% of respondents Agreed (29%) or Strongly Agreed (65%). Likewise, 77% felt their education had helped them advance in their professions.
- Not surprisingly, the majority of alumni felt that PLS had contributed to their personal growth in all categories where we requested assessments, including areas such as “participation in your family” and “participation in your community.” Four areas particularly stood out: 90% of respondents said PLS had made Very Valuable contributions to their intellectual formation and development; 69% reported Very Valuable contributions to self-knowledge; 73% said it had been Very Valuable to their ability to appreciate literature; and 75% stated that it had been Very Valuable for their commitment and ability to lead an examined life.
- Again, questions about contributions to cognitive development yielded very positive assessments. Roughly 70% or more of respondents stated that PLS had made them Much Stronger in each of the four skills we considered: writing effectively, communicating orally, thinking analytically, and thinking logically. Less than 2% reported no change in these skills, with the remainder reporting moderate or slight improvements.
- 73% of respondents felt the senior thesis / essay was a Very Valuable or Moderately Valuable experience.
- 83% of respondents have attended graduate or professional school (e.g., law school, business school, med school) at some point after PLS, with the largest chunk (about one-third) going to law school.
- Only 2% of respondents described themselves as “Not employed, and seeking employment” one year after graduation; an additional 3% reported being employed part-time. Roughly equal amounts reported being employed full-time (42%) or in graduate/professional school (39%), with most of the remaining alumni participating in service programs that provided “room & board and/or a stipend.”

- 86% of currently employed alumni reported being Satisfied (45%) or Very Satisfied (41%) with their current position. (Retired alumni had similar responses about their work prior to retiring.)

One of the more remarkable results was that the quantitative survey responses showed little variation by year of graduation. In other words, despite internal changes in the curriculum and more dramatic social, political, and economic shifts in the world since 1950, the great books at the heart of the Program continue to provoke self-reflection, a broadening of horizons, and a deepening of intellectual life that remains as relevant and powerful today as it did nearly sixty-seven years ago.

My thanks again to everyone who took the time to complete the survey; your responses have been an enormous help, and we are grateful for your contributions to the project!

ALUMNI NEWS

The editorial staff of *Programma* welcomes contributions and reserves the right to edit them for publication. For information about becoming a class correspondent, please contact the Program of Liberal Studies Office.

Please help us update our alumni database!

Send us your current email address, mailing address, and phone number.
If you would like to let your classmates know what you are doing these days,
please include an update as well.
You can forward your information to pls@nd.edu
or call the office at 574-631-7172.

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Roger Sobkowiak wrote: "One of my favorite GP stories concerns Dr. Michael Crowe, the professor of the history of science. He had our class line up in the corridor outside his office. We walked in one by one. On his desk were little slips of paper. We each were told to select one. On the slip I chose was simply "Darwin." He explained that my grade for the next period would rest solely on my ability to deliver a class lecture on that subject. He provided absolutely no guidance. I asked a question or two....and he said it was up to me to decide what was important and relevant. I did my research....and more research.....I wrote my lecture on little index cards....I practiced and practiced the delivery....so much so that my roommates left our room to study elsewhere.....I was dreaming about beetles.....and finally the day came and I delivered the required two

lectures. I think my fellow classmates were very kind and understanding.....because they all had the same assignment, albeit on other topics and no one wanted to rock the boat. These kinds of assignments are what made the GP, in my opinion, great. We were expected to think for ourselves.....and find the answers.....the answers were not given.

Last year we sold our house in Vero Beach, FL after fourteen years and moved to Frederick, MD to be closer to our children (6) and grandchildren (13 and 4 add-ons). I have worked for GE, ITT and Citicorp traveling to some 55 countries, earning three plus million air miles along the way. I have also worked for four start-ups and several human resource consulting firms. One international consulting assignment had me living in Paris on and off for two plus years. My work generally involved HR practices and consulting. My last job was as the COO of XStream Systems, a start-up working on a new use of x-ray technology for drug identification. In retirement, I continue to consult to non-profits and have served as the board chair of a homeless center and a childcare center. After ND, I added on an MBA (Northeastern) and an MS in Systems Theory (Union College). That was after I served two years in the Navy as part of my NROTC obligation. My wife of 28 years (it is second marriage for both of us) is from the Netherlands, so we make 2-3 trips a year to Holland to visit family and friends. If you look me up on Google, you might see some of my published articles and photography. I continue to work on my photo skills.....and now I am teaching myself to play the guitar.

I am truly grateful for my time at ND. I am glad that my parents were able to help me get there. They took out a \$2,000 life insurance policy to help pay for my first year. It took them ten years to save up for that policy. I believe that now is our time to give back.”

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Added by the PLS Office:

Anne Dilenschneider writes, "I will continue to serve as a South Dakota Humanities Council Scholar in 2017. Scholars are funded by the South Dakota Humanities Council and the National Endowment for the Humanities. This year's theme is "Race, Civility. and Community." I will be leading book groups. I will also give presentations on the Hiawatha Indian Insane Asylum in Canton, SD (the linchpin of federal "Indian" policy from 1902-1933), restorative justice, developing diverse leadership teams, and conserving the earth through natural burial practices.

I received a Third Place award in the 2016 South Dakota State Poetry Society contest for my poem, "Homestead."
<http://sdpoetry.org/2016-annual-poetry-contest-winners-announced>

Class of 1978

Added by the PLS Office:
We regret to report the death of **Glynn, Michael** on July 30, 2016.
http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/azcentral/obituary.aspx?n=michael-glynn&pid=180958828&eid=sp_shareobit#sthash.U8bMJcg7.dpuf

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Class of 2002

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Class of 2003

Class of 2004

Class of 2005

Class of 2006

Class of 2007

Added by the PLS Office:
Patrick Manning began a new position this year as Assistant Professor of Pastoral Theology at Seton Hall University. He now lives in New Jersey (it's better than you think) with his wife Margaret and daughter Emily. Some days he drives to work with Greg Floyd ('07), who began a postdoc fellowship at SHU this year.

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Class of 2011

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Class of 2013

Class of 2014

Class of 2015

Class of 2016

MANY THANKS TO ALL CONTRIBUTORS

Contributions Received at the PLS Office for Support of *Programma* and the Program of Liberal Studies since the Last Issue

The Program of Liberal Studies is home to a distinguished group of scholar-teachers committed to a vision of the power of a liberal arts education centered on the Great Books. Program faculty members strive to establish an intellectual, social, and spiritual community for students. These efforts often rely on the generosity of the University's alumni to meet with success.

We are fortunate to be at Notre Dame, a university that receives enthusiastic support from its alumni. Many of our graduates, however, may not know that it is possible to earmark a gift by specifying the unit to receive it in a letter accompanying the donation. Gifts for PLS can either be a general donation to the department or targeted to a specific fund. General donations are used initially for various operating expenses (faculty and student events, office equipment, printing and mailing *Programma*, and much more). When our annual gifts exceed expenses, part of the money is added to the department's endowment (to generate future interest) and part is used for scholarships for current students with financial need. Gifts that are earmarked for specific funds are used for the purposes of those funds, as described on the following pages.

There are three main ways to contribute:

1. Navigate to the "Supporting PLS" page on the PLS website (<http://pls.nd.edu/alumni/supporting-pls/>). A number of the funds listed on that page have direct links that will allow you to make an online donation to them.
2. If you prefer to donate by mail or if a fund is not available for direct online donation, you may send your contribution directly to the PLS office:

Program of Liberal Studies
215 O'Shaughnessy Hall
Notre Dame, IN 46556

3. Finally, you may send gifts to the university through regular channels (e.g., the Notre Dame Annual Fund), requesting that your contribution be earmarked for general use by the Program or for one of its specific funds.

No matter which method you choose, your gift will be recorded by the university and credited to your name (for purposes such as the football ticket lottery). If you wish to have your gift recorded in the current tax year, you should time the contributions to arrive before December 10. After that point, Debbie is likely to be on vacation, and checks might not be processed until the New Year.

On behalf of the Program's faculty and students, I am deeply grateful not only for the financial support so many alumni, friends, and parents have given to us over the years but for the passion and enthusiasm that the Program continues to generate. It is a blessing to be a part of such a community.

Scholarships & Financial Aid for Students in the Program of Liberal Studies

The university has five named scholarships that either give preference to PLS students or are restricted to those students. One, the **Crosson Scholarship**, is open for public donations. The Program also has two other funds that provide support to PLS students with financial need, the **Rev. Nicholas Ayo, C.S.C. Fund** and the **Stephen Rogers Memorial Fund**. Finally, as noted above, a portion of any general donations to the department that surpass operating expenses are also used to support PLS students with financial need.

Kevin and Mary Becker Endowed Scholarship
Donald and Deborah Potter Scholarship
Jay Kelly Memorial Scholarship
Stephen Rogers Memorial Scholarship

Frederick Crosson Scholarship Endowment

In honor of this *éminence grise* and beloved teacher in the Program, a group of alumni created an endowment in his name in 2015 that provides scholarships for one or more PLS juniors with financial need. (Note: Because this scholarship is administered by Financial Aid, the Program does not always receive timely notice of contributions)

Stephen Rogers Memorial Fund

Stephen Rogers graduated from our department in 1956 and later became a remarkable asset to our faculty. Steve was physically challenged by blindness and was also among the most remarkable and beloved faculty members in the Program. In 1985, Steve died during the final portion of senior essay time. The Stephen Rogers Fund helps us to assist worthy students facing financial difficulties. On more than one occasion, the Fund has allowed students to remain in school when otherwise they would have had to withdraw.

Contributions

Kyle Andrews	Michael Sanchez
Ned Buchbinder	J. Michael Sigler
John Cyr	Daniel Smith
Thomas Duffy	Gregory St. Ville
Thomas Fleming	Kevin Yoder
Elizabeth Drumm & John Muench	

Rev. Nicholas Ayo, C.S.C. Fund

Established to honor Nicholas Ayo after his retirement from teaching in the Program, this fund helps purchase course books for PLS students with financial need.

Contributions
Thomas Fleming

Funds to Support Student Awards or Program Activities

Along with its scholarship funds, the Program also has a number of funds to underwrite awards for PLS students or specific activities of the Program, such as its outreach programs and the Summer Symposium

Otto A. Bird Fund

This fund is a tribute to the faculty member who worked with Mortimer Adler in founding the General Program. Otto A. Bird started the department in 1950. This award recognizes the graduating senior who wrote the year's most outstanding senior essay. The announcement of this award is keenly anticipated each year at the Senior Dinner, when students and faculty gather to celebrate the completion of the final requirement for graduation.

Contributions

Peter Frank

Program of Liberal Studies Community Outreach Programs

In 1998 the Program of Liberal Studies began a community outreach seminar with students from the South Bend Center for the Homeless which runs for the entire academic year. Contributions help defray the cost of the books and outings to plays, concerts, and operas. Since then, Program faculty have also started a Junior Great Books Program (which brings PLS students to local schools to discuss age-appropriate great texts) and have been involved in a cooperative effort between Notre Dame and Holy Cross College to offer college courses in a local state prison. Contributions to this fund support these efforts.

Contributions

Rebecca Gannon

Susan Clements Fund

Susan was an extraordinary student and a remarkable young woman who graduated in 1990. She was preparing for a career as a scholar and teacher when she met an early and tragic death in 1992. This award is presented each year at the Senior Dinner to a woman among the Program of Liberal Studies graduating seniors who exemplifies outstanding qualities of scholarly achievement, industry, compassion, and service.

Contributions

Ned Buchbinder

Wendy Chambers Beuter

Mr. & Mrs. Robert Clements

Thomas Kwiecien

Margaret Raddatz

Mrs. Dana Rogers

Edward J. Cronin Fund

The Cronin Fund both honors a legendary teacher and helps to reward (and thus to encourage) undergraduate efforts to write lucidly and gracefully. The Award is for the finest piece of writing each year by a student in the Program of Liberal Studies. This is a distinct honor; it constitutes the Program's highest prize for writing in ordinary course work. Your gift will help us to recognize Program students who meet the high standards for writing set by our invaluable senior colleague.

Contributions

Charles Boudreaux
Thomas Fleming

John McNamara

Willis D. Nutting Fund

The Willis Nutting award was established to memorialize one of the great teachers in the Program. Those who taught with or studied under Willis remember his gentle style, his clever wit, and his deep faith. The Willis Nutting tree outside the Art Department bears this motto from Chaucer: "And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche." This was his style, and we hope that it will always be yours as well. The Award is for "that senior who has contributed most to the education of his or her fellow students and teachers."

Richard T. Spangler Fund

This newly established fund in honor of PLS alumnus Richard Spangler (class of 1977) is designated for stipends to cover part of the cost of attendance of our yearly Summer Symposium for alumni, in which Richard has been an enthusiastic and dedicated participant. For more information regarding the stipends, please contact the departmental office at pls@nd.edu.

Contributions

Laura Carlyle Bowshier
Thomas Coffey
Joseph Connelly
Thomas Devine

Joseph Erpelding
Timothy Marcotte
Jerrold Zuzolo
John Zygmunt

Program of Liberal Studies Endowments for Excellence

Over the years, a number of PLS graduates and their families have created substantial endowments that help fund many aspects of the Program.

We are very grateful for their generosity and support.

William and Christine Barr Family
Calcutt Family
Cioffi Family
Franco Family
John and Patrice Kelly
Neus Family Senior Thesis
Stephen Rogers Endowment for Graduate Studies

General Contributions Designated for PLS since the Last Issue

These contributions provide the department funds for the many faculty and student functions (Opening Charge, Christmas Party, Senior Dinner, Senior Brunch), office equipment, and much more. They also provide us the means to send *Programma* to over 2,200 alumni all over the world. Contributions above annual operating expenses are used to build the Program's endowment and to provide financial aid to current students.

Richard Alega
Erin Bartholomy
Gregory Beatty
Theodore Becchetti
Michael Bozik
Ned Buchbinder
Lindsay Byrne
Ned Buchbinder
Madeline Chiavini
Michael Cioffi
Emily Husted Cook
Mr. & Mrs. John Cornwell
Catherine Crisham
Michael Crowe
TJ & Emmeline D'Agostino
John Devney
F. Robert Drum
Thomas Durkin
Colleen Faherty
Kristen Benedict Farrell
Thomas Fleming
William Gallagan, III
Karen Hohberger Gallagher
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Thomas Hardiman
Daniel Hartnett
Sandy Spencer Howland
William John
Richard Klee, III

Rev. Michael Kwiecien, O. Carm
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Michael Leary
Thomas Long
Helios MacNaught
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Michael Neus
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Margaret Wood Powers
Susan Prahinski
Lawlor Quinlan, III
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Christopher Rigaux
Nicole Schuster
Clare Shaw
Ruth Godfrey Sigler
Drs. Ellen & Michael Sobczak
Francis Stillman
John Tierney
Matthew Timmel
Ann Marie Schweihs Verhamme
Jameson Wetmore
Kevin Yoder

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