



PROGRAMMA

The Program of Liberal Studies
University of Notre Dame 2020

PROGRAMMA

A Newsletter for Graduates of the Program of Liberal Studies
The University of Notre Dame
Volume XLIV, March 2020

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Programma (the Greek word means “public notice”) is published once each year by the Program of Liberal Studies for its graduates.

Faculty Editor

Julia Marvin

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The View from 215

Thomas A. Stapleford
January 2020 (*updated March 2020*)

Dear PLS / GP alumni,

This may be the first “View from 215” that has had to be updated a mere two months after it was written. Delays to our original publication schedule pushed Programma back into March, and now of course we are all living in a very different world. Or perhaps, as C. S. Lewis suggested when reflecting on another major crisis, World War II, we are living in the same world but now seeing its true fragility more clearly. I find it ironic that I was already musing on disruptions and transformations back in January!

I have left my original note below largely intact, with some minor updates in italics. Needless to say, many things have changed since January. I will provide a more detailed account in next year’s issue. But let me share two things now. First, I am immensely proud of our students and faculty. The cancellation of in-person classes and near closure of campus was a difficult blow for our community, and especially for our senior class. Nonetheless, students and faculty have done an amazing job working to sustain our discussion-based pedagogy and our communal bonds in the face of the challenges caused by the pandemic. Crises can reveal the true qualities of a community; never have I felt so blessed to be a part of PLS and of Notre Dame.

Second, please know that all of you are in our prayers. I hope that when this time of testing has passed, many of you will be able join us back on campus for a Reunion Weekend, our Summer Symposium, or just a visit. Until then, may God’s blessing rest on you and your families; we will look forward to seeing you before too long.

Perhaps like most lives, the life of a department can seem more akin to the punctuated equilibrium championed by Stephen Jay Gould and Niles Eldredge than to the gradual evolution described by Charles Darwin. Instead of continual but minor alterations leading inexorably to new forms, we may face long periods of stasis or minor shifts that are interrupted by sudden change. Certainly, from the chair’s perspective, 2019 felt more like punctuated equilibrium than gradual evolution! Happily, the department has emerged on the far side not as a new species but with a reinvigorated form, continuing to pursue its perennial goals in new ways and with some excellent new personnel.

The largest and most visible change came with the retirement of our longtime department administrator, Debbie Kabzinski. For three decades, Debbie has been a mainstay of the office, bringing efficiency, love, and care to everything she did and to everyone she met. She will be missed by everyone, and we hope she will visit us often! Last year also marked the retirement of another PLS legend, Professor Henry Weinfield, whose passion for poetry and beautiful writing has both challenged and inspired our students. Although he is happily ensconced in New York, we hope we may be able to lure him back to Notre Dame from time to time. Finally, Professor Joseph Rosenberg, who has done a stellar job as our Director of Undergraduate Studies for the last five years, accepted an invitation to join the ranks of our tenure-track faculty. The change will provide Professor Rosenberg a much-deserved opportunity to devote more time to his own scholarship, but given his excellent work as an undergraduate adviser, it also left a glaring vacancy in the office.

I will confess that as the chairperson facing these departures, I entered 2019 with no small amount of trepidation! Fortunately, the department continues to be blessed with wonderful people who have been drawn to our unique community. Becky Badger, our new department administrator, has made a seamless transition into the role and has brought her own joy, expertise, and lively spirit to the Program. We were delighted to have Professor Katie Bugyis join our theology team (you can read more about her in our “Focus on New Faculty” section), and also to welcome her husband, Professor Eric Bugyis, back to the Program. Professor Eric Bugyis taught for PLS several years ago while he was finishing his dissertation in Religious Studies at Yale, and he agreed to serve as our Director of Undergraduate Studies this year, where he is doing a fantastic job.

Needless to say, our current faculty have continued to excel as teachers and scholars. You can find the details in our “Faculty News,” but I will share two highlights. First, Katherine Tillman received the Galliot Award for Lifetime Achievement from the National Institute for Newman Studies. (I am sure it was St. John Henry Newman’s intervention that ensured she would receive this award during the year of his own canonization!) Second, Jennifer Martin received the 2019 Frank O’Malley Undergraduate Teaching Award from the Notre Dame Student Government, becoming the first Arts and Letters faculty member to receive this university-wide teaching award in almost a decade.

This past year also saw the department embark on a number of new ventures. You may recall from last year’s *Programma* that the department began a pilot program in adult education, offering a Great Books seminar as a core course within Notre Dame’s new Inspired Leadership Initiative (ILI). ILI brings individuals at the end of their traditional careers back to Notre Dame to participate in campus life and take classes for one year. That experiment was a great success, and PLS has agreed to partner with ILI as the program moves forward; this year, Clark Power is co-leading the seminar with Fr. Dan Groody (PLS ’86). Outside Notre Dame itself, the department has also solidified its relationship with the Moreau College Initiative, a joint venture between Holy Cross College and the University of Notre Dame to offer associate’s and bachelor’s degree programs to inmates at Westville Correctional Facility, a medium-security prison in Indiana. PLS faculty have been teaching at Westville for several years, but beginning this year, one faculty member in PLS will offer a course at Westville as part of his or her regular teaching load. Finally, as all of you hopefully saw via e-mail or social media, the Program is offering an off-site Summer Symposium this year for the first time. Our announcement of the London Symposium drew an enthusiastic response, selling out before the end of early registration. (*Alas, we had to cancel our London Symposium for this year, but we will offer it again soon and are excited to explore other options in the future.*)

These new endeavors have been supported in part by a generous new endowment established by PLS alumnus Tom Franco and his wife, Allison, which will allow the Program to add an additional faculty member and thus ensure that we can participate in these initiatives without diluting the strength of our undergraduate education. The gift from the Franco family is just one of the many ways in which support from our alumni has both sustained the Program and enabled it to grow and thrive. The enthusiasm and encouragement of PLS alumni are inspiring, and I am humbled to be the custodian of a legacy that has meant so much to generations of students. My thanks to all of you for your advocacy and support for liberal education, and my best wishes and prayers to you and your families in this new year!

**NOTE ON THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL
PLS/GP SUMMER SYMPOSIUM**

June 7-12, 2020

Education for Humanity: The Bible and the Liberal Arts, Their Tradition and Today

As we head to press, the Program of Liberal Studies is still planning to offer a week of seminars for alumni/ae 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. This year the sessions will focus on a multi-faceted reflection on the nature and tradition of our shared enterprise, the liberal arts. The sessions will be taught by current or emeritus/ae faculty of the Program of Liberal Studies and, for the reflection on reading the Bible in this context, by an alumnus of the Program who is a member of the CSC. Please consider joining us for what promises to be once again an exhilarating week.

Because the status of the Symposium may change in response to government directives and university decisions, we encourage everyone to check the PLS website for the most up-to-date information about the Summer Symposium:

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

On the website, you can find the list of sessions and readings. If we are unable to offer our regular, in-person Symposium, we hope to use our newly-developed skills at distance learning to organize a virtual version of this year's event!

Direct link to registration:

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

NOTICE: Stipends available for those attending the Summer Symposium!

The Program has funding available for a number of small grants to cover expenses related to our annual Summer Symposium on the Notre Dame campus, 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 5, 2019

Rev. Nicholas Ayo, C.S.C.

From time to time, I used to remind my students that all these beautiful buildings at Notre Dame will be dust in about a billion years due to wind, sun, and rain. However, our students will still be here and they will live forever. Moreover, they will be in touch with each other thanks to that original Internet Christians refer to as the “communion of saints.” Often, they roll their eyes and then laugh at the senior banquet, because “yes, Fr. Ayo, you really did say that.”

True enough, I am engaging in some speculation. However, there is unfounded speculation and there is more founded speculation, of which I hope to speak to you today. The final truth of the matter in matters of life after death can be found in the words of St. Paul: “eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of anyone, what God has prepared for those who love him” (I Cor 2: 9).

In our Eucharistic Celebration, we are swept up in the memory of, and the prayers for, our beloved dead. What has happened to those whom we love and who have left this world? We confess in the Apostles Creed the resurrection of the body and life everlasting. In God there is no death, and in the resurrection of Jesus we believe we too will rise from the dead.

Are the dead waiting for judgment day? Are the dead parked, as it were, somewhere somehow? When we die, we are “out of time,” simply out of past and future. We are not waiting for anything, because we are out of time. We are in Eternity and we are in the presence of God. In that Eternity all is Now; there is no longer a past to regret nor a future to fear.

What about judgment? What about the Purgatory many of us have been taught to imagine? Let us speculate with as good a speculation as theology allows us, remembering that “eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered in to the heart of anyone what God has prepared for those who love him.”

Surely, God’s justice would be the very best kind of judgment. We would see our lives in its full dimensions with any and all circumstances. Nothing will be lost, nothing forgotten, both the good and the bad. We would see the harm we did and the good we did. We would see all the lost opportunities to do good that we passed up. We would stand in the truth of our life and it might be a searing experience. Nothing need be said. There would be no condemnation. We would simply know the truth about our lives for better or worse. There need be no further punishment at the judgment seat of God. We will judge ourselves. Mercifully, God will not allow us to wallow in remorse and regrets, but God will show us how he brought good out of the evil we brought about. As the Portuguese proverb puts it: “God writes straight with crooked lines.” Speculation perhaps, but God is infinite justice and infinite mercy at the same time. Moreover, we know so little of God’s ways.

What about the “fires” of Purgatory and the many days from which we pray to be delivered. First of all, let us not make God someone who engages in torture. Surely, God is better than we are, and we know we should not torture the guilty. Hellfire comes from apocalyptic language in the Bible and elsewhere, and it may have had its purpose in a day when there were all too few sheriffs and law courts. Marauders roamed the land, engaged often with impunity in rape, pillage, and plunder. The sheriff in the sky and the tough jail above

may have been the only remedy the Church could bring to bear then, but that is hardly a threat worthy of portraying God today.

We believe in the infinite mercy of God. We believe God is infinitely resourceful in pursuing every human being in their heart of hearts. We can hope that God will save everyone, for his love for us is ceaseless and without equal.

We believe in the life everlasting, the resurrection of the body, that is, not just our arms and legs, but our lives in so far as we have thoughts, emotions, deep loves of many persons and many of God's creations. We believe our life in all its wonder will live forever in the resurrection of the body.

Today, on All Soul's Day, let us indeed pray for the dead and for our beloved dead in particular. Let us pray FOR them should they need our prayers; let us pray TO them should

we need their prayers. Most of all, let us pray WITH them, for they are with us here and now and especially so in the great mystery of the Church gathered as one people with Christ in the Eucharist in which we re-present him among us, given in his life to us, and in his death on the cross for us. His love for us is everlasting.

In this Eucharist, we are in communion with the Lord and with each another, those before our eyes and those in Eternity, without past or future, but with us in a NOW that need fear no future, nor regret any past. Christ has drawn all things and all people into One with Him. That Communion of Saints is our faith and that is why we have gathered this morning to remember we shall all live forever.

Nicholas Ayo, C.S.C.

OPENING CHARGE 2019

September 4, 2019

Take up and Read!

or

Praelectio in Erasmum

Denis J.-J. Robichaud

As some of you know, I just came back from a research leave as a fellow of the American Academy in Rome, where I also spent many days editing philosophy manuscripts at the Vatican Library. I returned from Italy carrying too many books, like a ship with too much cargo, trying to finish reading as many of them as I could before the fall semester's business set in, and like a ship with too much weight, it often felt as though I was about to capsize. I also came back from Italy with too many new research projects and deadlines, finishing one, only to find out that three new ones appeared like hydra heads. I was worried to return to the US without a topic for my opening charge, until one came to mind, not very long ago, either fortuitously or because necessity is the mother of invention, while I was having dinner with a friend in South Bend. I was recounting a day I had spent riding horseback with an Italian colleague of mine during my sabbatical in the Tuscan countryside near the Carrara marble quarries. As we rode, I told my colleague how delighted I was to know that one of my undergraduate thesis advisees had asked me to supervise his project on Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). My Italian friend was surprised to learn this, and asked whether I had required this brave student to write on this topic or whether the Program of Liberal Studies requires all of our students to read a lot of Erasmus. "Neither," I said, "our students only devote one day to the *Praise of Folly*." I think my colleague expressed even greater surprise, saying something in Italian along the lines of "that's insane, only one day!" I agreed, and we proceeded to discuss why students should study Erasmus. A topic for my opening charge came to mind while I was sharing this conversation to my friend in South Bend, so when I returned home I slowly began to work in haste, preparing this lecture before I forgot the points that I had discussed while horseback riding in Italy. My thesis this evening is simple: Erasmus is a great author, worthy of greater attention by our great books program.

Since I arrived at Notre Dame in 2011, I have had the great pleasure of learning from the opening charges of a number of PLS faculty members. It is my privilege to try to honor their contributions with a modest one of my own. Erasmus's life is a compelling story of rags to riches, as it's often said. The poor bastard child of a small town priest in Gouda, in the Netherlands, whose parents died from the plague when he was a teenager, Erasmus grew up to become the most influential intellectual of the sixteenth century. Although Erasmus became an Augustinian canon, he remembered his time at the monastery in Stein with disdain; "the conversations [were] so cold and inept," he later wrote.¹ In a response in June 1514 to a letter from his monastic superior, his old friend Servatius Rogerus, who had inquired when Erasmus would return to his normal life in the monastery, Erasmus explained that he would be a better servant of the Church and his faith by preparing complete editions of the writings of Jerome and the Bible, instead of resuming monastic life. Lucky for Erasmus, he received a special dispensation from the obligations of residing at the monastery and from wearing his religious habit by one of his admirers, Pope Leo X. This suited Erasmus's way of life. Like a shark that

¹ Quoted in Erika Rummel, *Erasmus as Translator of the Classics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 6.

needs to move constantly to survive, Erasmus travelled incessantly to the major places of learning in Europe, i.e., the University of Paris, the intellectual and printing centers of Renaissance Italy and southern Germany, the house or academy of Thomas More, Queens College in Cambridge, and the University of Leuven – always on the hunt for manuscripts, books, libraries, bookstores, publishing houses, and interlocutors. It is appropriate that Europe’s university study-abroad program is named after the cosmopolitan Erasmus. But Erasmus was just as much at home in the monastic library as he was being a man of the world, cultivating friendship with towering figures and maintaining with his snowstorm-like flurry of letters the very fabric of the early modern information networks, the *Republic of Letters*.

Erasmus was also the greatest pedagogue of his day. Despite being some of the largest books printed in the sixteenth century, Erasmus’s *Adages* and *De Copia* were some of the most popular books of the time. His dialogues or *Colloquies* too were just as famous because of their wit and humor. These works taught generations how to read and write, just as his educational tracts *The Method of Studies* (or the *De ratione studii*), *On why one ought to begin teaching children the liberal arts when they are very young* (or *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*), *The Handbook for the Christian Soldier* (or *Enchiridion militis Christiani*), and *The Education of a Christian Prince* (or *Institutio principis Christiani*) promoted liberal studies across the old world and the new, and helped establish the first modern research programs for the humanities in the *Trilingual College* at the Catholic University of Leuven and the Protestant University of Leiden. His thoughts on liberal arts pedagogy transformed just about every educational institution, from grammar schools like St. Paul’s School in London, founded by Erasmus’s friend John Colet with Erasmus’s views on liberal arts in mind, to the Jesuit curriculum of *ratio studiorum* (which specifically drew on Erasmus’s *De ratione studii*). All of these historical anecdotes help explain why Erasmus is important for liberal studies, but I wish to make my case not so much on Erasmus’s biography as on his writings.

I want, however, to begin by reflecting with all of you about the nature and genre of this august PLS tradition that we call the “opening charge.” What is an opening charge? I scrutinized each shelf and document of the PLS archives and the best definition of an “opening charge” that I was able to discover is from the 2011 lecture of our chair, Prof. Thomas Stapleford, whom I now quote:

Every year, the Opening Charge gives us a chance to reflect on the goals of the PLS and the nature of a liberal arts education. Now the faculty, who have had the opportunity to attend these talks for many years, know that Opening Charges often fall into a standard pattern. The lecturer begins by describing a certain challenge to the ideals of a liberal education. This seems relatively innocuous at first, but as the lecturer begins to elucidate the full nature of the threat, the atmosphere becomes more foreboding, and a palpable unease grows among the audience. Then, just when students are about to flee the room in panic, ready to fling themselves on the mercies of Business or Engineering, the lecturer executes a brilliant intellectual maneuver, shatters the forces of self-doubt and skepticism, and sends the audience forth in a crescendo of triumph for another year of reading great books.²

To paraphrase and summarize, an “opening charge” is a particular kind of public lecture meant to exhort us to uphold our intellectual duties this coming year and stand our ground against our

² *Thomae Stabulivadi Praelectio in rhetoricam ad universitatis dominae nostrae lacu discipulos, Programma 2012.*

common intellectual foes. The ancient Greek, Roman, or later Renaissance rhetoricians whom I occasionally read would have called this particular kind of speech a *μελέτη* in Greek, a *declamatio* in Latin, or as we would say in English, a declamation. Declamations were originally student exercises in the educational curriculum established by the ancient Greek sophists as early as the fifth century BCE to train their pupils in the arts of persuasion and public speaking. Either they would ask youths to compose and deliver speeches as fictional characters defending themselves or prosecuting someone else publically – these speeches came to be known as *controversia* – or they would ask them to exhort others, often famous historical persons, to pursue a course of action – these deliberative speeches were known as *suasoria*.

The expression “opening charge” for a declamation is of course a military expression, that could have been substituted with something like “rallying cry” or “call to arms.” I am proud that the PLS has resisted the institutional weight of Notre Dame football by not silently altering the expression “opening charge” to one more suitable to the university’s athletic culture, like “kick-off,” nor by asking us to reflect on “what would the PLS fight for?” The figure of speech of an “opening charge” is definitively militaristic, and it has always recalled for me the risk of miscommunication in military matters, as when the British Lord Raglan sent the wrong message to his light brigade during the Crimean War, launching hundreds of soldiers to their infamous death by charging in open field of battle against Russian artillery. The combative language, however, is part of the rules of the game. This is clear even in the Ancient Greek word for a declamation, *μελέτη*, which means both rhetorical classroom exercises and military drills to prepare soldiers for combat. The military figure of speech might seem odd for this PLS event, especially since I don’t propose this evening to raise any specters of inimical foes or bogey men like postmodernism, economics, or business and engineering, as invoked by Prof. Stapleford and my other predecessors who also executed this duty. I won’t draw blood by slaying any dragons this evening.

My character is too irenic. I simply wish to speak about Erasmus and some of his most famous declamations. Erasmus courageously professes peace and tolerance just when Europe was about to enter into a century of religious war; this is the same Erasmus who delights to tell his readers that we learn from the Bible that the Holy Ghost descended on earth as dove and not as an eagle or a bird of prey. Despite his pacifism or perhaps even because of it, Erasmus wrote a great number of declamations and rarely shied away from intellectual controversies, correcting the errors of his contemporaries vigorously, and defending his positions vehemently against his numerous hostile critics. But first, before I get ahead of myself, a little more on the history and nature of “opening charges.”

In Hellenistic and Roman times, declamations also became public performances, not by students, but by professional orators, meant either to exhort the public towards a specific goal or simply to demonstrate their skills and attract potential students to their schools. The PLS opening charge belongs to this kind of oration. The Roman rhetorician Quintilian and his Renaissance readers would have called this type of pedagogical oratory *praelectio*, specifically when it discusses a particular text or author. In the Middle Ages, university professors would often try to attract students to enroll in their courses by giving a general speech on their subject matter. According to the rules of the game, the kind of historical pedantry that I am now demonstrating would probably lead Cicero and Augustine, the two great Roman teachers of rhetoric whom we read in our second PLS seminar, to give me a failing grade. But I’ve committed myself to this long-winded scholarly method, so I’ll continue on this winding path so long as at least one of

you remains in the room.³ Persuasion always poses a risk, since what brings one student into the class might push another out. I know this from personal experience; I once announced on the first day of my freshmen University Seminar with maybe too much zeal that we were going to read all of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in no less than six classes! Behind the front row of excited and motivated students two freshmen in the back of the class announced their discontent almost in unison by questioning whether they heard me correctly, "both books!? the whole thing?!" Some of you in the back of the room tonight might be mumbling to yourselves or to your neighbors, "Prof. Robichaud wants us to read more Erasmus?! Ugggh... He already assigns so much Aristotle!" Erasmus probably would agree with you, and say that the large Richard Mckeon edition of Aristotle that we assign in the PLS should follow the Aristotelian law that all things tend towards their natural state, i.e., to remain closed on the bookshelf.

I can reassure you that I am acutely aware of the perennial problem that we PLS faculty discuss in our departmental meetings: adding a text into the curriculum, in this case putting more Erasmus into Seminar III, inevitably necessitates cutting other readings. Just like playing a game of whack-a-mole, we beat one new text into the curriculum while another pops out somewhere else. Please know that I am also very aware that this is not the place to begin carving up our beloved reading list. Although this is precisely what my Italian friend did when we spoke about Erasmus and the PLS book list. In my colleague's opinion, it was unbelievable that we devote only one short class to Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, a long and beautiful work rich in humor, erudition, and irony, especially since just before reading the *Praise of Folly* we spend two full classes on Julian of Norwich's so-called *Showings*, a patchwork of inelegant ravings and complaints about personal illnesses and visions. My friend happens to be a prominent scholar of the Middle Ages and remarked that there might be only three people in all of Italy who have ever even heard the name Julian of Norwich. I won't repeat all of my friend's criticisms, for example, he was also flabbergasted that we read Julian of Norwich but we only read two of the three literary crowns (Dante and Petrarch, but not Boccaccio) in Seminar III, or that Erasmus deserves more time in the curriculum because the subtleties of the *Praise of Folly* cannot be appreciated in one class whereas Julian of Norwich's repetitive text can be assessed rather quickly. To avoid offending any fans of Julian, I also won't mention how my colleague explained to me that Julian's text has not been properly edited. Namely, that there is both a long version and a short version of the *Showings*, the short form of which only survives in one manuscript from the fifteenth century, and the long form of which only surfaces in three paltry seventeenth-century manuscripts, and that both the long and short texts were all but ignored until the twentieth century, and yet for some reason we read the long version in Seminar III. I should confess, however, that I confided to my friend that I never look forward to teaching Julian because students quickly run out of things to say about the text, and this is certainly of no fault of their own. In any case, I responded to my Italian friend that one should not pass judgment too quickly since Julian might express the exact kind of lunacy that Erasmus would have exalted in the *Praise of Folly*. But my friend retorted that our reading assignments make it clear that we're the real fools.

I will relay to you tonight a point on which my Italian friend and I both agreed, namely that the PLS's mission is in Erasmus's debt insofar as Erasmus's pedagogy for liberal studies involves the close study of authors, instead of focusing on professional skills. For example, in *On the Method of Studies* (or *De ratione studii*) Erasmus argues that students learn much more easily

³ The image of the failed charge of the Light Brigade once again comes to mind as a possible metaphor for my opening charge.

by discussion and by reading good authors than by memorizing rules and precepts, and although they are not identical, there is some overlap between the reading list of the first two PLS seminars and Erasmus's bibliography of "great books."⁴

Therefore, the rallying cry that one always encounters with Erasmus's exhortations to readers is not simply "to take up and read" anything whatsoever, but to return "to the sources" or "*ad Fontes*," an expression that finds its origins in the Latin text of the Psalms. The full quotation of Erasmus's often repeated adage is from his book *On the method of studying, reading, and interpreting authors (De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores)*: "In the first place one has to return to the sources themselves, that is the Greeks and the ancients. The best teachers of philosophy are Plato, Aristotle, and his disciple Theophrastus, then Plotinus, who draws from both of them. Among the theologians, after the Holy Scriptures, nobody is better than Origen, nobody is more subtle and charming than Chrysostom, nobody more saintly than Basil. Among Latin authors, only two are remarkable, Ambrose, who is extraordinary in his playful allusions or allegories, and Jerome, the most skilled in the Holy Scriptures."⁵ Erasmus wrote a couple of books that I hesitate to call textbooks, but he always argued that it is best to read an original source, if possible in the original language. But because of the need of reliable translations, Erasmus scrutinized existing translations for errors. He agreed with one of his intellectual heroes, Angelo Poliziano (1454-94), the brilliant fifteenth-century Renaissance philologist who criticized contemporary philosophers, who based their understanding of Aristotle on the Latin translation of an Arabic translation often of a Syriac translation of Aristotle's Ancient Greek, by claiming that they were certainly reading works of philosophy but their texts were too far removed from the source to call them books by Aristotle.

Erasmus would have been more sympathetic to the original PLS curriculum since it had Latin, English, and French requirements, although Erasmus would have insisted on including Ancient Greek and perhaps even Hebrew. In case any of you are intimidated about learning foreign languages, if Erasmus were in the room this evening, he might encourage you by saying that "hope is never lost" since he only began to work assiduously on learning Ancient Greek in his early 30s, after he was allowed to leave the monastery where he complained that he was forbidden to pursue his scholarly and literary interests. Despite these setbacks, he became one of the greatest Greek philologists of his day.

Erasmus also often reminds his readers of the connection between the liberal studies and *libertas* or freedom, so he might have balked at the fact that the first group of students in the PLS needed special permission from the University of Notre Dame's president and from the diocesan bishop to read books placed on the Index of Forbidden Books, in which many of Erasmus's own books were placed in good company with a number of other great books from the PLS

⁴ Some of the authors that Erasmus encourages students and teachers to read closely and discuss might be familiar, including among the Greeks, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Theophrastus, Lucian, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and even the fragmentary Menander; among the Latins, Terence, Plautus, Pliny, Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Macrobius; among the Greek church fathers Origen, Basil, and John Chrysostom; and among the Latin fathers Ambrose and Jerome, as well as, lest we forget, the Bible.

⁵ Cf. the Vulgate version of Psalm 42: "quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum ita desiderat anima mea ad te Deus."

curriculum.⁶ This isn't a complete surprise, since there is a dialogue attributed to Erasmus that describes Pope Julius II arriving in heaven only to find that St. Peter's gates are locked to him. Julius shouts, "What the devil is this? The doors won't open? Someone must have changed the lock, or at least tampered with it." To which his interlocutor responds, "Are you quite sure you haven't brought the wrong key?" – as though Julius accidentally brought his car keys instead of his house keys, or his family changed the locks while he was away.⁷ But this is no worse than Dante's satire of church scandals in the *Inferno*. Erasmus never acknowledged that this dialogue was his, nor did he deny it. He did admit that the style was similar to his, but also that the dialogue should never have been published. In any case, the pacifist Erasmus, who thought that everyone should love their enemy and turn the other cheek, would not have approved of Julius II, a warrior Pope who suited in armor and charged his political enemies in an open field of battle in order to expand his territorial empire. Julius II's successor, Pope Leo X, however, was one of Erasmus's patrons and supporters. After all, he was the son of the humanist prince of Florence Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-92) and had been educated in Florence by the aforementioned humanist Angelo Poliziano.

To achieve his goal of promulgating his own great books curriculum, Erasmus also prepared countless editions, translations, paraphrases, and commentaries, which he published with some of the most illustrious publishing houses of his day, most notably the Press of Aldus Manutius in Venice and Johan Froben in Basel. Erasmus is responsible for editing and publishing more texts by the church fathers than anyone else with the exception of the nineteenth-century French scholar who oversaw the publication of the *Patrologia Latina* and *Patrologia Graeca*, Jacques Paul Migne (1800-1875). Erasmus also fought for good translations, and he translated a number of Greek authors himself, including ancient rhetoricians, tragedians, satirists, philosophers, physicians, scholars, historians, theologians, and of course the New Testament.⁸

It is difficult for us to imagine how important Erasmus's revised Latin translation of the New Testament was when he printed it in 1516. It is an understatement to say that his Latin translation of the New Testament is a more forceful seismic cultural shift than the publication of either the Gutenberg Bible, which still printed the Vulgate text supposedly translated by St. Jerome while the Holy Spirit worked through him, or Luther's German translation of the bible in 1522, since Luther himself drew inspiration from Erasmus, with whom he would eventually have a public falling out over theological matters and Erasmus's refusal to break with the Catholic church, and because Erasmus's Latin was more widely read than Luther's German.

I'd like to poll the audience with a quick show of hands. Who has spent some time reading the New Testament? [*everyone raised their hand*] Who has read it in the original Koine

⁶ At different times the list included such authors studied in the PLS as Dante, Copernicus, Kepler, Hobbes, Pascal, Calvin, Descartes, Bacon, Montaigne, Spinoza, Milton, Locke, Voltaire, Hume, Rousseau, Machiavelli, Kant, and Bentham, among many others.

⁷ *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. by A. H. T. Levi, trans. and annotated by Michael J. Heath, vol. 27 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 168.

⁸ Some of the authors edited and/or translated – often in complete works – and published by Erasmus include the following: Jerome, Augustine, Cyprian, Arnobius the Younger, Hilary of Poitiers, John Chrysostom, Irenaeus, Ambrose, Athanasius, Lactantius, Basil of Caesarea, Origen, Libanius, Euripides, Lucian, Plutarch, Isocrates, Galen, Xenophon, and the New Testament.

Greek? [*two or three faculty members and one student raised their hand*] Who has read it translated into a modern language? [*everyone raised their hand*] You have Erasmus to thank for that. Not only did he complete his own more accurate translation of the New Testament into Latin, which he published with a new edition of the Greek text, he also called for the Bible to be translated into vernacular languages. Erasmus makes his case openly and forcefully in his best seller, the *Paraclesis*, the declamation to his readers to pick up and read the New Testament that which became the preface to his 1516 translation of the New Testament:

I absolutely dissent from those people who don't want the Holy Scriptures to be read in translation by the unlearned – as if, forsooth, Christ taught such complex doctrine that hardly anyone outside a handful of theologians could understand it, or as if the chief strength of the Christian religion lay in people's ignorance of it... and I wish these writings were translated into all the languages of the human race, so that they could be read and studied, not just by the Irish and the Scots, but by the Turks as well, and the Saracens. The first step is simply to understand. Many will ridicule, no doubt, but some will be intrigued. As a result, I would hope that the farmer might chant a holy text at his plow, the spinner sing it as she sits at her wheel, the traveler ease the tedium of his journey with tales from the scriptures.⁹

Erasmus's exhortation to take up and read the Bible has two strategies, like two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, because professional theologians had accused Erasmus of being nothing but a grammarian or a school teacher (a *grammaticus* or *grammatista*) who tried to pass as a theologian by dangerously rewriting the Bible, Erasmus steals his opponents' weapons, admitting that although it might be true that he is a grammarian, theologians who aren't grammarians, in other words theologians don't study at least Latin and Greek, if not also Hebrew, are the ones who are truly pantomiming theology.¹⁰ Erasmus's defense is thick with irony, insofar as he is elevating the lowly grammarian to the status of a philologist overseeing all fields including theology. On the other hand, even though Erasmus is a champion for uncompromised scholarly expertise in theology, he also advocates translating the Bible in multiple vernaculars so that, in his words, even the ditch-digger can become a theologian.

What was new in Erasmus's call to return to the sources? Although he became a towering figure, Erasmus stood on the shoulders of giants. The classicists Eduard Norden (1868-1941) and his student Paul O. Kristeller (1905-1999), shining representatives of the humanist tradition against later twentieth-century anti-humanism and barbarism, make a strong case. In his magnificently sweeping survey of prose style from the ancients to the Renaissance, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (or *Ancient Literary Prose*), Norden argues that two pedagogies competed in the medieval schoolroom: one favored studying authors (or *auctores*) the other skills or arts (*artes*). In other words, one pedagogy advocated that students study the complete texts, "great books," as it were, while the other approach contended that students only needed to learn, often through textbook compilations, the linguistic skills necessary for their future professions, whether secretarial, scribal, legal, medical, or theological and ecclesiastical. Norden pushes the origins of the pedagogy based on studying *auctores* to the predecessors of Petrarch (1304-74) and later humanists, medieval men who were not simply content to learn skills but also yearned to read

⁹ Erasmus, *Paraclesis* (1516), in *The Praise of Folly and Other Writings*, trans. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1989), 121.

¹⁰ See Erasmus's response to Dorp: "In huiusmodi non theologis sed theologiae histriones..."

and preserve the texts of the ancient authors themselves.¹¹ Nonetheless, despite the cultivation of Latin classics in Carolingian courts, Chartres, and Orleans, according to Norden, the pedagogy that encouraged studying *auctores* was for a long time on the losing team, and by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *artes* were resolutely winning the battle against the *auctores*.

Petrarch, Norden explains, began to turn the tide of battle. The modern humanities inherited two traits in particular from Petrarch: a concentration of learning that eventually led to specialized scholarship in the humanities; and a desire to break from the rigid rules for writing and interpretation, in order to strive for beauty through stylistic imitation of *auctores*. These two traits are often presented today in American universities as being in competition with one another, and some universities value the humanities only as part of general education and prefer to leave research to the sciences and social sciences. But to think that this division is necessary to the humanities is false reasoning. In humanists like Petrarch and Erasmus the two traits go together hand in hand. As a case in point, in order to have authors to study, readers first need to have stable and reliable texts. Petrarch today is mostly remembered as one of the three literary crowns (the *tre corone*), along with Dante and Boccaccio, that is, he is remembered primarily as the temperamental poet of the stunningly beautiful *Canzoniere*. But like Erasmus, Petrarch was not just an author but also a scholar of ancient works. It is to his diligent philology that we owe the discovery of manuscripts of Cicero's letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus in the library of the Cathedral of Verona. Petrarch also tirelessly tried to find manuscripts of Livy in order to reconstruct and stitch together the fragments of Livy's monumental history of early Rome.

Petrarch's writings also reveal how he fervently believes that books can transform their readers. To cite a famous quotation from one of his letters to Boccaccio, Petrarch lauds ancient authors passionately, claiming that he reads their classics over and over until he has "thoroughly absorbed them, implanting them not only in my memory but in the marrow [of my bones]."¹² Some of Petrarch's favorites are, of course, Cicero and Vergil, but also Livy, Seneca, Ovid, Plato, and Augustine. This last author deserves our attention for a moment.

Like Erasmus, Petrarch has a complicated relationship with Augustine. The Latin Church father is indeed one of the authors whose texts has become part of the very fabric of Petrarch's being, deep in his marrow, but Petrarch is not always pleased to have him under his skin. In one of his dialogues, the *Secretum* (or Secret, a work that Petrarch claims to have written only for himself), the two interlocutors Franciscus and Augustinus – thin veils for Francesco Petrarca and Augustine of Hippo – debate the value of studying and imitating the classics of the Greeks and Romans. Augustinus reproaches Franciscus for spending too much time studying the classics and for writing his own poetry. Augustinus argues, as the real historical Augustine wrote in his rhetorical treatise *On Christian Teaching*, that Franciscus should only read texts from the ancient pagans if they are useful for Christianity, and that he should cast away the rest, as the Hebrews despoiled the Egyptians of their possessions when they left for the Holy Land. Augustinus, like a stern doctor, offers a harsh medical diagnosis: the classics have indeed penetrated Petrarch's body too deeply and, like the plague, have transformed him for the worse, and just as though

¹¹ Eduard Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert V. Chr. Bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898).

¹² Quoted in Christopher S. Celenza, "Petrarch, Latin and Italian Renaissance Latinity," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35.3 (2005): 515. I have made slight modifications to the translation.

Petrarch were to have excessive black bile in his system because of this plague, reading too many classics is the cause of his melancholy.

I'm reminded of Prof. Radde-Gallwitz's opening charge from last year. He insightfully remarked that it is in Augustine's *Confessions* that we encounter the treatment of the Bible as a "great book" for the first time in our PLS curriculum. I'm inspired by this wonderful example of what is sometimes called "the great conversation," and will offer you another example in return, namely the first time the *Confessions* is treated as a "great book" by another reader in our PLS curriculum. The reader in question is of course Petrarch – unless, that is, we count Augustine himself, since I have no doubt that the Bishop of Hippo thought that his *Confessions* was a "great book." The passage that Petrarch revisits is the source of the title of my talk, namely the famous turning point in book eight of the *Confessions* when Augustine narrates his conversion in the garden of a Roman villa in a countryside outside of Milan. The story is too well known to recount in full. I will summarize just enough to jog your memories. Until then, Augustine had recounted his upbringing in North Africa, his love affairs in Carthage, with women as well as with Vergil and Cicero, his flirtation with the dualistic religion of Manicheism, the rise of his career as a teacher of rhetoric in Italy, his encounter with Ambrose's sermons in Milan, and his desire to find peace and tranquility in leisured philosophical conversation with friends outside of the city's hustle and bustle. Augustine frames the arc of his conversion narrative figuratively, as an epic *nostos* or homecoming, a conversion or a return to the safe harbor of grace, all while movingly confessing his sins and inner troubles as a prayer addressed to God.

Books and authors figure prominently in Augustine's story: his love of Vergil and Cicero, his initial youthful disapproval of the Bible – and of Aristotle I might add – for being written in such an inelegant style. Augustine recounts that in the pits of despair he was seduced by Manichean dualism before books of philosophy began to turn him away from this error and towards God. First was Cicero's lost *Hortensius*, then the books of the Platonists. Still, in book seven, just before his conversion in book eight, Augustine explains that the Platonists only brought him so far. He only found his way home when he heard the voice of a child implore him to "take up and read" (*tolle lege*), like an oracle speaking to him in the Garden, as Prof. Radde-Gallwitz described it so well last year. That Augustine picks up the Bible and stumbles on a passage from Romans (13:13-14), which directly addresses Augustine's spiritual needs might seem like the work of chance or fate – similarly to how Augustine described previously in the *Confessions* how some people tell their fortune by randomly reading passages of Vergil – but the contrast between *this* biblical revelation and bibliomancy is intentional for Augustine. His conversion as an act of reading is not the work of the Roman goddess Fortune but the descent of the Christian God's grace.

Take up and read. This too is Petrarch's exhortation; his opening charge, as it were, in his letter about the ascent of Mont Ventoux. Yet the book that Petrarch picks up is not the Bible, but Augustine's *Confessions*, which he carried with him as a personal guidebook, what one might call a *vademecum*. Petrarch restages Augustine's conversion scene in a letter to the Augustinian monk, Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro. Instead of a garden, he describes his ascent up Mont Ventoux in Provence, in Southern France, with his younger brother, also a monk. Playing ironically with medieval figurative tropes for paths of vices and virtue, Petrarch describes how he chose the easier path that seemed to go around the mountain, while his brother took the steeper path straight up. Conforming to any moderately clever reader's expectations, Petrarch finds out that the seemingly easier path is actually much harder; it is, as the etymology for

erroneous evokes, the wrong path insofar as it is the path that wanders or errs. It is at this point that Petrarch begins to reveal the purpose behind the letter by using the Platonic language of the intellect's winged ascent as he describes his errant ways. Petrarch then intensifies the Augustinian references and quotations, comparing how he contemplates his youthful studies just as Augustine did in his *Confessions*. The sun sets as Petrarch reaches the mountain top:

While I was thus dividing my thoughts, now turning my attention to some terrestrial object that lay before me, now raising my soul, as I had done my body, to higher planes, it occurred to me to look into my copy of St. Augustine's *Confessions*... I opened the compact little volume, small indeed in size, but of infinite charm, with the intention of reading whatever came to hand, for I could happen upon nothing that would be otherwise than edifying and devout. Now it chanced that the tenth book presented itself. My brother, waiting to hear something of St. Augustine's from my lips, stood attentively by. I call him, and God too, to witness that where I first fixed my eyes it was written: "And men go about to wonder at the heights of the mountains, and the mighty waves of the sea, and the wide sweep of rivers, and the circuit of the ocean, and the revolution of the stars, but themselves they consider not." ... What I had there read I believed to be addressed to me and to no other, remembering that St. Augustine had once suspected the same thing in his own case, when, he opened the book of the Apostle... The same thing happened earlier to St. Antony, when he was listening to the Gospel... Believing this scripture to have been read for his special benefit, as his biographer Athanasius says, he guided himself by its aid to the Kingdom of Heaven.¹³

It is here that Petrarch displays his skills as both scholar and writer. If it isn't already obvious, he plays with the language of conversion, reflecting on how often he has turned around in his ways, in his thoughts, or how he has turned the honorable gifts of God to dishonor, just as he turned about the mountain trying to find a shortcut to the summit. He accepts the logic of Augustine's theology while questioning it at the same time. For like the Augustine of the *Confessions*, Petrarch frames conversion as operations of will, intellect, and grace. Augustine, you will remember, sought to reach divine heights first by way of his intellect – the way of the Platonists in their great books, a way that Augustine will inevitably recast as a prideful turning away from God – then by means of his will, which allowed him to turn to God, but still he could not ascend by will alone. Willing his will to will, to will, to will its way to God only fragmented and weakened Augustine's multiplied and repeated intentions. The descent of God's grace in the encounter with the Bible was necessary to unite these instances into a single and powerful conversion. In his letter, Petrarch also describes his ascent through Platonic intellect and will, but unlike Augustine, Petrarch waits for grace that never comes. There is no conversion by grace in Petrarch's letter on the ascent of Mount Ventoux. He is left waiting.

Petrarch the writer's adaptation of Augustine's story is certainly daring, but what is even more impressive is how Petrarch the scholar demonstrates, long before Pierre Courcelle's magisterial research from the 1950s and 1960s, that he understands Augustine's conversion for

¹³ Translation in James Harvey Robinson, ed. and trans., *Petrarch: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1898), 316-18.

what it is, a lovely piece of rhetoric.¹⁴ In reconstructing his own conversion narrative, Petrarch deconstructs Augustine's. This is plain for all to see. Petrarch gives indications to his readers how to interpret his playful letter. For instance, after making a parallel between his own failed conversion and Augustine's successful conversion, Petrarch compares both to Antony's. There is nothing revolutionary here, even though Petrarch's frankness is striking. Here too Petrarch is following Augustine, for in the *Confessions* Augustine provides road signs and directions to his readers. Immediately before reciting his own conversion in the garden outside of Milan, Augustine prepares his reader by recounting how one day a certain man named Pontitianus visited him. This man discovered that Augustine was becoming Christian when – by chance, or rather by grace – he saw a book of the writings of St. Paul on Augustine's table. They proceeded to discuss their religion, and Pontitianus began speaking about Antony, whose life and conversion Augustine did not know. Not only does Augustine present his conversion as an imitation of Antony, by turning to a passage in Paul, Augustine recounts that Pontitianus's own conversion came by reading, not the Bible, but Antony's conversion narrative in the biography written by Athanasius, which Pontitianus once more discovered with his friend in a servant's cottage – by chance, or rather once again by grace. Petrarch, therefore, situates himself in a genealogical chain of imitative conversion narratives beginning with the archetype of Paul's own conversion on the road to Damascus. Augustine's book certainly transformed Petrarch, but not in the same way that reading Athanasius's *Life of Antony* transformed Pontitianus or reading Paul transformed Antony and Augustine. In a nutshell, Petrarch is treating Augustine not as an oracle, but as a source worthy of criticism and imitation. But enough of this Petrarchan digression. Let's return to Erasmus.

Erasmus once wrote of his intentions to publish Augustine's complete works: "I learn more of Christian philosophy from a single page of Origen than from ten of Augustine... all the same, my love of Augustine is great enough for me to have attempted in an edition of his works to do for him what I did for Jerome."¹⁵ At a time when Reformers, of both Lutheran and Calvinist persuasions, as well as Roman Catholic theologians all called on Augustine's authority in their arguments, especially regarding the Pelagian debates over sin, free will, and grace, Erasmus, who it cannot be forgotten was an Augustinian canon who edited the complete works of Augustine, stood apart from the rest. Erasmus did not shy from expressing his opinion about Augustine. I can review Erasmus's assessment of Augustine's pros and cons rather quickly. First his cons: it is in Augustine's philosophical mind that scholastic theology was born like Minerva from Zeus's head; Augustine's Latin style is too crude and long-winded; his Greek was non-existent; the *City of God* is covered in a fog of obscurity; and the *Confessions* are irritating for glorifying its author and for airing out Augustine's dirty laundry, as well as for making Augustine's own childhood peccadilloes everyone's concern.¹⁶ However, Erasmus praised Augustine for being an excellent bishop, for his learning, his charity and clemency towards the poor and heretics, and for remaining faithful to his concubines. Erasmus, it is safe to say, preferred the scholars Jerome and Origen to the bishop of Hippo.

¹⁴ Pierre Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1950); *idem*, *Les Confessions de saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire: antécédents et postérité* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1963).

¹⁵ *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 842-992*, trans. by R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, annotated by P. G. Bietenholz, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 844.

¹⁶ Which Erasmus calls vanity, κενοδοξία, and self-love, φιλαυτία.

Erasmus seems to have two specific reasons for being lukewarm towards Augustine. The first is that Augustine is critical of Jerome's philological work on the Bible and his new translation of it from the Hebrew. Augustine preferred the Old Latin translation of the Bible based on the Greek translation of the Hebrew – this version is commonly known as the Septuagint – since Augustine and many others believe that this Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures was the work of the Holy Spirit working through 70 scholars who supposedly completed identical translations independently from one another. In his letters to Jerome, Augustine complains that he knows of a certain bishop who had to quell some hullabaloo in his diocese after a disagreement broke out over the use of Jerome's translation from the Hebrew instead of a Latin translation from the Greek Septuagint. The second reason is that Erasmus thinks that Augustine's later anti-Pelagian dogmatic writings lend themselves too well to a Protestant predestinarian theology of grace. After all, in his *De servo arbitrio*, Luther explicitly claims that Augustine would completely agree with his Protestant theology. Thomas More, as you know, asked his friend Erasmus to attack Luther with Augustine's arguments, to which Erasmus responded that this strategy might not be too wise: "If I wish to follow Paul and Augustine, there is little room left for free will."¹⁷ Erasmus chose to critique Luther with what he considered to be better weapons.

Despite all of these reservations, like Augustine, Erasmus too thinks that reading the Bible was the best way to convert and truly transform the reader. The Bible, Erasmus argues, makes Christ's person vividly present before the reader's eyes. But for a book to be able to transform its reader, Erasmus also thinks that it has to be free from copying errors and textual corruptions accrued over centuries or millennia. In this approach, one encounters once more Erasmus the humanist, the *grammaticus*, the philologist, the person who cares for texts and books and calls the readers to "return to the sources." Nowhere was this more important to Erasmus than with the Bible. To put things otherwise, Erasmus thought that books need to be carefully transformed before they can transform their readers.

He makes this case forcefully in his declamation, the *Praise of Folly*, which we read in the PLS, but more explicitly in another declamation, the *Paraclesis*, which we don't read. The Greek word, *παράκλησις*, which Erasmus uses as a title for his exhortation to pick up and read the New Testament, can be rendered literally as a calling out, like the Latin *declamatio* (or even better a shout out), but it is more accurate to say that it conveys three meanings: i) calling out to one's aid, that is imploring someone or even praying to the gods or a god for help; ii) an exhortation, like a persuasive rhetorical declamation; and iii) a consolation. Erasmus expresses all three meanings in his title, for not only is the *Paraclesis* an exhortation to pick up and read the New Testament, which he believes can aid and console mankind, it is also an invocation for divine assistance, perhaps from the Holy Spirit. As a keen scriptural scholar, Erasmus is aware that the Bible describes the Holy Spirit as the Paraclete who exhorts and leads others to truth, as in John 14:26.¹⁸

Erasmus is now famous for his philological work on Scriptures, but the *Paraclesis* is a work of rhetoric, not of philology. It certainly argues for the value and dignity of philological

¹⁷ *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen*, vol. 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 81.

¹⁸ ὁ δὲ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὃ πέμψει ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐκεῖνος, ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν [ἐγώ].

scholarship but it does not delve into precise problems.¹⁹ In fact, its opening paragraph does not address textual criticism beyond urging scholars and theologians to learn their languages. Instead, it speaks about how the Bible, to use Erasmus's words, can help transform its readers into Christian philosophers:

Indeed, if ever such a power of speaking befell anyone, [I would pray for] the sort of eloquence that, not altogether without cause, the fables of the ancient poets ascribe to Mercury, who, in the same way as with his magic staff [the caduceus] and divine lyre, invites and dismisses sleep as he pleases, driving souls into hell and calling them back out of hell; or the sort that they ascribe to Amphion and Orpheus, one of whom, it is said, would enliven hard stones, the other would uproot oak and ash trees with the lyre; or the sort which the Gauls would attribute to Ogmios, leading around all mortals with a little chain binding their ears to his tongue; or the sort that mythical antiquity attributed to Marsyas; or certainly, lest I dwell too long in myth, the sort that Alcibiades attributes to Socrates, and old comedy to Pericles, which not only charms the ears with ephemeral pleasures, but also leaves behind a permanent sting in the minds of the audience, which seizes and transforms them, and sends the audience away as different persons... But if there were a kind of magical incantation such as this, if there were a power of harmony which would possess true divine inspiration [ἐνθουσιασμόν], if Pytho ever truly transformed souls, I would love to use it to persuade everyone of the most beneficial thing of all. Although it would be preferable to pray that Christ himself, whose work is being conducted, should tune the chords of my lyre so that this little song might influence and move the minds of all deeply.²⁰

In order to prepare and exhort his audience to read the Gospel as a *philosophia Christi*, Erasmus compares the magical transformative power of pagan rhetoric, poetry, and philosophy to Christian and Biblical eloquence.

Erasmus's classical rhetoric in the *Paraclesis* is very different from Augustine's exhortation to take up and read the Bible. You will remember that a helper (or paraclete) also called out to Augustine in the form of the oracular voice of a child crying out to him: "take up and read." There is no doubt that Augustine composed the account of his conversion using the language of the Gospel of Matthew 11:25-30, which in the Contemporary English Version reads as "At that moment Jesus said: 'My Father, Lord of heaven and earth, I am grateful that you hid all this from wise and educated people and showed it to ordinary people / or little children.'" For example, at *Confessions* 8.2.3, Augustine echoes this language explicitly:

I told [Ambrose] all the wanderings of my error. But when I told him that I had read certain books of the Platonists which had been translated into Latin by Victorinus, one-time professor of Rhetoric in Rome – who had, so I heard, died a Christian – he congratulated me for not having fallen upon the writings of other philosophers which are full of vain deceits, according to the elements of this world, whereas in the Platonists God and his Word are everywhere implied. *Then to draw me on to*

¹⁹ For example, one of his most famous emendations is his demonstration that the *Comma Iohanneum*, the key Trinitarian passage expressing that the three persons of the trinity are one (First Epistle of John 5:7-8) is a later interpolation from a Latin tradition that is completely absent in the Greek manuscripts of John.

²⁰ Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1516), aaa 3v.

the humility of Christ, hidden from the wise and revealed to little children [Sheed has “little ones”; *sapientibus absconditam et revelatam parvulis*], he began to speak of Victorinus himself whom he had known intimately when he was in Rome... Victorinus with his thunder of eloquence had gone on championing [liberal studies and philosophy] for so many years even into old age: yet he thought it no shame to be the child of Your Christ, an infant at Your font (*puer Christi tui et infans fontis tui*), bending his neck under the yoke of humility and his forehead to the ignominy of the Cross.²¹

In these pages, Augustine explicitly cites and uses the exact terminology he read in his Latin text of Matthew 11:25-30 to explain Victorinus’s conversion from being a learned professor of rhetoric and liberal arts and wise Platonist to becoming the simple Christian by means of listening to the revelation given to and by little children.

Does this sound familiar? It won’t surprise us to find Augustine using the language of Matthew 11:25 once more to explain his own conversion, when he too gave up on his career of teaching rhetoric and the liberal arts and turned away from the teachings of the Platonists and gave into the simple Christian revelation of the oracular little children calling to him in the garden. However, one might miss the connections if one were to compare Augustine’s Latin with the Contemporary English Version of Matthew, since there is a notable difference with the line of Matthew 11:25 as it is recorded in both the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate* translation and how we read it in this modern English translation. For where the Contemporary English Version reads, “My Father, Lord of heaven and earth, I am grateful that you hid all this from wise and educated people and showed it to ordinary people,” one finds in the Latin “to small children” or *parvulis* instead of “to ordinary people.” Why does this matter?

When Erasmus translated this Greek passage from Matthew 11:25 he found fault with the *Vulgate*’s translation. Instead of translating the Greek word *νηπίοις* as “parvulis” for “to small children,” as it is in the *Vulgate*, Erasmus chose “stultis,” meaning “to fools.”²² In Erasmus’s translation the passage reads in English as something like, “Responding at that time, Jesus said: ‘I thank you father, lord of heaven and earth, that you hid this from wise and intelligent people, but revealed it to fools.’” There is no oracular prophecy by means of little children, as we read in Augustine, but a simple Christian doctrine meant for fools or the uneducated. This biblical foolishness is of serious importance to Erasmus, since the *Praise of Folly* and his edition and translation of the New Testament – and indeed many many more works – rely on this message. For example, responding in his *Paraclesis* almost directly to Augustine’s condemnation of intellectual curiosity as a form of impiety, Erasmus asks, “Why don’t we all explore the details of the philosophy of Christ with pious curiosity, particular concern, and avid interest? Especially,” Erasmus continues with a reference to First Corinthians, “since this special mode of wisdom, so extraordinary that it renders foolish (*stultam*) all the wisdom of the world, can be drawn from these few books as from the purest sources (*limpidissimis fontibus haurire*).”²³ In Erasmus’s opening charge, his exhortation to return to the sources of Christian folly ring out loud and clear. Christ’s message and philosophy, Erasmus proclaims, is not just for the educated: it is especially conceived for the downtrodden and uneducated common people. It is for this reason

²¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. F. J. Sheed (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006), 8.2.3. I slightly modified the translation, added italics, and underlined for emphasis.

²² For like infants, *νήπιος* means without speech (or dumb), so *νη - ἔπος*, so childlike is accurate.

²³ Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1516).

that he writes in the *Paraclesis* shortly thereafter, “I absolutely dissent from those people who don’t want the Holy Scriptures to be read in translation by the unlearned (*ab idiotis*).”²⁴ In translating the Greek *νηπίοις*, both the Contemporary English Version’s choice of “ordinary people” and the revised edition of the New American Bible’s use of “childlike” (unless I’m mistaken, PLS students read this version printed in the Catholic Study Bible), agree with Erasmus’s decision to print “*stulti*” over Augustine and the Vulgate’s choice of “*parvulis*” or little children, although these modern English translations soften Erasmus’s more jarringly accurate translation of “fools.”²⁵ In his day, Erasmus’s decision to emend the Latin Bible’s “*parvulus*” to “*stultus*” caused a controversy among theologians.²⁶

In a letter that circulated widely, Martin Dorp (1485-1525), a theologian from the university of Leuven with whom Erasmus got along well, wrote to Erasmus about the dangers of his revisions to the New Testament:

You will tell me: “I would not want you to change anything in the copy that you own, and I do not think that the Latin version is erroneous. I merely wish to show what I found in the Greek manuscripts that is different from the Latin. What evil could come of this?” Naturally, my dear Erasmus, much evil could come of this! Many people will begin to discuss the integrity of the text of the Sacred Scriptures, and many will begin to doubt even if only a small part appears to be false, not, I say, because of your work, but only through hearsay. Then what Augustine writes to Jerome [when Jerome was correcting the Old Latin translation while preparing the Vulgate] will happen: “If one admits, even with the best intentions, that there are errors in the Sacred Scripture what will remain authoritative in it?”²⁷

According to Erasmus, the real danger that is felt by his opponents is not that the Bible will cease to be authoritative, it is that uneducated theologians fear to lose *their own* authority: “They’re frightened that when they cite the Holy Scriptures, which they do so often, the authority of the true Greek and Hebrew texts might be thrown in their face, and what used to be believed as though it came from an oracle will soon appear to be a dream. So great a man as the the Bishop Saint Augustine was not so vexed so as not to be taught by a very small child.”²⁸ In his response to Dorp, Erasmus appeals with complex irony to the authority of Augustine as someone who was willing to be taught by the oracle of a tiny little child who wasn’t even there. For Erasmus, this too must have been a moment of folly!

In making the case to you this evening for the importance of Erasmus for PLS, I hope that I won’t end up being his sole advocate, a lone voice crying out in the PLS desert, as it were. Even if you don’t see eye to eye with Erasmus, it is difficult not to appreciate his sharp wit, his erudition, his heroic courage, his huge importance, and not least of all, his charming playfulness. But you can disagree with Erasmus and still agree with me. But, if you *do* disagree with me on some points I hope that like the proverbial broken clock I was correct twice this evening: in

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ See, for example, M. A. Screech, *Erasmus: Ecstasy and the Praise of Folly* (London: Peregrine Books, 1988), 31.

²⁶ Diego Lopez de Zuniga (Stunica).

²⁷ My own translation in Cecilia Asso, “Martin Dorp and Eward Lee,” trans. Denis Robichaud, *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 171-72.

²⁸ *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 111.

arguing first that Erasmus is a great author and second that he deserves greater attention in our program. In case any of you disagree completely and think that I'm on a fool's errand, it is only appropriate that I end with the closing words of Folly's own declamation: just as "I hate a drinking buddy with a good memory," so too "I hate an audience with a good memory."²⁹

Thank you for your time and attention.

²⁹ Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* (1515).

FACULTY NEWS

Entering the PLS office this past August felt like a homecoming for **Eric Bugyis**, the new Director of Undergraduate Studies. He served PLS as an adjunct instructor five years ago, while he was finishing his Ph.D. in Religious Studies from Yale University, and always considered it the ideal environment in which to teach and learn. He feels particularly fortunate to be returning to Notre Dame with his wife Katie and their son. They are all happy to be settling down after several years of travel in pursuit of various academic opportunities, which took them to the University of Washington, Tacoma, where Eric taught courses in Philosophy of Religion, Christian Thought, and Critical Theory, and then to the University of Toronto and Harvard University, where Katie held research fellowships. Eric's work focuses on the intersection of radical politics and Christian thought, and he is currently working on a project on the influence of European anarchism on the Catholic Worker Movement. His main focus this year, however, has been getting to know the excellent students in PLS and spreading the gospel of the unique education that the Program has to offer. He couldn't imagine a better way to spend his time!

For more on **Katie Bugyis**, please see our "Focus on New Faculty."

Chris Chowrimootoo's article, "Copland's Styles: Musical Modernism, Middlebrow Culture and the Appreciation of New Music," was accepted for publication in the *Journal of Musicology*. He has also just finished co-editing a special colloquy on "Musicology and the Middlebrow" for the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (to be published in Fall 2020) and signed a contract to co-edit the *Oxford Handbook of Music and the Middlebrow* (to be published in 2021).

Steve and Joan Fallon welcomed their second grandchild: Max was born on December 13 to daughter Claire and son-in-law Greg. They're finding grandparenting the best job each has ever had. In June, Steve gave a plenary address at the International Milton Symposium in Strasbourg, a marvelously beautiful and friendly city. He also co-chaired the Symposium, and among his duties was addressing the assembled Milton scholars and Strasbourg city officials, in the ornate room in the City Hall where European heads of state, including Winston Churchill, met shortly after the Second World War. In September, Steve gave a lecture on "John Milton, Isaac Newton, and the Making of a Modern World" at Duke University. In 2019 he published essays on "John Milton, Isaac Newton, and the Life of Matter" and on "Narrative and Theodicy in Paradise Lost." In the fall, he taught a course on Lyric Poetry at Westville Correctional Facility, while teaching the same course on the main campus (PLS Lit I); a high point was taking several PLS students from his traditional class out to Westville to have class with the non-traditional students. The Moreau College Initiative at Westville, a member of the Bard Prison Consortium, continues to grow; it now has awarded 10 B.A. degrees and over 40 A.A. degrees (both from Holy Cross College). For an idea of how the program works, Steve strongly recommends visiting the PBS site to stream "College Behind Bars," a documentary on Bard's prison program produced by Ken Burns' protégé Lynn Novick. In August Steve and others hosted a visit to Westville, a second-chance Pell site, by Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos and Senator Mike Braun of Indiana. In November, Steve hosted Notre Dame Provost Thomas Burish for a day at the prison, where the provost observed

Steve's class and another taught by PLS grad and current visiting faculty member Ricky Klee. Our students did us proud (in the first few minutes of Steve's class, the Westville students alluded to Socrates, Aristotle, and Foucault, none of whom was on the syllabus for Steve's course!).

Richard Klee (PLS 2002) teaches part time in the Program and, for the past five years, with the Moreau College Initiative at Westville Correctional Facility, founded with strong support from PLS faculty. Having finished a doctorate in 2018 at ND, he is completing a monograph entitled *Religion in Migration: Tobit and the Internationalization of Judaism*. This work examines the earliest complete manuscript of the Jewish literary narrative of Tobit, with emphasis on its motifs of displacement and journeying, analyzing developments in character, theological expression, and ritual as manifestations of migrant Jewish experiences in the Hellenistic era. Recent scholarly presentations on subjects involving migration, early Jewish and Christian literature, and contemporary theology have included the *Society of Biblical Literature*, the *Consortium for Liberal Arts in Prison*, and the *Catholic Social Tradition Biennial Conference*. In 2019 he received the Sr. Jean Lenz O.S.F. Leadership Award from Notre Dame in recognition of work with immigrant and incarcerated communities. His wife Kelly is beginning a doctorate in Theology at ND this year and, after years of saying she wished she had majored in PLS, is demolishing what her spouse thought he knew about several Great Books in Seminars II and III.

This year **Jennifer Newsome Martin** has published a number of essays and articles, the most recent of which (in the journal *Modern Theology*) is a Balthasarian interpretation of Julia Kristeva's novel on St. Teresa of Avila. She delivered academic papers in New York, Boston, Montreal, Pittsburgh, and Chicago, and also gave Hillsdale College's 26th annual

Faith in Life Religion and Literature lecture (on Teresa of Avila and *Don Quixote*). She enjoyed hosting artist Sandow Birk on Notre Dame's campus for a lecture and meetings with PLS students; attendance at an intimate Great Books conference at Columbia University alongside St. John's College longest-serving tutor Eva Brann; a private dinner in Chicago with California poet laureate Dana Gioia; and a trip to Chicago's Court Theatre with PLS freshman to see a marvelously minimalistic dramatization of *Oedipus Rex*. Additionally, she was grateful to be honored with the university-wide Frank O'Malley Undergraduate Teaching Award in April of 2019.

Julia Marvin: The death of my wife Lisa Maria Rodriguez Ortiz, after sudden cardiac arrest in February, made 2019 a hard year for my family. If you would like to learn more about Lisa and her life, please visit <https://www.caringbridge.org/visit/lisaortiz>.

I'm going to take advantage of my position as editor to make a public service announcement here:

--Do you have an up-to-date will? If not, do you know and approve of what would happen if you died intestate? Do the right people know where to find the original? The same questions go for things like living wills, durable powers of attorney, and instructions about organ donation. Many health information platforms allow you to archive digital versions of your important health decision-making documents so that they can be available anytime, anyplace. Making your wishes known and decision-making responsibilities clear is a great kindness to your loved ones.

--Are the right people in a position to find and get access to all of your devices and accounts—finances, services, insurance policies, utilities, phone, e-mail, social

media, etc., etc., etc.—if you become incapacitated?

--Have you named guardians for your children, and if not, do you know and approve of who would become their guardian if their parents were incapacitated?

--Do the members of your family have adequate life insurance policies?

--Have you had a full checkup lately? In particular, and especially if you are a woman, have you had your cardiac health adequately assessed? Heart trouble in women is still grossly understudied and often manifests itself in ways that even doctors may not recognize. That's what we now believe happened with Lisa. For us, the question is now academic. But it doesn't have to be for you.

Walter Nicgorski writes, "Thank you for the notes and calls of encouragement after my stroke of last May, on the very eve when I was to see a number of you at the Summer Symposium. In the month following, my wife had a serious health challenge, so we spent the summer in rehabilitation and rest. We have progressed well enough that I have ventured to commit to a role in this year's Summer Symposium and to resume travel and some lecturing, with an appearance on March 26 at the Tocqueville Forum of Georgetown University. I will be speaking on 'Cicero: Statesman As Well As Philosopher.'"

Emma Planinc is now in her second year teaching in PLS, and has just wrapped another term teaching Seminar IV. Her work has taken her all the way from La Jolla to Washington DC to Zaragoza, Spain, in 2019, as she continues to work on the French Enlightenment and Rousseau. A recent article, "Regenerating Humanism," was just published in the *History of European Ideas*, and she continues to work on her monograph, "The Rights of Human Animals: Revolutionary Science and the Politics of Regeneration," as well as a few articles stemming from this project. Her work on Rousseau's theory of language was first presented here at Notre

Dame as part of the "Persuasion After Rhetoric" conference in March of 2019, and she will soon workshop a new piece on "Regenerative Politics and the New Right" for a conference at the Kellogg Institute, where she has just been appointed a Faculty Fellow. If you are in Canada, you might have heard her appear on CBC's "Ideas" program on May 31, 2019, discussing public morality and Shakespeare's Julius Caesar at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival—a real highlight for her as a Canadian, having grown up attending the Festival and listening to "Ideas" on the radio. She taught at the PLS Summer Symposium in 2019, and is very excited to be part of the inaugural London edition in 2020. When she first moved to South Bend, she adopted a one-year-old dog, Tex, who is now two and a half and no longer chews up her books. Tex likes to attend the PLS coffee socials.

Clark Power continues to work on moral education through youth sports. His research focuses on ways of building grassroots sports and recreational associations that serve children in low-income urban neighborhoods. He is presently involved with associations in North Lawndale, Chicago, and South Bend, Indiana. He recently published the article "From Play to Virtue: The Social, Moral, and Religious Dimensions of Youth Sport," in *Catholics and Sport in a Global Context*, Supplement Series 20 of *Journal of Religion and Society*.

Gretchen Reydam-Schils spent the 2017-2018 academic year in Jerusalem, at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies of Hebrew University. She is happy finally to have wrapped her monograph on the fourth-century Latin commentary on Plato's cosmology by the otherwise unknown Calcidius. The book is scheduled to appear with Cambridge University Press

in 2020. She and her husband adopted two young Congolese women to assist them with their college education, and are now proud grandparents of their first grandchild.

Denis Robichaud writes, “As I anticipate the new year I look forward to teaching two University Seminars on the Greek authors that we read in Seminar I. Only a few of my first-year students are in PLS, but even if they don’t enroll in the major I hope to bring a little of the spirit of our program to their time at ND. Along with teaching, I envisage a busy year of research. I’m editing unpublished philosophical texts in the Vatican Library and am working on a new book. I also just returned from giving a lecture series on Platonic Eros in Ancient and Renaissance Philosophy of Religion at the Institute for Philosophical Research at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, and I am preparing for two more lectures in Rome and Athens! One of the great joys of my life is that my work brings me to places with manuscript treasures, ancient monuments, and ruins.

Joseph Rosenberg is happy to announce two new arrivals: *Wastepaper Modernism*, which will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press, and Naomi Solomon Rosenberg, born 3 December 2019. He is currently working on an edition of Edward Upward’s memoirs and changing a ridiculous number of diapers.

Phillip Sloan organized and chaired a session on Cartesianism and Medicine at the History of Science Society meeting in Utrecht, Netherlands, and is currently editing the papers from this session as part of his scholarly study on the origins of modern biomechanism. He also delivered the address “Human Transcendence in an Evolutionary World” at the annual Ethics and Culture conference. He continues to remain active in

the graduate program in History and Philosophy of Science. This spring he is importing PLS natural science material into the Westville Prison Program, now called the Moreau College Initiative, with a course entitled “The Mathematical Cosmos.” He continues to serve as one of the Senators representing the emeriti faculty on the Faculty Senate, and in this capacity he has been involved in the creation of a new Notre Dame Association of Emeriti and Professional Faculty. He looks forward to teaching on the origins of the Great Books Seminar in the regular summer symposium, and will direct a day devoted to “Darwin’s London” in the first PLS London symposium in late June. He and Katherine Tillman continue to make their home in Holy Cross Village.

The momentous event of the year for **Katherine Tillman** was the October canonization in Rome of John Henry Cardinal Newman, whose thought she has studied, lectured and written about since the early 1980s. Also in October, the National Institute for Newman Studies honored her with the 2019 Gailliot Award for Lifetime Achievement in Newman Studies.

Henry Weinfield recently returned from retirement in New York City to speak at a Notre Dame conference on John Ruskin, organized by PLS’s Robert Goulding. His translation of *The Chimeras (Les Chimères)* by Gérard de Nerval, with illustrations by Douglas Kinsey, has just been published by Dos Madres Press. (Doug Kinsey taught in ND’s art Department for many years.) In the spring semester, he will be teaching a Shakespeare course at the Green Haven Correctional Facility, as part of the Bard College Prison Initiative.

FOCUS ON NEW FACULTY

Julia Marvin

Katie Bugyis

New assistant professor **Katie Bugyis** is a triple Domer, with a Bachelor of Arts in History in 2005, a Master of Medieval Studies in 2011, and a Doctorate of Philosophy in Medieval Studies in 2015. In the course of her education, Prof. Bugyis did venture away from Notre Dame to complete a Master of Arts in Religion at Yale Divinity School and a certificate at the Yale Institute of Sacred Music in 2009. Now coming from Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she was the Joy Foundation Fellow at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, Prof. Bugyis moved to South Bend last June with her husband Eric, PLS's new Director of Undergraduate Studies, and their son.

Prof. Bugyis is a historian of Christian theology, liturgy, and materiality, who is especially interested in reconstructing the intellectual contributions and lived experiences of religious women in the Middle Ages. Her first monograph, *The Care of Nuns: Benedictine Women's Ministries in England during the Central Middle Ages*, was published by Oxford University Press last May. In it, she recovers the liturgical practices of Benedictine nuns in England from 900 to 1225, primarily through detailed analyses of the books their communities produced and used. Her painstaking and far-reaching analyses delve into matters such as the significance of wax drops on the pages of liturgical manuscripts, as well as the revisions of texts that suggest ways in which they may have been used, and by whom, in female religious communities.

Prof. Bugyis has published numerous book chapters and articles, in such journals as *Speculum*, *Traditio*, *Church History*, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, and *Journal of Medieval History*. She has also coedited and contributed to two volumes, *Women Intellectuals and Leaders in the Middle Ages* (Boydell and Brewer, 2020) and *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy, and the Shaping of History* (York Medieval Press, 2017). Her research has won fellowships and grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Medieval Academy of America, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, and the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

After majoring in history as an undergraduate at Notre Dame, Prof. Bugyis says that now she has the opportunity to major in PLS herself: "What I love most about teaching in the Program is that I leave every class session having learned something new, because of the students' insights. The students I have the privilege of teaching and learning from are exceptional in their intelligence, passion, and commitment to open, reasoned discourse. The practice of this kind of intellectual hospitality is all too rare in our current society, but our students give me great hope about the future, and so do my colleagues. How many departments at the university get together on a regular basis to discuss a common text and its potential contribution to the core curriculum, or to reflect on what it means to be a program that tries to educate students in the liberal arts, and how best to achieve this end?"

On the changes and continuities at Notre Dame since she was a student here, she says, "When I was an undergraduate, the true *omphalos* of campus was God Quad. This remained true when I was a graduate student in the Medieval Institute. The new buildings around the stadium

went up during the five years that I was away, and they have really shifted the center of gravity on campus away from the Basilica, Main Building, and Grotto. God Quad now seems to be more of a tourist destination than anything else. I have always been very grateful for the strong sense of community that Notre Dame is able to foster among faculty, staff, and students. This is no less true now than it was when I was an undergraduate in the early aughts.”

Prof. Bugyis’s favorite place on campus remains the seventh floor of Hesburgh Library, where the Medieval Institute and its library are located: “While I was away from Notre Dame, I regularly dreamed at night about perusing the stacks there and always finding exactly what I needed for my research. The resources for medieval studies at Notre Dame are truly incomparable.”

Asked to choose Team Plato or Team Aristotle, she answers, “I vividly remember reading *The Republic* for the first time: it was the fall semester of my first year, and it was the first assigned reading for my Foundations of Theology course. I had never read any of Plato's works before, and I can remember thinking that this was what it truly meant to be a college student in pursuit of a liberal arts education. Later, in the spring of my junior year, I had the privilege of studying abroad in Athens, Greece, and I read nearly all of Plato's dialogues in an Ancient Philosophy course. Needless to say, this experience came pretty darn close to being the Platonic form of learning.”

When she is not teaching, conducting scholarship (or dreaming about it), or enjoying time with her family, Prof. Bugyis loves to cook (especially vegan soups and stews) and to read contemporary fiction. She just finished Elena Ferrante's Neapolitan novels and was completely transported, finding them an extraordinary meditation on female friendship, motherhood, and the life of a writer.

The PLS community is delighted to welcome her and her family back into the fold!

STUDENT AWARDS

2019 Willis Nutting Award

To the graduating student who contributed most to the education of classmates and teachers:

Joan M. Becker

2019 Otto Bird Award

To the author of the senior thesis judged to exemplify the best ideals of liberal learning:

Joan M. Becker

“The Book of the Enchanter”

Directed by Amy Mulligan

2019 Susan M. Clements Award

To a female senior who exemplifies outstanding qualities of scholarly achievement, industry, compassion and service:

Isabella C. Penola

2019 Edward Cronin Award

For the best paper submitted in a PLS course:

Si On (Zion) Lee, 2020

“Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest: The Three Wise Men from the West”

This essay appears in the current issue of *Programma*.

2019 Stephen Rogers Endowment for Graduate Studies

To a PLS senior or alum who is or will be attending graduate school:

Joan M. Becker, 2019

Molly Porter, 2015

James G. Southard, 2015

Genevieve C. Tuite, 2018

2019 Monteverdi Prize

To a junior in the Program, to conduct research in Tuscany, Italy:

Antonia Ambrose

THE 2019 EDWARD J. CRONIN AWARD WINNER
“Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest: The Three
Wise Men from the West
Si On (Zion) Lee
Class of 2020

For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. (Matthew 2:2)



Introduction

The Jesuit mission in China from the 16th to the 18th century is best characterized by Matteo Ricci, the pioneer of China mission. Taking note of the interest of the Chinese literati in European science and the incompetence of Chinese astronomers who worked on the imperial calendar reform, Ricci determined that the best apostolic strategy would be to first approach the high-ranking government officials with scientific knowledge and eventually convert them to Christianity. Although Ricci was never given a chance to contribute to the imperial calendrical reform as he envisioned, he paved the way for the appointment of his followers, Johann Adam Schall von Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest, in the Bureau of Astronomy. The hagiography of Ricci and his followers reveals Jesuits' deliberate attempt to portray them as men of both science and God in order to garner wide public support for the scientific mission. Yet, a further analysis of the formation of the Jesuit hagiography uncovers that the legitimacy of the scientific mission as an apostolic strategy was a matter of huge contention within the Catholic Church.

In order to assess the validity of the scientific mission as an apostolic model, this paper aims to answer the following question: In what ways and by whom was the scientific mission criticized?

I propose to first identify Ricci's vision of the Jesuit mission in China. Then, following Florence Hsia's approach in her book, *Sojourners in a Strange Land*, I will analyze the major criticism of the scientific mission by examining the writings on and by the two successors of Ricci's mission, Adam Schall and Ferdinand Verbiest. The examination of these sources will demonstrate that the Jesuit scientific mission was criticized both within the Society of Jesus and by missionaries in other Catholic orders in China mainly on two grounds: 1) its use of purely human means, instead of God's and 2) Jesuits' acceptance of higher socio-political positions that their scientific knowledge granted.

This conclusion also denotes that the attack on the scientific mission was not directed towards the Jesuit scientific knowledge as such. In other words, the disapproval of the scientific mission, unlike that of Copernicanism in contemporary Europe, did not arise from a doctrinal difference between the biblical teaching and the scientific knowledge Jesuits conveyed to the Chinese. Rather, the nature of the criticism reflects the desire of some members of the Catholic Church to establish a realm in its apostolic mission that was purely religious and completely separated from science. Hence, the inquiry into the criticism of Jesuit scientific mission in this paper seeks to make further contribution to the ever-contentious question of the relationship between science and religion.

Matteo Ricci and the Beginning of the Scientific Mission

Jesuit missionaries had little to no success in establishing a mission in China in the three decades following Francis Xavier's arrival in East Asia in 1549. With the appointment of Alessandro Valignano as the plenipotentiary Visitor to the Asian missions in 1573, however, substantial progress was beginning to be made.³⁰ The urgency Valignano recognized in overcoming the language barrier precipitated the arrival of Michele Ruggieri in 1579 and Matteo Ricci in 1583, both qualified individuals for the study of Chinese language and accommodation to the local circumstances.³¹ Ruggieri and Ricci soon took notice of the unusual level of interest the local literati had in European sciences and technologies, such as clocks and prisms. In particular, Ricci, who had studied under the acclaimed Jesuit mathematician Christopher Clavius in Rome, perceived the superiority of Aristotelian cosmology, Euclidean geometry, and Ptolemaic astronomy to Chinese natural philosophy and decided to use science as a means to gain friendship of the literati and the mandarins and acquire the much-needed political security for the Jesuit mission.³² Ultimately, the benefits from the social prestige of association with the elite class were to serve as a means to spread the Gospel throughout the whole of the Middle Kingdom, which Ricci deemed as "an allurements" to attract the Chinese "into the fishermen's net" alluding to Christ's call of his disciples to be fishers of men.³³

In 1602, Matteo Ricci was finally given permission to reside in Peking, the capital of the Ming Empire, which testified to the success of his mission and the security of the Jesuit China mission as a whole.³⁴ He continued to enlarge his influence by presenting maps, clocks, and spheres to his hosts and translating Euclid's *Elementary of Geometry* into Chinese.³⁵ In the last years of his

³⁰ Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2009), 30, ProQuest Ebook Central.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 31-33.

³² Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 21.

³³ Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610* (New York: Random House, 1953), 398.

³⁴ Daniel H. Bays, *New History of Christianity in China* (Oxford: Wiley, 2011), 22, ProQuest Ebook Central.

³⁵ Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 52.

life, Ricci sought the possibility of Jesuit engagement in the imperial calendrical reform. Given the particular significance of calendrical science in China as a means to validate the Emperor's position as the mediator between heaven and earth and the incompetence of the over 200 experts employed in such endeavor, Ricci thought that Jesuit involvement in the imperial calendrical reform would be a perfect opportunity to demonstrate and propagate the Christian understanding of the universe.³⁶

Ricci could never engage himself in the calendrical reform before his peaceful death in 1610. It did not take long, however, until his successors, such as Adam Schall and Ferdinand Verbiest, were granted posts in the imperial Astronomical Bureau and fulfilled what Ricci deemed as the ultimate task of the China mission. Immediately after Ricci's death, Nicolas Trigault, who was one of the Jesuit missionaries in China and was sent back to Europe to relate the affairs of the China mission to his superior in 1613, rearranged Ricci's journals and published a coherent historical narrative of the China mission as *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu* in 1615.³⁷ The successful characterization of Matteo Ricci as a mathematician-saint with an exemplary missionary success is largely credited to Trigault's work and inspired Jesuits like Schall and Verbiest to follow Ricci's footsteps in the following century.

Science as a Means of Evangelization

What must be noted before the examination of the criticism of the Jesuit scientific mission is that the Society of Jesus never chose transmission of scientific knowledge as the primary or universal medium of evangelization.³⁸ In his 1549 letter *On Mission*, Ignatius of Loyola articulates the guiding principle of the Jesuit global apostolic mission in reference to St. Paul: "You should make yourselves beloved by your humility and charity, becoming all things to all men. You should adapt to the local customs insofar as the Society's religious Institute allows."³⁹ According to this principle, an ideal Jesuit would be able to speak in many languages, put on different social roles, and dress and behave like the locals. Jesuits in different parts of the world put on different masks, each favorable to the local circumstance. In fact, during the early stages of China mission, the Jesuits dressed in the fashion of Buddhist monks, as was suggested by Michele Ruggieri, another important founding figure of the China mission along with Ricci.⁴⁰ Only after Matteo Ricci took note of the Chinese literati's interest in European science and mathematics, the Society mobilized to utilize science as an apostolic strategy. The fact that the Jesuit astronomers introduced Copernicanism to China only after the Church revoked the ban on discussion of it in 1757 reflects that Jesuits considered themselves primarily as men of religion rather than men of science even after the scientific mission began.⁴¹ Hsia famously remarks that "had Chinese auditors been more interested in the niceties of French or Italian cuisine than in Aristotelian cosmology or Tyconic instrumentation, [*Sojourners in a Strange Land*] might well be a history of Jesuit chefs in the Celestial Empire."⁴²

³⁶ Jonathan D. Spence, "Schall and Verbiest: *To God Through the Stars*," in *The China Helpers: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960* (London: Bodley Head, 1969), 9-10.

³⁷ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 22-23.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

³⁹ Ignatius of Loyola, "To the Members of the Society Leaving for Germany, Rome, September 24, 1549," in *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*, trans. Martin E. Palmer, ed. John W. Padberg and John L. McCarthy (Saint Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 291-297.

⁴⁰ Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 33.

⁴¹ Nicole Halsberghe and Keizō Hashimoto, "Astronomy," in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, ed. Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 716-717.

⁴² Hsia, *Sojourners*, 5.

Scientific knowledge was not the only apostolic medium employed by Jesuits in China, either. Despite the extent of scholarly attention given to the Jesuit scientist-missionaries, only a small fraction of the missionaries devoted themselves to scientific works, and even fewer of them ever held position in the imperial Astronomical Bureau.⁴³ In fact, Daniel Bays, a historian of Christianity in East Asia, claims that Jesuit efforts to “creat[e] and maintain” “local rural-based Christian communities” across “the empire” - a project at which the Jesuits particularly excelled other mendicant orders - was more successful than the astronomical work done at the imperial court in Peking.⁴⁴ As transmission of European science was neither a uniform apostolic strategy among Jesuit missionaries across the globe nor the only apostolic strategy employed in China, the Society of Jesus as a whole did not consider science as an inherent component of its mission. Yet, as Hsia suggests, the abundance and the endurance of hagiographic writings on Jesuit astronomers in China reveals the deliberateness with which such portrayals of them as men of religion and science were crafted. With this discrepancy between the flexibility of Jesuit missionary ideology and their insistence on portraying themselves as men of both God and science in mind, I will turn to the writings on and of the two most prominent Jesuit astronomers in China, Schall and Verbiest.

Johann Adam Schall von Bell

The historical accounts of Johann Adam Schall von Bell’s and Ferdinand Verbiest’s mission in China and the criticisms they received from their contemporaries in this section and the next are mostly drawn from the account of Jonathan Spence, who is a historian of relations between modern China and the West, in his book, *The China Helpers: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960*. When Father Trigault brought back Ricci’s journals to Europe and published them as *De Christiana expeditione*, whose popularity quickly soared and resulted into the publication of Latin, French, Spanish, German, and Italian translations within the space of a decade, the book did not fail to grab the attention of a young, Cologne-born Jesuit studying in Rome.⁴⁵ Johann Adam Schall von Bell took Ricci’s posthumous message as his lifelong mission and joined Father Trigault in his return to China in 1618.⁴⁶ The reception of the news of the Chinese persecution of Christians decreed in 1616 during the journey did not discourage Schall, and he finally entered Peking in 1623, joining Father Longobardi who had remained in hiding during the persecution.⁴⁷ At the time of Schall’s arrival, the turmoils in the Chinese political scene began to head in a direction indirectly in favor of Jesuits. Internally, Shen Ch’üeh, the imperial government official who instigated the 1616 persecution, was out of favor.⁴⁸ Externally, the Manchu tribesmen, who eventually would supplant the Ming Dynasty, began invading the Northern borders in 1618.⁴⁹ In the meantime, Schall, following Ricci’s footsteps, began his astronomical work. After his brief post in the northwestern province of Shensi from 1627, Schall was recalled to Peking in 1630 to head a newly formed Calendrical Department with the assistance of Father Longobardi.⁵⁰ Finally granted the entrance into the Ming court Ricci had hoped for, Schall despaired when the Manchu army invaded Peking in April 1644 and overthrew the Ming dynasty.⁵¹ Yet, just when he feared that his lifetime work was about to be burned to the ground along with the rest of the city, he found that the bone-dry woodblocks that recorded

⁴³ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 5.

⁴⁴ Bays, *New History*, 23-24.

⁴⁵ Spence, “Schall and Verbiest,” 6-7.

⁴⁶ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 35.

⁴⁷ Spence, “Schall and Verbiest,” 8.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

Jesuits' mathematical writings were miraculously preserved without any damage and took it as "divine approval of the Society's approach to the Chinese mission."⁵² Hence, when the Manchus established the Qing dynasty, Schall offered his service to the new imperial government, and his correct prediction of the September eclipse the same year earned him a position of the directorship of the Bureau of Astronomy.⁵³

Soon after his assumption of the position in the Qing bureaucracy, Schall, as with Ricci, became an object of admiration in and through hagiographic publications. In 1667, Athanasius Kircher, who was an influential professor of mathematics at Collegio Romano, commemorated the success of Schall in his *China illustrata*, which provided a thorough account of Jesuit knowledge on China.⁵⁴ As Hsia suggests, the portrayal of Schall in the frontispiece as the rightful inheritor of the apostolic mission attests to the legitimacy of his scientific and bureaucratic work in Kircher's view (fig. 1). In the frontispiece, under the aegis of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, Matteo Ricci and Adam Schall present the map of China to the reader. While Matteo Ricci (right) is dressed in the fashion of Chinese literati, Adam Schall (left) is wearing the formal robes of civil officials in the Qing bureaucracy.⁵⁵ Such distinction between Ricci and Schall in their fashion denotes the transformation in the image of an ideal China Jesuit in his social status from a literatus into an imperial government official, as Ricci had envisioned for his successors, which in turn indicates the significance of Schall's work in succeeding Ricci's mission and further advancing the cause to open the imperial government to Christianity.⁵⁶

Yet, Kircher's praise of Ricci's and Schall's "worldly success that assured the political security of the Chinese church" glossed over what was a matter of huge contention within the Society of Jesus.⁵⁷ The appropriateness of missionary's devotion to scientific work was already questioned in Ricci's days. Sabatino de Ursis, one of the missionaries at Peking who worked with Matteo Ricci, reported that the Jesuits at the Peking residence were strongly divided on how much of their time should be devoted to secular studies of mathematics and morality instead of the Gospel.⁵⁸ In fact, a group of priests at Macao in charge of the Japanese ministry, which was certainly more successful at conversion efforts than the Chinese ministry, labeled Matteo Ricci's policies "a distraction."⁵⁹ In response to the initial disputes over the role of science in apostolic mission before Schall's appointment to the imperial Bureau, the then Superior General Claudio Aquaviva chose "a middle path:" he allowed the use of science as long as a missionary did not devote the entirety of his time to it.⁶⁰ Spence suggests that it was out of the similar attitude toward the relation of science to apostolic mission that Father Longobardi, who once worked with Ricci, posted Schall to the northwestern province of Shensi in 1627, so that he would stay away from astronomical work for a while and devote himself to converting the provincial population.⁶¹ As the need to separate religious works from secular sciences was exhibited already before the Jesuits' acquisition of bureaucratic occupations as men of science, Schall's appointment as the Director of the imperial Astronomical Bureau only intensified the disputes.⁶²

⁵² Hsia, *Sojourners*, 35-36.

⁵³ Spence, "Schall and Verbiest," 3-4.

⁵⁴ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 33.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 33.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵⁸ Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 75.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 75-76.

⁶¹ Spence, "Schall and Verbiest," 10-11.

⁶² Spence, "Schall and Verbiest," 20.

Schall's two colleagues, Ludovico Buglio and Gabriel de Magalhaes, accused Schall's appointment as a violation of the constitution of the Society of Jesus regarding assumption of secular dignities.⁶³ Although Buglio's and Magalhaes' accusation never led to any significant repercussion, as Pope Alexander VII in April 1664 permitted Jesuits in China to accept the titles of government officials on the grounds that their titles do not have any jurisdiction, Buglio and Magalhaes' later accusations of Schall's successor, Ferdinand Verbiest, on the same grounds bore more serious consequences, which will be discussed more in detail in the section on Verbiest.⁶⁴

The opposition to Jesuits' scientific mission escalated when the Propaganda Fide in 1622, which was the papacy's initiative to no longer depend on Portuguese and Spanish patronage in its missionary work and to place the overseas mission under its direct control, allowed the influx of missionaries from various religious orders into China.⁶⁵ Often jealous of the political security and the dominance of the missionary scene Jesuits had enjoyed for decades, missionaries of the mendicant orders as well as the Société des Missions Étrangères, sponsored by both the papacy and the French monarchy to supplant the Iberian dominance in the overseas missions, conveyed in their private and public writings their contempt for Jesuits' reliance on science. Adam Schall did not fail to respond to such attacks with criticisms of his own on what seemed like impudent strategies of other orders. For instance, Schall wrote to a friend about two Franciscan friars who came to Peking in 1637 "determined to be martyrs or to convert the emperor and all the Chinese" according to Schall's sarcastic remarks. They did not know how to speak Chinese, and when the Chinese guards arrested them, they "surrendered their crucifixes with little or no protest" and exclaimed "*Dimitte nos in pace.*" Schall concluded: "it is better to die in bed than to become martyrs in this fashion."⁶⁶

While the Jesuits were forced by the ecclesiastical structure to take an opposite stand to all other Catholic orders, remarks of contempt for the others' apostolic strategy like Schall's above only exacerbated their relations and certainly did not favor Schall when his position in the Bureau weakened, especially after the Shun-chih Emperor died in 1661 and an anti-Christian literatus Yang Guanxian began to accuse Schall of high treason.⁶⁷ Yang first attacked Schall for the supposed incompetence of Western astronomy, claiming that Schall, disrespecting the Chinese tradition of geomancy, chose an inauspicious day for the funeral of Prince Rong, who died an infant, and therefore caused the death of his mother, Consort Donggo.⁶⁸ From a retrospective viewpoint, Yang's accusation is an unscientific one, but the then supreme court of justice in Peking ultimately concluded that Chinese astronomy based on geomantic traditions was more scientifically valid than Western science.⁶⁹ Following Yang's accusation of Schall on astronomical grounds, Schall's adversaries in the imperial court suspected that Schall "posed as a calendar-maker in order to carry on the propagation of heresy" and perceived the spread of

⁶³ Francis A. Rouleau and Edward Malatesta, "The "Excommunication" of Ferdinand Verbiest," in *Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623-1688: Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat*, ed. John W. With (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994), 487.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 487.

⁶⁵ Claudia von Collani, "Missionaries," in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, ed. Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 289.

⁶⁶ George H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), 252-253.

⁶⁷ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 39-40.

⁶⁸ Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, "The Secret Manchu Documents on the Trial of Jesuit Missionary Johann Adam Schall (1592-1666) before the Supreme Court of Peking," *Monumenta Serica* 51, (2003): 643. JSTOR.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 644.

Christianity as a sign that Christians “had long prepared for rebellion.”⁷⁰ As a result, Schall was sentenced to death, though his old age and previous contribution excused the execution, and all Christian missionaries were expelled to the coast in 1664.⁷¹ Naturally, the responses from the exiled missionaries from other orders were hostile to Jesuits. The Dominican friar Domingo Fernandez Navarrete unreservedly blamed Schall's and Jesuits' failure to defend their astronomical works and the Christian mission: “The Mathematicks, whence the dispute sprung, were follow'd by the Society [of Jesus], not by us, or the *Franciscans*.”⁷² Two popular jokes among other missionaries then banished to Macao were quite bitter: “One Adam having driven us out of Paradise, another has driven us out of China”; “Father Ricci got us into China with his mathematics, and Father Schall got us out with his.”⁷³

Soon after Schall's death in 1666, moral condemnations of a broader scale on Jesuits' reliance on secular mediums of missionary work emerged. François Pallu and Pierre Lambert de la Motte, missionaries of the Société des Missions Étrangères appointed as vicars apostolic for China in 1658, composed *Instructiones ad munera apostolica rite obeunda* in 1669 to provide future missionaries with a guide for apostolic life that radically differed from Ricci's model.⁷⁴ In *Instructiones* Pallu and Lambert de la Motte, in allusion to the persecution of missionaries in the mid-1660s that the Schall Affair caused condemned the use of any “purely human approach” as not in compliance with the “Apostolic spirit.” Their further warnings to abstain from seeking dignities or “frequent[ing] the court” to prevent moral decay of the apostles and to be cautious of the use of the sciences, though by itself innocent, to prevent the promotion of “its own glory than that of God in the salvation of souls” are clear denunciations of Ricci's reliance on study of science and political influence.⁷⁵ A Franciscan criticism of Jesuits for having “selected purely human means to spread the faith, in direct contradiction to the means used by the Apostles” echoes the French missionaries' sentiments.⁷⁶ According to Hsia, Antoine Arnauld's anti-hagiographical painting of the procession of Martino Martini, a Jesuit contemporary with Schall, epitomizes the criticism of the use of unapostolic means creating intolerable pride and moral decay (fig 2.)⁷⁷ The imagined Martino dressed in the fashion of Mandarins and delighting in the luxurious procession while ignoring the poor mendicant friar is the embodiment of pseudo-apostleship.⁷⁸ In summary, the criticisms of the scientific mission offered by other Catholic orders employed in missionary works in China, on the one hand, pointed out its failure to provide the political security from which they wished to benefit as well and yet, on the other hand, denounced altogether the use of science to secure socio-political protection on moral terms.

Ferdinand Verbiest

Born in 1623 as a son of a bailiff in western Flanders, Ferdinand Verbiest, very much like Schall, was fascinated by the prospect of overseas mission soon after entering the Society in 1641. He was granted permission to enter China in 1659 and was summoned to the imperial court to assist Schall with his astronomical work the following year. As he was put in charge of defending Schall against Yang's accusation of high treason, Verbiest was well aware of the attacks against

⁷⁰ Spence, “Schall and Verbiest,” 21.

⁷¹ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 39-40.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 40.

⁷³ Spence, “Schall and Verbiest,” 22.

⁷⁴ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 39.

⁷⁵ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 40.

⁷⁶ Spence, “Schall and Verbiest,” 21.

⁷⁷ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 41.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*,

the scientific mission from the early years of his career in China.⁷⁹ Despite making a correct prediction of an impending eclipse on behalf of Schall at the order of the tribunal, while Yang and Wu Ming-hsüan, who was a Mohamedan astronomer and sided with Yang, both made incorrect predictions, Verbiest and Schall were condemned and helplessly watched Yang become the new director of the astronomical bureau.⁸⁰ After having challenged Yang and his colleagues on the accuracy of their predictions two more times and prevailing both times, however, Verbiest was appointed director of the astronomical bureau in 1669 and insisted the recommencement of the calendrical reform, thus restoring the Jesuit foothold in the bureaucracy.⁸¹

His status in the imperial government grew significantly, even surpassing that of Schall. He had frequent real contacts with the new emperor Kangxi, including teaching him *Elements of Euclid*, which had been translated into Chinese by Ricci long before, and western astronomical theories, and his works and intimacy with the emperor were rewarded with promotion to vice-president of the Board of Works.⁸² Moreover, he did not limit contributions to the Jesuit mission to scientific works and rather actively sought to assist missions of all Catholic orders in China and develop a native Chinese clergy, which earned him the praise from both his Jesuit colleagues and missionaries of other orders, particularly Franciscans.⁸³ Although Verbiest met a rather abrupt and unfortunate death in 1688 due to severe internal injuries from falling off a horse the previous year, the recognition given to his work in the Qing bureaucracy was not a small one, as evidenced by the grandiose state funeral dedicated to him, which the Emperor himself attended, and the Edict of Tolerance decreed in 1692, which legalized all practices of Christianity by the Chinese.⁸⁴

In his 1670 letter to his closest friend, Philippe Couplet, Verbiest confessed that devotion to his technical and bureaucratic duties, though he was certain of their importance to the mission and the divine intention behind them, impeded his personal devotions, “to the point that the Father Superior has to dispense [him] - and this has not been a rare occurrence - from reciting [his] breviary.”⁸⁵ As with Schall, Verbiest’s only motive behind pursuing his secular duties was the hope for the conversion of the Emperor himself. However, the inherent clash between his apostolic and secular duties did not escape the criticism of other religious men - from his own Jesuit colleagues, in particular, whose criticisms of Verbiest were as severe, if not more than, as those directed toward Schall. Spence argues that the fact that Verbiest deliberately wrote a letter asking for more financial support for his scientific endeavors from his superiors in Europe in Flemish, so that his colleague would not be able to understand it, evinces the severity of the disputes within the Society of Jesus.⁸⁶

The challenges to Verbiest’s pursuit of Ricci’s apostolic model within the Society of Jesus are best showcased in what Henri Bosmans, a nineteenth-century Jesuit historian of mathematics, called the “excommunication” of Ferdinand Verbiest: although Verbiest was never imposed a canonical sanction by the Church, the issue of “excommunication” was an important domestic issue within the Society concerning the pronouncement of vows required by all professed fathers

⁷⁹ Spence, “Schall and Verbiest,” 23.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 29.

⁸³ Spence, “Schall and Verbiest,” 30.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

of the Order.⁸⁷ All members of the Society of Jesus are required to pronounce vows on two occasions. On the first occasion, which takes place after the successful completion of the first probation, the three customary vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience are pronounced. On the second occasion, which takes place at least ten years after the first, the professed priests are required to pronounce the three customary vows, a special vow of obedience to the pope, and five additional vows: 1) “when legislating on the practice of poverty, only to make it stricter;” 2) “not to aspire to positions of authority or honors within the Order;” 3) “not to aspire to them outside the Order;” 4) “to report to superiors those whom they know to aspire to such positions;” and 5) “if promoted outside the Order, to listen to the phases of this conflict.”⁸⁸

Verbiest’s promotion to mandarin of the second class in 1674 was a clear violation of the vows, and his two colleagues, Ludovico Buglio and Gabriel de Magalhaes, who had once accused Schall on the same grounds, vehemently opposed Verbiest’s acceptance of the title.⁸⁹ On the level of practicality, they feared that Verbiest’s promotion would incite jealousy and envy from the xenophobic circle of Chinese elites and jeopardize the entire China Church, as the fall of Schall did.⁹⁰ On the level of morality and religiosity, the opposition stemmed from the perceived incompatibility between the acceptance of such worldly dignity and the religious conscience of the member of the Society, which, however, Verbiest could ignore thanks to the Papal indult in April 1664 granted to Adam Schall and “the backing of the near unanimity of the China missionaries of his Order, and of many missionaries from other orders.”⁹¹ Historians of the Jesuit mission in China, Francis Rouleau and Edward Malatesta, suggest that the possibility of the opposition from Buglio and Magalhaes stemming from their sentiments of jealousy must be acknowledged as well, as the collective scientific contribution of Verbiest and his two colleagues was often attributed to Verbiest alone.⁹²

In any case, Verbiest’s violation of the vows was manifest, which resulted in the order of the then Superior General Oliva in 1680 to “effectively renounce the other titles conferred on [Verbiest] by the emperor” and “to retain only that of “Prefect of Mathematics.””⁹³ When the order reached Verbiest in 1682, he was ready to humbly accept the General’s order, but worried that he would anger the emperor and put the whole Catholic mission in danger, which prompted the then vice-provincial of China, Giovanni Domenico Gabiani, to withhold the execution of the order temporarily.⁹⁴ Ultimately, Verbiest and Gabiani’s anxieties turned out to be unnecessary, as Superior General Oliva died in November 1681 and the new vicar-general, De Noyelle, immediately upon his appointment acquitted Verbiest, primarily motivated by the issuance of a laudatory apostolic letter to Verbiest by Pope Innocent XI in December 1681, and the news of this reached Verbiest in 1683.⁹⁵ Despite the happy ending of the “excommunication” affair and the support Verbiest received from other Jesuit colleagues and the Pope in the process, the tension between the Jesuit apostolic ideal and the scientific mission manifested itself clearly again.

⁸⁷ Rouleau and Malatesta, “Excommunication,” 485-486.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 486

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 487.

⁹⁰ Rouleau and Malatesta, “Excommunication,” 489.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 487-489.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 489.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 491.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 492.

⁹⁵ Rouleau and Malatesta, “Excommunication,” 493.

Even before the “excommunication affair,” Verbiest was very much aware of the critical attitudes toward the scientific mission that his Jesuit colleagues as well as the contemporary mendicants, who criticized primarily Schall and Jesuits on a broader scale rather than Verbiest himself, had. In his 1678 letter to European patrons, Verbiest wrote extensively on the possibility of martyrdom in Asia missions to inspire more volunteers, as was the custom in contemporary Jesuit writings on missions.⁹⁶ Beginning the letter with the history of Chinese persecution in the 1660s and concluding with the prospects of martyrdom in China, Verbiest, however, inserted a second apostolic ideal in his letter by exhorting the new missionaries to study mathematics and argued that the China mission was the most “appropriate to our Institute and our European way of proceeding” in which instruction in “letters and science of all kinds” prevailed.⁹⁷ The dissonance between the two apostolic ideals - one of martyrdom and the other of scholarship - is quite prominent. Verbiest himself acknowledged that death at sea en route to China, which was not uncommon due to the sheer distance between Europe and China, was not a true martyr’s death.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the China mission faced no imminent threat of persecution precisely because Verbiest’s scientific work and his predecessors in service of the Chinese government had procured security for the Jesuit mission, which Verbiest himself perceived as a sign of the success of the scientific mission.⁹⁹ Hsia argues that Verbiest’s call for martyrdom in his letter and its unsettling conjunction with the call for scientific inquiry only point to Verbiest’s awareness of the critical attitudes the scientific mission faced. He made further written contributions, private and public alike, in defense of Schall and the use of scientific knowledge as an appropriate model of apostolic mission throughout his missionary career in China; nonetheless, his writings, according to Hsia’s view, merely reflect the extent of the resistance to the mission within the Christendom.

Conclusion

To conclude the paper, I will summarize the criticisms Schall and Verbiest received from their Jesuit colleagues and missionaries of other orders respectively and draw my own conclusions on the criticisms of Schall and Verbiest that may have broader implications on the inquiry of the relationship between science and religion. Within the Society of Jesus, the idea of evangelization through science was already a contentious issue when Matteo Ricci began to develop his apostolic vision of astronomy. The particular significance of calendrical reform in the political scenes of China prompted Ricci to urge his successors to seek positions in the imperial government, and Adam Schall and Ferdinand Verbiest made Ricci’s vision come true. Yet, their acquisition of social and political dignity contradicted the apostolic ideal Jesuits set for themselves upon the foundation of the Society and, despite the Papal approval of Schall’s and Verbiest’s appointment to the Bureau of Astronomy, engendered criticism from their colleagues, namely Ludovico Buglio and Gabriel de Magalhaes. I argue that the persistent opposition to the evangelical use of science sprung from within the Society reveals the insistence on separating religion from secular works and resistance to pursuit of religious goals through secular means on the part of a few, but significant Jesuit authorities.

On the other hand, the missionaries from non-Jesuit, Catholic orders entered China in the time of Jesuit dominance that was soon followed by the fall of Schall and the consequent nationwide persecution of Christianity. Hence, their first critiques of the scientific mission occurred at the loss of the benefits Jesuits had procured for them. They did not find the scientific mission

⁹⁶ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 31.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁹⁹ Hsia, *Sojourners*, 32.

inherently wrong; rather, they complained of Jesuits' failure to defend the legitimacy of their work before the Chinese astronomers and the Peking court. After the death of Schall in 1666, however, the non-Jesuit orders resorted to moral critiques, denouncing the scientific mission as a whole antithetical to apostolic ideals. Particularly, the Société des Missions Étrangères and mendicant orders reproached Jesuits for their reliance on purely human means and the resulting human pride. On this point alone, however, I contend that these orders could not claim to be any different from Jesuits. In fact, Part X ("How the whole body of the Society of can be preserved and developed in its well-being") of the constitution of the Society of Jesus opens: "The Society was not instituted by human means; and neither is it through them that it can be preserved and developed, but through the omnipotent hand of Christ, God and our Lord."¹⁰⁰ The Jesuits were fully aware of the criticisms the scientific mission incurred from both inside and outside the Society, as is evidenced in the writings of Schall's and Verbiest's. In contrast, the critiques of the non-Jesuit, Catholic missionaries were mere restatements affirmative of their evangelical methods, which worked in other parts of the globe, but were not as effective in China in either forming positive images of missionaries like the astronomer Jesuits or making many converts like the community-building Jesuits working in rural provinces. Rather, I argue that the fact that these orders renounced their support for the scientific mission at the fall of Schall and later reinstated it at Verbiest's success only affirms their implicit acknowledgment of the need for the human means and the political security Jesuits provided.

In addition, what should be observed in examining the criticisms the Jesuit scientific mission received is that the typical issue of contention between science and religion - the doctrinal disputes regarding what science teaches and the Bible does not - was not a part of the dialogue. This is quite remarkable given that the controversy of the scientific mission took place right in the middle of the age of the Scientific Revolution. The Galileo Trial of 1616 took place only six years after the death of Ricci and was still a huge part of the conversation about the tension between science and religion around Europe when Schall was appointed as director of the Astronomical Bureau in 1644. It was also a convenient coincidence for Jesuits that Aristotelian cosmology and Ptolemaic astronomy proved to be superior to the Chinese knowledge and, thus, good enough to perform the functions regarding the calendrical reform. In any case, what was at the center of the debate on the scientific mission was the role of science and its socio-political significance in affirming and thereby propagating a religious belief, which suggests that the inquiry of the relationship between science and religion should look beyond the doctrinal differences. After all, superiority in natural philosophy does not always lead to conversions.

Ultimately, the Jesuit mission failed at christianizing China due to the Rites controversy during the late 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁰¹ Central to the Controversy was the question of the religiosity of traditional Confucian rituals of ancestral worship and whether Chinese converts could participate in them.¹⁰² While Valignano and Ricci, in line with their policy of accommodation, considered these rituals secular and allowed converts' participation in them, the later mendicant orders raised strong objections, which ultimately resulted in the Papal decree of 1704 forbidding Christians' participation in the Confucian rites.¹⁰³ The scientific mission was not directly responsible for the Rites Controversy, but it was still a part of the broader policy of

¹⁰⁰ Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. George E. Ganss (Saint Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 331.

¹⁰¹ Nicolas Standaert, "Rites Controversy" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, ed. Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 680.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 680-681.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 681-683.

accommodation Ricci formulated. In response to the Papal decree, the Qing Emperor Kangxi ordered an expulsion of all Christian missionaries except for those who complied “with the rules of Matteo Ricci.”¹⁰⁴ Hence, the Rites Controversy muted the success of the Jesuit mission, and Pope Clement XIV officially disbanded the Jesuit order by the brief *Dominos ac Redemptor* in 1773.¹⁰⁵

Despite its unsuccessful conclusion, the Jesuit mission should be appreciated for its efforts to bring together the realms of the secular world and the spiritual world with a conviction that the divine providence works in both realms. Just as the recent scholarship has suggested that influential natural philosophers of the Scientific Revolution like Kepler, Galileo, and eventually Newton endeavored not to separate science and religion, but instead to reimagine the relationship between the two in their theoretical studies, this paper demonstrates that Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall, and Ferdinand Verbiest likewise upheld the union of the two as the core of their missionary works. Perhaps Verbiest best expressed the timeless significance of the union between the realm of science and the realm of God: “It was a star that long ago led the Three Kings to adore the True God... In the same way the science of the stars will lead the rulers of the Orient, little by little, to know and to adore their God.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Standaert, “Rites Controversy,” 683.

¹⁰⁵ Niccolò Guasti, “The Age of Suppression: From the Expulsions to the Restoration of the Society of Jesus (1759-1820)” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190639631.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780190639631-e-31>.

¹⁰⁶ Spence, “Schall and Verbiest,” 33.

Illustrations



Frontispiece. "Ricci, Shall, and Verbiest group illustration" in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Ausführliche Beschreibung Des Chinesischen Reichs Und Der Grossen Tartarey* (1747-1749). Reproduced from "Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest Group Illustration - UWDC - UW-Madison Libraries," UW Digital Collections, accessed December 08,

Figure 1:



AMSTELODAMI,
Apud IACOBUM à MEURS, in foſſa vulgò de Keyſersgracht.
ANNO MD. C. LXVII.

Fig. 1 Frontispiece to Athanasius Kircher, *China illustrata* (1767). Reproduced from "Schall and Ricci Holding a Map of China," HOPES Huntington's Disease Information, accessed December 08, 2018, https://web.stanford.edu/group/kircher/cgi-bin/site/?attachment_id=717.

Figure 2

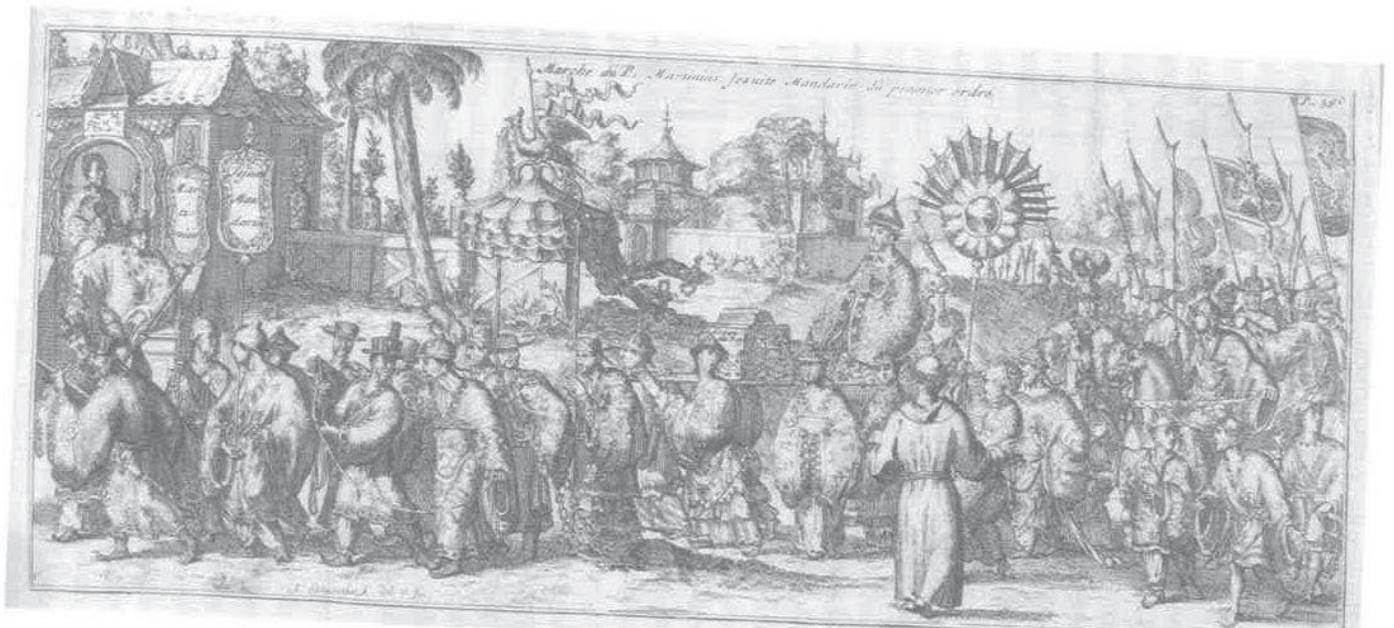


Fig. 2 “Procession of P. Martini, Jesuit Mandarin of the first order,” in Antoine Arnauld, *La morale pratique des jesuites* (1689). Reproduced from Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 42.

Figure 3



Fig. 3 Detail of Engraving in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *History of China* (1735).
Reproduced from Jonathan D. Spence, "Schall and Verbiest: *To God Through the Stars*,"
in *The China Helpers: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960* (London: Bodley Head, 1969), 27.

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A Celebration of Friendship

Michael McCarthy ('63)

This poem was written to celebrate the 60-year friendship among ten members of the Notre Dame class of 1963. Seven of them were graduates of the General Program: Ed Collins, John Kearney, Phil Kienast, Michael McCarthy, Tom McGowan, Bob McNeill and Jim Wyrsh.

September 1959 for Liz and Mike "Seek and you shall find"

At 17, I went West
to the land of my birth

though war soon intervened
sending my Dad to sea
and our mother home
to her family in the East

we grew up in the East
a family of searchers
often searching for quite
different things

first, a home of our own
then good friends at school
and skill in the sports
we adored

the hearts of girls
so different from ourselves,
yet so highly prized,
a discovery that did
change the world

by 17, I'd left
the youthful games behind
my heart now free enough
to search out other passions

at Notre Dame
I joined a company
of searchers
finding a fellowship
with them I had not
known as well before

deeper, merrier
both intense and light
through many changing
times and seasons

a fellowship founded
on conversation
sustained by reading
lightened by laughter
deepened by faith
in one form or another
of its power

four years passed quickly
before we went
our separate ways

finding love, work, family
the deepening or loss of faith
the very personal callings
to which we freely gave ourselves

we rarely wrote or called
but when we gathered
the suspended talk began again

awakening memories
revealing important differences
in what we longed for
and hoped eventually
to find and then to love

we stayed connected
more or less
as time moved on,
and as it passed
we clearly wanted more

**September 1989 the Jersey
Shore
for “quick Eddie”, our
gridiron guru**

Many of us returned
for our twenty-fifth reunion
at Notre Dame

through Liz’s inspired initiative
we rented a private room
in the Studebaker mansion
where we talked
until late in the night

about the changing
shapes of our lives
and our hearts
about the old world
we now called home

the kind of talk
that keeps alive
the flame of friendship

driving back to the East
two days later
Ed and I both sensed
the special good
we’d just enjoyed

soon making plans
to re-convene
the company
the conversation
the closeness
one year later
at Ed’s seaside chateau
by the shore

“Quick Eddie C”,
El Presidente,
was our regal host
at this first
of countless gatherings

we celebrated,
marking our passage

from manhood
to the ripeness of old age

Long Beach Island, New Jersey
Montego Bay, Jamaica
Centerville, Massachusetts
The Indiana Dunes
The Ozark Mountains, Missouri
Seattle, Washington
Dublin, Ireland
The Hudson Valley, New York
The Greenbriar, West Virginia
Atlantic Beach, Florida
Barnstable, Massachusetts
Mission Bay, California
The Appalachian wilds, Boone, North
Carolina
Bradley Beach, New Jersey

a litany of gathering places
of spirited games
leisurely meals
of time with our spouses
and time alone,
as in our youth

but most of all
of conversation
the special bond
that drew us first
together

and keeps us
coming back
across the years
across the miles
across the distance

forged by age, decline
and loss

**September 2019 After Sixty
Years
for us all**

Sixty years have passed
since we became good friends
on the plains of northern Indiana

drawn to Notre Dame
from different regions
for different reasons
we formed a fellowship
of searchers that endured

inspired by common teachers
moved and challenged by common
books
we sought refuge together
from the Dome's rigidity
of mindless rules

at Chester's tavern
by the river
at 1001 East Wayne,
wonderful places
of light, laughter
and learning

dancing the twist
breaking bread together
competing in the countless
games we strove to win
without ever keeping score

we found new loves
that final year
a few have lasted,
but all brought joy
and warmth when
we were young

such happy memories
before we left
to seek our different callings
in the world

all of us married
all became fathers
all found a form of work
well suited to their gifts

four lawyers
three teachers
one doctor
one financial guru
one spell binding
Madison Avenue

wooer with words

a few returned
to their places of origin,
but most did not

Gowan and Ed
served in Vietnam
Senns and Carth
in the National Guard
while Jim and Ed
practiced military law
for Uncle Sam

now, we are grandfathers
sharing our love
with a new generation,
helping our children
make their way
through this difficult world

this September
we gathered again
at Liz and Mike Dunning's
on Cape Cod

to celebrate
our sixty years as friends
and boon companions

lovely memories
endless banter
and long hours
of conversation
about our lives
about our world
about those we've lost
and deeply mourn

we shall not
go gently
into that good night

thanks be to God
for such a precious gift

About the author:

Michael H. McCarthy ('63), Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, has been a teacher and scholar at Vassar College for nearly fifty years. A graduate of Notre Dame and Yale, he has authored or co-authored seven books, including *The Crisis of Philosophy*, *The Political Humanism of Hannah Arendt*, *Authenticity as Self-Transcendence: The Enduring Insights of Bernard Lonergan*, and *Toward a catholic Christianity: A Study in Critical Belonging*.

Professor McCarthy, a former fellow at the Woodstock Theological Center and a board member of the Lonergan Institute at Boston College, has lectured widely throughout the United States and abroad on cognitional, ethical and political topics and themes. When the muse visits, he also writes poetry for family and friends.

As both teacher and learner, he has loved being an active member of Vassar's thriving philosophical community

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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Condolences to the family of **Michael Farrug**. Michael passed away on September 15, 2019, in Troy, Michigan. His wife of 38 years, Loretta, and their two sons, Robert and Nick, survive him. This is a link to his obituary <https://www.legacy.com/amp/obituaries/theoklandpress/193917626>

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Prof. Mike McCarthy, a '63 grad of PLS and longtime professor of philosophy at Vassar College, was honored recently by a former student who named the lounge in the Philosophy department after Mike. This seems like a very fitting tribute to an alumnus of the Program!

Class of 1964

(Class Correspondent: Joseph J. Sperber III, 42 Ridge Road, East Williston, NY 11596-2507, Tel: 516-747-1764, Fax: 516-747-1731, Email: joe42ew@gmail.com)

(Class Correspondent: Raymond Condon,
4508 Hyridge Dr., Austin, TX 78759-
8054, rcondon1@austin.rr.com)

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(Class Correspondent: Lee Foster, P.O. Box
5715, Berkeley, CA 94705-0715,
lee@fostertravel.com)

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(Class Correspondent: Paul Ahr, 702 N.
Lakeside Drive, Lake Worth, FL 33460-2706)
Just a note to encourage fellow 1966 "GPer"
to keep us up to date.

Added by the PLS Office:

Paul Ahr writes: "As for me, I will be getting
another Master's degree, this time in
International Affairs, from Washington
University in St. Louis. This is a program I
began in 1987. Also, I am currently the CEO
of the Recovery Outcomes Institute in Palm
Beach County, FL doing research on reducing
relapse rates from substance use disorders.

Dr. Paul R. Ahr

paulahr@earthlink.net
305-965-9303"

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McClelland, 584 Flying Jib Ct., Lafayette, CO
80026-1291, rwmag@aol.com)

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M.D., 3637 West Vista Way, Oceanside, CA
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Raleigh, NC 27612-4236,
burkley775@gmail.com)

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(Class Correspondent: Richard Magjuka,
Department of Management, Room 630C,
School of Business, Indiana University,
Bloomington, IN 47501,
rmagjuka@aol.com)

We are sorry to share the news that PLS
alumnus Ken Taylor ('77), has passed
away. After graduating from
PLS, Ken earned his PhD in philosophy
from the University of Chicago, eventually
finding an academic home at Stanford as
the Henry Waldgrave Stuart Professor of

Philosophy. His PLS roots were perhaps most apparent in his role as the co-founder and co-host of "[Philosophy Talk](#)," a public radio talk show (and eventually, podcast) about philosophy. Professor Stapleford wrote, "As you may know, Ken was a remarkable man. A first-generation college student and (as best as we can recall) the first African-American graduate of the GP, Ken went on...to become what one of my colleagues in the Philosophy department judged as the foremost African-American philosopher of his generation. *Notre Dame Magazine* has run short profile on Ken, along with some memories from a few of his PLS faculty."

Class of 1978

Added by the PLS Office:

Bruce Rand, writes: "My Address is 15330 Ballast Point Dr., Apt. 2104, Ft. Myers, FL 33908. My email is: rand_bruce56@yahoo.com and on Facebook under Bruce Rand. I retired from the Collier County Clerk of Circuit Court (Naples, FL) in 2012 and moved to nearby Ft. Myers (close to Ft. Myers Beach). I'm reaching out to former classmates for correspondence, etc."

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(Class Correspondent: Laurie Denn, 5816 Lyle Circle, Edina, MN 55436-2228, lauriedenn@comcast.net)

Condolences to the family **Tim Cannon**. Tim died accidentally in a hiking accident on Ruffner Mountain, near his home in Telluride, Colorado on July 8, 2018. Please feel free to contact his widow Amy Cannon at timamycannon@msn.com, PO Box 4015, Telluride, CO 81435. Here is a link to the obituary: https://www.montrosepress.com/obituaries/tim-cannon/article_7c2d749c-9a2e-11e9-9fc8-97c199c468af.html

Class of 1986

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Added by the PLS Office:

M.P. Leary, writes: "Just saw that you have a Notice about my nomination by President Obama to be the Inspector General for the Social Security Administration in 2016 (link: <https://pls.nd.edu/news/michael-leary-presidential-appointment/>) which should be updated. I subsequently was appointed in April of 2019 as the Inspector General of the Government Publishing Office. Here is a link from an update provided to the Notre Dame Law School earlier this year: <https://law.nd.edu/news-events/news/michael-p-leary-86-96-j-d/>

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(Class Correspondent: Terese Heidenwolf, 49
W. Church St., Bethlehem, PA 18018-5821,
heidenwt@lafayette.edu)

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Chancellor Lane, McKinney, TX 75070-9097,
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0462, conijorich@aol.com)

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55817, jbryan45@att.net)

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Mount Clare Ave., Asheville, NC 28801-
1212)

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McConnell, 842 Cherry Street,
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smosesso@aol.com)

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2835 NE Brazee Court, Portland, OR
97212-4946,
bflanagan@schwabe.com)

Class of 1998

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2205 California St. NW, Apt. 503,
Washington, DC 20008-3910,
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Murphy Shaw, 3019 Campbell St., Kansas
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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.

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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, Becky 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 and 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 notable asset to our faculty. Though physically challenged by blindness, Steve was 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	Thomas Fleming
Nancy Clements	Dr. John Muench
Mr. and Mrs. John DeSolar	Deirdre Price
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Duffy, III	Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smith
Dr. Elizabeth Drumm	Gregory St. Ville
Kevin Yoder	

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
Beth Z. and Jon McCormick

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 thesis. 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

Dr. and Mrs. Gary F. Raisl

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 that 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

Wendy Chambers Beuter
Matthew Beuter
Mrs. Nancy Clements

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Clements
Dana Rogers
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Kwiecien

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

Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Kromkowski

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."

Contributions

Dr. and Mrs. James O'Rourke

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

Brian and Laura Carlyle Bowshier

Mr. and Mrs. Ned Buchbinder

Thomas Coffey

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Devine

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Erpelding

Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Gorman

Mr. and Mrs. Jerrold Zuzolo

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 Fund

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.

This list includes contributions made during the 2019 Notre Dame Day. The Program earned \$3,250 in direct donations and \$2,267 in Challenge Fund winnings from the 239 votes cast for our group. In total, that is \$5,517!

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