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Jameson First-Year Writing Award Winners

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Jameson First-Year Writing Award Winners

First-Year Writing equips students to grow as writers in the Wheaton College classroom and beyond. The course is designed to prepare students to write effectively in a variety of social contexts and to improve student learning and performance in many other facets of their undergraduate education. To better address this variety of contexts, students practice communicating their research in genres beyond the traditional research paper. Winners of the Jameson First-Year Writing Award are chosen through a two-step process: instructors nominate students' papers from their classes, and then a panel of judges selects the best papers from the nominations. The following papers, showcasing a variety of genres, received Jameson First-Year Writing awards in 2020-2021.

Lin Manuel Miranda's Portrayal of Immigrants: How *Hamilton* Shows us a Modern Stereotypical Portrayal of the Immigrant and Why Alexander Hamilton's Historical Context Changes His Story

Marion Furukawa

Lin Manuel Miranda's musical, *Hamilton*, shows us a striking portrayal of founding father, Alexander Hamilton, who appears in the musical as the quintessential immigrant: "The Ten dollar, founding father without a father/ got a lot farther by working a lot harder/ by being a lot smarter, by being a self-starter" (Miranda). But, if we are to understand this "Ten dollar, founding father," it is important to also understand Miranda's personal connection to the immigrant and common modern ideals of what it means to be an American immigrant who, through sheer will, brains, and hard work, achieves his place as an American. Is this image of an immigrant really the reality? How does Miranda's own experience as a son of immigrants both enrich and skew his musical's tone and narrative surrounding the real individual that was Alexander Hamilton? Our modern understanding of what it means to be an immigrant differs from our forefathers' concept of this idea; how does writing "about America then, told by America now" change Hamilton's story (Craft 430)? By examining others' critiques we see how *Hamilton* was shaped by both Miranda's personal experience and by common stereotypical views of the ideal immigrant. It is essential for us to understand how the musical's personally driven narrative neglects to show the difference between historical and modern immigration in the United States in favor of a more modern and hopeful stereotype of what immigrants might be.

As we examine the portrayal of Hamilton as a "hard working" immigrant, it is important to acknowledge and examine how Miranda's portrayal of Hamilton is shaped by his own unique Puerto Rican-American experience in New York City. Both Hogeland and Kajikawa mention the deep personal influence Miranda's own experiences had in creating the musical, and the "young, scrappy and hungry," yet incredibly brilliant character of Alexander Hamilton. Miranda himself says, "I recognize that relentlessness in people I know...not only in my father who came here from Puerto Rico at the age of 18 to get his education and never went back home, just like Hamilton, but also so many immigrant stories I know.... they know they have to work twice as hard to get half as far. That's just the deal—that's the price of admission to our country" (Hogeland 24). This deep connection to Hamilton that Miranda developed through his understanding of the immigrant struggle is key in producing the life and vitality animating Hamilton's character. But Hogeland would suggest that Ron Chernow—author of *Alexander Hamilton,* and Miranda's inspiration for the musical—conveyed a faulty image of Hamilton in his biography, showing him, "as embodying an enduring archetype: the obscure immigrant who comes to America, re-creates himself, and succeeds despite a lack of proper birth and breeding" (24). It seems that from the project's inception the stereotype of the ideal immigrant was involved, inspiring Miranda to find this somewhat false personal connection to Hamilton. Looking at how Hamilton's background as an immigrant shapes the audience's view of his character, and delving into analyzing the differences, similarities, and stereotypes involved in Alexander Hamilton's historical experience as a white immigrant in early America, versus Miranda's, and modern America's, immigrant experiences, is a complex distinction that the musical fails to convey. Rather, Hamilton's story as an immigrant seems to be crafted based on Miranda's legitimate, but modern, understanding of what it means to be an immigrant. Miranda's conception may even lean on stereotypes of the modern immigrant who works smarter, faster, and harder in order to achieve the American dream and become a "true American." It is important to analyze the differences, similarities, and stereotypes present in Lin Manuel Miranda's compared to Alexander Hamilton's historical reality.

While it is undeniable that Alexander Hamilton came to America from Jamaica and worked harder and smarter than other founding fathers with strong plantation-owning families to support them, it is important to not impose our preconceptions of who Hamilton was and represents, to the point of erasing the historical truth of Hamilton's life and experience. One strong point that Hogeland

makes in his article as he critiques biographer Chernow is that, "Alexander Hamilton was not an American immigrant, at least not in the sense intended by Chernow when he invokes the idea. Of course, all European dwellers not only in the thirteen British North American colonies, but also anywhere on the continent, came out of an experience that must be called migrant" (24). As Miranda was inspired by Chernow, these misconceptions and assumptions about Hamilton being an immigrant as we would understand the term, were magnified in the musical, since this idea of the racial and cultural divide found in 18th century colonies is not mentioned at all. Hoffman goes even further, saying that, "it is questionable even to mark Hamilton or any of the founding fathers as 'immigrants' at all, as that masks the fact that they were hardly fleeing from oppression but rather were colonizers themselves doing the oppressing" (220). Understanding the context of the British colonies, where status is determined by other factors than the land you were born in, should not discredit Hamilton's struggle to and for America as a young independent man working for a life and a cause, but it does show us that his story was different from the immigrant story of today.

As we come to realize how past and present racial biases, and the power of Hamilton's pure genius, make the stereotype Hamilton's character exudes an unrealistic ideal, how should we respond to the question, "Is *Hamilton* truly a universal story about immigrants who "rise up," as Miranda would like us to believe, or is it a white tale through and through?" (Hoffman 217). While Hamilton's theatrical story might inspire us, it might also champion, "The often unspoken side to the American Dream narrative" which is "that if you haven't 'made it,' it's because you haven't worked hard enough, not that the system is rigged against people of color" (Hoffman 222). As Hoffman critically asserts, "no matter how much harder they worked, the direct ancestors of the black and brown actors who populate the stage and sing these lines would never have been able to get as far as a white man like Alexander Hamilton could" (222). Furthermore, Hamilton was not only uniquely privileged for being a white man, his success was in many ways only accessible to him because of his genius. As Kajikawa says, "Real genius, like Hamiltonian genius, will survive its circumstances" (480). Hamilton's story could never be a true representation of the common immigrant's experience.

Today, as we look at Miranda's portrayal of Alexander Hamilton, we need to see the inequalities between Hamilton and the average modern immigrant. But despite this harsh critique, it is also important to recognize the positive impacts that *Hamilton* has produced through shedding light on the modern immigrant struggle through the proxy of a non-immigrant, and inspiring young immigrants despite using perpetuated stereotypes of the model immigrant and the American dream. Overall, as we look at the current relevance of *Hamilton* in a time of growing conflict over the issue of immigration, despite displaying irresponsible omissions of historical and racial truths, *Hamilton* has brought the idea of immigrants' potential to a wider audience. We can only hope that this audience is able to see not only the legacy of immigrants of the past, but immigrants today as well: immigrants like Miranda's father.

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Funding Appeal to the Korean Minister of Unification Lee In-Young on behalf of the UN World Food Programme

Eunice Ra

Dear Honourable Minister In-young Lee:

introduction

On behalf of the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP), allow me to extend our deep appreciation for the Ministry of Unification (MoU)'s previous contributions to WFP's operations in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). I am writing to request further cooperation support from the Korean government for our ongoing operations leading into 2021. I am sincerely grateful for the strong partnership between the Republic of Korea (ROK) and WFP, and I hope that we can continue this trend in the upcoming year.

According to a speech by Director Hyoung-Joon Lim of the WFP Korea Office, WFP has been present in North Korea since 1995, and partnership with authorities has made significant progress to reduce hunger and malnutrition (Lim). An analysis by UNICEF shows that chronic malnutrition for children under the age of 5 has fallen significantly since 2012 from 28% to 9% (Lim). Currently, WFP runs food assistance programs in North Korea designed to address specific needs for pregnant and nursing women, children under the age of 12, distributed over a network of over 1,000 kindergartens, food, organizations, and hospitals (Lim).

I would like to elaborate on why WFP, among other organizations, deserves particularly urgent attention at this time. Although many organizations within and outside the UN are working to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, there is a reason why zero hunger (eradicating world hunger) was selected as the second goal. In 2018, 9.2% of the world population was defined as severely food insecure (Roser): the other goals, including education, gender equality, and health simply cannot be addressed when entire populations are starving to death. Malnutrition contributes to an estimated 45% death of children in developing countries during the early ages of 0-5 years (Prendergast 1), also causing stunted growth and insufficient weight (Ahmed 1). Additionally, undernourished children have often been linked to low academic achievement, school dropout, and delinquency in their later years (Victora). In light of such examples, I believe that the World Food Programme deserves ROK's intentional and strategic funding as a key partner in delivering Korean Official Development Assistance (ODA) to other countries.

history of rok wfp

To emphasize the importance of strengthening the ROK-WFP (Republic of Korea-World Food Programme) partnership, I would like to provide background context on the history of WFP operations after the Korean war.

As many Koreans are well aware, WFP has played a key role in the development of the ROK economy. Their relationship began in 1963 when the ROK Ministry of Agriculture requested emergency humanitarian food aid. Since the end of World War II, various reconstruction activities were carried by the United Nations until the end of the 1950s, thereby greatly contributing to ROK's post-Korean War recovery ("Top 20 Donors").

During the first 20 years (1964-1984), WFP assisted ROK through a total of 23 projects. From the 1960s, assistance from the international community shifted away from the existing post-war recovery assistance, to that of economic development for ROK. Under this circumstance, WFP began to provide food assistance to ROK as grants for agricultural production and reforestation projects. In particular, WFP gave cereals to workers participating in Food for Assets projects for agricultural land reclamation, road construction, flood-control work, and erosion-control work ("Food Assistance for Assets"). This helped ROK citizens better overcome lean season and establish infrastructures for ROK's rapid economic development.

ROK graduated from the list of WFP recipient countries in 1984 and became WFP's 14th largest donor after only one generation in 2020 ("Contributions to WFP in 2019"). ROK's constant strive to overcome hardships of the past is highlighted through ROK's history in moving on from being one of the world's poorest countries with

a per-GDP capita of USD 70 (Chun 5) to now the world's 10th largest economy (IMF). With its unique experience of rapid economic and social development, ROK is said to be a living history of achieving zero hunger. With its ability to empathize with current recipient countries under difficult circumstances, I believe that ROK can become a model donor that plays a leading role through its own experience of hunger. More than any other country, DPRK stands as a brethren and neighbor to ROK: despite the residual hostility and trauma of war, we cannot deny that those in DPRK once shared history with the Republic of Korea as well, and it is our duty and responsibility to feed the mouths of our faraway relatives.

ROK COVID 19 RESPONSE

Furthermore, I wish to highlight the expertise and advantage that ROK has acquired in providing health-related humanitarian assistance after the COVID-19 pandemic. During the COVID-19 pandemic, ROK was able to quickly curb and contain the spread of COVID-19 due to its swift response plan (Kang et al.). As of October 2020, ROK's number of recoveries amounted to nearly 24,000 people, resulting in a 92% recovery of all patients. After social distancing rules were eased to the lowest level on October 12, the national GDP grew by 1.9 percent in July-September, showing the first signs of growth after the spread of COVID-19 ("Korea's Economy Returns to Growth"). The government's COVID-19 response plan included three key aspects: detection, with over 600 testing centers and 2.6 million tests conducted, containment through quarantine monitoring, and treatment with additional medical workforce and temporary hospitals. Innovative responses such as drive-through testing, self-quarantine monitoring, and stabilization of mask supply and distribution are considered as part of Korea's success, making Korea an exemplary model for other countries ("Korean New Deal 2020").

As the leading country for COVID-19 response, ROK has received heightened interest from the global community. During this critical time, I strongly urge your excellency to take advantage of this attention and expand strategies, particularly in the direction of food assistance and COVID-19 response for North Korea. According to the 2021 Comprehensive Implementation Plan for International Development Cooperation, the Korean government announced its goals to play a leading role in the global community by sharing its successful experiences and knowledge regarding COVID-19 through the K-model ("Plan for International Development Cooperation"). The official document states plans to initiate projects in various sectors such as policy/administration, prevention/monitoring, diagnosis/examination, and treatment/management in developing countries ("Plan for International Development Cooperation"); I believe that these strategies strongly align with WFP's health programs, including the WASH (improving water and sanitation) project, Iron and Folic Acid Supplementation, and various social protection investments ("Wellbeing of Children"). Through close cooperation with WFP, ROK can provide swift and efficient aid to North Korea as well. Although I understand these are turbulent times for the Korean economy as well, I believe that now is the chance for ROK to take the lead as one of WFP's largest government donors around the world and contribute to human rights in North Korea.

ARGUMENTS AND CONTROVERSIES

Of course, I do not wish to overlook the heated controversy within ROK over providing humanitarian assistance to DPRK: Korean citizens are wary of WFP's food assistance to DPRK, especially with the recent heightening of inter-Korean tensions. Even until 2018, North and South Korean relations seemed to have improved after the two inter-Korean summits. However, relations soon escalated after DPRK demolished a liaison office in June of 2020, worsening with the recent shooting of a South Korean official in September. I am deeply sorry to recall how in June 2019, the Ministry of Unification's contribution of 50,000 tons of rice aid to DPRK was put on hold due to the joint military drills between ROK and the US (Yonhap News). I understand that the MoU was deeply let down by these events and we lacked the capability to change or impact these governmental decisions.

Additionally, I am well aware of the criticism MoU has received from the domestic media for contributing a large sum of money to DPRK, bringing up suspicions that Pyongyang was discriminately feeding children from families loyal to the regime and dispensing the aid among the army (Bennett 6). Additionally, the UN has been reinstating sanctions on DPRK after multiple nuclear tests were conducted, making long-term aid difficult (Lee). Because of these past issues, I acknowledge it must be a challenge for you to make such a risky commitment, especially in the midst of this political and economic instability.

REFUTATION #1

However, I plead that you will allow me to elaborate why, despite these challenges and opposition, it is so important to support DPRK at this time. According to the presentation of Director Hyoung-Joon Lim of the WFP

Korea Office during the 2020 Korea Global Peace Forum, "Humanitarian aid is based on the principle of equality: we believe that anyone in this world has the right to receive aid to ensure their basic rights, and that is the basis of humanitarian aid" (Lim). As a global citizen, I believe that humanitarian assistance should always be provided regardless of political interests and tensions.

In case you have not heard, let me provide several details on DPRK's situation: after the recent monsoon, the DPRK newspaper reported that North Korean farmers were struggling with crop destruction, disease, and pests. The intense rains in the country's two Hwanghae provinces led to danger of food production disruption ("Monsoon Rains"). Furthermore, DPRK is facing an economic downturn since the mid-1990s famine, due to the drastic measures the country has taken to prevent the spread of COVID-19 (Terry). COVID-19 restrictions against travel, daycare centers, schools, and food supply suspended WFP's school feeding programs in DPRK, forcing us to close all offices outside of Pyongyang (Lim). Market activities were a huge source of economic aid to families in DPRK, but the lockdown suspended this as well (Lim). It is in these circumstances that we look to you for support: WFP will not give up on the women and children in DPRK, and we hope that you will stand with us in this fight.

According to Director Lim, the UN has been taking various measures to aid people who were hard-hit by COVID-19, providing emergency aid worth USD 40 million in the field of healthcare. While other organizations have left the field due to COVID-19 restrictions, WFP resumed activities in July, providing nutrition-fortified biscuits for North Korean children and handing out published booklets holding important messages about nutrition (Lim). This is an opportunity for ROK to send out a global message to other donor countries as well: as part of the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus, we believe that this type of food assistance could actually alleviate tensions between North and South Korea and provide one more step towards establishing peace on the Korean peninsula.

REFUTATION #2

The second defense that I wish to make in terms of the risks of providing food assistance to the DPRK is that WFP has been addressing these issues throughout recent years of developing and fixing various programs to prevent such mishappenings.

Recently, WFP has strengthened its monitoring and evaluation programs in each childcare center (Executive Board). According to Director Lim's speech, WFP has been strategizing its operations to provide super cereal rather than rice, which requires a specific cooking method and is not as accessible for normal citizens to eat on their own. (Lim) Therefore, this has made it much more difficult for the DPRK government or the DPRK army to steal the food assets. The super cereal contains essential micronutrients for pregnant and lactating women, as well as children, and can be used to make bread or porridge with the right recipe. (Lim) As the world's largest humanitarian organization, WFP can assure you that the food assistance we provide will indeed be delivered to the hands of those who truly need them, under our best possible monitoring system in place.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to thank your excellence once again for all your interests and contributions to WFP. In 2019, we provided aid in DPRK to about 662,570 people, mostly pregnant and lactating women and children (Lim). Currently, we have 11 production plants in DPRK that produce super cereals and nutritious biscuits and are planning to scale up projects for the following years (Lim). In 2021, we will carry out a one-million-dollar project to tackle malnutrition and hunger in DPRK, and we would like to invite ROK to participate in this project through next year's multilateral contributions. We are deeply grateful to the ROK government and people for consistently funding our operations over recent years, recognizing that neutrality and impartiality are fundamental principles that underpin our work. As I mentioned previously, in just one generation your nation went from a recipient country to a donor country. It's a truly inspirational journey that proves that with commitment and hard work, zero hunger is achievable. ROK is a tremendous example of everything WFP shares and strives for, and we hope this journey can continue in your closest neighboring country DPRK. As stated in the 2021 Comprehensive Implementation Plan for International Cooperation, the amount of ROK's ODA demand for 2021 has increased from the budget of 3.42 trillion won this year to approximately 4.99 trillion won: this high budget growth reaffirms the government's firm commitment to expanding ODA ("Plan for International Development Cooperation"). Regardless of political and economic challenges, UN WFP believes that providing humanitarian aid to DPRK is an essential responsibility for the entire global community, and we strongly encourage ROK to take the first step as our most reliable donor to bringing peace, health, and zero hunger across the Korean peninsula.

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A Necessary Evil: The Benefits of Both Following and Breaking Feminine Stereotypes in *Hamilton*

Sarah Rinne

Lin Manuel Miranda's *Hamilton* has been lauded by some for its inclusion of two women who play the roles of early feminists in America, Eliza and Angelica Schuyler. In their first big song, "The Schuyler Sisters," the two are introduced with their younger sister Peggy as free thinking and confident; Angelica even quips that she's been "reading *Common Sense* by Thomas Paine," making "some men say that [she's] intense or [she's] insane." Stacy Wolf describes the women as "politically savvy" and "perceptive intellectual[s]" that are boldly set up to be front and center (171). However, along with other scholars, Wolf goes on to notice that Eliza and Angelica still fall into the stereotypical, romance-centered roles of the good, obedient wife, and the diverting muse, respectively. These roles are ever present and somewhat disappointing considering how distinct and independent the sisters are at the start of Act I. This is not necessarily all negative, however. Although it's clear that these feminine tropes exist and diminish the strength of the feminist undertones in *Hamilton*, Eliza's character development and eventual reveal as the true star of the musical would be impossible without her initial setup as Hamilton's rather ordinary wife.

Essentially, Eliza enters the story as Hamilton's love interest. She sings a song entitled "Helpless" where she describes her loving relationship with Hamilton. Hamilton himself sings that "my love for you is never in doubt," illustrating that the two are very much dedicated to each other. As time goes on, Eliza and Hamilton have a child, and Eliza takes up the role of a domestic mother and wife. In these roles, she is relegated to somewhat common stereotypes seen in women, and her character isn't fully fleshed out. However, near the middle of Act II, Hamilton's dealings with Maria, his mistress, are exposed, prompting Eliza to distance herself greatly from her husband, even singing that he "forfeits [his] place in our bed." The strength that she exhibits in later scenes to control her true emotions and yet to still stand by Hamilton's side is very moving, and begins the decay of those initial feminine tropes that constrained her. She is no longer just a wife or a mother—she is a woman who has the ability to stand in the face of immense pain and suffering and still pursue her goals. In fact, in the ending of the musical, Eliza stops "wasting time on tears" and completes some enormous feats; she gathers stories and history surrounding Hamilton, organizes his writing, raises "funds in D.C. for the Washington monument / [speaks] out against slavery," and establishes the first private orphanage in New York City. She is essentially credited as the central reason for the musical's existence. Eliza is a woman deserving of respect and admiration, and Miranda used her achievements to develop her character into a wholly feminist and trope-defying woman.

Coming back to Wolf's scholarly article entitled "Hamilton's Women," Wolf claims that the presence of feminine tropes and stereotypes makes the production "almost feminist." In her words, "*Hamilton* puts women on the sidelines and relegates them to the most obvious and time worn stereotypes." Angelica's short-lived brilliance on stage, Maria's shallow role as a seductress and stumbling block for Hamilton, and Peggy's near non-existence are all disappointing to witness. Nonetheless, Eliza is where this line of failures in writing female characters ends. She begins as Hamilton's prize, a stepping stone used for him to achieve wealth and status in a society that didn't respect those who "don't have a dollar to [their] name." As Hamilton continues to overwork himself and ignore Eliza and their child, Eliza becomes the voice of reason, urging Hamilton to "decide to stay" at home more often. This is where Eliza's role as the "good wife" slowly begins to morph; as Hamilton is painted as irrational and unsympathetic towards his wife, Eliza is seen as wise in contrast.

This view isn't held by everyone. According to Wolf, Eliza "pesters" and "harangues" Hamilton in an effort to "domesticate" him (175). In other words, Eliza is the nagging wife put there to be a frustrating roadblock Hamilton must overcome to achieve greatness. While it is understandable that Eliza's actions may be interpreted

to be overbearing and negative, this outlook overshadows her importance and overwhelmingly positive character traits. Once again, these moments where Eliza speaks to Hamilton and urges him to spend more time with his family are not put in there to make the audience sympathize with Hamilton, but rather to reveal how selfish and careless he is when it comes to his family. Part of the production's point is to prove that the founding fathers were flawed men; when one views gentle, wise Eliza next to reckless Hamilton, it's clear that Hamilton is the true issue here; while Eliza repeatedly asserts her commitment to Hamilton, singing that "I'm not afraid / I know who I married," Hamilton avoids her pleading and turns all his attention on his work. In addition, it's not very feminist to imply that a woman who desires domestication is of less value, or is herself less feminist. Eliza was in the right when urging her husband to take up more responsibility and show more respect as a member of the household.

Claire Chandler is another scholar who has written on the feminine roles in *Hamilton*, commenting that "these remarkable women exist in the world of *Hamilton* to help orient the audience's understanding of the politics at play and humanise the male protagonist" (2). Her article focuses on Hamilton's lack of progressive action concerning gender—an example she gives is that the casting could have been gender-blind and yet still resorted to "the heteronormative conventions of musical theatre" (3). It's true that these women only exist within the play in relation to Hamilton himself—however, that could be said about every character in the musical. Hamilton has his friends (Marquis de Lafayette, John Laurens, and Hercules Mulligan), his allies, such as George Washington, and his rivals (Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson). These people are given some depth, but overall the performance is not about them. The characters revolve around Hamilton and his life because he is the main protagonist. The same can be said about the female characters as well. More importantly, their intrinsic value as women does not diminish merely because of their romantic relationships with Hamilton. These characters are representations of real women who made real, independent choices concerning romantic relations with men. This doesn't make them any less feminist.

It can even be argued that Eliza's relationship with Hamilton humanizes *her* rather than him. Her roles as a wife, sister, and mother lead to the cultivation of the audience's empathy, causing her reveal as the true author of the story to be much more poignant. In her solo "Burn," Eliza takes complete control of her future by erasing valuable information that could have saved or redeemed her husband from his scandal, as well as erasing information concerning her own reaction. She sings, "I'm erasing myself from the narrative. / Let future historians wonder how Eliza reacted when you broke her heart." Even though Hamilton betrayed her, Eliza isn't some self-pitying damsel in distress. She forges the future in spite of her pain and forces Hamilton to face the consequences of his actions—she is anything but the meek "good wife" trope here, and Miranda wants us to see her strength and power; Eliza grows from a mere love interest into the driving force behind the whole musical.

Overall, it's necessary to point out the failures within art, especially art that gains as much traction and support as *Hamilton* has. Eliza stands as a very well written woman who represents many ideals of feminism. The audience walks away from the musical not admiring Hamilton, but rather feeling like they want to live as audaciously as Eliza and have the power to make lasting changes in our world. Even so, whether or not one agrees on Eliza's breakage of traditionally confining feminine stereotypes, there were still failures in the development of the three other women in the musical. Through and through, *Hamilton* is "almost feminist," and one well written woman does not change this fate. Wolf and Chandler brought up valuable points that were previously overlooked, and by doing so their ideals run parallel to those held by Eliza; when something needs to be addressed, these women are unafraid to make that change—whether that be writing an article or building an orphanage, women can get a job done.

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Peace Building Through Creative Arts in Cyprus

Hannah Ruth Stell

Introduction

"Artistic and creative practices deconstruct and reconstruct our understandings on social and cultural topics and bring to the fore new forms of cultural awareness and appreciation of different cultures and different ways of seeing the world." —Nihal Sognaci

Known as the "last divided city in Europe," Cyprus' capital city, Nicosia, represents a country divided both physically and ethnically by what is referred to as the Cyprus problem. The Cyprus Problem signifies the tension created from the 1972 Turkish invasion, and subsequent occupation of the northern third of the island by Turkey, which led to the current physical, cultural, and political divide of the country. Mary Olin in her article "Through the Eyes of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots: The Perception of Cyprus" calls its political climate today a "negative peace," with no current war but great tension between the two sides (Olin 1). Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, and the United Nations all actively seek a solution, whether through reunification or two separate states (2). Olin goes on to assess the current situation in Cyprus by defining what a "divided society" looks like and what problems can arise:

> Divided societies are groups of people who live next to each other, but have barriers dividing them. Those barriers can be religious, physical, cultural, or emotional. In the case of Cyprus, it has been all of the above. This multi-layered division creates a situation ripe for the propaganda to take hold and feed the people with non-truths. (5)

Moreover, a "tangible" sign of division between the two sides is the UN green line, or symbolic buffer zone (Pellapaisiotis 136). The opening of the buffer zone, as a more neutral location between the two sides, acts as a "catalyst" or bridge necessary to move the peace talks further (Olin 2). The buffer zone has been a compelling landscape for artists on both sides of the border and has hosted multiple exhibitions. Hence, I believe the creative arts peacebuilding has the power to bring unity that could lead to solving the troubling Cyprus problem. Artists' work within a "real political space" allows them to produce "socially and politically relevant" work (Pellapaisiotis 138). Moreover, artists are now able to express their cultural identity through the creative arts, which enables both sides to value each other's culture, ultimately leading to mutual understanding and peace. This is crucial, as, unfortunately, neither the Turkish nor Greek side have respected cultural landmarks and monuments. In the northern occupied territory, "many Greek Orthodox church windows have been smashed" and "wall paintings in the Limnia and Engomi village churches have been disfigured" while in the southern, predominantly Greek, Republic of Cyprus "the main mosque has been entirely erased and the Turkish Cypriot graves have been damaged" (Bouchier 37). Thus, this disturbing destruction of cultural heritage and identity amid animosity ensures a difficult and painful road to peace for both sides.

Yet, as Clark points out in her article "The Creative Path to Peace: An Exploration of Creative Arts-based Peacebuilding Projects," creative arts as a means of peacebuilding has shown that appreciating different cultures is crucial, as culture "frames our very thinking" (28). Thus, both sides must recognize their own cultural biases by striving to value and acknowledge the other's cultural "characteristics" (29). Furthermore, creativity is "inherent in every culture" as creative arts, and artistic expressions, have developed to offer an "outlet for thoughts, feelings, traditions or beliefs" (29), thus, making it an excellent opportunity to build peace.

Furthermore, the creative arts possess the ability to raise awareness, express the inward significance of the Cyprus problem in a way that promotes peace as well as open dialogue between the two sides. Also, it can be utilized to counter "propaganda," as well as the "us" versus "them" mentality (Olin 5), which can dehumanize the other side and in turn sabotage arts-based peacebuilding efforts. Therefore, the Cyprus problem has the potential to be solved through arts-based peacebuilding.

CREATIVE ARTS CAN RAISE CULTURAL AWARENESS AND APPRECIATION

How can the creative arts raise cultural awareness as a first step in the peacebuilding process? In the article "Strategic arts-based peacebuilding," Michael Shank and Lisa Schirch underline the fact that "raising awareness" of conflicts needs to take place in order to get different parties to negotiate (220). Therefore, they argue that by "nonviolent action" peacebuilders can "raise public awareness and sympathy" as well as convincing or compelling others to "accept the needs or desires" of the other side (222). Artists have the unique ability to spotlight the intensity of current conflicts through the creative arts, which includes, but is not limited to, mediums such as: the theatre, spoken word, hip-hop, documentary filmmaking, public murals, and installation art (221). One excellent example occurred in Mexico where public murals done by artists such as Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco raised public awareness of the problems concerning social injustice by contesting the economic situation in Mexico that benefited the elite (222). Thus, the public murals were powerful as they acted "as a mirror to society" portraying a "symbolic portrait of oppression and conflict" mainly between different areas of society, as well as illustrating an "idealistic vision of the future" (222). Therefore, by bringing to light these pressing problems in society, one can help opposing sides to empathize and understand the conflict further, paving the path to reconciliation and peace by providing a hopeful ideal for the future.

In Cyprus, this approach of first raising cultural awareness would be very beneficial for both sides as there are common cultural, religious, and ideological differences between both the north and the south. Olin reminds us that many Cypriots from both sides grew up "knowing that the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are not like each other at all" due to what "parents and grandparents had told them" (Olin 28). Instead of reminding Cypriots of the cultural differences that they are so well aware of, the creative arts have the power to raise awareness of the two culture's similarities.

THE CREATIVE ARTS CAN REBUILD CONNECTIONS

One important aspect of the creative arts in peacebuilding is the fact that it can "rebuild connections with others" as well as open dialogue between opposing sides (Clark 38). Communities divided by war, and conflict dangerously "begin to dehumanize" the opposing side to make them appear more unworthy, and less connected (39). Thus, in order to move forward with peacebuilding, the creative arts assist in "rekindling human bonds" and help the different sides humanize one another (40).

In Cyprus, Olin similarly argues that one of the main dividing factors between the two different cultures stems from Turkish and Greek Cypriot nationalism (17). Nationalism gathers people together who "see themselves as being the same" objectively and culturally, and it "encourages the dehumanization of people who are not like them" (17). It justifies horrible actions taken against the other side as "being for the good of the people and the nation" (18). This includes both sides' actions against one another in 1972. Ironically, she notes that from an outsider's perspective, Turkish and Greek Cypriots appear extremely alike, aside from their respective religious differences. (18). The majority of their foods are "the same or similar"; they look similar physically; their "sense family and community" are the same; in a cultural sense, the list continues (18-19).

Moreover, my interview with Salpy Eskidjian Weiderud, the executive director for the Religious Track of the Cyprus Peace progress, reveals how the creative arts promoted peacebuilding through a photography exhibition. This exhibition was sponsored by the Swedish Embassy and hosted in the United Nations buffer zone. They invited Cypriots from both communities together, as well as internationals, to discuss the exhibition as a means of building trust and reconciliation between the two communities. She noted that the exhibition on fatherhood was a "bridge-builder" for this "gap" between the two cultures, as they focused on their similarities as parents. As Olin noted, the "gap" between the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots stems from their nationalistic perspectives (17). At the exhibition, Nikos Christodoulides, Foreign Minister for Cyprus, gave a speech showing a private side of himself. According to Mrs. Weiderud, Turkish, and Greek Cypriots saw a "personal," more real side to this politician, as he talked about being a father of three daughters. She believes that if it was not for the photography he would have not "communicated so freely" about his personal life, as the creative arts "enables communication." Through this humanizing experience, the two communities were brought further together despite the exhibition not "aim[ing] to discuss the Cyprus problem" (Weiderud). Additionally, Mrs. Weiderud notes that, like it or not, Cypriots at some stage in a conversation will discuss the Cyprus Problem, a continual thought on their minds. She went on to add that peacebuilding increased as several participants brought their spouses and children to the exhibition, and many diverse cultural families

were brought together. After people from both sides got to know one another and saw their similarities as human beings, it was "easier to hear the pain of the other" and to "empathize" concerning the Cyprus problem (Weiderud). She and the Swedish ambassador at the time declared it was "extremely successful" for bringing the communities together and building peace.

ARTS BASED PEACEBUILDING CAN HEAL AND BRING ABOUT CHANGE

The creative arts can not only raise appreciation for different cultures and cultivate relationships, but it can also be an "agent for change" concerning peacebuilding as it has the power to "mobilize, to rouse, to animate, to communicate broadly, to persuade, and to energize" (Clark 36). Clark argues that it has the power to bring about a change in peacebuilding circumstances where even other "methods have been unsuccessful" (38). For example, in the border disputes between Burkina Faso and Mali in the 1980s, international intervention failed numerous times to end the killing and conflict. Nonetheless, when the presidents of the conflicting countries were invited to a "peace summit" that involved "poetry, song, and dance" specifically aimed to encourage peacebuilding, the two men "shed tears, embraced, and made an oath to end the war" (38). This illustrates the significant value of arts-based peacebuilding further.

Moreover, the Home for Cooperation in Cyprus, located in the buffer zone, aims to act as a "bridge-builder" as it encourages people from both sides to "cooperate beyond constraints and diving lines" (Home for Cooperation). I asked them how the creative arts have raised cultural awareness in Cyprus, and how effective it has been in bringing about change. Nihal Soganci, on behalf of the Home for Cooperation peacebuilding team, explained that the Home for Cooperation has developed an annual Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival to provide a platform to "question sensitive topics" while enabling both sides to "engage with one another regardless of the dominant historical narratives, ideologies or identities." For Buffer Fringe 2020, the conceptual theme of "displacement" hits home hard "on an island and in a century where the mourning of displacement can be traced across generations," as the war caused many to lose their homes (Sognaci). According to her assessment, the "healing power" of the creative arts "opens new grounds to understand the role of memory . . . and nostalgia in peace-building." More significantly, the Sognaci underlined that the performing arts festival proves to be the "best tool to trigger discussions about personal or collectivistic traumas" that Cypriots have undergone in the past, as well as promoting "understanding, respect and . . . trust."

PROBLEMS WITH ARTS BASED PEACEBUILDING

However, some have challenged this approach to peacebuilding through the creative arts, as while it can be utilized for healing, it can and often has been used "to support and promote violence and hate" (Clark 53). Thus, when art becomes more politized, challenges arise for artists to "navigate the expectations of funders and bureaucrats who may have unrealistic expectations and hidden agendas" (55). Furthermore, Clark acknowledges that "malevolent creativity" can greatly undermine arts-based peacebuilding. She uses the example of how violent regimes and dictators specifically utilized the arts as a major part of their "propaganda machines" to "proselytize for evil" (53).

During my interview with Mrs. Weiderud, I asked how the creative arts may counter peacebuilding in Cyprus, to which she provided a recent example. President Erdoğan of Turkey recently visited the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and had a picnic on one of the coastal towns located in the buffer zone, off-limits for Cypriots of both sides (Weiderud). To make matters worse, airplanes in the sky made a contrail in the shape of a crescent moon and a star—the symbol of Islam and the Turkish flag. Mrs. Weiderud pointed out how this undermined peacebuilding as it was an "extremely painful reminder for the Southern Greek Cypriots" while "extremely proud for the Turkish Cypriots." This again links back to the ugly reality of nationalism found on both sides (Olin 17). A "lack of empathy and compassion" using "symbols," a form of visual art, can be very powerful and dangerous for dividing both sides further (Weiderud).

HOW THE CREATIVE ARTS HAVE BEEN USED TO COUNTER HATRED IN CYPRUS

While there are dangers to arts-based peacebuilding, the only way to counter the negative is through the unique way it can rebuild relationships, raise cultural awareness, and bring about change. Cyprus desperately needs arts-based peacebuilding to neutralize this negative tension between the north and south.

This leaves us with these questions: how have the creative arts impacted discussions for peacebuilding and reunification and what future role it can play in this area? Soganci used the example of the Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival to answer these questions, claiming it holds

a "performative form of power" that brings awareness to the "critical lens that has arisen in the community that questions the normalized quotidian reality," thus, creating a "contrapuntal crack." Through this crack, it will be possible to "imagine alternatives to the dominant discourses that physically and mentally divide the Island" (Sognaci). Hence, this creative festival aims to rouse Cypriots from both sides to question their division as an island and to come up with a solution to benefit both sides (Sognaci). She points out that by using "bi-communal collaborations" as a vessel, many artists from the North, South, and internationally find an "opportunity to come together, to produce together and hence be able to imagine a common future together."

CONCLUSION

Through the creative arts, more progress can be made in solving the infamous Cyprus problem that haunts the island. The successful, creative work of the Home for Cooperation and the Swedish Embassy serves as a model for peacebuilding efforts on both sides of the island, and as proof that arts-based peacebuilding effectively applies to the situation in Cyprus. To see more progress made towards resolving the Cyprus problem, awareness must be raised about the similarities of the two cultures via the creative arts for mutual cultural appreciation. The toxic nationalism of the Turks and Greeks must be extinguished, and both sides must begin to identify as simply Cypriots (Olin 19). Arts-based peacebuilding can heal Cyprus of its horrific history of violence, hate, and division leading to unity and harmony between both cultures.

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Jameson Critical Essay Contest Winners

The Jameson Critical Essay Contest awards prizes to outstanding undergraduate academic essays that are written from a distinctly Christian perspective. Submissions are accepted from students in all academic divisions. Faculty judges selected the following essays for Jameson Critical Essay awards in 2020-2021.

First Place

Gretchen Stanfa, "Botanical Mary: Addressing the Virgin with Natural Imagery."

Second Place

Collin Maldonado, "Where Life Lies: Defending the Concept of Higher Brain Death from a Thomistic Perspective."

Philip DeGroot, "Jan Žižka of the Chalice: How an Old, Blind, General Defied the Catholic Church, Unified the Hussite Movement, and Reshaped the Bohemian Reformation."

Botanical Mary:Addressing the Virgin with Natural Imagery

Gretchen Stanfa

Joining commentary on how best to approach referring to the Virgin Mary, this paper explores the contrasts of her dual nature while also considering the place she should take in relation to Jesus. Reflecting on art, music, poetry, and spiritual practices, a poetic approach to addressing Mary is advocated as the way forward. This poetic approach holds paradox and veneration in tension while embracing beauty, faith, and worship of the Creator.

Flora and the Virgin Mary have a rich devotional friendship. Cardinal John Henry Newman wrote of this connection, stating that "Mary is the queen of spiritual flowers, and therefore she is called the rose, for the rose is fitly called of all the flowers, the most beautiful."[1] St. Bernard of Clairvaux echoed this sentiment, referring to Mary as "the violet of humility, the lily of chastity, the rose of purity."[2] In addition to epithets like these, Mary and botanical images have become inextricably linked over time through music, iconography, poetry, and even gardens, most often as a way of emphasizing Mary's virtues and setting an example for believers to adopt them as well. To explore the basis of this emphasis, it is necessary to expand on the history of Marian floral imagery, interact with different representations of this imagery in various mediums, wrestle with depicting the paradoxes of Mary's nature, and question the appropriateness of using this language to address Mary.

Perhaps one of the best-known floral images related to Mary, aside from the rose, is the lily, often seen in depictions of the Annunciation. Lilies were, and continue to be, viewed as a symbol of purity (or chastity, as mentioned by St. Bernard) alluding to Mary's perpetual virginity. St. Bede was one of the earliest to make this comparison, describing Mary as "a white lily, the white petals symbolizing her pure virginal body and the golden anthers the radiance of her soul" in the 7th century.[3] After this came many different legends related to the church reinforcing the symbolic significance of the lily to the Virgin, insomuch that the lily is often referred to as the Madonna Lily. One such legend describes the lily as sprouted by Eve's tears but picked—read, redeemed—by Mary.[4] Others describe the miraculous sprouting of lilies at key points in arguments about Mary's perpetual virginity. One legend even goes as far as to have three lilies appear, symbolizing Mary's virginity before, during, and after Jesus' birth.[5] This led to many lilies being painted with three flowers on one stalk in paintings of the Annunciation.[6] The lily is seen repeatedly in Annunciation art, spanning from works as early as the Sixteenth Century Annunciation with Flower Symbols from the French Book of Hours,[7] to modern examples such as John Collier's Annunciation (2000)[8] which depicts Mary as a suburban schoolgirl receiving Gabriel's news. However, the lily is not limited to this specific symbolism. In the early 1900s, Easter lilies became representative of the Resurrection of Christ through the way that the dead bulb is buried and grows to life, displaying unique and rich symbolism corresponding to Jesus rather than focusing on Mary and her virginity.[9] Easter lilies being the exact same flower as the Madonna lily holds a deep sense of imagery which informs our theological and physical understanding of both Mary and Jesus' virtues and purposes in God.[10]

The conception of Marian floral imagery was an organic and diverse process, beginning with the Medieval "Doctrine of Signatures." The doctrine was a form of early herbalism that justified each plant having specific properties. This justification was based in the belief that "in the unity of the creation of the spiritual and the material, of heaven and earth, through the eternal Word of God, mirrors are to be found in nature of the persons, events and objects of Revelation,"[11] or, in other words, that God creat-

[1] Moya Andrews. "Flowers for the Virgin Mary," Indiana Public Media, Sept. 2, 2010, https://indianapublicmedia.org/focuson-flowers/flowers-virgin-mary.php

[2] Marian T. Horvat. "The Lily: Symbol of the Annunciation & Resurrection," Tradition in Action, Mar. 21, 2016. https://www.traditioninaction.org/religious/f034_EasterLily.htm

[3] Florence Eccleston. "Medieval Annunciation Symbolism," *I*ntroducing Medieval Christianity, July 9, 2020. https://introducingmedievalchristianity.wordpress.com/2019/07/08/medieval-annunciation-symbolism/

[4] Horvat, "The Lily."

[5] Horvat, "The Lily."

[6] Horvat, "The Lily."

[7] See Appendix A

[8] Collier, John. "Annunciation." Hillstream LLC, 2014, https://www.hillstream.com/artist/john-collier/paintings-gallery

[9] Horvat, "The Lily."

[10] Horvat, "The Lily."

[11] John S. Stokes. "Flowers of Mary's Sorrows," Mary's Garden,

ing nature set it apart as being specifically useful. It naturally follows that Mary, also created by God and whose life held a specific sacred purpose, would be treated as one of these subjects upon which nature becomes a holy mirror. Examples of this mirroring developed in accordance with other religious floral symbols and while some were named directly from scripture like "Mary's Sword (of sorrow)," others were derived from legends based in both scripture and popular tradition, such as Mary's torn locks of hair.[12] These symbols seem to have been spread through travel, by "missionaries, monks and friars, pilgrims, members of the Crusades and other warriors, the wandering scholars, roving singers and travelling players, and merchants."[13] Despite the wide variety of travel options for these symbols, there was some consistency in particular images relating to specific flowers. However, the prevalence of native plants in different regions often led to attributions of general symbolism to whichever plants were available and deemed suitable to convey a particular meaning, so there was some variability.[14]

Today, these meanings are most prominently conveyed in Marian gardens. These gardens are small plots rife with personal growth, as the intention is to plant flowers which embody the virtues of the Virgin, and, while tending to them, to tend to the virtues in your heart. The University of Dayton's vast website of Marian resources describes this devotional practice as a "prayerful work," an "act of faith," and an "appeal to the heart" where, while you read about Mary's virtues and tend to Marian flowers, "they may bloom spiritually within your interior life" and, "with your garden stewardship, foliage, buds, [and] blooms will come of God's creatures the seeds, in due season and according to his established order."[15] As with Easter Lilies, Marian gardens are another Marian floral image that holds the dual purpose of honoring Mary and pointing back to God through a focus on his creation. If the implication of creation isn't evidence enough of this pointing, these Marian Gardens often contain statues of "Our Lady, St. Joseph, or of a Saint or a Crucifix [emphasis added]."[16]

As Mary's soul was magnified by God,[17] Mary is used to magnify others, be they her husband, other fellow saints, or her son, Jesus.

However, some veneration using natural images toes the line between honoring Mary and elevating her to the same, or a higher, level than Jesus. Both the author of The Life of the Virgin (once thought to be Maximus the Confessor), and Hildegard of Bingen, an accomplished nun from the 12th Century, lean towards this type of veneration. In the conclusion to The Life of the Virgin, page upon page is dedicated to epithets referencing Mary, many of which are botanical in nature. Mary is called, "the root of the incorruptible shoot," "the tree of immortal fruit," "the worker, the lover of humanity [who] sprouted forth the planter of life," "the flower of incorruptibility, the crown of virtue, the model of the life of angels," as well as "the thickly leaved tree in whose shade the weary rest, the bearer of the redeemer of captives, the guide of those who have gone astray."[18] Rather than simply emphasizing Mary's virtue, dual nature, or purpose, these descriptions almost elevate her to the level of Co-Redemptrix or Mediatrix with Christ by portraying her as one in whom people are helped from their struggles and delivered from sin. Hildegard of Bingen reinforces this in her Latin antiphon, *O Frondens Virga*—directly translated as "O blooming branch," which "stand[s] upright in [her] nobility"—referring to Mary as one who has power to "deign to free us, frail and weakened, from the wicked habits of our age" and "stretch forth [her] hand to lift us up aright."[19] Once again, Mary is not only given honor and a unique position but power not unlike that of Jesus. This raises many questions. Does elevating Mary to this point become dangerous to Christians by setting her up as an unattainable ideal? Can botanical language such as this go too far, stripping Mary of her humanity, and, consequently, Jesus of his? While these descriptions are beautiful and rightly venerative, they can gloss over the paradoxes that exist in Mary's life if they are not balanced with the understanding of Mary's humanity, or the way she points to her son.

I found some resolution in relation to these descriptions of Mary in the stained-glass Jesse Tree window of Chartres Cathedral. This window depicts the tree of Jesse

University of Dayton. https://www.udayton.edu/marianlibrary/marysgardens/f/flowers-of-marys-sorrows.php

[12] Stokes, "Sorrows."

[13] Edward A. G. McTague. "Flowers of Our Lady," Mary's Garden, University of Dayto. https://www.udayton.edu/marianlibrary/marysgardens/f/flowers-of-our-lady.php

[14] McTague, "Flowers of Our Lady."

[15] Edward A. G. McTague. "Gardening and Spirituality." Mary's Garden, University of Dayton. https://www.udayton.edu/marianlibrary/marysgardens/g/gardening-and-spirituality.php

[16] McTague, "Gardening and Spirituality."

[17] Lk 1:46-55 ESV

[18] Maximus the Confessor, *The Life of the Virgin*, trans. by Shoemaker, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 149-151.

[19] Hildegard Von Bingen, *O Frondens Virga*. trans. by Nathanael M. Campbell. International Society of Hildegard Von Bingen Studies, Jan. 1, 1970. http://www.hildegard-society.org/2014/10/o-frondens-virga-antiphon.html.

and his descendants, ascending upwards. Mary is near the top of the tree, reinforcing her place in God's plan as well as her connection to nature; however, she is not at the very top. Mary is directly under Jesus with her hands holding the branches that curve to rest under his feet.[20] This subtle intertwining of Mary and Jesus both connects them and allows Mary to be honored in a way that elevates Jesus, rather than elevating her above him. This depiction also makes room for Mary and Jesus to be paradoxically human, as they are both connected to the men who came before them while being elevated themselves.

Marian floral imagery can serve the purpose of highlighting these paradoxes within Mary's human nature. In a 2020 photograph taken by Eric Whitacre in Los Angeles, a pandemic-ready masked Mary (specifically Our Lady of Guadalupe) is painted onto a building, surrounded by heavy-laden rose bushes above and bare vines below.[21] While the cross-cultural referencing of Our Lady of Guadalupe and the insertion of Mary into present times merits analysis and joy, I found the paradox of the living and barren in this image the most interesting in relation to Mary and botanical imagery. Each time I see that picture I wonder, which came first? Did someone see the flowers and then paint the Virgin? Was she painted before any flowers were grown there? Were the flowers all blooming when she was painted, fading into the duality visible in the photograph? While I don't know the answers to these questions, I am not the only one who has asked them or addressed her dual nature as human and favored by God, virgin and mother, expressed through flora.

In T.S. Eliot's "Ash Wednesday," this paradox is highlighted over and over again. In one particularly well-known passage, Eliot describes Mary as the, "Lady of silences/ Calm and distressed/ Torn and most whole/ Rose of memory/ Rose of forgetfulness/ Exhausted and life-giving/ Worried reposeful/ The single Rose/ Is now the Garden/ Where all loves end."[22] This section has been described by Jacques Maritain, "an eminent critic"[23] of poetry, as "an instance in which clarity and obscurity, explicit abstract meanings and implicit undetermined significations intertwine to compose a complex radiance of an admirable quality."[24] In other words, the rich duality of this poetic style itself captures the myriad of Mary's paradoxical nature in a way which again magnifies her humanity and complexity. As Scott Erickson writes in his book *Honest Advent* in reference to the Virgin birth, "the function of a paradox is not to find the solution to seemingly opposing truths, but to be transformed by living in the middle mystery of them."[25] Eliot and Whitacre both live into this mystery deeply through their art.

An important question to ask when faced with this middle mystery and reconciling these various botanical images of Mary is whether they are poetry or prose. If you have been to a stunning concert, or seen a breathtaking piece of art, or heard a well-crafted poem, or admired the beauty of a sunset, you know the ways poetry of all forms allows people to enter into a headspace of awe that, for Christians, often leads to worshipping God. If the botanical imagery used to describe Mary is prose—that which can only depict one side of her at a time—then it risks elevating Mary too highly as it glosses over the complications of duality in its attempt to always speak in a straightforward manner. However, if this devotion is seen as a form of poetry, an art springing from respect towards God's chosen creation, the paradox of Mary's nature is kept intact and held as a mystery without letting Mary become superhuman: all is eventually pointed back to God through the awe and wonder inspired by admiring God's handiwork.

The poetic and paradoxical approach to the Virgin seen in Whitacre's photo as well as in Eliot and Ericksons' words is the way forward for Mary's role in the lives of Christians through this botanical imagery. The cover image for this paper,[26] *Madonna* or *Madonna of the Crown of Roses*, by Gwyneth Thompson-Briggs (2020) is a beautiful representation of this poetic path to Marian devotion.[27] Calling back to a well-known church epithet of Mary as the Mystical Rose, Mary is depicted with a crown of ghostly roses hovering over her bent figure as she is deep in prayer. In reference to this choice, Thompson-Briggs explained that "Our Lord wore a crown of thorns, it seems appropriate for Our Lady, who

[20] See Appendix A

[21] See Appendix A

[22] T.S. Eliot. "Ash Wednesday" in Collected Poems 1909-1962 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 1991), 87-88.

[23] Peter Anthony Wilson. "T. S. Eliot's 'Ash-Wednesday'," (PhD diss., University of Windsor, 1963), 25.

[24] Wilson, "Ash Wednesday," 25.

[25] Scott Erickson, "Virgin" in Honest Advent: Awakening to the Wonder of God-with-Us Then, Here, and Now, (Zondervan: 2020), 85.

[26] Editor's Note: Because of copywright restrictions, this image was omitted from the current presentation of Miss Stanfa's essay. The image can be seen by clicking the link in the following footnote.

[27] "Madonna of the Crown of Roses," Gwyneth Thompson Briggs, Mar. 23, 2020. https://www.gwyneththompsonbriggs.com/madonna-of-the-crown-of-roses

interiorly shared in His Passion and now shares in His Triumph, to wear a crown of roses."[28] Thompson-Briggs continues, stating that

> As she herself put it in her Magnificat, 'God hath regarded the humility of his handmaid . . . He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble' (Lk 2:48-52). What God has exalted, we must exalt too. I hope my Madonna conveys the same expression of the triumph of humble prayer.[29]

Similarly to what we have seen in lilies, Marian gardens, and the windows of Chartres, a poetic path forward for botanical Marian devotion ultimately points back to Jesus through shared experience and prayer, inspiring similar worship and wonder in the beholder.

Another example of this way forward lies in more traditional poetry. In his book *Sonnets to the Unseen*, Christopher FitzGerald uses each page of this book as a sonnet written out of a place of paradox—both emphasizing FitzGerald's deep questions about his faith and a form of worship. Describing this work, FitzGerald explicitly states that he "longs to go beyond knowing [the figures of the Nativity] as 'occupants of creches' and wants instead 'to see them at the window, in the street as common people,' concluding, 'I envy those who shopped alongside Mary/ And saw her, peach in hand, as ordinary."[30] In this attempt to articulate the humanity of these biblical figures, FitzGerald also writes a sonnet turning to the Magnificat—a poem in its own right—both in relation to Mary and flowers:

> This Ave came the flower of prophecy.
> The voice of God was in the air that day,
> For Mary started speaking in a way
> Unusual to her, so fancy-free,
> So far removed from practicality.
> Elizabeth was graced to hear her say,
> My soul doth magnify the Lord. (To pray
> With beauty thus was purest poetry.)
> My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior.
> And when she prophesied, All generations
> Shall call me blessed, Lord, these declarations
> Reflected truth, not arrogant behavior.
> A rich bouquet was her Magnificat;
> Each Ave now, a fresh forget-me-not.[31]

Interestingly, where other works that use floral imagery would have referred to Mary directly with images like these, FitzGerald instead applies them to Mary indirectly by turning her prayer itself into flowers, emphasizing its nature as an organic and poetic thing which grew from her, using this language to venerate her very veneration of God. The line "To pray/ With beauty thus was purest poetry"[32] is an especially beautiful statement of the ways Marian devotion becomes particularly accessible through poetry as we are invited to follow in her footsteps.

While it is possible for Marian imagery to cross a line by elevating her beyond her humanity, allowing the friendship of Mary and flora emphasizes her connection with creation and her Creator. In a section of his book *A Ray of Darkness*, Rowan Williams, the 104th Archbishop of Canterbury, touches upon this in a chapter about Christians and music entitled "Keeping Time." He claims that music is a "religious event" which "tells us what we are and what we are not, creatures, not gods. We are creators only when we remember that we are not the Creator, and so we are able to manage the labor and attention and expectancy that belongs to art."[33] While Williams is writing directly about music, this sentiment can also be applied to Mary, as well as her song, the Magnificat. She becomes a creator, like Williams said, when she remembers that she is not the Creator and recognizes God's will for her in the fruit of her womb. As she remembers this truth, we must also remember as we address Mary with this natural imagery that she, like us, is not the Creator, but a creator only in the context of being a creature. Cynthia L. Rigby echoes this near the conclusion to her essay, "Mary and the Artistry of God," writing that "to live as who we are, manifesting the glory of God who made us, is to be creaturely creators,"[34] and that "with Mary, then, *we shape our words into poetry*; we nurture the life that is in us; we ponder what is going on around us.…We live as artists participating in the artistry of God, wondering how our fragile efforts can be essential, marveling that they yield such beauty [emphasis added]."[35] In worshipping our Creator, we can address the Flower of his creation with love and poetic devotion.

[28] Briggs, "Madonna."

[29] Briggs, "Madonna."

[30] Christopher FitzGerald, *Sonnets to the Unseen*, (Lansing: Opus Bonum, 2001), Jacket Notes and p.46.

[31] FitzGerald, "Sonnets," 49.

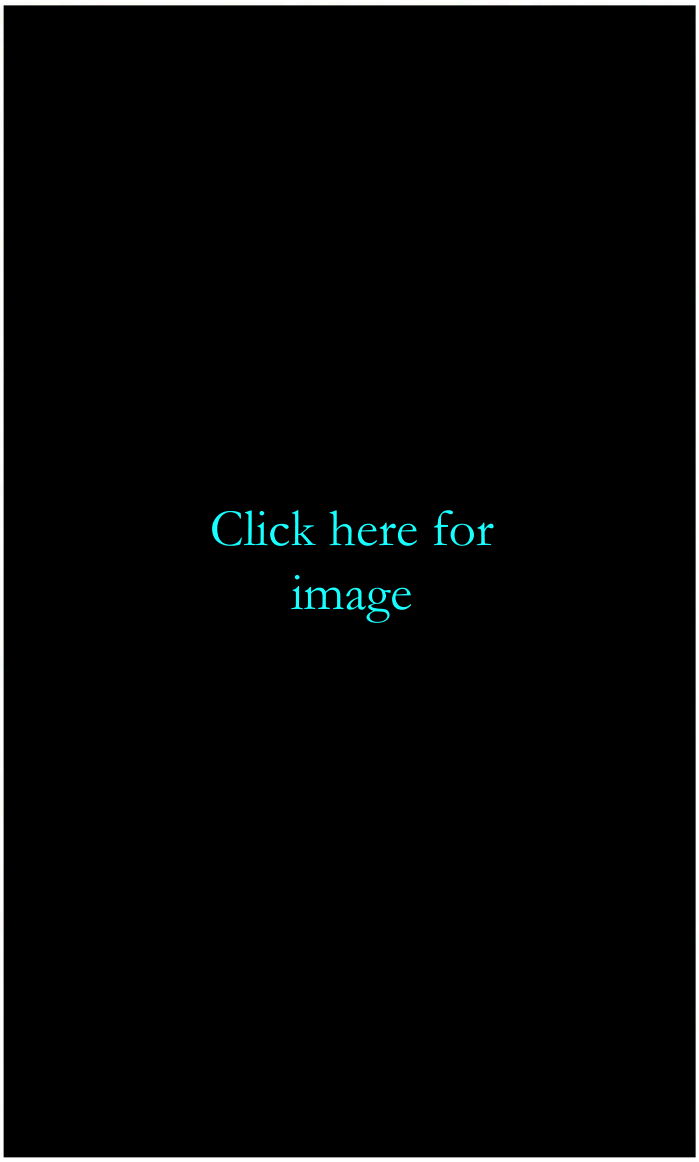
[32] FitzGerald, "Sonnets," 49.

[33] Rowan Williams, "Keeping Time," in *A Ray of Darkness: Sermons and Reflections*, (Cowley Publications: 1995), 216.

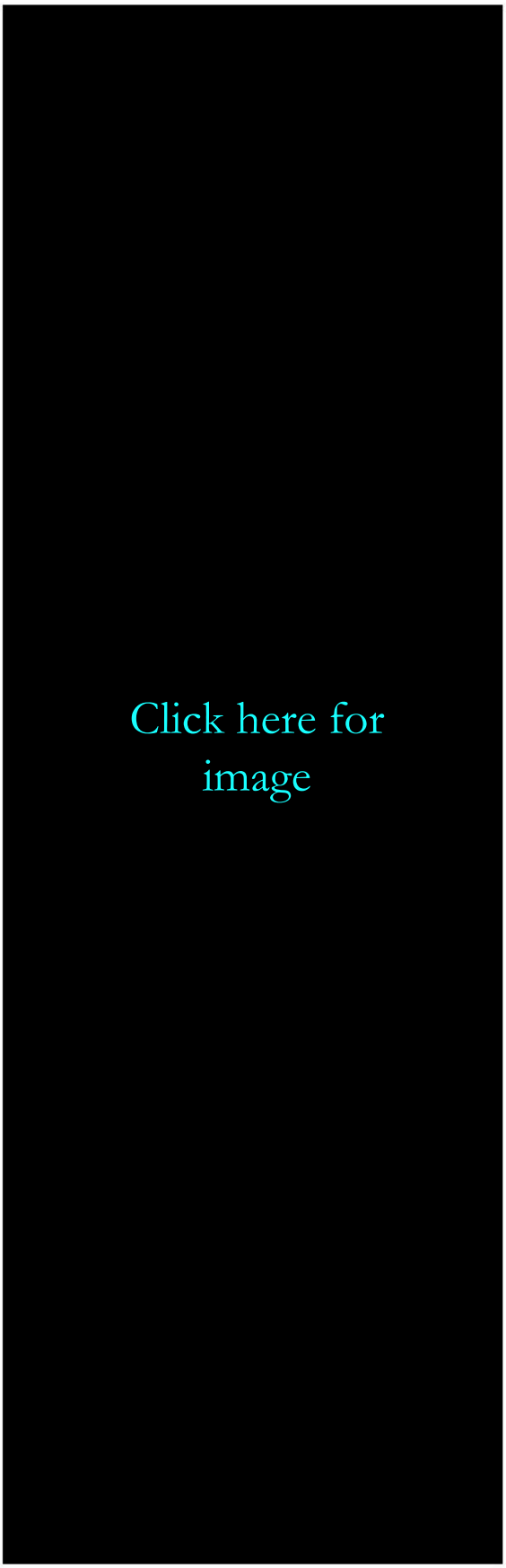
[34] Cynthia L. Rigby, "Mary and the Artistry of God," in *Blessed One: Protestant Perspectives on Mary*, ed. Gaventa, Beverly Roberts and Cynthia L. Rigby. (Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 153.

[35] Rigby, "Artistry," 155.

Appendix A



Annunciation with Flower Symbols. XVI Century French Book of Hours.



The Tree of Jesse, 12th century. Stained glass window (Bay 49), Chartres Cathedral, France. Photo: Painton Cowen

Sunday, September 13, 2020. Los Angeles. Photo: Eric Whitacre

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Jan Žižka of the Chalice: How an Old, Blind General Defied the Catholic Church, Unified the Hussite Movement, and Reshaped the Bohemian Reformation

Philip De Groot

Popular conceptions of the Bohemian Reformation (when it is considered at all) depict a movement governed entirely by the theology of Jan Hus. Though this isn't entirely incorrect, it ignores the evolving social context of 15th century Bohemia and the impact of non-clerical leaders in the formation of popular theology. This paper contends that, fueled by Jan Žižka's martial mission and protected by his seemingly miraculous victories on the battlefield, the Hussite movement radicalized under his leadership, deviating significantly from Hus's stated goals. I hope to show the central role laypeople can have on theological development and illuminate a crucial transformational factor in the Hussite Reformation.

While the Protestant Reformation begun by Martin Luther was undoubtedly the most significant critique of late medieval Catholicism, it was not the only one. The earlier Bohemian Reformation created similar civil unrest and radical theological teaching even as it initially sought to reform the Catholic church rather than break from it. This Reformation, which had its roots deep in medieval Bohemia[1] but was truly jump-started by Jan Hus in the early fifteenth century, was only radicalized when Hus was executed for heresy in 1415 at the Council of Constance. This dramatic condemnation of their figurehead angered his Bohemian adherents and created a power vacuum in the Hussite party, which eventually took their movement as far as Luther's would later go: a split from Rome and war with their Catholic enemies. The enraged Hussites, alienated by ecclesiastical and secular authorities, directed their assault on both church and state. This dangerous revolt required strong leadership, both theological and martial. In what appeared to be a sign of God's favor, Jan Žižka appeared on the scene to lead the Hussite army in their holy war. As the Hussite movement grew to encapsulate social uprising as well as theological reform, Jan Žižka grew in importance, quickly becoming the most important man in the Hussite party. Consequently, though he was no theologian, his leadership shaped the theology and social values of the Hussites both during and after his years at the head of the Bohemian army. Fueled by his martial mission and protected by his seemingly miraculous victories on the battlefield, the movement radicalized under his leadership, deviating significantly from Hus's stated goals.

While the teachings of Jan Hus heavily emphasized ecclesiastical reform and at times bordered on anti-clericalism, he desired neither a split from Rome nor a revolution. To be sure, many of his teachings from Bethlehem Chapel, where he was a preacher, presented a challenge to traditional Catholic power structures. In *De Ecclesia*, drawing on the history of papal schisms and heresy, Hus declared it "evident that a pope living contrary to Christ, like any other perverted person, is called by common consent antichrist."[2] Likewise, he used the strongest terms to condemn clerical corruption and abuse of power such. Regarding these, Hus wrote, "They secure and sell simoniacally who make spoil out of the sacraments, living in pleasure, avarice, and luxury or who, by any other kind of criminality, defile the power of the priesthood— Consequently, they do not believe in God."[3] Such condemnation of worldly clergy was central to Hus's reform message along with his promotion of utraquist (lit. "both kinds") communion. Two elements are administered during the Eucharist: bread and wine (the cup). The medieval church traditionally distributed only the bread to laypeople, reserving the cup for clergy. Hus, and previous reformers throughout Europe, advocated for utraquism, the administration of both bread and cup, body and blood, to laypeople. Catholic authority, by contrast, despised such a revision of tradition. In a letter from prison during his last days on earth, administration of the cup remained prominent in Hus's writings. He wrote to Gallus, a preacher in Bethlehem Chapel, to "not oppose the sacrament of the Lord's cup, which was instituted of Christ both of Himself and through His apostles. For there is no scripture against it; but only a custom which has grown up, I think, through negligence." He continued with what was, by 1415, a common critique of the medieval church—"Only we ought not to follow custom, but the example and truth of Christ."[4]

[1] Thomas Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 33-59.

[2] Jan Hus, *De Ecclesia,* trans. David Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 128. https://archive.org/details/deecclesiachurch00husjuoft/page/n7/mode/2up.

[3] Hus, *De Ecclesia*, 115.

[4] Jan Hus to Gallus, June 21, 1415, in *The Letters of John Hus,* ed. Herbert Workman and R. Martin Pope (London:

Though his preaching challenged Catholic ecclesiology, sacramentology, and the authority of tradition, Hus remained devoted to the Catholic Church, at least as a concept. He refused to condemn the papal office itself, claiming that "the pope may be the vicar of Christ and may be so to his profit, if he is a faithful minister predestinated unto the glory of the head, Jesus Christ."[5] Moreover, he pledged, in a letter to Zbinek, then-Archbishop of Prague, "Whatever, therefore, the Roman pontiff Gregory XII or the holy mother church, yea, and your grace, lawfully enjoins, I will humbly obey."[6] For this reason, Martin Malia refers to Hus, in comparison to the later radical movement, a moderate who "never considered himself separated from the church of Rome."[7] Social revolution would have been even more unthinkable for Hus. Although King Václav of Bohemia was easily swayed to whichever position advantaged himself politically, Hus's reform party was frequently the beneficiary of Václav's support. His wife, Queen Žofie, was even more supportive of Hus's progressive teachings.[8] In short, given the atmosphere of support from the highest nobility, a Hussite revolution would have made little sense during Hus's life.

Tragically for Hus, however, his controversial views so threatened the church that he was summoned to the Council of Constance in 1415 to defend his teachings. With the promise of safe passage from Sigismund, King of Hungary and Emperor-Elect of the Holy Roman Empire, and under the impression that he would be given a fair hearing, Hus complied. Less than a month after arrival in Constance, however, Sigismund's promise was broken and Hus was imprisoned.[9] To make matters worse, Hus was charged with promoting heresies he had never taught, given no chance to defend himself, and simply commanded to recant. Yet, faced with such blatant opposition, Hus refused to condemn the church in his final defense: "Know that if I was conscious that I had written or preached against the law, gospel, or mother church, I would gladly and humbly recant my errors, God is my wittness."[10] His pleas fell on deaf ears. In July 1415, Jan Hus was burned at the stake, condemned by the Council of Constance for heresy. In this swift stroke, Bohemian Hussites lost their moderate leader, gained a martyr, and came under attack by Rome and Sigismund. Though Hus himself desired neither schism nor revolution, his execution primed Bohemia for both.

Under Žižka's leadership, the spark materialized as the Hussite cause grew from simply a reformation into a more comprehensive reworking of social structures in Bohemia such that it can properly be called a revolution. While the revolutionary movement exploded under Žižka, its roots reached back to the previous generation of Hussite leaders, such as Jakoubek of Stříbo. After the deaths of Hus and Jerome of Prague, Jakoubek was one of the most prominent and enthusiastic promoters of Hus's eucharistic theology. Under his leadership, utraquism was both more aggressively promoted…and expanded to include all baptised church members. Such a threat, according to Rome, must be condemned and destroyed. Since King Václav again refrained from dissuading the Hussites, Sigismund and Pope Martin V took the matter into their own hands. While theological differences could not break through Václav's indifference, their combined might, including an investigation into Queen Žofie for promoting Hussite pastors, sparked him to action. The king quickly replaced Hussite priests with Catholic counterparts who increasingly refused to compromise with Hussite doctrine. While previously Hussites could further their critique of Rome while under the protection of the King, such a stance could not be continued. Adherence to Hussite theology now involved resistance to state authority, a position many Hussites, including Jakoubek, were uncomfortable with. As tensions rose in 1419, Jakoubek sank into the background.[11]

Fortunately for the Hussites, more radical leaders quickly filled the vacated positions of authority. Radical voices became the norm, assertively preaching against the Roman church, the rich and powerful, and any others who abused their power against the poor and peasants. Jan Želivsky, in particular, stirred up the masses in Prague with revolutionary and eschatological sermons. Tensions peaked on July 30, 1419, when Želivsky led the angered masses through the streets of Prague and overthrew the

Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), 248, https://archive.org/details/lettersofjohnhus00husjuoft/page/22/mode/2up.

[5] Hus, *De Ecclesia*, 136.

[6] Jan Hus to Archbishop Zbinek, December, 1408, in *The Letters of John Hus,* ed. Herbert Workman and R. Martin Pope (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), 21, https://archive.org/details/lettersofjohnhus00husjuoft/page/22/mode/2up.

[7] Martin Malia,"Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436: From Heresy to Proto-Revolution," in *Hisory's Locomotives: Revolutions and the Making of the Modern World*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 45, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1nphp4.6.

[8] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 76-77.

[9] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 83.

[10] Herbert Workman and R. Martin Pope, *The Letters of John Hus* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), 277, https://archive.org/details/lettersofjohnhus00husjuoft/page/22/mode/2up.

[11] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 91-92.

city government by throwing them out the window of the New Town Hall.[12] It is during this defenestration that Žižka first associated himself with the Hussite cause.[13]

The same revolutionary tension and eschatological mindset simultaneously erupted throughout rural Bohemia, especially in the South. There, peasants began making pilgrimages to mountain sites and gathering collectively for utraquist communion. Later that year (1419), all true believers were called to march on Prague to declare their faithfulness in these last times. Undoubtedly welcomed by the radicals involved with the defenestration, the presence of such masses and the advantage they would undoubtedly bring against any continued assaults by Rome or Sigismund swayed even the more moderate Praguers to unite themselves to this radical movement.[14] While such radicalism simmered out in Prague, it continued in the countryside, especially in the town of Tábor. The Táborites definitively rejected any vestiges of the official church, centered their services around preaching and utraquist communion, and even outlawed private property.[15] It is with these radical Táborites that we find Jan Žižka.

Žižka cut a surprising figure for a medieval general. Already pressing sixty at the defenestration in 1419, during the entirety of his time at the helm of the Hussite army, Žižka was already an old man by medieval standards. Moreover, in 1419 he had only one good eye, which he promptly lost two years later to archers during a siege.[16] And yet, whether one-eyed or completely blind, Žižka continued to lead the Hussites who, according to Malia, "saw themselves as a chosen people, a nation of the elect with a calling to redeem all of sinful Europe."[17]

As dangerous as these revolutionary uprisings by Hussites were, the violence was far from over. Even as the Hussites radicalized under Žižka's leadership, the Roman authorities heightened their assault on Bohemian Hussites since their radical agenda, now backed with able leadership and military force, threatened established authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical. Shortly following the defenestration, King Václav died, leaving Sigismund the rightful king of Bohemia. Hussite faithful, however, refused to allow this defier of the law of God, enemy of Hussite doctrine, and author of Jan Hus's execution to peacefully take the Bohemian throne. In the spring of 1420, in a joint effort to exterminate opposition, the Pope called a crusade against the Hussites led by Sigismund in an attempt to claim the Bohemian crown that was rightfully his. By July, Sisigmund's army had reached Prague, where Žižka led a defense that was severely overmatched and undertrained. In a remarkable turn, Žižka's forces soundly defeated the royalists on July 14 of that year and Sisigmund was forced to retreat. While he had been technically crowned during a brief time in Prague, Sigismund's power was in name only—the Hussite defense held.[18]

However, Sigismund would not be denied so easily. To defend the Law of God against such a threat, Žižka quickly trained an army of peasants. He created a force that fought in units, as opposed to the individual style of the medieval knight, and was rigidly disciplined. Moreover, he revolutionized the use of wagons in battle, creating what amounted to primitive tanks. The heavily enforced wagons were used in defensive formations and, loaded with cannons, on the attack.[19] These revolutionary weapons and discipline, along with brilliant tactics, allowed him to win victory after victory against overwhelming odds. During the old, blind leader's four years at the head of the Hussite army, he never lost a battle.[20]

By ceaselessly defending the Law of God and its Hussite adherents from Sigismund and the Roman Church, Žižka became the embodiment of the Hussite movement. His coat of arms was redesigned to display the Hussite chalice, a prominent symbol of their utraquist theology, and was even called "Jan Žižka of the Chalice." According to Thomas Fudge, "Žižka personally identified himself with an idea, one of personal faith, of national solidarity, of revolutionary significance."[21] These same victories, so glorious for the Hussites, were enraging to their opponents. In addition to losing every battle the crusades brought against the Bohemian heretics, they were continuously defeated by a blind old man leading an army of peasants. To justify their losses, and no doubt fueled by Žižka's infamous cruelty towards monks, Catholic forces claimed that Zizka was demon-possessed, an assertion which continued to their evaluation of his men.

[12] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 92-95.

[13] Thomas Fudge, "Žižka's Drum: The Political Uses of Popular Religion," *Central European History* 36, no. 4 (2003): 551, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4547353.

[14] Malia, "Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436," 47-48.

[15] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 95-96; Malia, "Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436," 48-49.

[16] Fudge, "Žižka's drum," 552.

[17] Malia, "Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436," 50.

[18] Matthew Spinka, "Epilogue," in *John Hus: A Biography*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 305, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1m3nxzc.13.

[19] R. Urbánek, "Jan Zizka, the Hussite (On His Quincentenary)," *The Slavonic Review* 3, no. 8 (1924): 272-284, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4201855.

[20] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 98-107.

[21] Fudge, "Zizka's Drum," 552-554.

To make matters worse, their losses were to a force that was increasingly radical in their denial of traditional catholic practice. Žižka's victories allowed for the survival and sustained influence of a more radical faction, the Taborites, within the diverse Hussite movement. Thanks to Žižka's leadership, what was originally a sanctuary for the especially spiritual became, as Malia puts it, "a military-religious confraternity, a community of warrior-saints."[22] While these seem a stark contrast to the academics at Charles University—the more moderate faction of Hussites—the two factions were, out of necessity, united behind the person of Žižka. Though the theology of Žižka's Tábor was frequently criticized by the moderates in Prague, upon threat from Sigismund they readily hailed Žižka for aid. Indeed, because of the continued Roman crusades, the support of Žižka's "warriors of God," as they were called, was necessary for survival. As Fudge asserts, "Jan Žižka de facto controlled the power structures within Bohemia. Had he been so inclined, doubtless he could de jure have seized absolute political power and ruled as king."[23] To this extent, Žižka could moderate Hussite theology. The most radical group, for example, the "Picards," were too extreme even for Tábor (possibly due to their dabbling with pantheism), from which they were expelled before being destroyed by Žižka.[24] In this, we can see how vital Žižka's approval was for the survival of religious dissidents in Bohemia.

As a result, unity within the movement was never again as great as under Žižka, and radicalism was never again given a place of such prominence. Thus, the "Four Articles of Prague," which Fudge calls the "*raison d'être* of the Hussite cause,"[25] included calls for priests to be stripped of all temporal power and secular authorities to enforce the Law of God: "Numerous priests and monks, supported by temporal law, possess worldly goods in opposition to the commandment of Christ. This is to the detriment of their office and is also harmful to the lords of the secular estates. These priests shall be deprived of such power, which is unlawful" and, "all serious sins, particularly those committed publicly, along with other offences against the Law of God shall be prohibited and punished regardless of their estate, by those who possess the power to do so."[26] This second pillar of Hussite religion essentially promoted the cleansing of the church by secular powers.[27] Likewise, the Four Articles justified their holy war against Sigismund by declaring, "And if someone comes to harm because of us it is because it was absolutely necessary to protect both ourselves and the law of God from such violence and cruelty."[28] While the call for clergy to give up secular power was a continuation of Hus's own critique of rampant corruption in the church, the declaration of the state's power over the church and the violent defense of Hussite doctrine went far beyond the teachings of the Hussite patriarch.[29] Nevertheless, in these, and other statements on the preaching of God's word and partaking of eucharist, all Hussites were united.[30]

While the four years of Žižka's leadership brought remarkable unity, his death to the plague in 1424 signaled the beginning of the end for the Hussite revolution. No longer united behind his extraordinary military leadership, the movement began to fracture. Although many Hussites were truly loyal to Žižka, including Želivsky in Prague and many of the peasants (especially those in his army), others were beholden to his army only as a necessary aspect of survival. Even during his life, moderate Praguers remained unconvinced by the radicalism of Tábor, and even Žižka's brand of Táborism conflicted with some branches of Taborite dogma.[31] Upon his death, Tábor split, with Žižka's staunchest supporters moving to Hradec Králové and taking the name "Orphans."[32] While the Hussite armies continued to fight invading forces, moderate Praguers increasingly sought compromise with the Roman church and in 1434, the Táborite and Orphan armies were destroyed by a moderate Hussite coalition. By 1437, the revolution was decisively over.[33] As Malia writes, "With Žižka's departure from the scene, the most radical and, so to speak, 'creative' phase of the revolution was over."[34]

Though Žižka, despite his military prowess, could not establish a long-term Hussite state, his brief period of leadership did permanently alter the practical theology of the movement, a change seen most notably in the tenets of popular religion. To begin with, Hussite rhetoric significantly changed; where the previous generation of Hussites

[22] Malia, "Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436," 49.

[23] Fudge, "Zizka's Drum," 555-556.

[24] Spinka, "Epilogue," 307.

[25] Thomas Fudge, *The Crusade Against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418–1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades,* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 83.

[26] "The Four Articles of Prague," in *The Crusade Against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418–1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades,* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 83-84.

[27] Malia,"Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436," 51.

[28] "The Four Articles of Prague," 83-84.

[29] Malia, "Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436," 51.

[30] Spinka, "Epilogue," 305.

[31] Urbánek, "Jan Zizka, the Hussite," 279-282.

[32] Spinka, "Epilogue," 311.

[33] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 114-122.

[34] Malia, "Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436," 53.

looked to the gospels to emphasize love and fraternity, those led by Žižka turned instead to the kings of the Old Testament, whose mission from God involved the destruction of enemies in battle and the upholding of God's law.[35] Decades later, Hussite art prominently displayed Žižka leading his troops in battle. Even centuries beyond, Žižka's image was employed in critiques of clerical abuse. Most striking is Žižka's depiction in a page of a liturgical manuscript where he takes the traditional place of St. Peter. God and Mary stand centrally, flanked by angels and the saints. Jan Hus notably stands in the left, holding the chalice. Standing at God's right hand, holding the keys to the kingdom, is Jan Žižka. In addition to attributing church power to Žižka, who was no clergyman, and giving him the position of an official saint, he here outranks Jan Hus and usurps even St. Peter in heaven.[36]

Such a dramatic shift from the peaceful Hus to the violent General Žižka as the face of the Hussite movement was no minor progression. It involved a reworking of Hussite values and was facilitated by Žižka's remarkable military accomplishments. With the support of King Václav, the inclusion of revolutionary aspirations was unnecessary to the Hussite movement. However, with his abandonment due to pressures from Rome, and especially upon his death and the succession of Sigismund, the unrest in Bohemia invited such a dramatic development. Sigismund, however, possessed the overwhelmingly larger and better-trained military, along with the support and resources of the Papacy. Under such an immense threat, successful response demanded unity from the Hussites. This unity both brought the remarkable (albeit short-term) success of the revolution and facilitated the survival of the radical faction of Hussites. Even so, only with Žižka's unorthodox tactics and revolutionary use of weapons could the revolution be sustained long enough to altar the Hussite rhetoric and iconography. With these miraculous victories, however, martial imagery and revolutionary aspirations became central to the Hussite cause; Hussitism became synonymous with radical social upheaval. In this light, one might understand why Martin Luther's subscription to Hus's teachings at the Leipzig Debate proved so explosive.

In all of this, Žižka was essential. Without his leadership, revolution was impossible, and without the unity his leadership brought, any wholesale reworking of the Hussite agenda would have been fractured and incomplete. Because of this, while Jan Hus remains the founder and face of the Hussite movement, Jan Žižka, a blind, old man, was a vital leader in the movement, an important facilitator of early reformation, and one of the most important figures in fifteenth-century Europe.

[35] Malia, "Hussite Bohemia, 1415-1436," 51-52.

[36] Fudge, "Žižka's Drum," 558-562.

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Where Life Lies: Defending the Concept of Higher Brain Death from a Thomistic Perspective

Collin Maldonado

My paper seeks to bring into agreement a Thomistic understanding of the human soul and the modern medical concept of "higher brain death." Navigating an intense personal event catalyzed my argument that the destruction of the faculties which rationality requires is what constitutes death in an individual. This has ramifications for anyone wondering about what it means to be alive —as well as those in the medical field.

Introduction

My grandfather looked like he was only asleep: he had a pulse, his eyelids fluttered occasionally, and his chest rose and fell—with the aid of a ventilator. I, fresh off the plane from Wheaton, had just found my grandmother within the depths of the Cleveland Clinic. Uncertainty swirled. Less than 48 hours ago my grandfather was complaining of a headache; now we were positive something was terribly wrong, but unsure as to what exactly had happened. As I stood beside his hospital bed that gray December morning, my understanding of what it means to be alive began to be fundamentally transformed.

In this essay, I'll attempt to understand what happened to my grandfather through a Thomistic lens, which will lead me to argue that a close reading of Aquinas mandates that the contemporary understanding of what constitutes brain death must be expanded. The first half of this essay will be primarily exploratory: I will compare and contrast brain death with vegetative states, examine Aquinas' understanding of what it means to be human, and discuss the Thomistic understanding of rational thought—the intellect. The second half will use the groundwork provided to defend the traditional concept of brain death from a Thomistic perspective and argue that this definition must be expanded. I will then consider some selected objections before finally offering a brief conclusion.

Total Brain Death vs. Other Types of Brain Damage

The mechanical ventilator my grandfather had been using that morning was introduced during the 1950's. In addition to its surgical uses, it also allowed physicians to maintain traditional signs of life in patients which had sustained a critical and irreversible brain injury. Without a ventilator and other life supporting measures, these patients would have died in the traditional sense. The negative impacts of constraining the definition of death to cardiorespiratory failure quickly became clear; in addition to the emotional burden on that particular patient's family, allocating resources to brain dead patients caused a drain on hospitals and denied those in need of a hospital bed the chance of treatment. Simultaneously, surgical advances allowed for the successful transportation and transplantation of organs, thereby creating a difficult situation in which the demand for healthy organs far outpaced their supply. It was clear that a new definition of death was needed—one which carried the same legal meaning as cardiorespiratory death.

In 1968, an Ad Hoc Committee convened in Harvard Medical School declared that individuals were dead given the "irreversible loss of all functions of the brain, including the brainstem."[1] The brain was, and still is, determined to be an integrator which coordinates bodily processes, and its inability to function precludes the body from functioning as well; as a result, cardiorespiratory death follows the withdrawal of intensive care. This definition was quickly adopted by state and federal legislatures and, legally, remains synonymous with cardiorespiratory death. As the criteria for whole brain death are relatively clear, the determination to withdraw intensive care measures is mandated by law.

Yet brain injuries are not always this comprehensive, nor is the extent of the damage immediately clear—as was the case with my grandfather. What is more likely is that a patient is in a vegetative state, a minimally conscious state, or suffers from locked-in syndrome. Individuals in a minimally conscious state or who are "locked in" show at least some activity in parts of the brain besides the brainstem—most importantly, the areas of the brain which are responsible for rational thought. The brainstem is responsible for regulating life-sustaining measures; the structures for rational thought exist within the higher brain. Figure 1, below, illustrates this point:

[1] Ajay Kumar Goila and Mridula Pawar, "The Diagnosis of Brain Death," *Indian Journal of Critical Care Medicine*, 131 (2009): 7-11.

Fig. 1. The authors of the study argue that the area within the triangle, the precuneus and adjacent posterior cingulate cortex, is responsible for consciousness. Note that even in minimally conscious states, there is substantial activity whereas there is none for patients a vegetative state.[2]

Taking this into consideration, this paper will focus on patients who have sustained a critical and irreversible injury to their "higher brain" in addition to those with destroyed brainstems. These are individuals who are in a persistent vegetative state as well as those who have undergone whole brain death.

Individuals are classified as being in a persistent vegetative state (PVS) if they remain in a vegetative state for over one year.[3] Patients who exist within a PVS have suffered permanent, irreversible damage to the parts of their brain which are responsible for, among other things, memory and imagination: this distinction will be important later in the essay.

Whether or not individuals in a PVS are alive is in high dispute. Legally, the answer is yes: in the absence of a court or do not resuscitate order, the hospital is obligated to keep the patient alive through artificial means. Without pre-written consent by patients to withdraw life support, their families are often required to liquidate the patient's estate to pay for their intensive care—a financial burden which serves as a multiplier on the emotional one. Therefore, in addition to defending the traditional concept of brain death, I will argue in this essay that a Thomistic framework for understanding the human soul implies that patients in a PVS are also dead.

As time progressed, my grandfather's health did not improve. Subsequent neural scans showed significant damage to the area within the triangle seen in Figure 1; moreover, he was unable to be weaned off of the ventilator. The ethical devil lay in the details: his brainstem was relatively undamaged, so he was not declared brain dead. Yet between his transfer from hospital to hospice, I began to wonder whether my grandfather was truly alive. To understand whether a Thomistic framework would deem he was so, we must determine what Aquinas says it means to be a living human.

WHAT DELINEATES HUMANS FROM OTHER ANIMALS?

Aquinas relies on an inherited Aristotelian framework to explain the relationship between the soul and the body, agreeing with Aristotle that "the soul is the cause or source of the living body.... It is the source or origin of movement, it is the end, it is the essence of the whole living body."[4] This hylomorphic account of being dictates that the soul is the organizing principle of matter, so it follows that all living organisms have one: plants have vegetative souls, animals have appetitive souls, and humans have rational souls. These different types of souls vary in their complexity and ability. For example, the vegetative soul of an aspen is sufficient for its needs insofar as it fulfills the requirement of a tree to acquire sunlight and water. Humans, on the other hand, are slightly more complex than plants—in addition to seeking the preconditions for survival, we also create music, invent societies, and fly spaceships. But what allows us to do this, and what separates us from other animals?

For Aquinas, the answer is obvious: human beings can reason. While humans do have instincts like animals, our cogitative faculty is substantially different:

> [Human beings] apprehend the individual thing as existing in a common nature, and this because it is united to intellect in one and the same subject. Hence it is aware of a man as this man, and this tree as this tree; whereas instinct is not aware of an individual thing as in a common nature, but only in so far as this individual thing is the term or principle of some action or passion.[5]

It is important to note that Aquinas believes that this ability, otherwise known as the intellect, is not the soul but is rather a power of the soul: "the active intellect, of which [Aristotle] speaks, is something in the soul."[6] Yet when

[2] Steven et al, "Brain Function in Coma, Vegetative State, and Related Disorders," *The Lancet Neurology* 3, no. 9: 537-546.

[3] The Multi-Society Task Force on PVS, Medical Aspects of the Persistent Vegetative State, *New England Journal of Medicine* 330 (1994): 1499-1508.

[4] Aristotle, *De Anima*, Book II Part 4.

[5] Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's De Anima*, 2.13.298.

[6] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1a79.4.

explaining human behavior, it is difficult to overstate the importance of the intellect. Life, the proper functioning of the soul, necessitates the proper functioning of the intellect. Essentially, this means an individual is able to command the sensory organs (responsible for the five senses) through the intellect: "Now life is shown principally by two actions, knowledge and movement."[7] To die, therefore, is to have the soul separate from, and thereby cease to inform, the matter of the body. Operating within a Thomistic definition of death is contingent upon accepting his belief in the unicity of substantial forms:

> Thus, we say that in "this man" there is no other substantial form than the rational soul, and that by it man is not only man, but animal, and living being, and body, and substance, and being.[8]

Aquinas makes it clear that an individual cannot regress from a rational soul to an appetitive or vegetative one. All aspects of humanity are bound up in one informing principle of matter; under this Thomistic framework, I will argue that the destruction of the delineating factor between humans and other beings is what constitutes the death of a particular individual.

THE INTELLECT AND NEURAL COMPLEX

Yet according to Aquinas, the intellect, the very thing that distinguishes humanity from animals, is not found within the body:

> [W]hatever is received into something is received according to the condition of the recipient. Now a thing is known in as far as its form is in the knower. But the intellectual soul knows a thing in its nature absolutely: for instance, it knows a stone absolutely as a stone; and therefore, the form of a stone absolutely, as to its proper formal idea, is in the intellectual soul. Therefore, the intellectual soul itself is an absolute form, and not something composed of matter and form. For if the intellectual soul were composed of matter and form, the forms of things would be received into it as individuals, and so it would only know the individual: just as it happens with the sensitive powers which receive forms in a corporeal organ; since matter is the principle by which forms are individualized. It follows, therefore, that the intellectual soul, and every intellectual substance which has knowledge of forms absolutely, is exempt from composition of matter and form.[9]

Aquinas believes that our ability to differentiate between this tree and that tree requires an abstraction as to what a tree actually is. For example, if we came across something totally unknown to us but with a trunk and leaves, we would more likely than not call it a tree—because we are able to superimpose our knowledge of the form of a tree onto that thing in front of us. The immaterial abstraction of what constitutes a tree, Aquinas reasons, must be stored in an immaterial organ, as he purports that sensory organs are incapable of abstraction. Why he believes this is outside the scope of this paper, and the main takeaway is that the intellect does not rest in any physical organs within the body.

That being said, the intellect cannot, and does not, act alone. Aquinas believes the process of cognition begins with information being received through the five external senses and then being transmitted to what he calls "internal senses." There are five internal senses: imagination, memory, estimation, phantasia, and common sense. The imagination and phantasia produce phantasms, which are "the sensory data that are necessary preconditions for intellective cognition."[10] Aquinas deems phantasms absolutely critical for intellectual cognition:

> [I]f the active intellect were related to the possible intellect as an active object is related to a power... it would follow that we would immediately understand all things... But, as it is, the active intellect is related not as an [active] object, but rather as what actualizes [cognitive] objects. What is required for this – besides the presence of the active intellect – is the presence of phantasms, the good disposition of the sensory powers, and practice at this sort of operation.[11]

The immaterial, intellectual operations human beings conduct while bodies are rationally ensouled cannot happen without the presence of the phantasia; it is the phantasia working in conjunction with the other internal senses, specifically the imagination, that allows for the proper functioning of the intellect. While "animals are largely governed by their imaginations,"[12] human beings possess these functions to a higher degree.

Aquinas, in his commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, remarks that the type of imagination—and therefore phantasia—found in humans is improved to such a degree by the presence of the intellect that its operation is substantially distinct from those found even in what he deems higher animals: "brute animals have no power above the

[7] *Summa Theologica* 1a75.1.

[8] Aquinas, *On Spiritual Creatures*, Article 3.

[9] *Summa Theologica*, 1a75.5.

[10] Eleonore Stump, *Aquinas*, 17.

[11] *Summa Theologica*, 1a79.4.

[12] *Commentary of Aristotle's De Anima*, 3.6.660.

imagination wherewith to regulate it, as man has his reason, and therefore their imagination follows entirely from the influence of the heavenly bodies."[13]

I'll refer to the five internal senses as the neural complex and eventually argue that the intellect requires the proper functioning of the neural complex as a precondition for rational ensoulment.

Given our current understanding of the human brain, is it possible to determine the location of the neural complex? Neuroimaging has shown that the neural complex is

> supported by a wider set of brain areas beyond the hippocampus... [such as] the medial and lateral prefrontal, posterior cingulate cortex, retrosplenial cortex, and lateral temporal cortices.[14]

These areas of the higher brain are distinct from the brainstem, which is responsible for the regulation of vital cardiac and respiratory functions.[15]

A THOMISTIC ARGUMENT FOR WHOLE BRAIN DEATH

Knowing what we now know about the Thomistic understanding of humanity and life, is it possible to expand the criterion of death beyond the cessation of cardiorespiratory function? Aquinas recognized that the proper functioning of some bodily functions, such as respiration, was necessary for the soul to inform the body. Aquinas noted that their removal signified death:

> [T]he union of soul and body ceases at the cessation of breath, not because this is the means of union, but because of the removal of that disposition by which the body is disposed for such a union. Nevertheless, the breath is a means of moving, as the first instrument of motion.[16]

Upon consideration of the above, both defenders and critics of a Thomistic understanding of brain death agreed that only a properly disposed body meets the conditions for rational ensoulment.

Aquinas's inherited hylomorphic framework necessitates a coordinating agent of the body: "[T]he powers of the soul are diffused throughout the whole body by the heart. Therefore, the heart is nearer to the soul than the other parts of the body, and thus the soul is united to the body by means of the heart."[17]

In a modern context, it is easy to imagine that Aquinas would have considered the brain a better physiological candidate than a heartbeat and breath in that integrative role. Jason Eberl concisely argues that the cause of respiration—the brain—is responsible for integration:

> [I]f there is a primary organ that causes respiration, and respiration is an essential activity for bodily integration, thereby signifying a rational soul's union with its body, then the causal functioning of the primary organ is an integrative activity and an essential sign of rational ensoulment."[18]

I agree with Eberl that an updated Thomistic framework confirms the concept of whole brain death. But how would it be applied in cases such as my grandfather?

A THOMISTIC ARGUMENT FOR HIGHER BRAIN DEATH

By January of 2020, it was clear that my grandfather had sustained massive damage to his "higher brain," but his brainstem was largely intact. Due to his age and preexisting health issues, it was clear that his condition would not improve; yet, utilizing the definition of brain death provided by Eberl, my grandfather would technically have been alive. While his neural complex was irreversibly destroyed, Eberl would argue that his intact brainstem still served as an integrator for the rest of the body. This is where is where he and I diverge.

Because the intellect needs material structures in place to function within a body, the neural complex constitutes a precondition for rational ensoulment. Therefore, considering the Thomistic belief in the unicity of substantial forms, the destruction of the neural complex results in the death of an individual. This leads me to argue that complete and irreversible damage to the areas of the higher brain responsible for the proper functioning of the intellect, even without the total destruction of the brainstem, constitutes death.

In an attempt to find a metaphysical grounding for his practical ethical applications, Eberl undermines his own argument in saying that the destruction of the neural complex does not constitute death. He disagrees with the "claim that the radical capacity for sentience [in human bodies] is the essential divisor between rationally ensouled human beings and non-human bodies."[19] Yet it is clear that

[13] *Summa Theologica*, 1a.86.4.

[14] Sinéad Mullally and Eleanor Maguire, "Memory, Imagination, and Predicting the Future," *Sage* 20, no. 3 (2013): 220-234. Recall the image from page 2: the idea that the posterior cingulate cortex was responsible for higher reasoning was the key result of that particular study.

[15] Robert Joynt, *Encyclopedia Britannic*a, s.v. "Brainstem."

[16] *Summa Theologica*, 1a 76.7.

[17] Aquinas, *Disputed Questions: On the Soul,* 9.13.

[18] Jason Eberl, "A Thomistic Defense of Whole Brain Death," *The Linacre Quarterly* 83, no. 3 (2015): 235-250.

[19] Eberl, "A Thomistic Defense of Whole Brain Death," 235-250.

it is the presence of the intellect that separates a rational soul from an appetitive or vegetative one. Aquinas, in his doctrine of the unicity of substantial forms, makes it clear that a rationally ensouled human could not, definitionally, regress from a rational soul to an appetitive or vegetative one. For the proper functioning of the intellect in a human body, the *structures by which the intellect is supported—that provide the input and basis for rational based decision making*—constitute the prerequisites for rational ensoulment.

If we were to agree with Eberl's reductionist argument, we would have to affirm that it is just the brainstem that is the precondition for rational ensoulment. This leaves him open to his own counterexample: "[I]t becomes theoretically possible to claim that a dog, mouse, hydrangea, or cell phone is informed by a rational soul based on mere assertion-without-evidence that it possesses radical capacities for life, sensation, and rational thought."[20] If we only examined the brainstem to determine whether a being was alive, we could hypothetically claim that a dog once had the capacity for rational sentience and is therefore dead. Additionally, Eberl's argument would imply that individuals with a functioning neural complex but a destroyed brainstem—individuals suffering from "locked in" syndrome—are not alive, when they clearly are: one such individual, Jean-Dominique Bauby, was able to author a book.[21]

An examination of the neural complex precludes any conversation about life or death. Insofar as those structures are permanently destroyed, the necessary conditions for rational ensoulment no longer exist.

Eberl's metaphysical obligations re-established, it is easy to see that the real reason for dismissing this possibility of higher brain death is ethically driven:

> [I]ndividuals in a persistent vegetative state, like Terri Schiavo, exhibit no reliable evidence of conscious awareness at any level. There are other types of patients, however, who are minimally conscious or who suffer severe dementia to the point that, while sentient at a basic level, they lack sufficient neocortical functioning to support a reasonable inference that they possess the radical capacity for rational thought.[22]

Eberl improperly unifies two distinct states of brain damage: persistent vegetative states and minimally conscious states. An individual in the former state has no activity in their neural complex, reflecting its destroyed state; an individual in the latter has some activity, showing that it is still intact. This lack of delineation allows him to argue that practically, it is impossible to determine whether an individual possesses the necessary structures for rational ensoulment. Because of that, physicians could potentially withdraw intensive care from individuals who are still alive.

Eberl is exactly right in saying that it is oftentimes exceedingly difficult to determine how much higher brain damage an individual has sustained; this was exactly the case with my grandfather. Numerous examples exist of patients emerging from vegetative states, which lends credibility to his concern that an overly simplified criteria for diagnosing higher brain death, one solely based off of the absence of activity in the neural complex, would have dangerous ethical consequences. This is why I argue that it is not the lack of activity, which in many cases is temporary, but the complete destruction of the neural complex which constitutes death. Because patients that exist in a persistent vegetative state have a rate of recovery which approaches zero yet lack the benefit of a legal framework that would declare them dead, Eberl's ethical objection does not apply.[23]

The logical conclusion of the above argument concerning whole brain death is that what constitutes brain death must be expanded to include patients in a persistent vegetative state, for their destroyed neural complexes do not meet the necessary preconditions for rational ensoulment.

Under this extended framework, then, my grandfather did not meet those necessary conditions.

CONSIDERING VARIOUS OBJECTIONS

The metaphysical objections to higher brain death addressed, I will now briefly turn to considering objections against its grounding: whole brain death. Because arguments for higher brain death are predicated upon a belief in whole brain death, these objections have consequences for both arguments.

The first objection perceives an incongruity between my point of view and the Thomistic belief that the intellect is distinct from the body. This objection argues that arguments for whole brain death would concede a connecting point between the body and the intellect. This would imply that the soul is corruptible, something which Aquinas explicitly rejects: "the intellectual principle which we call the human soul is incorruptible."[24]

[20] Ibid.

[21] *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly* is the name of that book.

[22] Eberl, "A Thomistic Defense of Whole Brain Death," 235-250.

[23] The Multi-Society Task Force on PVS, Medical Aspects of the Persistent Vegetative State, *New England Journal of Medicine,* no. 330 (1994): 1499-1508.

[24] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1a.75.6. By "corruptible" I mean the human soul could decay in the same way the soul of an animal does.

This view does not take into account how Aquinas originally viewed the interaction between the intellect and the body. Aquinas believes that the intellect understands the body by viewing it as its object: "[O]ur intellect's object is the nature of a material thing as that by which it understands."[25] The intellect can exist apart from the body, but not function in the manner that is most beneficial for it.

> Therefore, to make it possible for human souls to possess perfect and proper knowledge, they were so made that their nature required them to be joined to bodies, and thus to receive the proper and adequate knowledge of sensible things from the sensible things themselves; thus, we see in the case of uneducated men that they have to be taught by sensible examples. It is clear then that it was for the soul's good that it was united to a body, and that it understands by turning to the phantasms. Nevertheless, it is possible for it to exist apart from the body, and also to understand in another way.[26]

While Aquinas believes the intellect can function without a body, it is for the soul's benefit that it receives input from the neural complex. This is why the New Testament focuses on the resurrected body as a prerequisite to the beatific vision: "[I]f the Spirit of Him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, He who raised Christ from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through His Spirit that dwells in you."[27]

Michel Accad, a physician, provides the second objection. He purports that the assertion that intensive care "masks" death is incorrect, as it implies

> the ventilator, for example, which only manifests a simple power of insufflation, can account (momentarily) for the very complex effect of bodily integration—a task precisely attributed to the remarkably complicated brain.[28]

Moreover, there are numerous cases of bodies surviving for longer periods than expected.[29] An excellent contemporary example would be the case of Jahi McMath, a teenager from California. After being declared brain dead in 2013 following complications from a routine surgery, she remained under intensive care for several years and eventually underwent puberty.

I believe Accad misses the forest for the trees: without a ventilator, the body *would* undergo cardiorespiratory death. The ventilator, and, for that matter, the multitude of highly complex machines that kept Jahi McMath alive, does not *integrate* the body on behalf of the brain but is a lesser *substitute* for *one* vast variety of bodily functions that result from a functioning brain. What will follow the withdrawal of intensive care is, ultimately, the cardiorespiratory death of an individual who is either brain dead or in a PVS. Moreover, the case of Jahi McMath is unrepresentative, for she had structures of the neural complex in place: "[L]arge areas of her cerebrum, which mediates consciousness, language, and voluntary movements, were structurally intact."[30]

CONCLUSION

To conclude, I find it critical to explain that I make the argument for higher brain death on behalf of individuals who are unable to withdraw intensive care from a family member who has undergone higher brain death due to their lack of previously stating that they would not want to be resuscitated (a DNR) and are unable to get a court order to withdraw intensive care. A Thomistic framework followed to its logical conclusion would have two consequences. First, it would afford families comfort that their decision to withdraw life supporting measures is warranted. Second, it would provide a framework by which laws could be updated to reflect this understanding of death. Both would result in a more compassionate approach to the patient and their family.

Part of the reason for the writing of this paper was to take comfort in the fact that withdrawing intensive care was to simply remove the mask which concealed the death of my grandfather from the wider world: in February, the family made the difficult decision to withdraw intensive care from my grandfather. Legally, he was not considered dead until that day in February, yet a Thomistic understanding of the human soul would put his death the day I arrived at the Cleveland Clinic in December.

It is perhaps a bit unsettling to argue my grandfather was dead, when, for months after his initial stroke, he seemed to be alive. Yet maybe his view of what it meant to be alive was closer to both mine and Aquinas's: he made clear that he did not want to be resuscitated, perhaps realizing that life without consciousness was not really life at all.

[25] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* 1a.87.2.

[26] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* 1a.89.1.

[27] Rom. 8:11

[28] Michael Accad, "Of Wholes and Parts: A Thomistic Refutation of 'Brain Death,'" *The Linacre Quarterly* LXXXII, no. 3 (2015): 217-234.

[29] Alan Shewmom, "Recovery from 'Brain Death': A Neurologist's Apologia," *The Linacre Quarterly* LXIV, no. 1, (1997): 30-96.

[30] Rachel Aviv, "What Does it Mean to Die," *The New Yorker*, Febuary 5, 2018.

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The E. Beatrice Batson Shakespeare Essay Contest Winner

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The Bible in *King Lear*

Evan Zhuo

King Lear *is unique to the big four Shakespearean tragedies in its lack of supernatural activity. This has prompted much critical debate and confusion over the nature of both the divine in the play and the play's relationship to the Bible and Christianity. Critics have commonly employed a top-down methodology, starting first with a theme that* Lear *seems to be concerned with and then finding passages to support the theme. In this essay, I will employ a bottom-up method, starting with a comprehensive analysis of all the biblical references in the play. I argue that Shakespeare uses the Bible in* King Lear *to contrast characters, set up a typological Christ-figure, and investigate eschatological themes—creating and then ultimately subverting expectations for a redemptive ending.*

Introduction

In the initial centuries after its release, *King Lear* tended to receive more optimistic readings from critics; in the 1960s, critics began to give more pessimistic readings. However, within the past few decades of scholarship, there has been significant variation in the critical interpretation of *King Lear.* Even Foakes notes, two decades ago, that "for many critics there can be no return to simple optimistic or pessimistic readings of the play" (84). He also notes that this new generation of critics has been more acutely aware that "generations of critics and producers [before them]… have chosen to emphasize some elements, and ignore or cut others, to suit their particular interpretations" (85). Now, more than two decades later, the proliferation of different subjective readings of the play (new historicist, feminist, psychoanalytic, deconstructionist, etc.) has not only grown comfortable with this fact, but has largely embraced it, seeking not to provide an objective reading, but a wholly subjective reading of *King Lear.* However, these new subjective readings wholly disregard that "some forms of evidence are more verifiably objective than others" (Kronenfeld 11). If one wishes to truly contextualize *King Lear* within its religious milieu, one must carefully account for its relationship to the Bible. In this essay, I will analyze this relationship in-depth.

In accounts of the religious in *King Lear,* there have historically been two types of readings caused by two opposing facts of the play—there are many invocations of the divine, but there is no supernatural activity. Lawrence has chronicled these two types as "'optimistic' and 'pessimistic' or 'Christian' and 'atheist,'" akin to Foakes's categories, mentioned earlier (144). A higher awareness of this critical impasse has led to more nuanced readings in the past few decades. Some scholars explain the impasse by noting a possible influence of pagan notions of the divine. Moore argues that there is a dualism in the play: "Lear and his daughters illustrate the Christian side, while pagan nature emerges through Gloucester and his sons" (170). Fisch calls it a "phenomenological duality," but sees Gloucester's plot as Christian and Lear's as pagan instead (132). Other critics contextualize the religious within Shakespeare's cultural milieu. Both Lawrence and Hamlin argue that the seeming absence of the divine can be contextualized within a *deus absconditus* (hidden god) framework by Descartes, Montaigne, or Luther (Lawrence 144; Hamlin 327).

This critical confusion about the divine has impacted critics' analyses of the relationship between *King Lear* and the Bible. A dominant critical option is to see the play employing the book of Job, but scholars disagree on who and how many Job figures there are, as well as how and where Shakespeare employs Job in the play (Marx 59–78; Fisch 126; Hamlin 310–19). Many have noted Cordelia's portrayal as a Christ figure, especially in the early centuries of this play's release (Shaheen 605–06), but more recently, Marx adds that Edgar is a God-figure, and Hamlin adds that Lear is also a Christ-figure (Marx 76; Hamlin 325–26). The biblical apocalyptic tradition is also mentioned as an influence; Wittreich argues that Shakespeare uses the Book of Revelation as a "biblical counterpart" to make a "political apocalypse" in *King Lear* (44–48). In addition to all of these, Wittreich discusses potential allusions to Judges and 1 Corinthians, and Fisch argues for the story of Esau and Jacob as a subtext, yet of the forty potential biblical references and allusions in Shaheen's 1987 list of in *King Lear,* many have not been seriously considered by critics (Wittreich 52, 79; Fisch 137; Shaheen 607–20).

Most critics thus far have started from a top-down method, starting first with a theme that *Lear* seems to be concerned with, and then finding passages to support the theme. In this essay, I will follow a bottom-up methodology, starting first from Shaheen's list of biblical references. I have categorized these references into different groups, which are listed in full in "Appendix A" and will be referred to throughout this paper. These categories are mine

and will show how Shakespeare's use of the Bible changes as the play progresses. This essay will offer a thorough analysis of the biblical references in the play, focusing on what I judge are the more important references, though all are categorized in the appendix. The essay will also critically appraise the dominant conversations on the Bible in *Lear.* I will argue that Shakespeare, in *King Lear,* uses the Bible to offer pointed character contrasts, set up a typological Christ-figure, and investigate eschatological themes, to create and then subvert expectations for a redemptive ending.

PROVERBIAL, COMMON, HYPERBOLIC, AND COMPARATIVE REFERENCES IN ACTS 1 3

Common and proverbial language are the most common, and also usually the least interesting, form of biblical allusions or quotations in Shakespeare, and this is no exception in *King Lear*. Common references are merely biblical phrases that have made their way into common usage in Shakespeare's culture. For example, when Gloucester says, "Our flesh and blood, my lord, is grown so vile," Shakespeare employs a phrase in the Bible, "flesh and blood," that has entered into the general English vocabulary (3.4.130).[1] Here, Shakespeare means nothing more than what the face-value "flesh and blood" means.[2]

Proverbial references are merely biblical proverbs, many times taken straight out of the biblical Book of Proverbs. For example, the Fool tells of the proverbial industrious ant, a reference to Proverbs 6:6-8, and two different characters mention the proverbial sharpness of a serpent's tongue, found in Psalm 140:3 (2.4.63-64; 1.4.255; 2.4.153-54). In this case, Shakespeare is taking a metaphor from the Bible to illustrate the same proverbial point that the Bible says. In this sense, it is technically uninteresting, for Shakespeare is just employing familiar imagery to the audience for descriptive purposes.[3]

Another category of references is hyperbolic references, employing biblical language for hyperbolic effect. Shakespeare's use of the word "pluck" is a good example. In a dramatic line of act 1, Lear says that he would "pluck" and "cast" his "old fond eyes," referencing Jesus's instruction in Matthew 5:29: "Wherefore if thy right eye cause thee to offend, pluck it out and cast it from thee" (1.4.271-72). However, this reference gains new meaning when Gloucester's eyes are actually plucked out in 3.7. This eye-plucking in 3.7 is no longer a direct reference to the Bible anymore, and only through 1.4 is it drawing upon Jesus's original words. Additionally, the distance of this scene from the Bible is not just verbal; Jesus tells one to pluck their own eye out, but Gloucester loses his eyes from Cornwall. Thus, Shakespeare builds dramatic tension—what was only an exaggeration of act 1 becomes reality in act 3, showing the growth of dramatic tension in the play.

Some references are also employed to contrast situations in the play with situations in the Bible. In 3.1.5-6, a gentleman describes the King, who "Bids the wind blow the earth into the sea, / Or swell the curlèd waters 'bove the main." Here, there is a reference to Psalm 46:1-3:

> God is our hope and strength,
> and help in troubles, ready to be found.
> Though the earth be moved,
> and though the mountains fall into the midst of the sea,
> Though the waters thereof rage and be troubled,
> and the mountains shake at the surges of the same.

This passage is not portraying Lear as God, nor as the Psalmist; in using Psalm 46, Shakespeare compares the psalmist with Lear with striking irony—the Psalmist has a calmness, "though the mountains fall into the midst of the sea," but King Lear, though also unafraid, "contends with the elements," and is not mentally or physically calm. This biblical reference depicts Lear in the opposite scenario as the Psalmist.

In act 3 scene 4, Shakespeare quotes the Bible at least five times within sixty lines. Shakespeare first employs the Bible as a comparative device in Edgar's jumbled version of biblical commandments in 3.4.74-76. Edgar's plain language contrasts with the high, lofty language of the Biblical commandments given by Moses, Jesus, and Paul, language that the audience readily knows, setting the audience up for Edgar's introduction of himself to Lear in the following lines as a thoroughly unrighteous "unaccommodated man." Edgar describes himself as "proud in heart" and "serv[ing]…the lust," biblical references to Proverbs 18:25 and Titus 3:3 respectively; here, he applies negative biblical verses to himself positively. Lear responds to Edgar with a reflection on the nature of humanity: "Is man no more than this? Consider him well" (3.4.94-95). Shaheen's reference to Hebrews 2:6 is at most an allusion, for the two passages only share in theme, and not in wording (612). The remaining two references, "Prince of Darkness" and "flesh and blood" are both

[1] All quotes, line numbers, and indicated notes from *King Lear* taken from Greenblatt et al., *The Norton Shakespeare.* All quotes from the Bible from *The 1599 Geneva Bible.*

[2] Other "common use" references include "prince of darkness" (3.4.128), "proud in heart" (3.4.78), and "hourly die" (5.3.177).

[3] Other proverbial references include "You will say they are Persian, but let them be changed" (3.6.38) and "His anointed flesh" (3.7.58).

common expressions in English culture at the time, and most likely do not carry more biblical meaning than what can be plainly understood in the text.

ACT 4 AND TYPOLOGY

As the play moves into acts 4 and 5, the density of substantive biblical references increases; this is especially the case in 4.6 and 5.3: both have five biblical references in a very small number of lines. In act 4, the majority of the references are not common usage, hyperbolic, comparative, or proverbial references; instead, there are thematic references that bring out biblical themes in the text, and typological references that bring out character relationships in the text.

King Lear and The Book of Job

Gloucester's biblical quotation in 4.1.33-36 has caused much discussion:

> I'th' last night's storm, I such a fellow saw
> Which made me think a man a worm. My son
> Came then into my mind, and yet my mind
> Was then scarce friends with him.

Since line 33 refers back to events in 3.4, line 34 is a reference back to Lear's "Is a man no more than this?" from 3.4.94-95, discussed earlier. Shaheen aptly pairs this with both Job 25:6 "How much more man, a worm, even the son of man, which is but a worm?" and Psalm 22:6 "But I am a worm, and not a man" (614). Like the quote in 3.4, this quote is a thematic reference, but with more pointed biblical language than 3.4. Many commentators see a typological connection between the story of Job and *King Lear*, a connection which Hamlin notes as a "critical commonplace," possibly starting with G. Wilson Knight in 1949 (306). However, this specific reference only shows that the two stories are concerned with similar themes of human nature and is inconclusive on the typological connection between Job and *Lear*.

To explore the possibility of typology between Job and *Lear* further, it would be helpful to clarify what typology is. As Marx explains, "typology is a method of noting similarities and correspondences between texts. On the basis of those similarities, one thing or event is claimed to stand for or represent another" (14). For Marx, the stories of Lear and Job share similar plots—they have similar beginning, middle, and endings; they both have Aristotelian reversals and recognitions; they both include different types of suffering (62–69). In addition, the stories have similar elements—they both include an arbitrary, cruel divine figure, and characters that insist that the divine is just; they both have an idea of a redeemer; they both contemplate questions about the nature of humanity, suicide, and justice (69–75).

However, there are many reasons why this typological connection does not make sense. Firstly, there are many major plot differences between the two stories, as even Marx acknowledges; for example, strictly speaking, there is no divine figure in *Lear* (75). Secondly, many of Marx's categories are so broad that many biblical stories and many characters in *Lear* fall into his criteria. Fisch argues for an influence of the story of Esau and Jacob because of many of the same reasons (137), but why not the story of Joseph, or Joshua, etc. too? Fisch also sees not only Lear, but Gloucester and Edgar as Job figures as well (126), but why not the rest of the cast with them? Hamlin employs a more promising methodology of finding allusions to the book of Job through contemporaneous texts like Golding's introduction to Calvin's *Sermons on Job*, but the references are tentative at best and inconclusive of a direct typological link (310–19). It seems like critics are afraid to admit the obvious about this "critical commonplace"—there is no typological link between Job and *Lear*.

King Lear and Jesus Christ

Probably the most important and discussed set of *King Lear* biblical quotations is the ones suggesting a possible typological relationship between Cordelia and Jesus:

> Fairest Cordelia, that art most rich being poor,
> Most choice forsaken, and most loved despised
> (1.1.248-49)
>
> …
>
> O dear father,
> It is thy business that I go about! (4.4.23-24)
>
> …
>
> Thou hast a daughter
> Who redeems nature from the general curse,
> Which twain have brought her to. (4.6.197-99)

Shaheen notes that the first quotation references "[Jesus Christ] being rich, for your sakes became poor" from 2 Corinthians 8:9 (608). Other references could be added: "He is despised and rejected of men" in Isaiah 53:3 and a potential allusion to Psalm 22:1's "why hast thou forsaken me" passage, which is highly likely given to the possible reference to Psalm 22 in 4.1.34 mentioned before. Both Isaiah 53 and Psalm 22 are used directly by Christ to describe his own sufferings in Mark 9:12 and 15:34 and has been interpreted typologically to refer to Christ by Christian readers since. The second quotation is also a definite reference to Jesus's words in Luke 2:49, "knew ye

not that I must go about my Father's business?" The third reference is not actually to any specific biblical text, but to general theological concepts. In Christian theology, Adam brings a "general curse" upon all of nature, and the second Adam, Christ, redeems nature (see Romans 5:12; 8:22).

From these three quotes, Shakespeare is noticeably linking Cordelia with Christ. This kind of connection does not seem to be present, at least on a verbal level, for any other biblical characters in this play. These overt references have led many early interpreters to read *King Lear* as a spiritual allegory, with Cordelia redeeming Lear. However, Shaheen points to another biblical reference found in act 4, when Edgar says, "O thou side-piercing sight!" upon seeing Lear, a reference to Jesus's side being pierced in John 19:34 (4.6.87). He argues that "it is hardly logical that both Cordelia and Lear…should be portrayed as Christ figures. These discrepancies indicate that Shakespeare's borrowings from Scripture had no theological intent, nor were they meant to convey a religious allegory" (617).

Shaheen is right in noting the implausibility of a Christian allegorical interpretation, but does this actually exclude any type of theological reflection? Firstly, this reference is not as direct of a reference as any of the three Cordelia references. Secondly, the "side-piercing" itself is not actually referring to Lear's suffering, but to Edgar's suffering as he looks upon Lear. Thirdly, typology allows for more than one character to be related to Jesus. It is plausible that Shakespeare did not intend allegory but did intend a typological function with all four of these references. With the suffering motif of both Lear and Gloucester, it is highly likely that Shakespeare had Jesus, the paradigmatic suffering servant, in mind in forming the characters of the play. However, it is likely that, for the sufferers of the play, Jesus is used more of a character contrast with the divine sufferer Jesus, than of a typological relationship, though the three references for Cordelia forms an obvious typological connection to Jesus. This also provides an explanation for the themes found by scholars who see a Joban influence, for Job was oft interpreted as a typological figure for Jesus's suffering in England.

King Lear and the Parable of the Prodigal Son

Another reference to the Bible in act 4 is in 4.7.33-35, where Cordelia laments on the unfortunate events to her father:

> And wast thou fain, poor father,
> To hovel thee with swine and rogues forlorn
> In short and musty straw?

This reference is more of a plot parallel than a verbal parallel to the Parable of the Prodigal Son, told by Jesus in Luke 15. This reference is covered extensively by Snyder, who notes that the parable is the most-mentioned parable in Shakespearean plays (361–62). Snyder notes the similarities between both Lear's and Gloucester's plot and the parable's plot, arguing that the reference sharpens "the picture of Lear and Gloucester as immature old men educated through suffering" and speaks to the play's concern with justice (362–65). In comparison to the aforementioned typological connection to the Book of Job, the plot of the parable is not only directly mentioned by the play, but also has more in common with *Lear*'s plot, like the absence of the supernatural in both stories. Additionally, there might be significance that the parable speaker is Cordelia, who is already compared to Jesus in earlier passages. However, since he does not reference this parable again in the play, Shakespeare most likely uses the parable not as a typological connection, but rather as a singular point of character contrast between the prodigal and Lear, highlighting the irony of the inversion of the roles of father and child in the two plots.

Religious Thematic References in Act 4

In act 4, there are many invocations or references to the divine. Interestingly, in at least two instances, Shakespeare employs biblical language for the divine:

> You justices, that these our nether crimes
> So speedily can venge. (4.2.49–50)
>
> …
>
> Think that the clearest gods, who make them honors
> Of men's impossibilities, have preserved thee.
> (4.6.75–76)

I categorize these references as thematic because the verbal references draw thematic parallels to the Bible, without parallels to any plot (typological). Shaheen links the first quote with "Now shall not God avenge his elect…I tell you he will avenge them quickly" in the Parable of the Unrighteous Judge in Luke 18:7-8. Though the two passages do not share any verbal connections except "venge," it seems highly likely that Shakespeare had this passage in mind because of the connection between "speedily" and "quickly" (615). Shaheen links the second quote to Matthew 19:26: "With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible" (616). This quote has direct verbal connection, as well as thematic connection, with the biblical reference. These two thematic references fit into the larger context of the invocations of the "gods" in the play, where the two plot lines of Lear and Gloucester meet. Many characters invoke the "gods" throughout the play, calling them "gods that

we adore," "revenging gods," "the blest gods," "great gods," "kind gods," "mighty gods," "clearest gods," and "gentle gods." These "gods" that are invoked are not characteristic of the arbitrary, fateful pagan gods, but of the just and merciful Christian God. With the two additional thematic references, Shakespeare reinforces that the characters in *Lear,* though in a pre-Christian era, believe in a divine realm that is modeled off of the Christian God.

APOCALYPTIC TYPOLOGY IN ACT 5

In act 5, there are three references to the Bible that are apocalyptic, which link with other apocalyptic themes in the other parts of the play, including an apocalyptic reference in 1.2. Here are the relevant references in the play:

> Love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide; in cities, mutinies; in countries, discord; in palaces, treason; and the bond cracked twixt son and father. This villain of mine comes under the prediction: there's son against father. (1.2.96-100)
>
> …
>
> He that parts us shall bring a brand from heaven
> And fire us hence like foxes. Wipe thine eyes.
> The good years shall devour them, flesh and fell,
> Ere they shall make us weep.
> We'll see 'em starved first. (5.3.22-26)
>
> …
>
> KENT: Is this the promised end?
> EDGAR: Or image of that horror.
> ALBANY: Fall and cease. (5.3.237-38)

Shaheen notes that "comes under prediction" "evidently refers to Jesus' prediction about the signs that would foretell the end of the world," especially when paired with apocalyptic imagery from Luke 12:51: "The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father" (608). Following the quote from Gloucester, Edmund repeats the same fulfilled prophecy of "unnaturalness between the child and the parent" to Edgar in highly astrological terms. This prophetic theme is brought back in act 3.2.79-94, where the Fool "speak[s] a prophecy" modeled off of the pseudo-Chaucerian 12th-century "Merlin's Prophecy" (3.2.80n). The Fool tells of apocalyptic events that will cause "the realm of Albion come to great confusion," like Jesus's prophecy, which tells of events that will happen before, or cause, "the day of judgment" of the world. Weimann (qtd. in Wittreich) argues that the Fool's prophecy "provides both a vision of Utopia and an inversion of it…the theme of Utopia…is *expressed* structurally in terms of inversion" (72). This vision of Utopia becomes more poignant in Act 5.

5.3.22-26 references two biblical passages. First, "brand from heaven / And fire us hence like foxes" is a reference to Judges 15:4-5, when Samson

> took three hundred foxes, and took firebrands, and turned them tail to tail, and put a firebrand in the midst between two tails. And when he had set the brands on fire, he sent them out into the standing corn of the Philistines and burnt up both the ricks and the standing corn, with the vineyards and olives.

Wittreich argues that the Samson reference connotes a "political apocalypse," and Samson figures "the tragic impulses that had earlier devastated the Lear universe and that will continue to threaten the history of the world" (79). However, in the context, Lear is saying that it will require nothing short of divine intervention to "part" Lear and Cordelia. This reference seems less a "political apocalypse" and more a proverbial hyperbole.

In the following lines, Shakespeare references Genesis 41, when Pharaoh has a dream where seven "evil favored and lean fleshed" cows ate seven "goodly…and fat-fleshed" cows, which was interpreted by Joseph as symbolic of seven years of famine following seven years of plenty. This reference shows a likeness of Lear to Joseph, who can interpret prophetic dreams; however, for Lear, the good years devour the bad; instead of famine following plenty, there is plenty following famine. As Brady points out, while Cordelia thinks that she and Lear have "incurred the worst," Lear "goes on to describe…a continuation of the Pharaoh's dream," where the bad years are devoured by the good years, showing that he thinks the future, in the jail cell, is "the best" and not "the worst" (497). This reference, unlike the former Samson reference, is clearly eschatological and apocalyptic; the lines are forward-looking, like Lear's famous "birds i'th'cage" speech a few lines earlier (5.3.8-18). Like the Fool's prophecy, Lear has a vision of utopia that is an inversion of what utopia is usually thought of as.

At the end of the play, Cordelia is brought in dead, and Kent exclaims, "is this the promised end?" Here, Shakespeare employs "end" as a paronomasia, signifying both a prophesied end-times, as well as the end of the play. Edgar asks if it is a foreshadowing, an "image," of the "horror" of the apocalyptic end times. The Norton glosses Albany's following line, "fall and cease," as "let the world collapse and end" (5.3.238n). Though none of these lines are verbal echoes of biblical texts, these lines bring out a theme of apocalypse at the end of this play, echoing back to previous prophetic and apocalyptic moments, like 1.2 and 3.2. These lines, paired with the previous ones as

well, show that the characters not only have a Christian view of the divine, but also a Christian view of eschatology. For Kent and company, there is both an acknowledgement that this is what the end times looks like, but also a shock that, after all, this is what the end times looks like. Is "the promised end" of the play the end where Cordelia, the Christ-figure who "redeems nature from the general curse," dies? Additionally, this quote engages with the apocalyptic/prophetic references earlier. Is this, after all, the "promised" Utopia of the Fool and of Lear? The death of Cordelia, and then of Lear, once again inverts the expectation of all involved; there will be no "sing[ing] like two birds i'th'cage."

CONCLUSION

In *King Lear*, Shakespeare employs the Bible many times and in many ways to accomplish many different goals: build dramatic tension, contrast characters, form Christ-figures, and ask meta-level questions about the play itself. The play engages with the Bible more often in scenes of higher dramatic tension, like 4.6 and 5.3, and interacts with the whole biblical corpus, from stories of Joseph and Samson, proverbs and psalms, parables of Jesus, gospel narratives, apocalyptic themes, and theological themes. Though it is set in pre-Christian times, the characters show a full awareness of not only biblical narratives, but also Christian theology of God, sin, and the end times, influencing how the characters act, and the audience's perception.

Of the references, three groups are of especial note. The most notable group portrays Cordelia as a Christ-figure. The audience at the time would have understood the references as setting up a typological relationship between Cordelia and Jesus. Thus, there is an expectation of redemption by the end of the play. The second group of references compare Lear to other biblical figures. Lear is compared to the psalmist of Psalm 46, Jesus, the prodigal son, and Joseph. These references, found throughout the play, show the development of the character of Lear. For all four comparisons, there is redemption for the biblical character after suffering. These references set up an expectation for a similar redemption for Lear. The third group of references are apocalyptic and heighten the subversive ending. The first two groups set up an expectation for a hopeful tragicomedy ending that gets supplanted first by Cordelia's death, and then Lear's as well. The apocalyptic references prompt both the characters in the play, as well as the audience, to reflect on the tragic nature of the "promised end."

Appendix[4]

Lear	Bible	Category	Quote or summary
1.1.248	2 Cor 8:9; 6:10	Typological; Christological	"rich being poor"
1.1.249	Is 53:6; Ps 22:1	Typological; Christological	"despised" and "forsaken"
1.2.96-98, (131.1)	Lk 12:51 (Mk 13:12; Mt 10:21)	Apocalyptic	"brothers divide" "Comes under prediction"
1.4.255	Ps 140:3	Proverbial	Serpent tongues
1.4.271-72	Mt 5:29	Hyperbolic	"Old fond eyes ill pluck you out and cast you away"
2.4.63-64	Pv 6:6-8	Proverbial	Industrious ants
2.4.153-54	Ps 140:3	Proverbial	Serpent tongues
3.1.5-6	Ps 46:2-3	Comparative; Hyperbolic	"Earth be moved into the sea"
3.4.74-76	Ex 20; Mt 5; 1 Tm 2:9	Comparative	"Poor Tom's garbled version of the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and related Scriptures" (Shaheen 611)
3.4.78	Pv 16:5; 21:4; 28:25	Common	"Proud in heart"
3.4.94-95	Hb 2:6, Ps 8:4	Thematic	"is man no more than this? Consider him well"
3.4.128	Eph 6:12	Common	"Prince of darkness"
3.4.130		Common	"flesh and blood"
3.6.38	Dn 6:8	Proverbial	"You will say they are Persian, but let them be changed"
3.7.58	Kings are anointed	Common	"His anointed flesh"
4.1.34	Jb 25:6; Ps 22:6	Thematic	"man a worm"
4.2.34	Mt 5:39	Common	"Bearest a cheek for blows"
4.2.48-50	Luke 18:7-8	Thematic	"You justices, that these our nether crimes / So speedily can venge."
4.4.23-24	Luke 2:49	Typological; Christological	"Oh dear father, / It is thy business that I go about!"
4.6.75-76	Mt 19:26	Thematic	"the clearest gods, who make them honors / Out of man's impossibilities"
4.6.87	Jn 19:34	Typological; Christological	"side-piercing sight"
4.6.99-100	2 Cor 1:18-19	Comparative	"ay and no"
4.6.110	Lv 20:10; Dt 22:22	Comparative	death penalty for adultery
4.6.197-99	Christian theology	Typological; Christological	"Thou hast a daughter / Who redeems nature from the general curse"
4.7.34	Luke 15:15-16	Comparative	"To hovel thee with swine"
5.3.22-23	Judges 15:4-5	Proverbial; Hyperbolic	"He that parts us shall bring a brand from heaven / And fire us hence like foxes"
5.3.24-25	Gn 41:1-36	Apocalyptic	"The good years shall devour them"
5.3.177	1 Cor 15:30-31	Common	"Hourly die"
5.3.238		Apocalyptic	"is this the promised end?"
5.3.283	Job 7:9-10	Common	"Thou'lt come no more"

[4] All references are from Shaheen 2011, except for 1.1.249, which I discovered myself. I have not included all of Shaheen's references, only the ones that I judge are references. I have also adjusted the line numbers to match with the Norton edition employed.

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