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ABOUT THE REVIEW

Founded in 1991, the *Penn History Review* is a journal for undergraduate historical research. Published twice a year through the Department of History, the journal is a non-profit publication produced by and primarily for undergraduates. The editorial board of the *Review* is dedicated to publishing the most original and scholarly research submitted for our consideration. For more information about submissions, please contact us at phrsubmissions@gmail.com.

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Une Carte Postale Qui Déclare Que l'Empire Ottoman n'abandonnera Pas l'île de Crète., Unknown date, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ottoman_fleet_and_Crete.jpg.

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Letter from the Editor

On behalf of the entire editorial board, I am honored to present the latest issue of the Penn History Review. Since 1991, the Penn History Review has been dedicated to promoting the study of history amongst undergraduate students. Since its founding, PHR has published exceptional historical scholarship written by students at the University of Pennsylvania as well as schools across the United States and beyond. Our Fall 2021 edition exemplifies the diversity of study within our field. It includes articles that explore dynamic topics such as canon law in Anglo-Norman France, Jewish communities in seventeenth century Istanbul, Emperor Julian's opposition to Christianity, and intellectualism during the twilight years of the Qing dynasty. Together, these pieces manifest the core values of our publication: curiosity, critical thinking, a dedication to research, and most importantly a passion for history. Our entire editorial team deeply enjoyed working with the authors and editing these papers. We hope that you will find them thought-provoking and enjoy reading them as much as we did!

Our first article, "*L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* and the Professionalization of Canon Law practice and Education in Fourteenth Century Anglo-Norman France," is authored by Sumant Rao. He analyzes how the fourteenth century *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* reflects and satirizes the changing legal norms in France at the time. He also examines the poem as a case study of a broader set of texts known as *processus Sathanae* (Satan's lawsuit).

In the next article, "A Network of Communities: Jews, Communal Boundaries, and Movement in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," Elyakim Engelmann-Suissa looks at the Jewish community of seventeenth century Istanbul. Through the use of a body of literature called *responsa*, in which rabbis answer questions posed to them, he highlights the ways that

Jews interacted with each other and with non-Jews. He also investigates the different groups of Jews within Istanbul itself as well as how those groups relate to Jewish communities elsewhere.

In the third paper, "Anti-Christian Rhetoric and Neoplatonic Thought in *Against the Galileans*," Carson R. Greene of Emory University examines the struggle between pagans and Christians in the fourth century AD. He does so primarily through a close reading of Emperor Julian's *Against the Galileans* (Galilean being a synonym for Christian at the time). He traces the literary history of Julian's work back to Neoplatonist philosophers. Additionally, he analyzes the rhetorical struggle between the two as both groups generate justificatory literature in response to arguments made by their opponents.

Our fourth and final piece, "Zhang Taiyan's Response to Evolutionary History and His Revolutionary Discourse," comes from Chunhao Luo of University College London. In his work, he analyzes the intellectual tradition of the last year of the Qing dynasty, with a particular focus on one thinker: Zhang Taiyan. He traces Zhang Taiyan's life trajectory and evolution of his ideas. In doing so, he explicitly draws a connection between Zhang Taiyan and European and Japanese thinkers and ideologies, repudiating the idea that Qing China was intellectual isolated.

The editorial board would also like to thank a number of people without whom this edition of the PHR would not have been possible. Our publication only exists thanks to the generous support of the Penn History Department who continues to support and fund us each year. As of this year (2021), our publication is thirty years old, a milestone we would never have been able to reach without the support of the Penn History Department.

In particular, we are extremely grateful to Dr. Ramya Sreenivasan, the Undergraduate Chair of the department, and

Dr. Yvonne Fabella, the Associate Director of Undergraduate Studies. They have both offered invaluable guidance and encouragement throughout the editing and publishing processes. The dedication they have for both their students and field of study is an inspiration. In addition, we would like to thank the faculty members at Penn and other universities who promoted our publication, as well as all of the students who submitted papers for consideration. This edition would not exist without your support. Thank you as well to our contributing authors, who worked patiently and diligently to refine their articles for publication.

Finally, I would like to thank our editors for their exceptionally hard work on this issue of the Penn History Review. In particular, I would like to recognize the six new editors we were especially fortunate to have added to the board this semester: Bianca Serbin, Alfredo Praticò, Mathew Chemplayil, Olivia McClary, Augustus Otto Kindel, and Henry McDaniel. They have already made a positive impact on our journal.

Congratulations again to all of the authors and editors who participated in this edition of the Penn History Review!

Eden Vance
Editor-in-Chief

L'Advocacie Nostre Dame and the Professionalization of Canon Law Practice and Education in Fourteenth Century France

Sumant Rao

Mary Discussing a Contract with Satan. Illustration from "The Queen Mary Psalter," held by the British Library.

Introduction

The fourteenth century Anglo-Norman narrative poem *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* (c. 1321-4) belongs to a body of medieval, Western European texts known as *processus Sathanae* ("Satan's lawsuit"), in which Satan lays legal claim to the souls of humankind, while the Virgin Mary acts as a legal advocate for humanity in the suit to sway the judgment of God. While this label provides a useful classification for this group of texts based on a common theme and narrative, it says little about the genre, audience, and intent of the individual texts subsumed under this category. Explicating this classification further, the legal historian Karl Shoemaker argues that most of the works included under this label borrow heavily from

Jacob van Maerlant's late thirteenth century Middle Dutch text *Boek van Merline* (c. 1260), a popular Arthurian narrative poem that contains a brief *processus Sathanae*.[1] While this argument provides a plausible origin for the narrative theme of the *processus Sathanae*, it does not reveal how individual texts in this category adapt or alter this theme for their own purposes or how audiences belonging to a different literary, linguistic, and cultural tradition—not to mention a different time period—might interpret this theme.

Thus, to contribute to the growing scholarly effort of adding specificity to the analysis of this grouping of texts, I argue for a reading of *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* that considers the interaction between the text and the shifting legal culture of early fourteenth century northern France—namely the professionalization of canon law and its practice and the impact of the medieval university on legal thinking and culture in this period. The command the author of this text displays over issues of canon law, French customary law, Roman civil law, Mariology, and both past and contemporaneous theological treatises has led several commentators to speculate that the author was likely "a canon lawyer attached to an episcopal court," perhaps the commune of Bayeux in Normandy.[2] However, shifting focus away from its argumentative sophistication and mastery, I argue that the text reveals its connections to legal professionalism and education through its commentary and satirization of early fourteenth century legal culture and practice. While the text posits to approach and answer serious theological questions through the rhetoric and procedures of medieval French law, it also critiques and humorizes the intentions, beliefs, and cultural associations attached to the archetype of the professional canon lawyer—namely the self-glorification of their occupation, their stereotypical mutability and unreliability, and their supposed disregard for serious theological study and appreciation.

L'Advocacie Nostre Dame as Legal-Theological Exploration

L'Advocacie Nostre Dame engages established theological and legal-philosophical questions through the narrative's framing as a trial and through the arguments of its characters, suggesting the capabilities of legal study and practice in resolving contentious and not strictly legal issues. The primary theological issue at stake concerns ecclesiastical debates stemming from the ransom theory of salvation. The apocryphal yet often cited *Gospel of Nicodemus*, likely distributed in Latin Christendom in the fourth century, appears to be the earliest extant document purporting the ransom theory of salvation.[3] The theory claimed that in the intervening time between humankind's Fall from Paradise and Christ's Resurrection, Satan held or *possessed* human souls in Hell. After the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the former of which acted as the payment of the ransom, Christ descended into Hell and freed the souls of humanity, seemingly depriving Satan of what he viewed as his *property*.[4] The notion that Satan once had legitimate ownership of human souls was further popularized by St. Augustine, who not only believed in Satan's previous rights over human souls but also expanded Satan's property rights to his meditations on divine justice and power. As Shoemaker translates from volume forty-two of the *Patrologia Latina*, Augustine argued that "it was agreeable to God that in freeing man from the power of the devil, the devil should be vanquished not by power but by justice."[5] The distinction reflects an anxiety over Satan's legal rights to humankind; namely, if Satan did once have ownership of human souls, Christ would have acted unjustly if Satan was forcibly dispossessed by an act of raw power, rather than of divine justice. By the end of the twelfth century, although St. Anselm had provided a clerically accepted refutation of the theory on theological grounds, the *processus Sathanae* topos and other textual evidence suggest that the anxiety over the rights of Satan and Satan's relationship to humankind was ongoing.[6] This lengthy explication of the ransom

theory of salvation accentuates the markedly legal ideas at stake in this theological debate—namely the nature of justice and of property rights and rightful possession. Moreover, *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* takes this legal-theological matrix of ideas to its natural conclusion by staging the prominent arguments related to this issue in a physical trial space, governed by trial procedure and expressed in the lexicon of the professional practice of law.

Thus, one reading of the text is that it is a serious exploration of contested legal-theological issues through the medium of poetic narrative fiction, which uses the forms inherited from the practice of medieval law in France. In fact, this interpretation seems to be the predominant view of scholarly commentators.[7] Using Barbara Newman's formulation, one might characterize this text as belonging to the genre of "imaginative theology," characterized by an engagement with serious issues concerning "the nature and knowledge of God, salvation, sin and grace, creation, incarnation, and so forth," alongside the utilization of "images" and "the devices of literature" as its primary mode of expression.[8] For example, central to the theological issues at play in the ransom theory of salvation is the question of the legitimacy of Satan's ownership of human souls after the Fall. Following his failure to prosecute humanity in a criminal trial and to cast doubt on Mary's credentials as an advocate for humanity, Satan invokes Roman and canon law and requests a *restitutio in integrum* ("restoration to a prior condition") on the souls of humankind: "when someone feels dispossessed, \ if he wants to proceed honestly, \ he must first and foremost \ ask to recover possession."[9] While based in notions of property rights in Roman civil law, this request exploits the fact that fourteenth century canon law appeared to allow a substantial amount of discretion by the judge in cases involving property.[10]

The legal standing of the request rests on Satan's claim to "long adverse possession" of human souls, based on the Roman civil law and later common law principle of *novel disseisin*, which placed a statute of limitations on the time at which a litigant could

challenge the rights of possession of property that had been held peacefully for a long period of time.[11] Satan argues that he had uninterrupted ownership of human souls since the Fall and was suddenly dispossessed by Christ, despite his long, unproblematic period of ownership. The Virgin Mary however, portrayed as an expert in canon, Roman, and customary law herself, points out that "no long adverse possession \ can suffice to establish possession \ where good faith was not kept."[12] According to canon law, the title to ownership of human souls is not in question. God created all of humanity, so Satan was merely holding and using human souls with no title to the property, which in canon law implies ownership in "bad faith."[13] Thus, the text posits a solution to the anxiety embedded in the ransom theory of salvation over Satan's rights. Even if Satan did hold the souls of humanity between the Fall and the Resurrection, by the legal standards of fourteenth century northern France, it was never legitimate ownership, and Satan was lawfully dispossessed by a righteous God reasserting his legitimate property rights and saving the faithful.

A similar episode occurs when Satan invokes inquisitorial criminal procedure, which holds that some crimes were so heinous that justices could pursue them in the absence of an accuser, and asks God to "punish humankind [for the Original Sin] \ on your own initiative."[14] While Mary responds to this claim in the language of canon law by pointing out that a plaintiff abides by an "election of remedies" and cannot change the nature of the case from civil to criminal, Satan's argument coaxes the emotional climax of the narrative, in which the Virgin Mary cries, bares her breasts, and lies suppliant at the feet of Christ and appeals to his mercy and the suffering he underwent for the sake of humanity.[15] One could argue that by the conclusion of the narrative, while Satan follows a "strict justice" paradigm, which emphasizes following the letter of the law and punishing criminality, Mary invokes the spirit of the law, allowing space for the merciful discretion of the judge.[16] While this formulation can be useful, it is not consistently true across the text. Mary

previously caught Satan on a technicality by disputing whether Satan's possession of the souls of humanity was in "good faith." Further, it is in fact Satan that initiates the shift in the trial toward the judge's discretion by requesting inquisitorial procedure.

An alternative rendering of the position of the two characters is that both are equipped with a legal lexicon and legal system of knowledge capable of confronting the complexities and nuances of philosophical and ethical inquiry, although it is Mary who comprehends a more expansive conception of justice. Davis associates Mary with the Anglo-Norman word *equite* ("equity"), which is repeated throughout the poem.[17] Following the usage of Hostiensis, the thirteenth century canonist, Davis interprets equity as a "higher form of justice which makes up for deficiencies in law by interpreting its intent" that involves "consideration for the circumstances."[18] An alternate understanding of the use of *equite* involves the medieval dissatisfaction with the oft-repeated phrase that begins the Justinian *Digest*: *Inustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi* ("Justice is the constant and perpetual wish to give to each his due"). Kuttner points out that medieval canonists, most notably Bulgarus, that glossed this line complained that it restricted justice's scope to a single legal object, "giving to each his due" (*ius suum*); they desired an expansive justice, "equity," that accounted for what is due to God and to the collective.[19] Mary purports duty to God and to the collective repeatedly in the text.[20] Regardless, this analysis of the text shows an optimism about the capabilities of legal language and procedure to approach complex theological, philosophical issues. Shoemaker writes, "The text…suggest[s] that the theology of Christian redemption could be coherently presented through the processes of the canon law."[21] The text assures us that the language and practice of the legal profession is equipped to handle contestations of the highest importance, including those of theology, even in the absence of an explicit legal framework.

L'Advocacie Nostre Dame as Literary Entertainment

While the capabilities of medieval legal practice and the sophistication of its thought and argumentation are put on display in the text, another important function of the text is its role as a means of entertainment. There are several indications that this poem was intended to be recited and enjoyed with some amount of leisure. The form of *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* is the dit, a verse genre that became popular in medieval France in the late thirteenth century and remained so well into the fifteenth century. Dits had a wide range of themes, were generally written in octosyllabic couplets to ease the work of recitation and remembrance, and were told in a first-person narrative voice.[22] *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* displays this rhyme scheme in the original Anglo-Norman, and the earliest use of the narrative first-person occurs within the first stanza, when the narrator says, "the Virgin, whom I salute \ by saying AVE MARIA."[23] Similarly, as Baldwin and Marchand note, L'Advocacie Nostre Dame appears to be unique among extant vernacular *processus Sathanae* texts in the "pageantry" of its ending, in which the saints of Heaven and perhaps the exegetical audience sing the *Salve Regina* in devotion to the Virgin Mary.[24] While the precise audience of this text is impossible to ascertain, the ending suggests that this work is in part a celebration of the Virgin Mary. Medievalists of Latin Christendom often regard the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the peak of "Mariocentrism" in Western Europe, during which the cult of Mary flourished, and cultural productions devoted to her peaked in the extant archive.[25] According to ecclesiastical records, between 1170 and 1270, approximately eighty cathedrals and over a hundred churches were built in France in her name.[26] Further, it became common practice among clerics to compile massive volumes of Marian lyrics and miracles for lay audiences, most notably William of Malmesbury's twelfth century and Gautier de Coinci's thirteenth century famous Marian devotional works.[27]

The final piece of evidence that subverts the expectations associated with a sophisticated, nuanced, legal-theological text

is the number of pejoratives exchanged between Satan and the Virgin Mary. Mary calls Satan the Anglo-Norman word *ort*.[28] Based on surviving Anglo-Norman literature, this word can mean physically "dirty," "repulsive," or "putrid," morally "vile" or "base," and, perhaps as a moment of irony in the poem, figuratively "vulgar" or "uncouth."[29] Likewise, after Mary systematically uses canon and Roman law to dismantle Satan's claim to property rights, during which she even cites the Justinian *Digest*, Satan calls her argument the Anglo-Norman word *jargonner*.[30] While Davis and Akehurst translate this word as "lawyer talk," the word is derived from *jargun*, which could mean "a foreign (or incomprehensible) language," "foolish talk," "nonsense," and even "twittering (as in a bird)."[31] This is not only an insult, but also constitutes another moment of irony, as the canon lawyer who likely authored this text calls the language of his own profession and its authoritative sources like the *Digest* "foolish talk" and "nonsense." Of course, this is not to say that all of these definitions fit in the context of the poem, but to a medieval Anglo-Norman observer, words like *ort* and *jargun* would carry multifarious definitions and a variety of connotations. Moreover, this last example suggests that the text provides entertainment at the expense of the professional class of canon lawyers.

Mary Overcoming Satan. Illustration from "The Taymouth Hours," held by the British Library.

L'Advocacie Nostre Dame as a Satire of the Professional Canon Lawyer

Previously, I examined the text as a celebration of the capabilities of legal reasoning and the legal profession and suggested its potential as a form of entertainment—but entertainment to what end and for what purpose? In the following sections, I will analyze the text as a satire of the professionalization of canon law in medieval France and the stereotypes associated with legal education in the medieval university. This satire functions along three primary axes: the self-glorification of the legal occupation, canon lawyers' stereotypical mercuriality, and canon lawyers' supposed disregard for serious theological study and appreciation. Reading the text along these axes reveals the degree to which legal practice and education had become standardized by the fourteenth century in Latin Christendom. Moreover, I argue that an effect of this standardization was that the legal profession became culturally legible, socially established, and thus capable of being satirized and stereotyped—even self-referentially, by canon lawyers themselves.

Before engaging in this line of inquiry, a stable definition for the word "profession" and some basic premises concerning the history of professional law in Latin Christendom need to be established. For the purposes of this paper, the following definition of "profession" will suffice:

> a highly skilled terminal occupation that can be entered only through formal admission, whose practitioners undertake to abide by professional standards, and who enjoy in return a publicly-sanctioned monopoly on the practice of their trade and a measure of authority resulting from their peculiar skills, coupled with high social status and esteem.[32]

The operative parts of this definition are the existence of professional "standards," a system of "formal admission," in this case a university education, "a monopoly" on the practice of the legal trade, and a "high social status and esteem." The medieval historian James Brundage splits the professionalization of canon law in Western Europe into four phases that elucidate the development of professional law by the estimated date of authorship of *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame*: the proto-professional stage (1150-1190), incipient professionalization (1190-1230), decisive professionalization (1230-1274), and consolidated professionalization (1274-1350).[33] *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* appears in the early fourteenth century, which means that the professionalization of law in Latin Christendom had been ongoing for a little under two centuries. In other words, most of the professional standards, educational practices, and social mores concerning canon lawyers were already well-established by this time.

To get a sense of the progression of the legal profession leading up to the mid-fourteenth century, I will briefly summarize each phase. In the first of Brundage's phases, the position of the "canonist" was nebulous, and very few of those educated in canon law practiced it or had a monopoly on advising and representing clients.[34] In the second phase, the study and practice of canon law became a lifelong occupation for a larger number of people. Still, there were no definitive ethical standards, formal admission processes, or monopolies on practice associated with the occupation.[35] In the third phase, the medieval university became the admission ritual into the profession, and an explicit body of rudimentary professional standards as well as social prestige began to emerge. Canonists spent most of their working lives studying, teaching, and practicing canon law; they almost all had academic degrees in law; they were formally admitted via swearing an oath, eventually becoming standardized through the Lyon oath drafted by William Durandus in 1274.[36] The final phase,

during which *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* was likely authored, is characterized by the rise of professional legal associations in the form of guilds and confraternities, the restriction of legal practice to members of these associations, and the monopolization of legal practice by professional lawyers.[37]

Satirizing the Self-Importance of the Canon Lawyer

One aspect of the professionalization of law that is satirized in the text is the high esteem vested in canon lawyers in the fourteenth century, particularly the self-glorifying language with which lawyers described their profession. There are numerous examples of this self-glorification, as the elevation of an occupation to the status of a "profession" confers social hierarchical value. For instance, Shoemaker remarks on how canonists, particularly drawing from the twelfth century commentators Stephen of Tournai and Paucapalea, believed that their profession was sacred because Christian history began with a legal process—the charge of disobedience made by God against Adam, Adam's attempt to lay a criminal countercharge against Eve, their judgement, and their exile—and will end with a legal process in the Last Judgement.[38] Shoemaker also points out Hostiensis' famous description that canon law was scientia scientiarum ("the science of sciences") as "a purposeful elevation of canon law above theology in the scholastic hierarchy of knowledge."[39] Indeed, by the mid-thirteenth century, in the midst of the phase of "decisive professionalization," we find textual evidence of canon lawyers describing their profession with dignified terms from the monastic tradition, expressing the study of law as a secular priesthood: *ministerium, ordo, officium, professione*, etc.[40] As translated by Brundage, the German canonist Peter Lenauderius wrote that "the knowledge of the learned lawyers illuminates the world, and their light shines upon the earth like the splendor of the firmament."[41] Part of this propensity for

self-indulgence fits into the literary culture of the Late Middle Ages in Latin Christendom. Michel Zink has the following conclusion about French literature and writing in the Late Middle Ages:

> A world apparently ignorant or unmindful of its own decline seems to have contemplated itself smugly in a series of chivalric or princely spectacles…. Consecration, coronation, surrender, diplomatic reception or conference, trial, execution: everything served— as did plays themselves—as an occasion for theatrical self-representation.[42]

While I am hesitant to label the Late Middle Ages as a period of "decline" in France, Zink's position represents a common scholarly stance on the literature of the Late Middle Ages, characterized by a focus on the culture of chivalry and courtly love that accentuates aspects of indulgence and excess. However, the phrase "theatrical self-representation" seems to undermine Zink's larger point since any self-representation creates space for critical reflection, irony, and satire, no matter how theatrical and performative that representation might be.

This "theatrical self-representation" is precisely how *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* satirizes the self-indulgence of the professional lawyer class. For instance, the text juxtaposes Satan's initial entry into the heavenly court with Christ's ambivalent, curt reply:

> The aforesaid attorney
> appeared before God in his official robes,
> properly appointed, full of malice and well-prepared
> …Then Jesus Christ turned His face to him
> and said, 'Have you a court date
> against them? Have you had them summoned?'[43]

After having a pretrial council with the other devils and drafting a meticulous, error-free attorney's appointment, Satan dons his "official robes" and feels "well-prepared." Christ's business-like and uninterested response to his arrival and to his serious request for a criminal trial against humanity deflate his air of self-importance. The text performs a similar juxtaposition in the following set of lines: "[Satan] can speak French and Latin \ and knows how to give answers and raise defenses \ and gloss the whole of Scripture, \ and he has more than a hundred false premises."[44] The first three lines suggest Satan's mastery of law, his scholarly acumen, and his legal education, portraying him as an impressive figure. The fourth line, while hinting at his legal education, undercuts the briefly impressive characterization of Satan; his legal acumen is built upon false premises, rendering him a foolish although still deceptive and dangerous figure.

By the "consolidated professionalization" phase, legal education had become standardized across Latin Christendom; the prospective canon lawyer entered university, studied some civil law as well as theology, pivoted to focus on canon law proper, and heard lectures on Gratian's *Decretum*, then on Raymond of Penyafort's *Liber Extra*, the official casebook of papal law commissioned by Pope Gregory IX in 1234, and then on other decretal law.[45] Thus, the mention of Satan's "hundred false premises" could act as a scathing critique of the established curriculum of the medieval legal university. However, specifically in a French medieval context, the line could also be a jab at the quality of Satan's legal education. While legal curricula became standardized, medieval observers seem to have had opinions about which medieval universities conferred prestige. In 1219, Pope Honorius III banned the study of Roman civil law at the University of Paris to counteract the growing secularization of the University of Bologna.[46] Following this, there is textual evidence that the quality of a law degree from the University of Paris was held in lower esteem, in comparison to other French universities.[47]

The line could be a humorous allusion to the perceived poor quality of the University of Paris' legal education or of a whole generation of French lawyers. Regardless, a French audience would recognize the self-indulgence of professional lawyers since unlike in Italy, where law students obtained special privileges through treaties with the university town's citizens, the Parisian government conferred on all university students the benefits of a monastic cleric, including the use of ecclesiastical courts.[48] All in all, a reader's first diegetic impressions of Satan abate the esteem and glory of his position as a lawyer by undercutting his self-seriousness and his air of self-importance—on the level of the narration, of character dialogue, and of French legal culture.

A Group of Devils. Illustration from "Breviari d'Amor," held by the British Library

Satirizing the Mercuriality of the Canon Lawyer

Another aspect of legal professionalization that is satirized in the text is the mutability and unreliability of the stereotypical canon lawyer. The medieval historian Susan Reynolds argues that the need for lawyers grew dramatically in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Latin Christendom both as a product of the increasing complexity of legal practice and the development of a plethora of different litigations and as a response to the growing importance of written charters, contracts, and legal documents.[49] The growing technical complexity of legal practice and society's dependence on lawyers for basic functions were not lost on medieval observers. Nigel Wireker, a twelfth-century satirist, reflected on the effect that the University of Bologna had on Parisian students who came back to France: "They speak in new tongues and with sesquipedalian words teach men to engage in lawsuits…[But,] neither princes nor prelates can do without them."[50] Roger Bacon, the thirteenth century theologian and philosopher, remarked, "Would that the obfuscation and tricks of the jurists could be ended and cases handled without argumentation of litigation, as used to be done forty years ago!"[51] This dependence led to a scramble among medieval cities and towns to secure law clerks to fill the burgeoning government bureaucracy and law professors to teach in universities. Brundage describes this process in the following manner: "Academic lawyers were often peripatetic, shifting posts repeatedly as one city after another tendered more lucrative offers to attract them."[52] The flow of legal expertise away from towns and cities became such a concern that the city of Modena offered a lifetime contract to the law professor Guido da Suzzara in 1260. By the fourteenth century, it became common practice for medieval universities to require law professors to put down a monetary security deposit if they had to leave town and miss class, in order to ensure their return.[53] Thus, it was common for professional lawyers to stay in towns and cities for a limited

amount of time, until the next lucrative contract whisked them away. Likewise, this mutability in the physical presence of legal professionals coincided with a common theological critique of canonists and their ideals. In his *Dialogus* between a master and a student, William of Ockham writes, "Theology's superiority to canon law was also deduced from the fact that sacred scripture… could not be added to or subtracted from whereas aspects of canon law were subject to changing context and circumstances."[54] Thus, professional lawyers came to be associated with mutability, changing ideas and motivations, and a general untrustworthiness.

This social understanding of the stereotypically mercurial professional canon lawyer is best captured in *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* through Satan's constant shifts in legal strategy. Satan appears to flounder from one legal tactic to the next upon the slightest amount of resistance. After failing to win the case in the realm of civil law and property rights, as aforementioned, Satan turns to Christ, asks for inquisitorial criminal procedure, and encourages him to punish humanity at his own discretion.[55] Mary is quick to paraphrase the legal principle of the election of remedies from Justinian's *Digest* 14.4: "You know that when a plaintiff / has multiple good ways of proceeding / …the judge can oblige him / to choose only one of these ways."[56] Once the plaintiff pursues a cause of action, they must bring it to some natural conclusion. It would be unacceptable to change the circumstances of a case from civil to criminal midway through a trial. However, Satan persists, causing Mary to emphasize different legal principles that make his mercurial choice of legal argumentation foolish. Mary states that the trial should be over because the original charge is *res iudicata* ("a thing already decided"): "Did he not present a request / to be restored to possession? / But he was refused very clearly."[57] Mary then invokes the principle of "double jeopardy" and posits that Satan will just keep proposing different charges and causes of action: "no one says a word about permitting this; / it would be arguing in a circle, / which the Law strictly forbids."[58] The

humor lies in Mary's repeated invocation of legal principles to point out Satan's everchanging standards, as she again invokes *res iudicata* when Satan makes a final plea that the bad souls be apportioned to him, the good souls to Christ; Mary says that this weighing of souls already occurred on Good Friday.[59] Another humorous connotation behind Satan's antics is the text's relationship to the academic *disputatio* of the medieval university, a public dialectical style of argument, presented as "a thesis against all comers."[60] The purpose of the *disputatio* in legal education was the defense of a thesis against multiple opponents. The key is that the original thesis never changes. In this way, an audience of canon lawyers might view Satan as a disastrous student at a *disputatio*, changing his thesis with regularity and defending none of them. Regardless, the critique involves the mercuriality of the professional canon lawyer—the shifting nature of his allegiances, his intents, and his ideas.

Satirizing the Canon Lawyer's Lack of Theological Understanding

Another aspect of the culture and practice of professional canon lawyers that is critiqued is their disregard for theological concerns. Theologians throughout the Middle Ages expressed their displeasure with the canonists and the success of canon law in universities. As aforementioned, the theologians' main objection was that canonists prized canon law above theology in the scholastic hierarchy of knowledge—an understandable criticism given Hostiensis' *scientia scientiarum* remark. Bernard of Clairvaux, the twelfth century Benedictine monk, was incredulous that the pope, "a pastor and bishop of souls," could tolerate "the lawyers and their accompanying litigious prattle that beset him daily."[61] Dante quipped in *Paradiso* that the "study of the Gospels and the great doctors suffered while the margins of the decretals were full of scribbles."[62] The uniqueness of the critique in *L'Advocacie Nostre*

Dame is that it extends this same displeasure with canon lawyers to the realm of Mariology by portraying Satan as incapable of comprehending Mary's multifarious theological forms and powers.

Medieval audiences at the height of the Mariocentric fervor of the fourteenth century would immediately associate the depictions of Mary in *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* with Marian miracles, liturgy, and lyrics—bringing a nebulous and complex matrix of overlapping Mariological ideas and accounts to their interpretations. From the beginning of the poem, the narrator portrays the canon lawyers as no match for the capabilities of the Virgin Mary: "and each one a master trained / to answer and present arguments / yet they could not explain, / …the gifts, the power, and the grace / of the sweet Virgin Mary" and "No clerk has ever studied enough to plumb the depths of [her grace]."[63] While this sounds hyperbolic, the sublimity and incomprehensibility of the Virgin were consistent throughout cultural productions devoted to her. In her study of medieval English Marian miracles and love letters, the literary scholar Kate Koppelman argues that Mary is not "singularly a vessel of passivity, unity, mercy, or grace," but rather can be "active, aggressive, capable of outbursts of anger and of forgiveness" since she is "a signifier of divine benevolence and divine admonishment."[64] Koppelman tracks the shifting significations of the Virgin in the Marian lyrics of Bernard of Clairvaux, who believed that the only way to describe Mary was "through polysemy—through paradox," and in the Theophilus topos, in which Mary acts as the feudal sovereign, the vassal of God, the vengeful angel, and the merciful queen.[65] Thus, medieval audiences of the fourteenth century were accustomed to a theologically endorsed image of the Virgin that was contradictory yet vivid and capable of signifying an array of ideas.

With this Mariological context in mind, Satan's attempt to discredit Mary as an advocate based on her womanhood and

her status as the mother of Christ might have come across as narrow and ignorant to medieval observers.[66] Indeed, when Mary appears in court, Satan immediately reminds God of her gender and familial relation to Christ:

> 'I advise You that the Law requires
> that a woman must not be a plaintiff, nor appear
> on behalf of another; that's the whole truth….
> You are her Son, she is Your mother,
> the suspicion of bias is quite evident'[67]

While Mary musters a legal argument for her accreditation, namely that customary law allows for women to represent dependent, vulnerable persons, medieval audiences familiar with Marian literature would have been swayed by her refusal to debase her status both as a woman and as Christ's mother and a member of mortal humanity.[68] For a medieval audience, there is no contradiction in Mary, a woman, acting as a legal agent in a heavenly suit. There is no complication with her being Christ's mother because she is equally a human being with the right to defend the interests of her "party."This is not to downplay the significance of Mary's gender in the dynamics of the poem. In her analysis of the legal status of women in Chaucer's work, Eleanor Johnson concludes that although the legal space can offer women agency through testimony and the claiming of precedent, all too often the medieval legal system transforms them into objects under contract and places them at the whims of "the hermeneutic practices of the men who surround them."[69] It is precisely for this reason that Mary reaches sublimity in the medieval Mariological imagination. Although a feminine figure in a patriarchal society, she is not confined by human contradictions or limitations; as a signifier, she can cross seamlessly into multiple areas of discourse and thought.

Many commentators interpret Mary's seemingly histrionic emotional upheaval at the climax of the poem as evidence of a lapse in her ability to be a capable advocate and as antithetical to the rationality of law.[70] Even Satan attempts to make this argument.[71] There are several

issues with this interpretation. First, the status of emotions in the Middle Ages, particularly in trials, is an active area of research. For example, Merridee Bailey, in her analysis of chancery court records in late fifteenth to early sixteenth century London, argues that petitions often employed emotional language and were not invalidated because of it; emotions were used to cast doubt on the character of a plaintiff, to justify the actions of a defendant put in a stressful situation, and to evoke sympathy from justices.[72] Shoemaker argues that tears in the Middle Ages acted as "a profound and necessary medium for intercession, spiritual renewal, and justification."[73] Marian miracles attest to her compassion and sympathy, even for the undeserving: "She affirms a priest who knows only one Mass and the poor soul who could scarcely say the hours of her praise."[74] Thus, we have to be wary of projecting modern ideas of emotions, rationality, and legal standards of evidence onto medieval actors. Regardless, medieval audiences might not have interpreted this scene as histrionic. Again, it was not contradictory for the Virgin to be assertive and vengeful by hurling pejoratives at Satan and to be compassionate and maternal by evoking Christ's affinity for mercy, his suffering for the benefit of human souls, and her rights over him and all of humanity. Ultimately, Satan's narrow view of the Virgin would not have agreed with the Mariology of the time. His attempt to limit her by human legal norms by attacking her status as woman and as emotional sympathizer suggest an ignorance of the theological forms of the Virgin and her sublime qualities in the fourteenth-century French medieval imagination. The theological disregard of the canon lawyer is put on full display.

Conclusion

To conclude, there are two primary ways in which *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* interacts with and responds to the increasing professionalization of legal practice and education in fourteenth century northern France. Namely, the text

both celebrates the capabilities of legal language and forms to approach issues of theological and philosophical importance and satirizes the culture and practices of professional canon lawyers. These satirizations function along three axes: the indulgent self-image of lawyers as a collective, the unreliability of lawyers, and the theological ignorance of lawyers. As an intervention into the academic discourse surrounding the poem, this paper situates the text within the particular legal, cultural, and theological context of fourteenth century Anglo-Norman France; this approach displays the pitfalls of subsuming the text under the generic moniker of processus Sathane and of treating it as a purely derivative work. Further, *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame* gives us insight into the way law and lawyers became culturally legible to the broader society. The presence of stereotypes of the legal profession and legal education as well as the adoption of satire as a literary form to convey these stereotypes accentuate the rapid rate at which professional law had become standardized and established by the fourteenth century in Latin Christendom. Professional law had become so entrenched in the social fabric as to produce detractors and to generate a matrix of negative associations—implying that the growing integration of professional lawyers into societal institutions during this period was far from seamless. The fact that the author of this satirical text likely belongs to a canon law background suggests a capacity for self-referentiality and irony that is not often afforded to medieval subjects by commentators of the Late Middle Ages. Likewise, this analysis adds to the ongoing scholarly exploration of the Virgin Mary as a multiplicitous, complex figure in medieval culture, literature, and thought.

Notes

[1] Shoemaker, Karl, "The Devil at Law in the Middle Ages," *Revue De L'histoire Des Religions* 228, no. 4 (2011): 578.
[2] Davis, Judith M., "The 'Imaginative Theology' of Mary in Medieval French Literature," *Marian Studies 40*, no. 1 (2009): 171. For further discussion on the possible canon law background of the author, see Terkla, Dan, "A Basochien Proto-Drama and Its Mariological Conte: L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," *Medieval Perspectives 6* (January 1991): 89-90, and Gros, Gérard, *"Le diable et son adversaire dans L'Advocacie Nostre Dame (poème du XIVe siècle),"* in *Le Diable au Moyen ge: Doctrine, Problèmes Moraux, Représentations*, 237. Aix-en-Provence, France: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 1979.
[3] See "Passion of Christ and apocryphal stories, including translations from the *Nicodemus Gospel*." c. 1450-1499. Oversize Ms. Codex 340, Penn in Hand: Selected Manuscripts. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Libraries, 1948. https://colenda.library.upenn.edu/catalog/81431-p3fb4wm76. for a fifteenth century Italian digitized manuscript of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.
[4] Davis, Judith M., "The 'Imaginative Theology' of Mary in Medieval French Literature," 164.
[5] Shoemaker, Karl, "When the Devil Went to Law School: Canon Law and Theology in the Fourteenth Century," in *Crossing Boundaries at Medieval Universities*, edited by Spencer E. Young, 265, Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers, 2010.
[6] Shoemaker, Karl, "The Devil at Law in the Middle Ages," 571.
[7] See Judith M. Davis, Karl Shoemaker, Spurgeon W. Baldwin, James W. Marchand, and F. R. P. Akehurst (in the introduction to the translation of *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame*) below in my references.
[8] Newman, Barbara, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry and Belief in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003, 297-98.
[9] "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," in *Our Lady's Lawsuits in "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame" (Our Lady's Advocacy) and "La Chapelerie Nostre Dame de Baiex" (The Benefice of Our Lady's Chapel in Bayeux),* translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, edited by Gérard Gros, 17 (lines 322-5), 47 (lines 972-7), Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Press, 2011; Ibid., 49 (lines 986-91).
[10] Davis, Judith M, "Giving the Devil his Due: Justice and Equity in *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame*," in
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[11] "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, 55 (lines 1125).
[12] Ibid., 53 (lines 1080-2).
[13] Della Rocca, Fernando, *Manual of Canon Law*, translated by Anselm Thatcher, Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1959, 180.
[14] "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, 61 (lines 1275-6).
[15] Ibid., 63 (lines 1313-18); Ibid., 67-73 (lines 1384-1504).
[16] Baldwin, Spurgeon W., and Marchand, James W., "The Virgin Mary as advocate before the
Heavenly Court," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 18, no. 1 (1992): 80; Shoemaker, Karl, "When the Devil Went to Law School: Canon Law and Theology in the Fourteenth Century," 585.
[17] "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, 29 (lines 581).
[18] Davis, Judith M., "Giving the Devil his Due: Justice and Equity in *L'Advocacie Nostre Dame*," 381.
[19] Kuttner, Stephan, "A Forgotten Definition of Justice," in *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, 77, London: Variorum Reprints, 1980.
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[21] Shoemaker, Karl, "When the Devil Went to Law School: Canon Law and Theology in the
Fourteenth Century," 275.
[22] Huot, Sylvia, "Dit," in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, edited by Peter France, 249, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
[23] "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, 3 (lines 28-9).
[24] Baldwin and Marchant, 91; Ibid., 117 (lines 2460-2484).
[25] Terkla, 92.
[26] Ibid., 92.
[27] Ibid., 92.
[28] "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, 51 (lines 1035).
[29] "Ort," *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom, 2017, accessed November 2020.
[30] "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, 53 (line 1089); Ibid., 55 (line 1121).
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[33] Ibid., 31.
[34] Ibid., 32.
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[36] Ibid., 40.
[37] Ibid., 49-55.
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[39] Shoemaker, Karl, "When the Devil Went to Law School: Canon Law and Theology in the Fourteenth Century," 264.
[40] Brundage, 46.
[41] Ibid., 55.
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[43] "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, 15-6 (lines 293-314).
[44] Ibid., 23 (lines 448-51).
[45] Brundage, 44-5.
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[49] Reynolds, Susan, "The Emergence of Professional Law in the Long Twelfth Century," *Law and History Review* 21, no. 2 (2003): 351.
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[52] Brundage, 51.
[53] Clark, 686.
[54] William of Ockham, "Chapter 32," in *Dialogus*, edited and translated by John Kilcullen et al., London: British Academy Publishing, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, 2008, 32: 1.1.
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[56] Ibid., 63 (lines 1295-98).

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[67] Ibid., 43 (lines 859-65)
[68] Ibid., 44-5 (lines 890-900); Ibid., 45 (lines 907-26).
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[70] For the climax of the poem, see "L'Advocacie Nostre Dame," translated by Judith M. Davis and F. R. P. Akehurst, 67-73 (lines 1384-1504). For the opinion that this emotional upheaval casts doubt on Mary's legal and rational ability, see Terkla, 96, and Baldwin and Marchand, 82.
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A Network of Communities: Jews, Communal Boundaries, and Movement in Seventeenth Century Istanbul

Elyakim-Engelmann-Suissa

Non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire, such as Jews and Christians, are each often viewed as comprising a singular entity. This is especially prominent when discussing Jews in the Ottoman Empire and the autonomous nature of the Jewish community vis-à-vis the Ottoman administration. A conceptualization of the Ottoman Jewish population as a homogeneous unit is misleading and carries the risk of marginalizing significant relationships and conflicts within the Jewish population. The Ottoman Jewish population should be considered as a network of smaller communities with shared interests, practices, and confession. These communities involved Jews of varied histories and with different religious practices, and each one was a cog in a wheel that operated with other Jewish populations at the local level, both within the same city and across the empire. While each enclave could stand alone as a cohesive unit of Jewish life, it was mutually influenced by its counterparts and changed as a result of intercommunal interactions. Despite each community's individual cohesiveness, sustained contact and cultural exchange were common between several Jewish communities in the empire. These interactions occurred between the normative expectations of the community and the volatility of everyday life and personal relationships.

This article explores the tension produced when such exchanges occurred at the local community level by examining individual conflicts in the responsa (sing. responsum; an authorized rabbinic decision resolving an incidental conflict) of seventeenth-century Istanbul. The responsa are an especially useful genre for understanding relationships between average,

non-scholarly individuals. These documents were written in Hebrew, a language that was only present in religious rites and intellectual works by the seventeenth century. The questions and answers in the rabbinic responsa capture the occasional but powerful moments that occurred when Jewish communities collided and negotiated through cultural exchange. Exploring individual scenarios in the responsa is necessary for understanding Ottoman Jewish communities as groups of individuals in frequently shifting contact with both external and internal groups. By examining instances in the responsa, I argue that the Jewish population of Istanbul operated as a network of communities, with individuals crossing boundaries and influencing each other in Istanbul and in other cities across the empire.

Movement Between Congregations

Intercommunal interaction could involve voluntary movement of individuals between Jewish communities, as we see in a responsum by Rabbi Yehiel Basan (1550-1625).[1] The responsum presents an example of a community deliberately crossing local boundaries in order to solve a conflict with their original congregation. While the responsum leaves open a range of interpretation as to the outcome of the conflict, it involves an argument that results in the movement of members from one congregation to another, and the source material can be viewed as one instance of a larger trend toward the blurring of communal lines in the seventeenth century. Voluntary movement between nearby congregations lends itself to a study of both the safeguarding and exchanges of varying customs and ritual practices within the Ottoman Jewish world. This particular case also shows the material implications of movement between different congregations.

The responsum discusses a society (Heb. *hevrah*) within a certain congregation dedicated to acts of charity, known in Hebrew as a *hevrat gemilut hasadim* (lit. a "society that bestows

kindness" or "good deeds"). The local congregation (Heb. *kahal*) was the focal point of each Jewish community in early modern Istanbul, with its own prayer spaces and specific religious practices.[2] The society in the question mentioned above, presumably well known by the congregation as it had been long established, made items of silver for the congregation. Although the responsum does not specify the function of such items or how they were connected to acts of charity, it is likely that the objects were of a ritual nature to be used by the congregation.[3] A conflict arose when the charity (*hesed*) society was usurped: "...and behold, now most of the members of that society went to their rest as one, and other members rose after them who possessed that society by force...."[4] A quarrel ensued between the original members and the new members, although the writing here does not make clear why there was another group who wanted control over this society. The original members of the charity society decided to leave their congregation in which the quarrel broke out, "and went to pray in another congregation (*kahal*), and took with them the items of silver in their possession."[5] The question and Basan's answer revolve around the items of silver that the disgruntled members transferred from one community to the other. After the move, the congregants pleaded with the society members to return the items of silver if the members would not come back themselves.

A map of the Ottoman Empire showing territories acquired up to 1683.[6] Among the major centers of Jewish life in the Empire were Istanbul, Izmir, and Salonika.

Here, the act of crossing from one community to the other is performed as a statement in the throes of an argument. Rather than merely viewing intercommunal movement as an isolated process, it should be understood as occurring within a broader context of communal transformations. The responsum leaves out the details and outcome of the communal disruption. The reader is not told whether the new congregation readily accepts the members, or whether the population shift resulted in frustration and confusion in the midst of differing practices and power struggles. While the intricacies of this particular scenario are unknown, we may be able to reach an understanding of such a communal collision by examining Jewish communal dynamics as a whole. Early modern Istanbul Jewish communities were locally organized by congregation (Heb. *kahal*). Each congregation consisted of members with a shared origin.[7] For this reason, there existed in Istanbul alone a plethora of small, distinct Jewish congregations that each had listed members

who frequented their own shared prayer space. For instance, according to Ottoman tax records, the congregation whose members' ancestors arrived from Portugal was distinct from the congregation whose members hailed from Catalonia, and likewise between the Catalan congregation and the "Alaman" (Germany) congregation.[8] Given that the two congregations in the responsum are presumably in proximity of each other, they were probably congregations with separate histories and ancestral origins.

Most of the congregations that had formed in Istanbul by choice (known in Ottoman Turkish as the *kendi gelen*), rather than by forced relocation from another Ottoman city (*sürgün congregations*), were comprised of a majority membership of families that had lived in Istanbul since the fifteenth century.[9] Nevertheless, their members still remembered the homes of their ancestors by means of language and shared customs that had become associated with Jewish practice over time. In terms of language, Jews regularly spoke a Judeo-Spanish language (alternatively called *Judezmo*, or more frequently *Ladino*) within their internal communities. Judeo-Spanish was primarily a Spanish dialect written with Hebrew characters, and it survived in the Ottoman Empire because of the Iberian Jewish population's (*Sephardim*, from the Hebrew name for Spain) becoming the dominant Jewish population in Istanbul and other major Ottoman cities. Other longstanding communities such as eastern European Jews (*Ashkenazim*, from the Hebrew name for the Germanic region) and Macedonian Jews (*Romaniots*) eventually assimilated into Sephardic congregations and often merged their prayer spaces. The fact that the prominent Jewish communities throughout the Ottoman Empire kept Judeo-Spanish rather than adopting a new "Judeo-Ottoman" language speaks to the strong ties of a shared cultural history.

The prayer spaces in particular saw the need for separate congregations with distinct customs due to a long history of diasporic legal rulings. In addition to Jewish law that had

largely been codified in the era of the Talmud (a large codex of Jewish law and narrative to which many rabbis over several generations contributed) and was considered legally binding by all rabbinic Jews, separate customs (Heb. *minhag*) arose throughout the diaspora in the medieval era.[10] These customs applied to a range of Jewish activities, including private practices and the arrangement of texts in the daily prayer book (Heb. *siddur*). In the early modern era, such customs were newly codified into texts such as Joseph Karo's *Shulhan Arukh* (*The Set Table*, 1565) and Moses Isserles's (d. 1572) commentary on the same work.[11] Due to such codification that made accessible reference to customs that had developed gradually and organically by local populations, the customs became more centralized and harder to change. Codification likely also made customs more binding, elevating them to a status almost akin to that of codified law (Heb. *halakha*). Consequently, Jews who had left their homelands in the fifteenth century, either by will or by forced relocation, did not arrive in the Ottoman Empire with the expectation of merging with Jews from other lands and creating a new "Ottoman" community. Rather, each diasporic community bonded together by means of a common tradition of customs, thanks to the innovation of the printing press and a centralization of legally binding customs that intellectual Jews were able to reference through codified manuscripts. For these reasons, large and voluntary transfers of populations between congregations were not common before the seventeenth century, but rather produced difficulties that arose from the molding of different communities, inevitably giving way to the compromising of individual customs. Small and often incidental movements between congregations such as the occurrence in Basan's responsum likely made a significant contribution to the growing acceptance of movement between congregations in the seventeenth century.

The most prominent example of congregational blending of customs in the seventeenth century is the effective

assimilation of the Romaniot Jews into Sephardic communities.[12] The Romaniot Jews in Istanbul were Macedonian by heritage, and preceded the arrival of the Ottomans in Byzantium. Whereas Ottoman Sephardic Jews preferred to speak Judeo-Spanish and eastern European Jews preferred to speak Judeo-German (Yiddish), the Romaniots spoke Greek, the language prior to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453.[13] It has been suggested by Minna Rozen that the use of spoken Greek was a possible contributor to the "disappearance" of Romaniot Jewish society because Greek became the language of the conquered subsequent to the Ottoman conquest in 1453. While Christians remaining in the city continued to speak Greek, Rozen notes that Greek is not present among Jewish source material following the late seventeenth century. This suggests a dwindling of Romaniot prominence during the seventeenth century, at the end of which Greek was either not spoken at all or only privately in Ottoman Jewish communities.

The beginning of the seventeenth century gave rise to an increase in movement of congregants between congregations, correlated with a decline in the significance attributed to following one's own custom as opposed to the custom of the surrounding community.[14] Although the society members of Basan's responsum appear to have transferred congregations following a momentary disruption, movement across congregations with differing customs became more common during the seventeenth century.[15] Although Basan's responsum does not explicitly mention the differences that the disgruntled community members may have encountered at a neighboring congregation, it can be inferred from a broader social framework that no two congregations were exactly the same. Rather, each congregation had separate traditions that informed each other by intercommunal movements such as the one viewed in the responsum.

Language as Network

Spoken language, as a primary means of daily communication, is crucial to understanding how communities function with respect to its individual members. While written history of the early modern period leaves this area with sparse information, a responsum by Rabbi Isaac Alfandari (d. ca. 1690) illustrates the use of spoken language between Jews as a specific network of its own, used in this case to conduct business. In this responsum, published in his father's *Maggid MeReshit ([He] Tells from the Beginning)*, a conflict arose from a misunderstanding in a letter between two Jewish businessmen, the sender of the letter living in Izmir and the recipient operating in Bursa.[16] That letter was written in Judeo-Spanish and an excerpt from it is copied in Alfandari's responsum. Its inclusion in the question received by Rabbi Alfandari highlights the concept of language as a method of maintaining a communal network. Responsa were written almost exclusively in Hebrew and were intended to have legal ramifications. Hebrew was generally not used by Jews outside of an intellectual or religious context.[17] Instead, Judeo-Spanish was used for personal letters, accessible documents of a religious nature, and as the spoken language among Jews.

The conflict is described as follows: Reuben, in Izmir, sent to Simeon in "Brusa" (Bursa) a number of articles of clothing, instructing Simeon "not to sell them for less than a *gerush* and a half per cubit" (Heb. *amah*, a biblical measure of length amounting to the approximate length of a forearm) and to send the money to Istanbul (Heb. Kushta) through Levi.[18] Reuben related these instructions to Simeon in a letter that partially contained Judeo-Spanish text, which is quoted in the responsum.[19] At the end of the Judeo-Spanish section of the original letter, Reuben added in Hebrew: "Finally, do according to your wisdom (*hokhmatekha*), for you are a wise (*hakham*) man."[20] Unfortunately, Simeon did not follow Reuben's instructions. Instead of sending it to Istanbul, which he was told to do

because it is closer to Bursa than Izmir and the path to Izmir was more dangerous, Simeon sent the money, along with some goods that he had not sold, to Izmir. The money and goods were stolen along the way, and Reuben lost everything. When Reuben attempted to sue Simeon, Rabbi Alfandari pointed to the sentence at the end of the letter ("do according to your wisdom") to rule in Simeon's favor. This letter is an illuminating instance of a collision between Judeo-Spanish, a spoken language, and Hebrew, a language reserved for formalities.

Since Reuben's letter to Simeon was partly written in Judeo-Spanish, an understanding of that language, its use, and its purpose for speakers of the language are necessary to comprehend ongoing communication between Jews of separate communities in different cities. Judeo-Spanish first arose in medieval Iberia, and consists of Spanish-related grammar and vocabulary written in Hebrew script and incorporating many Hebrew and Aramaic loan words, in addition to a Turkish influence during its later history in the Ottoman Empire. The degree to which Judeo-Spanish can be considered a separate language, rather than merely a dialect or variety of Spanish, has been a question of considerable debate.[21] Nevertheless, Judeo-Spanish was distinct from Spanish as it developed as a uniquely "Jewish language." In the medieval diasporic world, such Jewish languages that incorporated the vernacular of the surrounding non-Jewish world were a common phenomenon that included the likes of Judeo-German (Yiddish), Judeo-French, and Judeo-Arabic as well as Judeo-Spanish. However, as the Jewish populations of Spain and Portugal were expelled from their respective lands in the late fifteenth century (1492 and 1496, respectively), their relocations to Italy, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire gave way to a sprawling network of Judeo-Spanish speakers across Europe as well as the Islamic world. A connection through language across multiple continents, in addition to the *converso* population who underwent forced conversion from Judaism to Christianity in Iberia, facilitated an extensive trade network

among Jewish merchants (such as Reuben and Simeon in the responsum discussed above).

Why was Judeo-Spanish, a Spanish dialect, spoken in the Ottoman Empire centuries after the Spanish expulsion? Why did Sephardic Jews not adapt a form of Judeo-Ottoman Turkish for their community, especially as Sephardic merchants needed familiarization with Ottoman Turkish to conduct trade in the Muslim world anyway? Scholars of Judeo-Spanish have conjectured a number of possible reasons as to why Judeo-Spanish remained in the Ottoman Empire. Among such reasons are the laissez-faire approach of the Ottoman administration to non-Muslim communities, insular Sephardic living quarters, and the increase of Judeo-Spanish publications by Jewish printing presses.[22] A looming, broader theory relates to the heightened conservatism of post-Expulsion Jews in the face of mass movement across the world.

Analyzing a resistance to change, not despite, but as a *result* of sudden movement, is a core method of understanding the prominence of Ladino in the Ottoman Empire. In contrast to the Romaniot (Macedonian) community, who may have had little psychological pressure or immediate need to preserve spoken Greek, the Jews of Iberia managed to preserve Judeo-Spanish in a foreign land through music, literature, and occasional elements of religious services (including the *meldado*, a commemoration for the dead).[23] The remarkable preservation of the Judeo-Spanish language in the Ottoman Empire and its permeation through every aspect of Sephardic Jewish society is perhaps demonstrated best in the responsum examined above. Although typically written in Hebrew for an intellectual class, we see an abrupt language change from Hebrew to Ladino in order to cite the particular language of the letter sent from Reuben to Simeon. At the same time, the responsum shows that the same letter also incorporated Hebrew, illustrating a limited permeation of Hebrew into daily Ottoman life as well.

Crossing the Temporal and Spiritual Borders to the Holy Land

> Reuben wanted to go that year to the Land of Israel, and there were those among the people of his house who pleaded with him at length not to go, until Reuben uttered these words: "If I do not go this year to the Land of Israel, and I remain here until the start of the next year (rosh hashana), then I will be a Nazirite [an ascetic] from the start of the next year and onward, until I go to the Land of Israel." Until here were his words….[24]

The remainder of this question focuses on Reuben's Nazirite oath and whether it is binding for only a year or for life, and whether he can now exit the life of a Nazirite. Since the responsum mentions a factor of subsiding the pleas of Reuben's family, Reuben probably did not travel to the Land of Israel in the following year. In his response, Rabbi Ye□iel Basan declares Reuben freed of his vow to be a Nazirite as long as it is clear that Reuben had subsequently regretted his oath.

It is on the beginning of the question, and Reuben's strong desire to travel that lead to his commitment of asceticism, that I choose to focus. It is unlikely that Reuben had previously ever set foot in Ottoman Palestine, as the road was long and dangerous. Reuben could only imagine the land through the descriptions available in the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud, from the abundance of burial sites traditionally attributed to the Patriarchs to the exact proportions of the inner courtyard of the Temple long destroyed. Nevertheless, many Jews, as well as Christians and Muslims, were willing to make pilgrimage to the Land of Israel throughout history, often late in the traveler's life.[25]

The Ottoman Empire conquered the region of Palestine (historically included in Great Syria) in 1516 under the rule of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512-1520), after which the region became

a major center of both Jewish and Muslim intellectual thought. In particular, the city of Safed in the sixteenth century was home to groups of both Jewish (*kabbalah*) and Muslim (*sufi*) mystics. Jewish teachers such as Moses Cordovero (d. 1570) and Isaac Luria (d. 1572) were instrumental in developing a radical cosmogony that reinterpreted the divine to affect both abstract theology and daily religious practice.[26] Additionally, Luria published an accessible compendium of Jewish laws known as the *Shulhan Arukh (The Set Table)* that was disseminated across the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Following the phenomenon of Luria's success and the mid-sixteenth century growth of kabbalistic discourse in Safed, the city thereafter became known among some Jewish circles as a "holy place."

The title page of Joseph Karo's *Shulhan Arukh (The Set Table)*. This manuscript edition printed in Venice, 1564.[27]

In the seventeenth century, the Jewish community in biblical Israel suffered economic challenges and a weak central government, particularly in Safed. In contrast to rapid growth in the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries, major cities in the Land of Israel witnessed a dwindling and aging population as well as higher unemployment rates by the end of the seventeenth century.[28] These problems did not only affect Jews, but also Muslims and Christians living in the region, and can be seen as symptoms of broader economic setbacks throughout the Ottoman Empire.[29] Despite this, Jewish communities in Istanbul continued to lend support to the Land of Israel in various ways. Failed by their local governments, the heads of the Jewish congregations in the Land of Israel depended on the rabbis of Istanbul for political assistance in lobbying the viziers or the Sultan himself for their welfare. This lobbying operated through a Jewish network in Istanbul, whereby the most respected rabbis would contact those Jews who worked in the royal court and may have been close to the Sultan's inner circle.[30] Another type of assistance existed in the form of direct funds from Istanbul Jews to Jews in Palestine, consisting of both individual voluntary donations and collected funds raised by whole congregations.[31] Needless to say, concerns of Istanbul Jews for the welfare of Jews residing in the Holy Land necessitated an active and conscious connection. Examining the responsum belonging to Basan, it is likely that Reuben was connected to the system of welfare for the Land of Israel that was popular in Istanbul at this time, either through political activism or regular donations to struggling congregations in that region.

Individual movement from the Jewish community in Istanbul to the Jewish community in Palestine was not solely geographical; it was also universally considered a spiritual movement toward holiness. This spiritual journey was not exclusive to early modern Jews. In an article that describes two seventeenth-century expeditions to Palestine, that of an Arab and

an Englishman, it becomes clear that such individual sojourns were done primarily, if not exclusively, for religious meaning.[32] The written account of Salim Abdallah al-Ayyashi (d. 1679), a Moroccan jurist who decided to travel to Ottoman Palestine following a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, refers to his destination as "the holy and blessed land," and describes his dismay at the state of disrepair in which he finds several holy shrines. Al-Ayyashi was notably willing to make the trip despite his poor financial means.[33] Meanwhile, the Englishman, known only as "T.B.," traveled in 1669 with the anti-Catholic agenda of giving a uniquely Protestant description of Palestine. T.B., among a group of fellow Englishmen, focused on traditional holy locations regarding Jesus, such as Mount Cavalry, where Jesus was crucified, and the Sepulchre of Christ.[34]

While both of these travelers returned home, many Jews remained in Palestine once setting foot there. Indeed, many elderly respected rabbis (*talmidei hakhamim*) would travel to Palestine with the intention of dying and being buried in holy land.[35] In this way, men and women, such as Reuben in the responsum above, wished to cross both a spiritual and locational boundary between Istanbul, a temporal center of civilization, and the Land of Israel, a spiritual center that found itself in temporal decline.

Conclusions

Entering a discourse that includes each enclave of the larger Jewish community as a distinct entity that constantly engaged with other enclaves and the surrounding world is necessary in order to accurately understand the role of non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire. This study discusses the complex and changing relationships across identity groups and perceived boundaries. It is apparent from an outside view that the Jewish community, in a singular sense, was subject to the same *dhimmi* law constituting protection of minority religions

throughout the empire. However, the Jewish communities across the Ottoman Empire were many. Each had their own history and, in all probability, nuanced practices from congregation to congregation. On the other hand, while individual communities in Istanbul were typically insular and distinguished by idiosyncratic customs, they shared a network with communities across the Ottoman Empire, from Egypt to Palestine and Syria.

There are many other possibilities of movement and change that warrant serious examination from historians. Widespread documentation within the responsa literature shows Istanbul communities interacting with the Jewish communities in Egypt, who were renowned for their religious scholarship at the time. Another field that warrants further exploration is the role of women in Jewish society. The responsa primarily include men, while women are typically mentioned when a husband or male sibling is affected. While it is true that men had more access to communication across community borders, the role of women should be considered when discussing intercommunal interactions in other senses. Further exploration into the responsa literature, as well as a widening of the range of authors and source material, will undoubtedly shed light on such relationships.

The anonymous individuals highlighted in the responsa were not exceptions to the rule, as made clear when the responsa are read alongside outlines of the broader streams of change in Jewish communities and cultures during the seventeenth century. Although one congregation apparently transformed its membership as the result of a unique conflict between members, many other congregations underwent membership change for a slew of different reasons. In the same manner that Judeo-Spanish was used by two people to conduct a sale, so was it used throughout the Sephardic Jewish world to conduct trade on a large scale. Lastly, just as one man wanted to go to the Land of Israel and was not able, so were many Ottoman Jews yearning to travel to their biblical homeland with increased rates

of success. Indeed, as demonstrated by the examples studied above, the Ottoman Jewish past is a past of local and individual exchanges, boundaries, and adaptations. It is a past of everyday conflicts and personal relations as much as it is the story of a large transnational and multicultural network of communities.

Notes

[1] Aryeh Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responsa* (Leiden, the Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1984), 190.
[2] See "Chapter 9: Cultural Attributes of Ottoman Jewry" in Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans*, 412-442.
[3] "Chapter 2" in Yeiel Basan, She'elot u'Tshuvot (Constantinople: Isaac Basan, 1736), 1b-2b.
[4] Originally in Hebrew, translated by author of this article.
[5] Originally in Hebrew, translated by author of this article.
[6] William R. Shepherd, *Carte de l'Empire Ottoman (Ne Différencie Pas l'Empire Lui-Même Des États Vassaux), 1923*, 1923, in The Historical Atlas by William R. Shepherd, 1923, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ottoman.jpg.
[7] Minna Rozen, "Public Space and Private Space Among the Jews of Istanbul in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 337-8.
[8] Yaron Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans: Ottoman Jewish Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 83; Yaron Ben-Naeh, *Yehudim BeMamlekhet HaSultanim: HaHevrah HaYehudit BaImperyah HaOt'manit BaMeah HaSheva' Esreh [Jews in the Realm of the Sultans: Ottoman Jewish Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2006).
[9] Minna Rozen, *Public Space and Private Space*, 333.
[10] The Babylonian Talmud was codified in roughly the sixth to seventh centuries AD, after several centuries of writing and editing.
[11] See Adam Shear, "Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe" in *The Cambridge Guide to Jewish History, Religion and Culture*, ed. Judith R. Baskin and Kenneth Seeskin (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 140-168.
[12] Minna Rozen, *Studies in the History of Istanbul Jewry, 1453-1923* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v., 2015), 36-50.
[13] Ibid., 39.
[14] Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans*, 381-2.
[15] Ibid., 56.
[16] "Chapter 6" in Hayyim Alfandari and Isaac Alfandari, *Maggid MeReshit* (Constantinople: Naftali ben Azriel and Jonah ben Jacob, 1710), 24b-27b.
[17] See "Cultural Attributes of Ottoman Jewry" in Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm*

of the Sultans, 412-442.

[18] The responsa literature generally anonymizes the names of its characters, replacing them with the names of biblical Israelite tribes. See Robert Brody, The Geonim of Babylonia and the Shaping of Medieval Jewish Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 189. I have chosen to keep the anonymized names as a matter of convenience for the reader. The *gerush* currency mentioned in the responsum is the Ottoman *kuruş*. For more on the history of this currency, see Sevket Pamuk, A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Hebrew translated by the author of this article.

[19] The full Judeo-Spanish text can be found in Isaac Alfandari, *Maggid MeReshit*, 24b.

[20] Hebrew translated by the author of this article.

[21] See Bryan Kirschen, "Judeo-Spanish as a Jewish Language: Linguistic Realities and Ideologies," in *Judeo-Spanish and the Making of a Community*, ed. Bryan Kirschen (Newcastle upon Tyne, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 2-49.

[22] See Tracy K. Harris, "The Survival of Judeo-Spanish for Four-and-a-Half Centuries in the Ottoman Empire" in *Death of a Language: The History of Judeo-Spanish* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 121-137.

[23] Ibid., 125.

[24] "Chapter 10" in Rabbi Yehiel Basan, *She'elot u'Teshuvot [Questions and Answers]* (Constantinople: Isaac Basan, 1736), 5a-5b. The quoted text belongs to the anonymously authored "question" component of the responsum. Hebrew translated by the author of this article.

[25] Yaron Ben-Naeh, "Siyuah Shel Kehilat Istanbul LeYehudei Eretz Yisrael BeMeah HaSheva'-Esreh U-Keshirah Imam" ["The Jewish Community of Istanbul and Eretz Israel Jewry in the Seventeenth Century"], *Cathedra for the History of Eretz Israel and Its Yishuv* 99 (1999), 87.

[26] See Lawrence Fine, *Physician of the Soul, Healer of the Cosmos: Isaac Luria and His Kabbalistic Fellowship* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003) for a broad outline of Luria's kabbalistic teachings.

[27] Joseph Karo, *Shulchan Aruch* (Venice, 1564), https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Brockhaus_and_Efron_Jewish_Encyclopedia_e9_327-0.jpg. Title page.

[28] Yaron Ben-Naeh, "The Jewish Community of Istanbul and Eretz Israel Jewry in the Seventeenth-Century," *Cathedra for the History of Eretz Israel and Its Yishuv* 99 (Hebrew, 1999), 67.
[29] Ibid., 74.
[30] Ibid., 76.
[31] Ibid., 74-77.
[32] Nabil Matar, "Two Journeys to Seventeenth-Century Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no. 4 (2000), 37-50.
[33] Ibid., 38.
[34] Ibid., 46.
[35] Ben-Naeh, "The Jewish Community of Istanbul and Eretz Israel Jewry in the Seventeenth-Century," 87.

For the Hebrew text noted as translated in footnotes 4, 5, 18, 20, and 24 see: tinyurl.com/networkofcommunities

Anti-Christian Rhetoric and Neoplatonic Thought in *Against The Galileans*

Carson R. Greene (Emory University)

"Julian the Apostate Presiding at a Conference of Sectarians." Painted by Edward Armitage, 1875.[1]

The time has come for me to say for the benefit of all how I discovered beyond any doubt that the stories of the Galileans are the inventions of deceivers and tricksters. For these men seduce people into thinking that their gruesome story is the truth by appealing to the part of the soul that loves what is simple and childish.[2]
-Flavius Claudius Julianus

Introduction

When the Roman army in Gaul proclaimed Flavius Claudius Julianus emperor in 360 CE, the emperor invoked the war goddess Bellona through secret rites in order to ask her for aid in his coming civil war with the Christian emperor Constantius.[3] There was no great civil war between Julian and Constantius, however. Instead, Constatntius suddenly died while marching west to meet his usurper on the battlefield.[4] And so, Julian entered Constantinople without opposition, formally casting aside his mask of Christianity, and began what he hoped would be a pagan revival movement across the Roman Empire. The reign of Julian the Apostate had begun.

Despite only reigning as sole emperor for around eighteen months, from November 361 to June 363, Julian has become a figure of both admiration and scorn, with his memory casting a great shadow over late antiquity and Emperor Constantine's legacy. One of the most impressive facets of Julian's life and reign was the sheer volume of written work he left behind. As such, this article focuses on one of his most famous works, the anti-Christian polemic *Against the Galileans*. My aim is to not only demonstrate Julian's views towards early Christianity, but how these views were shaped by his own pagan theology. My analysis then moves to how Julian's pagan beliefs influenced many of his political actions as emperor. I conclude by placing Julian's beliefs as well as his works in the broader context of Neoplatonic philosophy in late antiquity.

Primarily composed as an anti-Christian polemic, Emperor Julian's *Against the Galileans* is one of his most perplexing works. *Against the Galileans* is not only the Roman emperor's critical arguments against Christianity as a religion, it also contains crucial insights into Julian's own theological and philosophical views at the time of its composition. Julian likely wrote the original text during his winter stay at Antioch in the winter of 362/363 CE. The text in its entirety has not survived, and historian Rowland Smith speculates that it was outlawed

either by a Theodosian law in 448 or the emperor Justinian in 529. The only extant pieces of *Against of Galileans* have survived as quotations in Cyril of Alexandria's refutation from some time during the 430s.[5] Despite the pieces that have survived, large parts of the polemic have been lost, based on evidence from fragments 39A-42E of the work where Julian states his intention to cover all the primary teachings of Christianity.[6] In the fragments that have survived, Julian makes three primary arguments against Christianity. Firstly, he views the myth of creation found in Genesis as unsatisfactory compared to Plato's description of the origin of the universe in the *Timaeus*. Second, Julian addresses several pieces of the Old Testament which he sees as contradictory. Finally, Julian relies on his broad knowledge of the New Testament,the Gospel of John in particular, to attack the claim that Jesus was divine.

It is difficult to accurately estimate the original size of *Against the Galileans*. Yet if Julian did in fact set out to disprove all aspects of Christianity, then it becomes clear that his endeavor was not merely an intellectual hobby. Rather, he intended *Against the Galileans* to be a serious intellectual work, supporting the theory that Julian wanted to be seen both as an accomplished philosopher and an emperor. It is important to note, however, that by the fourth century, many philosophers had steered away from the more rational elements of Plato and Aristotle's writings and instead, turned towards the esoteric and mystical writings of Plato—the *Timaeus* and *Parmenides*, for instance. Neoplatonism was further complicated as some philosophers began incorporating theurgy into their practices. Julian was very much a part of this Neoplatonic tradition for as evidenced in his style of writing, he often preferred the magical over the rational. Hence, it would be inappropriate to apply modern conceptions of philosophy and religion when analyzing Julian and the other Neoplatonic writers' works.

While his arguments are sometimes opaque and difficult to follow, Julian nonetheless pays homage to earlier Neoplaton-

ic thinkers in *Against the Galileans*, drawing upon the works of former anti-Christian polemicists such as Celsus and Porphyry. Further, Julian frequently cites and shows his reverence for the philosopher and theurgist Iamblichus, who was very influential on the evolution of Neoplatonism. It is evident that Iamblichus had a massive impact on Julian's own philosophy and his interest in the more arcane disciplines of Neoplatonism including magic and divination. Other evidence in the text suggests that Julian was simultaneously appropriating ideas from Christian theology into his own pagan cosmology.[7] Ultimately, the knowledge of both Christian and pagan thinkers from which Julian draws upon during the composition of *Against the Galileans* demonstrates that he was an active participant in the 4th century intellectual discourse of the eastern Mediterranean.

The Tradition of Anti-Christian Polemics Before the Time of Julian

Before engaging in a comprehensive analysis of Julian's *Against the Galileans*, it is crucial to understand the anti-Christian polemicists who came before him as well as the religious environment of the empire during the second and third centuries. As I have previously stated,Julian was keenly aware of both the works of Celsus and Porphyry. And like *Against the Galileans*, Celsus and Porphyry's works only survive in the form of quotations provided by other authors.[8]

The Roman philosopher Celsus' *On the True Doctrine*, composed circa 185, has remained easily accessible thanks to his opponent Origen of Alexandria's liberal quotations of the work in his refutation.[9] In Origen's work, Celsus is chiefly concerned with the teachings of second century Christians as well as the life of Jesus. During Celsus' time, there was a great deal of syncretism occurring between traditional Roman paganism and Christianity, often resulting in the two religions borrowing ideas from one another.[10] The theory that Christianity plagia-

rized many of its ideas from early Hellenic thinkers, primarily Plato, permeates Celsus' polemic. Like Julian, Celsus also does not strictly adhere to one philosophical movement. Instead, he incorporates both Platonic and Stoic philosophies into his arguments as well as elements of history and religion.[11] As for the polemic itself, Celsus demonstrates his expertise with Platonism in the eighth section of *On The True Doctrine* where he criticizes the Christian conception of God:

> They have not read Plato, who teaches us in the Republic that God (the Good) does not even participate in being. It is true that all things are derived from the Good, as Plato says; but it is also clear that God made nothing mortal. This God of philosophers is himself the underivable, the un nameable; he cannot be reached by reason. Such attributes as we may postulate of him are not the attributes of human nature, and all such attributes are quite distinct from his nature. He cannot be comprehended in terms of attributes or human ex perience, contrary to what the Christians teach; moreover, he is outside any emotional experi ence.[12]

Celsus argues that an omnipotent and omniscient god as the Christians conceptualize could not possibly have any features associated with the physical world, since based on Plato's theory of forms, the physical world is inherently imperfect. Celsus uses this as the basis of his argument where he rejects the logos of Christ as humanity's savior for he believes that an omnipotent god would not need to send his son to save humanity and instead, could correct the sins of the world by himself.[13] Thus to further support his claim, Celsus asserts that Jesus was not divinely conceived but was instead the illegitimate son of Mary and a Roman soldier named Panthera.[14]

Similar to Julian, Celsus is also concerned with the intellectual character of many Christians. As such, a central tenet of his polemic questions the legitimacy of a religion whose members consist of the lowest ranking classes of the empire: "wool workers, cobblers, laundry workers, and the most illiterate country bumpkins."[15] One must always remember that Celsus was writing nearly two centuries before Julian, during a time when Christianity had not yet penetrated the upper ranks of Roman society. Thus, in *Against the Galileans*, Julian focuses his attacks on the moral character of Christians rather than their low societal rank. Further, Julian deliberately chose to use the term "Galilean" instead of Christian in his work to draw attention to the religion's localized and provincial origin. While Celsus' polemic was certainly widespread enough to earn him the ire of Origen, a century after he wrote *On The True Doctrine*, the philosopher Porphyry of Tyre would write a far more scathing and possibly compelling critique of Christianity.

Composed in the final decades of the third century, Porphyry's *Against the Christians* responded to a Christianity that was much more widely accepted than it was during Celsus' time. In fact, the polemic even concedes that the religion had gained a permanency within the empire.[16] Porphyry's work was not only unique for this rhetorical shift away from Celsus, but also because he was the first anti-Christian polemicist to have actively studied the Bible. As a student of Plotinus, he was already an established philosopher by the time he composed *Against the Christians*.[17] Hence, Porphyry stood superior compared to his contemporary intellectuals; his complex arguments against Christianity and eloquent writing style made his fellow pagans admire him and his Christian opponents fear him. Unfortunately, none of Porphyry's opponents quoted his work in sufficient length to preserve it, as was the case with Origen's *Contra Celsum*. What has remained is extremely fragmentary and only survives as quotations from Christian sources and in the form of indirect references.[18] Further, the actual size of the po-

lemic has been a subject of much debate, with the early Christian author Lactantius claiming that *Against the Christians* was only three books long while Eusebius and Jerome stating that it was as many as fifteen books in length.[19] Despite the controversial debate, it is clear that Porphyry's arguments threatened and frightened many Christian authors, so much so that both Augustine's *City of God* and *Harmony of Gospels* were responses to Porphyry's anti-Christian works and his other literature.[20]

While it is difficult to follow Porphyry's exact line of argumentation from the surviving fragments of his work, it appears that in many ways *Against the Christians* was a continuation of the arguments made by Celsus. He also wrote that Jesus' disciples were deceitful magicians, and because of this the Gospels were contradictory and unreliable. Yet, this is where the similarities between Celsus and Porphyry ends. While Celsus' work dealt primarily in philosophical arguments against Christianity, Porphyry was far more concerned with the religious nature of Christianity. Christianity had become much more public and widespread in the third century,and Porphyry likely realized that it had become a permanent fixture of the empire. With this in mind, Porphyry used his extensive knowledge of the Bible to underline what he saw as Christians' misunderstanding of the Old Testament and the contradictions found in the New Testament. Additionally, as a student of Plotinus, Porphyry incorporated elements of Neoplatonism into his works such as *Philosophy from Oracles* where he tries to blend traditional Hellenic religion with Greek and Roman philosophy.[21] This shift from a philosophical to a religious focus in the evolution of anti-Christian polemics was critical , since Julian's *Against the Galileans* was undoubtedly a continuation of Porphyry's works as evidenced by his often mystical arguments regarding creationism and metaphysics as well as his repeated references to Iamblichus and theurgy.

One final point of context regarding Porphyry must be made before analyzing Julian's polemic. Porphyry composed

Against the Christians during the reigns of Diocletian and Maximian after the end of the "crisis of the third century," an era of great political anarchy for the Roman Empire marked by climate change, plague, invasion, and civil war.[22] This tumultuous period also led to a major shift in Rome's religious landscape as Christianity and other cults like Mithraism gained an increased number of converts. Emperor Aurelian was able to restore the empire during his short reign from 270 to 275 and attempted to unify Rome's many disparate religious groups by introducing the cult of the Sol Invictus. The cult of the Sol Invictus marked a shift in Roman religion away from the polytheistic tradition of distinct cults to a more syncretic henotheism with Sol Invictus being at the top of this new hierarchy.[23]

This shift towards a solar henotheism in the later Roman Empire has major implications for Julian's *Against the Galileans* given the unique nature of the Apostate's own paganism. As one will see in the following sections, Julian created his own hierarchy of gods and priests in an attempt to unify all of the pagan cults in the Roman Empire. The major difference between Aurelian and Julian is that the latter centered his religion around a reimagination of the similar solar deity Zeus Helios and used many Platonic concepts for explaining the origin of the universe. Julian's devotion to Zeus-Helios is not surprising given the already established precedent for solar worship in the late Roman Empire. Aurelian, in the latter half of the third century, expanded the solar centric cult of Sol Invictus. Constantine I, before his conversion to Christianity, was a devotee of Apollo Helios, and the coinage he issued had the inscription "Sol Deus Invictus."[24]

Julian's Critique of Genesis and Interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus*

Despite the fact that some of Julian's arguments against Christianity are rather esoteric and consist of obscure exegeses,

it is still an impressive intellectual work as it demonstrates the emperor's command of both Greek and Christian literature as well as a keen understanding of Neoplatonism. Following the footsteps of Porphyry, Julian had a deep understanding of both the Old and New Testament and frequently cited Biblical passages in his polemic. In some respects, Julian's Christian upbringing and education were major factors in the composition of *Against the Galileans* as it was during these formative years that the Apostate had acquired his intimate knowledge of the Bible. During his education at Nicomedia and later at Constantinople and Athens, Julian also gained his love for traditional Greek literature and philosophy, which he used constantly in his arguments against Christianity.[25]

After giving his opening remarks and setting out his goals in writing *Against the Christians*, Julian first critiques the Book of Genesis and explains why he believes its creation myth is insufficient compared to Plato's *Timaeus*. However, before directly citing the *Timaeus*, Julian uses general Platonic principles in his analysis of the myth of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. In fragments 75B and 89B, Julian argues that this story is "a complete fable" because an omnipotent god would not leave humans in an incomplete condition.[26] Fragment 89B is also significant, as it shows Julian's knowledge of Gnostic texts when he asserts that "the serpent [was really acting as] benefactor of the human race."[27] While this opening salvo from Julian is not the most impressive piece of his polemic, it more or less serves as an outline for the structure of most of Julian's arguments in *Against the Galileans*. In this structure, Julian begins by quoting or paraphrasing a passage from the Bible, and then uses citations from classical Greek literature to disprove whichever Christian myth or argument he has chosen. During most of his refutations, the emperor will also either reference other Neoplatonic philosophers or support his argument with an exegesis. For the most part, this strategy worked for both Christians and pagan thinkers. Indeed, Libanius wrote that Julian's polemic was

superior to Porphyry's *Against the Christians* and the Christian apologist Cyril believed that *Against the Galileans* was not only a monumental pagan work but also nearly irrefutable.[28] Modern scholarship also praises *Against the Galileans* as being "well-articulated Neoplatonic theory."[29]

Following his initial argument concerning the Garden of Eden, Julian then attacks the entire creation myth established in the book of Genesis. In fragments 49A through 49C, he gives an abbreviated quotation from Genesis 1.1-1.17 which describes how God created and separated Heaven and Earth. In Julian's eyes, this story is quite insufficient for an omnipotent god:

> as Moses tells the tale, God is creator of nothing without a body; he merely organizes and shapes the stuff that already exists—since the words "And the Earth was unseen and without form" must mean that God thought of wet and dry stuff as original matter, and this means that God is simply the shaper of this matter.[30]

Any story concerning the origin of the universe or other similar metaphysical concepts would have been of great interest to Julian as a Neoplatonic writer, since Neoplatonists based their own conceptions of the universe on the works of Plato and Aristotle. Given that Julian was particularly influenced by the Iamblichan branch of Neoplatonism, it is not surprising he relied nearly exclusively on Plato's *Timaeus* for his refutation of Genesis' creation myth. In explaining the origin of the universe, Neoplatonists would often turn to the *Timaeus*, in which Plato describes the universe as a divine living entity, perfectly created by the Demiurge.[31] Hence, it is unsurprising that Julian found Genesis to be so unsatisfactory.

In his counterarguments, Julian is very concerned with the Platonic concepts of the Demiurge and the creation of the universe. Thus, he gives a lengthy quotation of *Timaeus* 41A-C

before providing his own exegesis of the text. Julian's explanation of Plato's creation myth was similar to other Neoplatonic interpretations.

> Plato calls those things which are visible by the name of gods: sun, moon, the stars, and the heav ens—but he regards them merely as images of the invisible gods. The sun which we see with our eyes is a likeness of the intellectual principal, the invisible sun; and so the moon we see with our eyes, and the stars: these are likenesses of the intelligible. Clearly Plato knows of intelligible and unseen gods who are immanent within and exist alongside the cre ator, and proceeded or originated from the creator himself.[32]

In sections 41A-C of the *Timaeus*, the character Timaeus explains to Socrates how the Demiurge brought the five generations of gods into being and which roles has Demiurge assigned them.[33] As the passage continues, the Demiurge explains to the gods that they must create and nurture mortals in order to make the universe whole.[34] Julian interprets this passage as meaning that the gods are subservient to the Demiurge and as such are each in charge of a different region or city.

Because of this interpretation, Julian, echoing Celsus, is very critical of the idea that the god presented in Genesis is only concerned with the Hebrews. Given that Julian's own philosophical beliefs are rooted in Neoplatonism and the belief that the perfect Demiurge made the universe, the idea that an omnipotent god only cares for one group of people is in many ways incompatible with the emperor's own theology.

> Yet, if he is the God of all alike, the shaper of every thing, why did he overlook us? Is it not preferable to think that the God of the Hebrews is not maker of

> the whole cosmos with power over it all, but only, as I have suggested, a god of limits, whose domin ion is bounded on all sides.[35]

Continuing from this quotation regarding Mosaic anthropogony, Julian briefly moves into the New Testament where he cites Jesus and Paul as proof that Jahwe is exclusively the god of Israel and of the Hebrews. One of the main tenets of Platonic philosophy was the "unconditional and unchanging goodness of the divine" and as Julian saw it, a supreme creator could not care for only one group of people and neglect the rest of the world.[36] Julian concludes his arguments against Mosaic anthropogony by stating that the god of the Old Testament was only given the lands of Judea and therefore cannot be the Demiurge.[37] During his explanation of this, Julian also sheds light on his own henotheistic cosmology. He writes, "our authorities maintain that the fashioner of the universe is both the common father and the lord of all that exists, while the gods of nations and the gods who protect cities have been delegated specific responsibilities by him."[38] Ultimately, it seems that Julian does not set out to disprove the existence of the Hebrew god in the same way that Celsus does. Rather, Julian argues that while the Hebrew god exists, he could not possibly be the Demiurge.

Julian further reinforces his belief that Jahwe could not be the Demiurge with his critique of Exodus and the Ten Commandments. Citing Exodus 20.5 in his exegesis, Julian writes that Jahwe's jealousy is proof that as a god, he is neither omnipotent nor the only god:

> For if God is indeed jealous, it must follow that all other gods who are worshipped receive honor to spite him, and all people who worship these other gods defy the will of God. Well, then, how is it that he is not able to restrain the nations if his jealousy demands that other gods, besides himself, should

not be worshipped?[39]

The argument Julian makes in this passage is quite simple. If Jahwe was omnipotent then he would simply be able to stop people from worshiping other gods. Secondly, Julian seems to see the Exodus 20.5 passage, "for I am the Lord your God, a jealous god, repaying sins of fathers upon children up to the third and fourth generation to those who hate," as a contradiction to the monotheistic tenet of Christian theology.[40] In fragment 159E, Julian attacks the Christians of his time, stating that if Jahwe is jealous, then they should not worship his son, Jesus. Regarding the substance of *Against the Galileans*, this exegesis further illustrates how the theology of the Bible was ultimately incompatible with Julian's Hellenism and his own solar henotheism. This incompatibility is a major feature of the laws and edicts which Julian passed during his reign in an attempt to bring about a pagan revival. Interestingly though, Julian later praises Jahwe when comparing Hebrew religious rites to Christian ones.

Julian's New Henotheism: Asclepios Against Jesus

Following his mention of Jesus in his critique of Genesis and Exodus, Julian attacks Jesus repeatedly throughout the rest of his polemic. Beginning at 200A, the emperor once again reveals facets of his own pagan theology. He writes that Asclepios, a Greek god associated with medicine and healing, is the extant son of Zeus-Helios and a gift to humanity for his extraordinary healing talents.[41] Asclepios was a god with a long standing tradition in Greek religion, having first been mentioned in Homer's *Iliad*. However, in many traditional myths, he is presented as being born mortal who only experienced divine apotheosis after being struck down by Zeus.[42] Julian's myth regarding the god of healing seems to be his own invention and draws obvious parallels to Jesus' conception. David Neal

Greenwood argues that Julian's Asclepios was meant to be the "pagan antagonist of Christ" and borrows from many of the ideas of the core Christian logos.[43] Though Julian's reimagination of Asclepios's creation myth as the son of Zeus-Helios might have been Julian's own invention, he was certainly not the first to pit Jesus and the god of healing against one another. When criticizing the miracles of Jesus, Celsus also mentions Asclepios and extolls him as the superior god of healing, citing his shrines across the eastern Mediterranean.[44] Asclepios was a very prominent god during Celsus' time, having played a major role in the Second Sophistic as the subject of Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales*. As an attentive student of Greek literature, Julian would likely have noticed the frequent usage of Asclepios dating back to Homer's time.

Julian's own description of the god of healing reads, "Asclepios appeared in the shape of a man, alone, at Epidaurus … He came to Pergamon, to Ionia, to Tarentum, and thereafter to Rome. He also traveled to Cos, and then to Aegae. Thereafter he was manifest everywhere."[45] All of these locations listed by Julian were sites of the major temples and shrines to Asclepios, whose worship was widespread throughout the Mediterranean world. By listing all of these locations, Julian was criticizing the fact that Jesus only performed his miracles in a small geographic area. Celsus was also critical of this in *On the True Doctrine*.[46] Julian was so convinced of Asclepios' miracles that he even recounts in a later passage in *Against the Galileans* that the god has personally cured him: "With God my witness, I know when I have been ill, Asclepios has cured me by proffering remedies."[47] This argument, which seems illogical by modern standards, would have been quite strong in the ancient world since belief in miracles was commonplace in antiquity. Additionally in this reference, Julian might also be comparing the miracles of Jesus to the miracles of Asclepios, though it is never made explicit.[48]

One of Julian's inspirations for incorporating certain

Christian ideas into his own theology could possibly be found in a letter he wrote to a pagan priest in either late 362 or early 363. In this letter, he describes a visit to Ilios where a Christian named Pegasius showed him the shrines of Hector and Achilles and told him that the Christian population of Ilios revered ancient heroes in the same way that they revered their martyrs.[49] Hoffman writes that this meeting with Pegasius first gave Julian the idea to use religious syncretism in his plan to restore the traditional Greek religion.[50] If this is indeed the case, then by positioning Asclepios as Jesus' pagan antagonist, Julian was using the same tactics in his pagan restoration just like the Christians had used to gain so many converts to the new religion.

Julian's use of Asclepios ultimately shows the emperor's imagination at work in an attempt to formulate a new pagan religion that would be a direct foil to Christianity. In many ways, this new henotheism would not have been possible without Julian's sweeping knowledge of Christianity and the Bible since he synthesizes concepts found in the New Testament with traditional Platonic metaphysics to create his own onto-theology. Of course, Julian's new pagan religion never took root because he was killed in 363, and probably also because it was too radically different from the disparate cults which had traditionally been the pillars of Greek and Roman religion. And yet, Asclepios played a role in Julian's portrayal after his death, with Libanius comparing the emperor favorably to the god of healing in his oration at Julian's funeral.[51] Even though his plan of Hellenic revival failed, the evidence from Libanius suggests that Julian's pagan theology left a lasting impact.

Julian Against Jesus and the New Testament

Celsus devotes a significant portion of *On the True Doctrine* to his criticism of Jesus' life and the doctrine of salvation. His arguments, however, were not based on any first-hand knowledge of Biblical scripture, and he had instead

constructed them from second-hand accounts and observations of the Christian community. Julian, in sharp contrast, displays a wealth of knowledge of both the Gospels as well as the Pauline epistles in the surviving fragments of *Against the Galileans*. This intimate knowledge of the New Testament undoubtedly came from Julian's education during his youth at Nicomedia, Constantinople, and Athens.

Beginning with the Gospel of John, Julian first attacks its opening verse in fragment 262C, arguing that the "Word," which John later calls Jesus, does not align with Moses' account of creation since he makes no mention of Jesus in his books.[52] According to Hoffman, Julian, like Porphyry, preferred using the literal meaning of texts as opposed to allegorical interpretations and as such used this method when building his exegesis for both the Old and New Testament.[53] Given this, it is no surprise Julian was so critical of the New Testament interpretation of Old Testament prophecy since he believed that none of the Hebrew prophets foretold the birth of Jesus.

After his initial critique of John, Julian then turns to the inconsistencies among the Gospels and the Pauline epistles. Julian writes that of the apostles, John was the only one who directly referred to Jesus as being God or the "Word of God."[54] He uses this premise to attack the verse of John 1.18, "No man has seen God at any time but the only begotten son of God, the one who is in the bosom of the Father, he has revealed him."[55] Julian states that this conception of God is logically inconsistent as Jesus cannot be God if no one has ever seen God, concluding that, "but if the only begotten son is one thing and God the Word is something else, as I have heard it said by some of the members of your sect, then it seems that not even John was foolish enough to declare that Jesus was God."[56]

One of the major reasons why Julian considered the doctrine of John so offensive to his philosophical and theological principles was that, in his eyes, John's account was not only inconsistent with itself, but that John also has never fully devel-

oped his theology concerning the divinity of Jesus.[57] Ultimately for Julian, the major flaw in Nicene Christian theology is that, based on his own understanding of Platonic metaphysics, neither the god described by Moses or Jesus himself could be the creator of the universe.[58] Interestingly, as will be explored in the next subsection, Julian never denies or attempts to disprove the existence of Jahwe. He is instead content to conclude that Moses' god is not the Demiurge, but instead only the god of the Hebrew people. In regards to Jesus, while Julian is very dubious of his divinity and immaculate conception, he never makes an attempt to disprove any of his miracles, writing instead that "he accomplished nothing worth mention — that is, unless one should think that healing a cripple and a few blind men, or driving the demons from possessed men in wayside villages like Bethsaida and Bethany count as mighty works!"[59] I have already written about Julian's belief in the miracles of Asclepios and this belief concerning Jesus suggests that in the emperor's mind, the world was a place where such supernatural acts were not only possible but also not uncommon. This sentiment echoes Celsus, who equates Jesus' miracles to spells performed by Egyptian sorcerers and tricksters.[60]

Julian's Analysis of Abraham and the Impact of Iamblichan Theurgy on his Polemic

One of the most esoteric sections of *Against the Galileans* can be found beginning at fragment 356C, where Julian seemingly defends Abraham and the other Hebrew Patriarchs for their use of sacrifice and divination. Julian does so because he interprets several passages in Genesis,describing Abraham's worship of Yahweh as being similar to descriptions of traditional Hellenic and Roman sacrifices.

> For you have nothing in common with Abraham, who built altars to God and worshiped him with sac

> rifices on those altars with burnt offerings. Like the Greeks, Abraham was accustomed to offer sacrifice daily, and he shared with us Greeks the custom of telling the future from shooting stars. And for sig nificant things he learned to augur from the flight of birds, hiring a servant in his house who was ex pert in the reading of signs.[61]

Since Julian was trying to bring about a restoration of the traditional Greek and Roman cults, he would have seen Abraham's sacrifices and augury as a rational practice. Augury had long since been an integral part of Roman state religion, and many believed that the practice dated back to the mythical time of Romulus and Remus and the founding of the city. In essence, in his attack against Christianity, Julian is highlighting the fact that one of the major figures of the Old Testament practiced the same pre-Christian traditions of the Roman state. The emperor bases his interpretation of Abraham's sacrificial rites and divination through birdsign on chapter 15 of Genesis.

> Then he brought him outside and said to him, "Look up to the sky, and number the stars, if you will be able to count them." And he said, "So shall your off spring be." And Abram believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness … And he said to him, "Take for me a heifer three years old and a female goat three years old and a ram three years old and a turtledove and a dove." And he took for him all these and divided them in the middle and placed them facing one another, but he did not di vide the birds. And birds came down on the carcass es, their cut halves, and Abram sat together with them.[62]

Further evidence for Julian's sympathy for the Jewish religion

as well as his esoteric irrationalism can also be found earlier in *Against the Galileans* in fragment 351A wherein he attributes Greek theurgy and ancient Hebrew rites to the same source:

> With the gods as my witnesses I count myself among those who avoid the festivals of the Jews. But I venerate without hesitation the God of Abra ham, Isaac, and Jacob, for they were members of a sacred race, the Chaldeans, learned in the arts of divination, who became acquainted with the rite of circumcision during the time of their wandering among the Egyptians. And the Jews worship a God who has always been gracious towards me, as he was always gracious to Abraham and those who, like Abraham, worshiped him. He is a great and powerful God, to be sure, but he is no God of yours.[63]

Upon a first reading, this passage might seem out of place in *Against the Galileans*, since up to this fragment, Julian has repeatedly called passages in the Old Testament fables and claimed that the writings of the Hebrews are insubstantial compared to those of the Greek canon. However, the progenitor of theurgy was one Julianus, who lived sometime during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and composed the *Chaldean Oracles* in hexameter. Additionally, Neoplatonic and theurgic traditions claim that Julianus was the son of a Chaldean philosopher by the same name and that both the father and son were powerful magicians.[64] Therefore, after the Neoplatonists incorporated theurgy into their philosophy, they also claimed a heritage based on ancient Chaldean and Mesopotamian tradition, even if the *Chaldean Oracles* were only composed in the late second century CE. While Julian never explicitly links Abraham to theurgy, Jeffrey Siker, in his article "Abraham in Graeco-Roman Paganism," asserts that many Greek and Roman authors associated Abraham

with theurgy and astrology based on chapter 15 of Genesis.[65] In his explanation, Siker also highlights the connection Celsus makes between the Jewish people and Egypt and their magical heritage as well as Origen's refutation. Celsus writes that the Jews "tried in their holy books — shamefully I may add — to trace their genealogy back to the first offspring of sorcerers and deceivers, invoking the witness of vague and ambiguous utterances concealed in dark obscurity."[66] In his refutation of this passage, Origen equates the "sorcerers" Celsus mentions to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and defends them rigorously:

> In any event, it is clear that the Jews trace their genealogy back to the three fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Their names are so powerful when linked with the name of God that the formula 'the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' is used not only by members of the Jewish nation in their prayers to God and when they exorcise dae mons, but also by almost all those who deal in magic and spells.[67]

Here, Origen explicitly connects Abraham and the other Hebrew patriarchs to magic and illustrates that some Romans would even use Abraham's name in certain spells. Siker points out that in the magic formula Origen describes, Abraham's name is listed before Isaac and Jacob's, possibly indicating that Abraham's name was the most powerful when performing an invocation.[68] Accordingly, based on his interpretation of Genesis and his familiarity with earlier Greek and Roman writings, Julian might have in fact viewed Abraham and the other Jewish patriarchs as being descended from a Chaldean lineage and being practitioners of magic in their own right.

One of Julian's most influential mentors was the theurgist Maximus, who was himself a pupil of Aedesius, the direct successor of Iamblichus.[69] In his book *The Greeks and the*

Irrational, E.R. Dodds contends that Iamblichus' major work on theurgy, *On the Mysteries*, is a "manifesto of irrationalism" in which the author asserts that salvation "is found not in reason but in ritual."[70] This religious irrationalism pervaded throughout nearly all of Julian's writings and Ammianus, one of the emperor's admirers, even condemns him for his obsession with Maximus and his disregard of traditional religious practices in favor of his own rituals.[71]

Iamblichus' theurgy, however, was not an agreed upon practice by all the Greek philosophers of the 4th century. Eusebius of Myndus warned Julian to stay away from Maximus, referring to him as a "theatrical miracle-worker."[72] Even before Julian's time, Iamblichus faced opposition to his magical practices primarily from his contemporary Porphyry. While Porphyry certainly influenced the style of Julian's *Against the Galileans* in terms of argumentation, he was deeply critical of the practice of theurgy, as evidenced in his *Letter of Anebo* and *On the Return of the Soul*. Ultimately, Porphyry believed it was only useful to those who could not philosophize.[73] Iamblichus, on the other hand, wrote *On the Mysteries* as a response to Porphyry's attitudes toward the mystical art and claimed that theurgists could learn and know aspects of the universe which ordinary philosophers could not.[74] In fact, it was only under Julian's patronage that theurgy became briefly fashionable, with Julian appointing several prominent theurgists to positions in his new pagan priesthood and making Maximus "a theurgic consultant to the imperial court."[75]

Iamblichus suggests in *On the Mysteries* that Neoplatonists often divided magical practice into practical and theoretical modes of theurgy.[76] Although modern scholars debate how exactly Iamblichus envisioned these two modes of theurgy, Roland Smith described the two methods in his work, *Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate*:

> In the sensible world, theurgy provided a means to affect daimones in virtue of the 'sympathies' inher ent in material objects; but directed at a higher level, it could lead to a union of the soul with noetic entities, and it was for that above all that Iamblichus will have prized it.[77]

According to Ammianus, during Julian's campaign against Sassanid Persia, arguments often arose between the army's soothsayers, who would read omens through augury, and Julian's own theurgic friends over how to interpret various mystical signs.[78] Based on these disagreements, it seems that in Julian's view, his theurgic friends could commune with divine entities in a way which soothsayers could not. Given this, much of Julian's sympathy for Abraham and the other Hebrew patriarchs comes from their Chaldean lineage, and the emperor might have even believed that they had some knowledge of theurgy even though there is no direct evidence for this.

Given the fact that Julian placed such an emphasis on the importance of ancient tradition in religion, it is no wonder that one of his major criticisms of Christianity was the simple fact that, at the time of *Against the Galileans*, the religion was less than three centuries old. Further, Julian also dismisses the idea held by some that Christianity was a new sect of Judaism since in his view Christians practiced none of the traditional Jewish rites: "So you who perform the rites which God has always hated, as we know from Moses and the prophets, you nevertheless refuse to sacrifice animals at the altar."[79] The god which Julian is referring to in this passage is Jahwe, and he is criticizing the Christians for disregarding the Jewish sacrificial traditions. It is not exactly clear what Julian means when he writes "the rites which God has always hated," as Hoffman notes that Julian seems to ignore the Christian belief in Jesus' sacrificial death.[80] This idea ties into Julian's harsh critique of the Christian synthesis of Greek and Jewish culture found towards the

beginning of his polemic.

> These Galileans have accepted not a single admira ble or important belief from those that we Greeks hold; nor any from those imparted by Moses to the Hebrews. They have instead taken on the mold that has grown up around these nations like powers of evil — denial of the gods from Jewish recklessness; and from us laziness and superstition as a conse quence of our way of life. This, they say, should be considered the most excellent way of revering the gods.[81]

It is clear that Julian believed that one could gain wisdom from both Greek and Hebrew wisdom, though he held Hellenic religion in much higher regard. Throughout the rest of *Against the Galileans*, Julian shows a particular ire against the Christian appropriation of Greek literature, and the belief he articulates in his polemic seems to have played a major role in the passing of his school edict.

"A Gold Coin Representing Emperor Julian." Minted c. 361.[82]

Julian's School Edict and Answer to Christian Martyrdom

There is ample evidence throughout *Against the Galileans* that Julian not only opposed Christianity on philosophical grounds, but also saw it as a moral threat to the fabric of Ro-

man society. As such, Julian enacted many novel edicts during his brief rule in an attempt to stop the growth of Christianity and effect a pagan revival. Much like Celsus, Julian saw Christianity as being morally dubious and called into question the types of people the religion attracted, primarily citing First Corinthians as evidence.[83] Celsus, as I have already discussed, had less knowledge of the New Testament, and his discussion of Christian morality is primarily based on observations in a time before the young religion had taken root in the upper echelons of Roman society when Christianity appealed mainly to people who were considered lower-class. In sharp contrast, Julian reigned over a Christianized Roman Empire where Christians were not only well-educated, but also occupied many positions of power. This made it necessary for Julian not only to be well versed in Christian literature for his pagan reforms to succeed, but also ruled out many of the traditional methods of religious persecution that had been practiced before the reign of Constantine.

In his treatment of Christianity, Julian introduced three important changes to the Roman government. The emperor enacted the first of such reforms shortly after his arrival at Constantinople in December of 361, which guaranteed religious toleration across the empire for both Christian and pagan cults and granted amnesty for all Christians exiled during Constantius' Arian influenced regime.[84] While this policy of amnesty towards Christians might seem strange at first given that one of Julian's main goals was to restore the traditional Roman religion, Ammianus states explicitly in his *History* that Julian's purpose in this edict was to create dissension amongst the Christian priesthood.[85] Evidence for this line of thinking in the edict can be found in fragment 205E of *Against the Galileans*, where Julian criticizes the multitude of sects within Christianity and the history of violence between them.[86]

Greek and Roman pagan cults historically had always been disparate and never followed a strict unity or hierarchy

like Christianity. And yet, Julian, in another display of his great imagination, attempted with his second edict to create a hierarchical pagan priesthood that would play an integral role in the administration of his empire. Around February 363, he addressed an imperial letter to the pagan priest Theodorus, granting him "the office of governor of the temples of the East."[87] Julian's intention was for Theodorus and other governor priests to oversee the appointment of lesser priests, the restoration of temples, and the organization of festivals and sacrifices in their jurisdiction.[88] While Julian had hoped that this fundamental change to the pagan priesthood would lead to a widespread resurgence of belief and adherence to Rome's traditional religion across the empire's cities, it was met with more resistance than the emperor had thought it would.[89] While this ultimately failed, Julian's attempt at creating a hierarchy of pagan priests in some ways parallels his organization of a henotheistic pagan religion centered around Zeus-Helios that also failed to take root. In both instances, Julian was modeling his systems at least somewhat on pre-existing Christian models, likely with the hope that he could replicate for his own pagan religion the success Christianity had in its spread and acceptance across the empire.

By far, Julian's third and most impactful edict was his infamous school law, issued early in the summer of 362. The law forbade Christian teachers from teaching Greek rhetoric, literature, and philosophy.[90] Even Ammianus, who was one of Julian's greatest admirers, described this law as "inhumane" and wrote that it "ought to be buried in eternal silence."[91] Julian's political intentions with this edict are quite clear. First, by excluding Christians from teaching classical literature, Julian was attacking the non-pagan "gatekeepers of the later Roman social and economic system."[92] Another key part of this edict was the emperor's clarification that students of Christian parents could still attend the lectures of pagan teachers: "For it is not reasonable to shut out boys who are still too ignorant to know which way to turn….It is proper to cure them, even against their

will, as one cures the insane."[93] Thus, by upsetting the empire's social order through the exclusion of Christian teachers from their profession while still allowing Christian youths to attend schools and lectures, Julian hoped to foster a new generation of pagan intellectuals and slowly erode Christianity's presence in the upper levels of the Roman economy and society. The Belgian historian Joseph Bidez wrote that this edict marked a shift away from a policy of universal religious toleration and moved the empire towards a pagan theocracy and a "bloodless persecution" of Christians.[94] Watts seems to be in agreement with Bidez, writing that "the emperor was not proscribing a set of beliefs, but he was very clearly establishing a legally preferred category to which only those who believed in the pagan gods could belong."[95] The other innovation of this law lies in the simple fact that by not physically persecuting Christians in the same manner as Diocletian and other emperors had, Julian was able to avoid Christian martyrdom which only seemed to strengthen the religion in the face of earlier persecutions.

When he began writing *Against the Galileans* in the winter after enacting his school edict, Julian elaborated further on his reasons for preventing Christians from teaching Hellenic literature.

> And if you can be happy with reading your own books, why nibble at the learning of the Greeks? … For in studying yours no man would ever achieve ordinary goodness, let alone virtue, whereas from ours a man might become better than before, even if he had been born with no natural aptitude for excellence. A man who has such aptitude and has added to it the benefit of our writing—that man is a gift of the gods to mankind: such a man can light the fire of knowledge, can write a constitution, rout his country's foes in battle, travel bravely to ends of the earth and back again, like the heroes of old.[96]

This passage alone shows that Julian did not have just political motives when he enacted his school law. He saw the Bible and other Christian literature as completely inferior to the classical Greek literature he treasured so highly. The emperor also felt that the two were incompatible with one another.

Against the Galileans as a Work of Neoplatonic Literature

While never intended to be a work of Neoplatonic philosophy, *Against the Galileans* still reveals much about Julian's understanding and interpretation of this branch of philosophy in the arguments he made against the Christian doctrine. An analysis of the work shows that Julian was eclectic in his philosophical heritage. The rhetorical strategy he employs in his polemic is reminiscent of Porphyry's *Against the Christians*, while his understanding of Greek religion and theurgy is based heavily on the works of Iamblichus. Even though both of these authors are considered Neoplatonists by modern scholars, Porphyry and Iamblichus were very much opposed to one another in matters of religion. Celsus' influence is also very apparent in *Against the Galileans* as the spirit of Julian's attacks is reminiscent of those found in *On the True Doctrine*. Julian's broad range of influences is not only indicative of his deep knowledge of Greek philosophical literature, but also suggests that Julian was a Hellenic apologist; one of his main grievances against Christianity was the religion's appropriation of Hellenic culture.[97]

Despite his broad knowledge of earlier Neoplatonic thinkers, any influence from Plotinus, the founder of Neoplatonism, is noticeably lacking in *Against the Galileans*. While Hoffman comments on Plotinus' influence, Smith argues that there is little evidence which suggests that Julian was familiar with Plotinus' *Enneads*.[98] A possible explanation could be that Julian's references were too general and broad Neoplatonic concepts that he likely learned from the writings of Porphyry or Maximus. Moreover, since *Against the Galileans* only survives in Cyril's

quotations, references to Plotinus and his *Enneads* might have existed in now lost fragments. Whether or not Julian had any knowledge of Plotinus does not change the fact that in addition to being an anti-Christian polemic, *Against the Galileans* is fundamentally a Neoplatonic text which highlights the emperor's predilection for the more mystical and irrational elements of Neoplatonism.

Ultimately, *Against the Galileans* was not merely Julian's critique of Christianity. While its main purpose was certainly to deconstruct the Abrahamic religion's theology, it also demonstrates the emperor's wide breadth of knowledge. Julian was not only learned in the Classical Greek of Homer and Plato, he also had quite the command of Biblical scripture and even some knowledge of early gnostic traditions. Tying these disparate groups of thought together was his philosophical convictions in Neoplatonism. Thus, *Against the Galileans* also provides modern scholars with invaluable insight into Julian's own theological convictions and his attempts to reorganize Rome's traditional pagan cults.

Notes

[1] Edward Armitage. "Julian the Apostate Presiding at a Conference of Sectarians." (National Museums Liverpool, Wikimedia Commons, 1875).
[2] Julian. *Against the Galileans*, trans. R. Joseph Hoffman (Amherst: Prometheus Press, 2004), 91.
[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, *History, Volume II: Books 20-26*, trans. J. C. Rolfe. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), 109. XXI.5.1.
[4] Ammianus, *History, Volume II: Books 20-26*, 171. XXI.15.2-3.
[5] Rowland Smith, *Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 190.
[6] Christoph Riedweg, "Anti-Christian Polemics and Pagan Onto-Theology: Julian's *Against the Galileans*," in *A Companion to Julian the Apostate* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 246.
[7] See *Against the Galileans*, fragment 200A.
[8] R. Joseph Hoffman, introduction to Celsus' *On The True Doctrine*, trans. R. Joseph Hoffman (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 29.
9 Ibid.
[10] Jeffrey W. Hargis, *Against the Christians: The Rise of Early Anti-Christian Polemics* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 41.
[11] Hoffman, introduction to Celsus' *On The True Doctrine*, 29-30.
[12] Celsus, *On The True Doctrine*, trans. R. Joseph Hoffman (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 103-104.
[13] David Neal Greenwood, "Julian's Use of Asclepius: *Against the Christians," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 109 (2017): 492.
[14] Celsus, *On The True Doctrine*, 57.
[15] Ibid, 73.
[16] Hargis, *Against the Christians: The Rise of Early Anti-Christian Polemics*, 64.
[17] Robert M. Berchman, Porphyry Against the Christians (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 2.
[18] Berchman, *Porphyry Against the Christians*, 118-119.
[19] Ibid, 4. It should also be noted that Porphry's polemics were not a unitary work and did not gain the title of *Against the Christians* until around 1000 CE (see Berchman, 5).
[20] Ibid, 4.

[21] Hargis, *Against the Christians: The Rise of Early Anti-Christian Polemics*, 70-72.
[22] Berchman, *Porphyry Against the Christians*, 3.
[23] Hargis, *Against the Christians: The Rise of Early Anti-Christian Polemics*, 67-68.
[24] Clyde Pharr, "Constantine and the Christians," *The Classical Outlook*, Vol. 16 (1922), 57-58. "Sol Deus Invictus" translates to "Unconquered Sun God."
[25] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 24-25.
[26] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 94-95. The translation of *Against the Galileans* I draw all of my quotations from was made by R. Joseph Hoffman in 2004. For publication information, see footnote 2 in this paper.
[27] Ibid, 95. See Hoffman's footnote 284 for Julian's reference to the Testimony of Truth.
[28] Libanius, "Funeral Oration Over Julian," in *Selected Orations, Volume I: Julianic Orations*, trans. A. F. Norman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 397; Cyril, *Address of the Blessed Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, to the very pious emperor Theodosius, devoted to Christ*, trans. Roger Pearse, accessed August 23, 2021, https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/cyril_against_julian_00_address.html.
[29] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 191.
[30] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 97.
[31] Pauliina Remes, *Neoplatonism* (London; New York: Routledge, 2014), 77-78.
[32] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 99.
[33] Plato, *Timaeus*, trans. Donald J. Zeal, in *Complete Works*, ed. John M. Cooper (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1997), 1244.
[34] Ibid, 1244-1245.
[35] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 101-102.
[36] Riedweg, "Anti-Christian Polemics and Pagan Onto-Theology: Julian's *Against the Galileans*," 253.
[37] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 100-101.
[38] Ibid, 102.
[39] Ibid, 110.
[40] *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wight (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 65.
[41] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 115.

[42] Mabel Lang, *Cure and Cult in Ancient Corinth: A Guide to the Asklepion* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1977), 6.
[43] Greenwood, "Julian's Use of Asclepius: Against the Christians," 499.
[44] Celsus, *On the True Doctrine*, 69.
[45] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 115.
[46] Celsus, *On the True Doctrine*, 68-69.
[47] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 122.
[48] Ibid. See Hoffman's footnote 379.
[49] Julian, *Letters. Epigrams. Against the Galileans. Fragments*, trans. Wilmer C. Wright (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1923), 51.
[50] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 135. See Hoffman's footnote 440.
[51] Libanius, "Funeral Oration Over Julian," 469.
[52] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 126.
[53] Ibid, 128. See Hoffman's footnote 408.
[54] Ibid, 133.
[55] Ibid, 134.
[56] Ibid, 134-135.
[57] Riedweg, "Anti-Christian Polemics and Pagan Onto-Theology," 258.
[58] Ibid, 259.
[59] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 116-117.
[60] Celsus, *On the True Doctrine*, 59-60.
[61] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 140.
[62] *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title*, 14.
[63] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 139.
[64] Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 283-285.
[65] Jeffrey S. Siker, "Abraham in Graeco-Roman Paganism," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* Vol. 18, no. 2 (1987): 193.
[66] Celsus, *On the True Doctrine*, 79.
[67] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 209. Book IV, Chapter 33.
[68] Siker, "Abraham in Graeco-Roman Paganism," 202-203.
[69] Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists [and] Eunapius, Lives of the Philosophers*, trans. Wilmer C. Wright (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921),

427.
[70] Dodds, E.R. *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1951), 287.
[71] Ammianus Marcellinus, *The History*, trans. J.C. Rolfe (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1950), 209.
[72] Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 435.
[73] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 105.
[74] Ibid, 106.
[75] Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 288.
[76] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 106.
[77] Ibid, 107.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 137.
[80] Ibid. See Hoffman's footnote 445.
[81] Ibid, 92. For Julian's reference to Greek "laziness and superstition," see Hoffman's footnote 271.
[82] "A Gold Coin Representing Emperor Julian." (Wikimedia Commons, 361).
[83] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 123.
[84] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 208.
[85] Ammianus Marcellinus, *The History*, 203. Book XXII, Chapter 5; Smith, Julian's Gods, 212.
[86] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 117.
[87] Julian, "To Theodorus, on his Appointment as High Priest and Guardian of the Temples," trans. Joseph R. Hoffman, in Julian's *Against the Galileans* (Amherst: Prometheus Press, 2004), 153.
[88] Edward Jay Watts, *The Final Pagan Generation* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 112.
[89] Ibid, 112-113.
[90] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 212.
[91] Ammianus, *The History*, 257. Book XXII, Chapter 10.
[92] Watts, *The Final Pagan Generation*, 114.
[93] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 199. Smith used Bidez's translation of the emperor's correspondence when quoting Julian. Bidez, *Epistulae 36* (Paris, 1922).
[94] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 212.
[95] Watts, *The Final Pagan Generation*, 114.

[96] Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 121.
[97] Hargis, *Against the Christians*, 93.
[98] Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 40. The *Enneads* is generally considered a foundational text in the Neoplatonic school of thought. Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 93-94. See Hoffman's footnotes 275-278.

Zhang Taiyan's Reponse to Evolutionary History and His Revolutionary Discourse

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Introduction

During the Late Qing (late 19th to early 20th century), many intellectuals started to lean towards a linear temporality as opposed to the traditional temporality. While the traditional temporality suggests a cyclical history characterized by a renewal of the cosmos and life at the end of every cycle, the linear temporality suggests that history linearly developed into higher stages. This linear temporality was closely associated with the notion of progress (*jinbu*) and evolution (*jinhua*), which justified solutions to political crises through reform and revolution. While many intellectuals interacted with the ideas of linear temporality, Zhang Taiyan (also known as Binglin), a renowned intellectual and later revolutionary against the Qing Empire, engaged with this linear temporality more critically. His ideas provide further insight into the development of his anti-Manchu and nationalist revolutionary discourse, thus illuminating the conflicting opinions that dominated Chinese social and political life in the Late Qing period.

Building on previous studies on these issues, this essay aims to contribute to existing scholarship by providing a broader account of how the circulation of ideas on a global scale shaped Zhang's thought on evolutionary history. Furthermore, this essay will explore the interaction between Zhang's view on evolutionary history and his revolutionary discourse. We will firstly situate Zhang's initial engagement with evolutionary history by surveying the rise of linear temporality in Late Qing China. During this period, Zhang encountered the idea of evolutionary history through both the Chinese and Japanese translations of Western books. Regarding this

idea as scientific truth, Zhang then exploited it to justify racialist distinctions and later, an anti-Manchu nationalist revolution. Even though he had strong convictions, it is also important to highlight that Zhang's thought experienced major transformations throughout his life. The first instance in which this occurred was during his imprisonment in Shanghai and later, during his exile in Japan. His time in Japan was particularly notable, as his interactions with the Japanese intellectual milieu led him to engage with evolutionary history more critically and adopt a more mature view on nationalism. Therefore, this essay will describe how Zhang's interaction with the Japanese intellectual milieu around the turn of the 20th century led to his ultimate political vision for China and other Asian polities in his ideology of non-statist nationalism. Prior to delving into my analysis, it is necessary to clarify the term "nationalism." Although Zhang explicitly used the Chinese translation of nationalism (*minzu zhuyi*) to articulate his political agenda, his version of nationalism, which we will see in his revolutionary discourse, was distinct from a typical Western understanding. A further investigation into the origin of Chinese nationalism as a concept is worth another comprehensive study, but for the purpose of this essay, we will use 'nationalism' in reference to Zhang's ideas.

Zhang Taiyan[59]

Literature Review

Traditional historiography focuses on textual analysis of Zhang's works and research into his personal life. For example, Wan Fan-sen's *The Thought of Zhang Taiyan* gives a comprehensive account of Zhang's thought based on detailed reading into Zhang's works.[1] This approach lays the foundation for future studies, but there is still a gap in the historiography when it comes to understanding how the global circulation of ideas shaped Zhang's thought. Some attempts have been made to study Zhang's ideas in connection with the reception of Western and Japanese ideas. Kobayashi Takeshi discusses the Japanese intellectual environment's influence on Zhang's thought during his exile in Japan.[2] Another scholar, Peng Chunlin, studies Zhang's relationship with Japanese intellectuals.[3] Peng also researches Zhang's reception of

Herbert Spencer's ideas.[4] Despite these efforts, no overarching attempts have been made to connect different sources of influence on Zhang's thought.

Alongside the examination of Zhang's writings and ideas, other historians have been involved in the debate over Zhang's opinion on modernity Wong Young-tsu argues that Zhang partially accepted the idea of modernity and was trying to construct modern nationalism for contemporary China.[5] In contrast, Viren Murthy, with references to Marxist critique and contemporary Japanese philosophers, presents Zhang as a figure who opposed capitalist modernity.[6] Wang Yuhua, slightly different from Murthy, suggests that Zhang's thought supported an alternative modernity particular to China.[7] Nevertheless, these discussions of Zhang's thought alongside the concept of modernity are problematic. Although it was true that some aspects of Zhang's thought could be situated in the debate of modernity, Zhang's thought experienced profound changes over time and Zhang himself did not speak in the precise language of 'modernity'. Therefore, the intellectual framework of modernity is not effective enough to demonstrate the historical and chronological dimension where Zhang's thought was negotiating with political reality and new intellectual resources. The framework risks oversimplifications of Zhang's thought and cannot capture its full picture, which is manifest in the case of Zhang's response towards evolutionary history. Therefore, this essay aims to emphasise more on the process of Zhang's changing attitude towards evolutionary history and its implication for his revolutionary discourse.

'Evolutionary History' in Late Imperial China

In Ancient China, human activities and history were thought to be connected to the cyclical activities of the cosmos, but this cyclical notion of history was challenged by linear temporality in the late 19th century.[8] At this time, the Qing

Empire was suffering from continuous crises, which included internal rebellions like the Taiping Rebellion as well as Western intrusions, which had been occurring since the First Opium War (1839-1842). Intellectuals who were overwhelmed by the technological superiority of the West struggled for years to save the Empire without much success. By the dawn of the 20th century, a cyclical renewal that brought about redemption in the contemporary predicament seemed unlikely to take place, leading to doubts about this traditional temporality. With the intellectuals' reading of Western books in which the notion of progress was dominant, they started to lean towards the idea that history develops linearly into higher stages.[9] Attempts started to be made to periodise Chinese history linearly, with intellectuals like Xue Fucheng, Wang Tao, and Zheng Guanying leading the effort. For instance, in his *Shenshi weiyan* (Warnings to a Prosperous Age), Zheng Guanying depicted Chinese history in four stages: the 'high-ancient' age when the sage-rulers established culture and government, the feudal period of Three Dynasties, the Qin system of imperial rule, and the fourth period when China was forced to establish 'trade relations' with the West.[10] While this is only one example of the attempt by Chinese scholars to outline Chinese history in a linear way, it reveals the shift away from traditional temporality that many intellectuals adopted.

These attempts to understand history linearly fit well with Yan Fu's influential translation of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics (Tianyan lun),* which promoted evolutionary history. Huxley was actually against the notion of social evolution associated with Herbert Spencer. Criticising the worship of unlimited progress, Huxley argued that the logic of evolution was necessarily at odds with human ethical values, so to preserve these values and curb vices, social progress had to take place alongside natural evolution. Yan Fu, on the other hand, sided with Spencer against Huxley, but he chose to translate Huxley's work because it nicely illustrated the Spencerian evolutionary theory.[11] What Spencer originally

meant was debatable, but for Yan, the doctrines of Social Darwinism meant 'the struggle for existence' and 'the survival of the fittest' in the evolutionary process. He translated this as 'things struggle' and 'superior victorious, inferior defeated.'[12] Yan argued that humans should act according to this universal principle of evolution, meaning that their struggle for existence would lead to progress. However, Yan did not mean a struggle between individuals; he was referring to a struggle between races. Because he conceived the various peoples under the Qing Empire as one Chinese race, he was against an anti-Manchu revolution that would undermine the unity of the Chinese race.[13] In his eyes, this united Chinese race ought to strengthen itself to survive the international competition.

The prominent reformist Kang Youwei had developed a historical theory of three stages that eventually led to the utopia of Great Unity, but Yan's translation provided 'scientific' evidence for Kang. Kang regarded the theory of three stages as a universal law of history with the Great Unity destined to come. However, during the process of these stages, he acknowledged that a struggle might be necessary to overcome obstacles to progress. For contemporary China, this struggle was analogous to reforms that would establish a constitutional monarchy that promoted Kang's version of Confucianism.[14] Kang's student Liang Qichao, influenced by both Kang Youwei and Yan Fu's Social Darwinism, shared the notion of progress intertwined with evolution, and he too invoked this notion to justify the political agenda of social revolutions that promoted civic virtues.[15]

Zhang Taiyan for Evolutionary History

It was in this context that Zhang started to engage with evolutionary history. In 1896, Zhang left *Gujing Jingshe* (Gujing Academy) and became involved in politics. Believing in the Confucian doctrine of taking political responsibilities

as a literatus (*shi*), China's recent defeat in the Sino-Japanese War triggered him to leave the purely academic life behind. He initially joined the Kang-Liang reform movement, but the academic difference between Zhang's Old Text Confucianism and Kang's New Text Confucianism eventually prompted Zhang to leave the reformists.

During this period, in 1898, he translated the writings of Herbert Spencer with Zeng Guangquan. These translations, however, reinterpreted and modified Spencercian theory. Zhang himself did not know English but Zeng did, so Zeng translated the English text verbally and Zhang wrote it down while polishing the translation. This polish resulted in important changes to the original texts. Differentiating between the knowable domain of science and the unknowable domain of religion, Spencer originally had suggested that the scientific reason for progress should not be 'noumenally considered' because this noumenon lay in the unknowable. Zhang's translations suggested the complete opposite, stressing that humans could understand progress noumenally, exaggerating the role of humans' abilities in the road towards progress.[16] Additionally, Spencer's originally optimistic vision of evolution was received by Zhang with a sense of crisis that reflected the tumultuous political scene in China. Spencer described a situation where 'newly-raised tracts' led to the encounter between species, which included a process of natural selection that was impartial and value neutral. In contrast, Zhang's translations emphasized the cruelty of natural selection and competition between species, and he attributed this to the limited land resources.[17] This understanding of evolutionary history echoed Yan's vision of evolution in *Tianyan lun*.

Indeed, Zhang had a connection with Yan Fu during this period, and the two intellectuals greatly respected each other; this is evidenced through their correspondence around 1900. By then, Zhang had regarded evolutionary history as scientific truth and exploited evolutionary theory to analyze

human history. In *Zuzhi* (On Lineage) in *Qiushu*, he argued that "the superior will necessarily win" while "the inferior will necessarily fail."[18] Following Yan Fu's thought, Zhang argued that humans could become better at this competition through nurture. The importance that Zhang placed on nuture is best exemplified through the following quote: "If a person is not educated, even though with great talent naturally, how could this person have great achievements?"[19] Mirroring Yan Fu's argument, Zhang also explained that humans competed with each other during the evolutionary process by using equipment and tools (*qi*), and he clarified that this competition was between *qun* (groups).[20] Thus, during this time, Zhang's evolutionary history also reflected the competitions between different races that led to evolution to a higher stage of development.

This vision was strengthened by the Western ideas that Zhang encountered in Japanese books. After the Qing defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, intellectuals like Kang and Liang started to advocate for learning from the Japanese experience of reforms and encouraged Chinese to read Japanese books. Sharing the same writing tradition of Han Characters, Japanese was relatively easy for the Chinese to learn.[21] Zhang also took part in this trend of reading Japanese books, which then helped shape his ideas on evolutionary theory. His engagement with Japanese thought and Western thought through Japanese translations was manifested in references to Japanese books in the revised edition of Qiushu published in 1904, which included Shirakawa Jiro's *A History of Chinese Civilisation* and Anesaki Masaharu's *An Introduction to Religious Studies*.[22]

In this period of the early 1900s, Zhang exploited evolutionary history to justify the distinction between the Manchus and the Han, and elevating the superiority of the Han. Zhang relied on a variety of sources to supplement his argument, and among these was Terrien de Lacouperie's theory of the Western origin of the Chinese. Lacouperie's

theory provided Zhang with a theoretical arsenal to group the "Han Chinese" with the "White people," and Zhang argued that this association made the Han superior to the Manchu. Lacouperie's *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilisation* was included in Shirakawa Jiro's *A History of Chinese Civilisation*, and illustrated that the Han Chinese shared the same origin with the Ancient Babylonians– the same origin of Western Civilisation.[23] Based on this theory, Zhang wrote a history of the Han race from an evolutionary perspective to demonstrate that both the European Whites and the Han were superior to other ethnicities (especially the Manchus). For this, he wrote several articles in Qiushu, and exploited this historical investigation to advocate for historical nationalism. His promotion of historical nationalism consisted of tying the identity of Han to lineages, which were traceable through well-recorded surnames. For Zhang, the clear distinction of lineages meant that other ethnicities could not be converted to the Han even if they had been culturally assimilated.[24]

Traditional Han Chinese clothes, called Hanfu, designed by Zhang, next to Zhang's calligraphy advocating for the Republic of China.[60]

Han nationalism led Zhang to advocate for a Han-nationalist revolution (geming), and it was in this revolutionary discourse where Zhang deviated from the linear temporality of evolutionary history. On the one hand, Zhang allied with the revolutionary Zou Rong and wrote the preface for Zou's *Gemingjun* (The Revolutionary Army), arguing that "if we go against the trend of evolutionary competition for survival… [our race] will be extinct."[25] In this sense, he supported the notion of evolutionary progress, but we might well speculate that this was due to pragmatic consideration to support a revolutionary ally. This suggestion of political pragmatism is supported by the fact that Zhang put great emphasis on restoration (*guangfu*) in other writings. He himself proclaimed that, "if I follow nowadays popular rhetoric, I talk about revolution; if I follow my own heart, I will rather talk about restoration."[26] He also defined the difference between revolution and restoration: "When a government is replaced by people of the same lineage, this is called revolution. When one expels an alien lineage, this is called restoration."[27] Zhang advocated for restoration more forcefully because he argued that the crises of contemporary China were not caused by the problems in the institutional arrangement of the political system, but instead they were caused by the rule of an alien race, the Manchus. In his mind, the Manchus' alien nature corrupted the ethical values of the nation and led to crisis.[28] Therefore, this analysis reveals that while Zhang was willing to adhere to the mainstream argument for revolution, he mainly advocated for restoration to expel the Manchus without suggesting an evolution or progress of the society and politics that a revolution was believed to bring. This tension within Zhang's early thought reveals that Zhang, not prepared to support all the implications of evolutionary history, probably supported it due to political pragmatism. During this period, he still needed more time to digest various intellectual resources which would allow him to form a coherent philosophy.

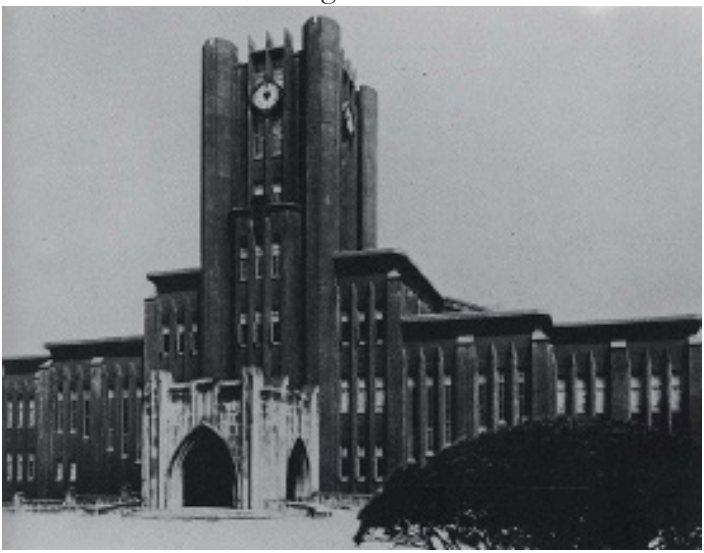
Zhang Taiyan against Evolutionary History

Zhang's formal turn against the notion of evolutionary history took place around 1903-6, when he was imprisoned in Shanghai. Exiled in Japan after his release, the Japanese ideas he encountered provided intellectual resources for Zhang's eventual critique of evolutionary history. Thus, we will firstly survey the Japanese intellectual and political context with which Zhang engaged during his exile.

Japan's enthusiasm for Western civilisation in the early years of Meiji Restoration rapidly faded in the 1890s due to disorientation of cultural identity, leading to movements to promote national values.[29] For instance, a cultural conservative group, *Seikyōsha* (Society of Politics and Religion), including intellectuals like Miyake Setsurei and Kuga Katsunan, was formed around the magazine *Nihonjin* (The Japanese). The magazine advocated for Japanese *Kokusui* (National Essence).[30] This was a stance Zhang shared with his own promotion of Chinese national essence (*guocui*).[31] He had direct interactions with the Society, as he was interviewed by *Nihonjin* and the script was published in *Nihonjin*.[32]

In addition to the *Seikyōsha* and their promotion of national essence, there was another intellectual trend that subscribed to *Weltschmerz* in contemporary German philosophy. These ideas dominated during late Meiji Japan, with the ideas of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Karl Robert Eduard von Hartmann becoming well-known in intellectual circles. However, we should not see the statist ideology and the prevalence of German *Weltschmerz* as mutually exclusive ideas. For instance, Miyake Setsurei, a key member of *Seikyōsha*, engaged deeply with the philosophy of Kant and Schopenhauer in his writings.[33] Additionally, a professor of Tokyo Imperial University, Inoue Tetsujirō, who was the first to introduce Schopenhauer into Japan, openly supported the Imperial Rescript of Education which emphasized Japanese traditional values to endorse statism and nationalism.[34] Inoue himself

studied overseas in Germany and had connections with the local intellectual circle. In fact, he had visited Hartmann, and his tutor was Paul Deussen, a friend of Nietzsche.[35] After Inoue returned to Japan, he played a major role in promoting German philosophy.[36] There was evidence that Zhang knew Inoue personally and that Zhang greatly respected Inoue's academic achievements.[37] Inoue's student, Anesaki Masaharu also studied German philosophy and later studied overseas with Paul Deussen as his tutor. While Anesaki specialised in religious studies and Buddhism, he tried to integrate Buddhist religion with German *Weltschmerz*, relying greatly on the works of Schopenhauer. This attempt was not exceptional in contemporary Japan, as other intellectuals like Anesaki's tutor Inoue contributed to this integration as well.[38]



Tokyo Imperial University, 1925[61]

Deeply engaged with Anesaki's thought, Zhang was influenced by this integration of Buddhism and German Weltschmerz. Zhang started to read Buddhism on a much more intensive level during his imprisonment in Shanghai,

which Murthy argued was crucial in the transformation of Zhang's thought.[39] He continued to read Japanese works on Buddhist philosophy in Japan after his release in 1906. According to Zhang's own description, he read Buddhist classics like *Lankāvatāra Sūtra, Yoga sutra, Mahāyāna ghana vyūha sūtra* alongside Kant and Schopenhauer. *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and *Yoga sutra* were both classics about Yogācāra Buddhism that later formed the core of Zhang's philosophy.[40] Along with these Buddhist classics, Zhang read widely in Japanese studies of German philosophy, evidenced by his request for a reading list from his revolutionary ally Song Jiaoren immediately after he had arrived in Japan.[41]

Based on these multiple sources of thought mentioned above, Zhang formed his own criticism against the evolutionary history which he had once believed. In *Jufen jinhua lun* (On Separating the Universality and Particularity of Evolution), Zhang cited Schopenhauer's theory of will to reject the Hegelian view of progressive history: "When Hegel advocated for a theory of progress, Schopenhauer disagreed by arguing that the world was formed by the blind movement of the will to which knowledge became a slave."[42] Zhang then linked the Schopenhauerian concept of will with the Buddhist concept ālaya. He also cited Anesaki's definition to denote these two concepts as the rudiment in Anesaki's *History of Indian Religions of the Last Generation*. Thus, through Anesaki's interpretations, both the Schopenhauerian explanation and the Buddhist explanation of forming of the world was adapted into a philosophy of history that opposed evolutionary temporality.[43] Firstly, Zhang argued that evolutionary history moved in two directions: moral and immoral. Adopting Buddhist doctrines, he argued that the karmic seeds resting in the ālaya consciousness contained both virtue and immorality. Due to the karma of past actions, these seeds initiated the evolution into *manas* consciousness as well as the feeling of time and history. Another key assertion by Zhang was that morality also

emerged due to the mixture of virtue and immorality in the seeds. Furthermore, Zhang emphasized that the *manas* self-consciousness would lead to the rise of the self's will to win, which accounted for the dark side of evolution. In this sense, the history that humanity produced developed in the direction of virtue and also the direction of immorality. Zhang writes: "The seeds cannot only contain virtue without immorality, so the phenomena in the world cannot only contain virtue without immorality. While species developed to be more virtuous, their ability to do evil things was enhanced as well." With the development of human intellect and technology, fighting due to the will to win could cause much more damage than ever before.[44]

Furthermore, Zhang argued that "the evolution [of consciousness] was only delusionary in our minds, rather than happening in reality," as it was produced by the original seeds in our ālaya consciousness.[45] The argument of illusion led to two layers of implications. Firstly, articulated in his *Wuwu lun* (On the Five Negations), Zhang suggested that a utopian solution to the illusory evolution of consciousness was a nirvana of everything, negating government, human settlements, people, species, and the whole world.[46] As a result, the Schopenhauerian will and consciousness would be negated which would fundamentally prevent the rise of pains and evils in the evolutionary process.[47] However, this utopian vision required the negations of everything to happen simultaneously, since as long as there were still sentient beings in the world, the process of the rise of consciousness would repeat itself. In practice, this meant that this utopian vision did not constitute a pragmatic solution for China's political predicament. Secondly, this critique contributed to Zhang's advocacy for particularity against universal laws, more thoroughly discussed in his *Qiwu lunshi* (An Interpretation of 'On the Equalization of Things'). Since the law of evolution was generated by human consciousness rather than a concrete universal law,

it was unnecessary to require everyone and every nation to behave accordingly.[48] For Zhang, universal laws were a form of oppression against individuals who should be allowed to pursue their own particular principles.[49]

Zhang's critique of evolutionary history as a universal law targeted both contemporary constitutionalists and anarchists who invoked evolution to justify their political agendas which paved the way for progress to a higher stage. Zhang also enriched the meaning of his anti-Manchu nationalism in these philosophical discussions. He argued for a decentralized and non-statist nationalism that was compatible with a cosmopolitan worldview which was also against imperialism. In *Qiwu lunshi*, Zhang argued that imperialists divided peoples into "civilized" and the "barbarians" and regarded the peoples of Late Qing China and most other Asian peoples as barbarian in order to oppress them for their own imperial interests.[50] In light of this, it is not surprising to see Zhang's involvement in an anti-imperialist movement in the late 1900s. He was one of the central figures in the *Yazhou Heqin Hui* (Asian Solidarity Society) in Tokyo which included Chinese, Indian, and Vietnamese nationalists who spoke out against Euro-Japanese imperialism.[51] These individuals were also well-connected with prominent Japanese socialists like Sakai Toshihiko.[52] The goal of the society was to establish an alliance between Asian peoples to provide mutual assistance in the struggle against imperialism.[53] As Rebecca Karl has argued, the society was formed around the idea of Asia which was generated from the shared experience of Euro-Japanese imperialist dominance in Asia.[54] Thus, this sort of nationalist alliance dialectically embodied a cosmopolitan vision of world order.[55] In addition, for Zhang, the Qing Empire was part of the problem of imperialism because the Qing Empire suppressed the inherent heterogeneous cultural identities within its territories.[56] Therefore, Zhang transcended his simplistic form of anti-Manchu nationalism to a cosmopolitan and

decentralized vision of nationalism by his critique of universal laws including the theory of evolutionary progress.

Conclusion

The intellectual milieu of Late Qing China received the concept of evolutionary history through Japanese and Chinese translations of Western ideas, and Zhang engaged with these ideas more critically through a variety of influential sources. Throughout the course of this essay, the importance of the global circulation of ideas in shaping Zhang Taiyan's response to evolutionary history becomes clear, as well as the way in which he justified his revolutionary discourses. Zhang's reception of evolutionary history was not a diametric shift from ardent support to complete resistance. Instead, his ideas underwent a series of negotiations with various intellectual traditions to form a mature response to evolutionary history. The resulting theory was then used to justify the political agenda of a nationalist revolution.

Zhang initially followed the dominant narrative of evolutionary history received from both the West and Japan to justify straightforward anti-Manchu nationalism and revolution. He invoked evolutionary history to distinguish the Han from the Manchus and emphasized the Han's superiority over the Manchus. Yet, possible tension within this evolutionary vision surfaced in his revolutionary discourse when he emphasized restoration over revolution. These crude and immature ideas underwent profound transformations during Zhang's imprisonment and exile in Japan. During this period, Buddhist philosophy, German Weltschmerz, and other relevant Japanese ideas all met in Zhang's mind, contributing to his later thought. In this later period, he engaged more critically with evolutionary history, demonstrating that evolution led to more evils as well as happiness. He also stressed that evolution was ultimately illusory in the human mind. This critical attitude

towards evolutionary history enriched the content of his discourse of revolution and nationalism, propelling the idea that nationalism should be non-statist and decentralized and also aim to resist imperialism. This revolutionary discourse transcended the original narrow anti-Manchu nationalism into a truly cosmopolitan political solution for China and beyond. After exploring the evolution of Zhang's thought, it is clear that all of these complications and the chronological dimension of Zhang's thought could not be fully captured by the framework of modernity.

While Zhang's work pertains to Late Qing China, his ideas also shed light on our understanding of modern Chinese and global intellectual history. During the late 19th century, the global circulation of ideas with the expansion of imperialism was important in shaping the intellectual history of non-Western cultures. As Sebastian Conrad has argued, we should focus on the important causal links of history on a global level.[57] When these ideas were received by non-Western cultures, they did not simply move from one place to another but were reinterpreted with various other traditions, namely, a process of knowledge production. Furthermore, we can see that Zhang's response to evolutionary history was always used to support his political agenda which was connected to the concept of 'China' as manifest in the discussion about Manchu-Han relations. Therefore, Zhang's thought confirms Timothy Cheek's argument of the key problematik of contemporary Chinese intellectuals: "How to change China to resist Western imperialism" and "What is the 'China' that is to be saved"?[58]

Notes

[1] Wang Fan-sen, *Zhang Taiyan de sixiang (1868–1919) jiqi dui ruxue chuantong de chongji* (The Thought of Zhang Taiyan [1868–1919] and Its Impact on the Tradition of Confucian Learning) (Taipei, 1986).
[2] Kobayashi Takeshi, *Shō Heirin to Meiji shichō mō hitotsu no kindai* (Zhang Taiyan and Meiji Intellectual Trends: Another Modernity) (Tokyo, 2006).
[3] Peng Chunlin, 'The Interpersonal Communication and Ideological Map between Zhang Taiyan and Inoue Tetsujirō', in *Journal of Hangzhou Normal University [Humanities and Social Sciences*], 4 (2020); Peng Chunlin, 'Zhang Taiyan and Inoue Enryō: A Discovery of the Connection between Their Thoughts', in *Journal of Hangzhou Normal University [Humanities and Social Sciences]*, 2 (2018).
[4] Peng Chunlin, 'Guanyu 'bianhua' de guannian pengzhuang he zhishi shengchan: quanqiushi shiyu xia de hanyi sibinsai'er wenji (Negotiations between Ideas and Knowledge Production about 'Changes': Chinese Translation of *Writings of Herbert Spencer* from the Perspective of Global History)', in *Series of Modern Chinese Literature Studies*, 8 (2018); Peng Chunlin, 'What Is Progress? Zhang Taiyan's Translation and Reinterpretation of Herbert Spencer', in *Modern Chinese History Studies*, 1 (2019).
[5] Wong Young-tsu, 'A Case for Cultural Pluralism: Zhang Binglin's critique of Western Modernity', in *Bulletin of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, 41 (2003); Wong Young-tsu, 'Viren Murthy, The Political Philosophy of Zhang Taiyan: The Resistance of Consciousness', in *Bulletin of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, 77 (2012).
[6] Viren Murthy, *Political Philosophy of Zhang Taiyan: The Resistance of Consciousness* (Leiden, 2011); Viren Murthy, 'Rethinking Zhang Taiyan and Modernity: A Response to Professor Wong Young-tsu', in *Bulletin of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, 78 (2012).
[7] Wang Yuhua, *Duoyuan shiye yu chuantong de helihua: Zhang Taiyan sixiang de chanshi* (An Interpretation of Zhang Taiyan's Thought: A Pluralistic Perspective and the Rationalization of Tradition) (Shanghai, 2018).
[8] Luke Kwong, 'The Rise of the Linear Perspective on History and Time in Late Qing China c. 1860-1911', *Past & Present* 173 (2001), 161.
[9] Ibid., 159, 172-3.

[10] Ibid., 174-6.
[11] Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge, Mass, 1964), 100-1.
[12] Ibid., 96.
[13] James Reeve Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin* (Cambridge, Mass, 1983), cha. 2.
[14] Ibid., cha. 1.
[15] Ibid., cha. 5-6.
[16] Peng Chunlin, 'What Is Progress?'.
[17] Peng Chunlin, 'Negotiations between Ideas and Knowledge Production'.
[18] Zhang Taiyan, *Qiushu chukeben* (First Edition of A Book of Urgency) (1900), in vol. 3, *Zhang Taiyan quanji* (Shanghai, 1984), 41.
[19] Ibid., 40.
[20] Ibid., 27; Wang Fan-sen, *Zhang Taiyan de sixiang*, 34-6.
[21] Kobayashi Takeshi, *Shō Heirin*, Prologue.
[22] Ibid., cha. 1.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Zhang Taiyan, *Qiushu chongdingben* (Revised Edition of A Book of Urgency) (1904), in vol. 3, *Zhang Taiyan quanji* (Shanghai, 1984), 166-86; cf. Wang Fan-sen, Zhang Taiyan de sixiang, 69-72; See also Chow, Kai-wing, 'Imagining Boundaries of Blood: Zhang Binglin and the Invention of the Han 'Race' in Modern China', in Frank Dikötter, ed., *The Construction of Racial Identities on China and Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Honolulu, 1997).
[25] Zhang Taiyan, 'Preface to *Gemingjun*', cited in James Reeve Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin*, cha. 7.
[26] Zhang Taiyan, 'Da yuzhong xinwenbao (An answer to the newspapers in jail)', cited in Wang Fan-sen, *Zhang Taiyan de sixiang*, 76.
[27] Zhang Taiyan, 'Preface to *Gemingjun*', cited and translated by Viren Murthy, in his *Political Philosophy of Zhang Taiyan*, 78.
[28] Wang Fan-sen, *Zhang Taiyan de sixiang*, 75-6.
[29] Sukehiro, Hirakawa & Wakabayashi, Bob Tadashi, 'Japan's Turn to the West', in *Modern Japanese Thought* (Cambridge, 1998).
[30] Kenneth Pyle, 'Meiji Conservatism', in *Modern Japanese Thought*.
[31] *Guocui* and *Kokusui* were written in the same Han Characters.

[32] Wang Young-tsu, 'A Case for Cultural Pluralism', 174.
[33] Kobayashi Takeshi, *Shō Heirin*, cha. 2.
[34] Ibid., cha. 1.
[35] Kenneth Pyle, 'Meiji Conservatism', 109; Kobayashi Takeshi, *Shō Heirin*, cha. 2.
[36] Peng Chunlin, 'Zhang Taiyan and Inoue Enryō', 26.
[37] Peng Chunlin, 'The Interpersonal Communication and Ideological Map between Zhang Taiyan and Inoue Tetsujirō'.
[38] Kobayashi Takeshi, *Shō Heirin*, cha. 1.
[39] Viren Murthy, *Political Philosophy of Zhang Taiyan*, 3.
[40] Kobayashi Takeshi, *Shō Heirin*, cha. 1.
[41] Ibid., cha. 2.
[42] Zhang Taiyan, '*Jufen jinhua lun*' (1906), in vol. 4, *Zhang Taiyan quanji* (Shanghai, 1985), 386.
[43] Kobayashi Takeshi, *Shō Heirin*, cha. 1.
[44] Zhang Taiyan, '*Jufen jinhua lun*', 389; cf. Viren Murthy, *Political Philosophy of Zhang Taiyan*, 152-61.
[45] Zhang Taiyan, '*Sihuo lun* (On the Four Confusions)' (1908), in vol. 4, *Zhang Taiyan quanji*, 449.
[46] Zhang Taiyan, 'Wuwu lun' (1907), in vol. 4, *Zhang Taiyan quanji*.
[47] Zhang Taiyan, '*Sihuo lun*', 446.
[48] Ibid., 455-6.
[49] Zhang Taiyan, '*Qiwu lunshi*' (1910), in vol. 6, *Zhang Taiyan quanji* (Shanghai, 1986).
[50] Zhang Taiyan, *Qiwu lunshi*; cf. Wang Fan-sen, *Zhang Taiyan de sixiang*, 90-7.
[51] Japan by that time had become one of the imperialist powers after the formation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance that protected both countries' imperialist interests, and Zhang and realized the imperialist turn of Japan when participating in the activities of Asian Solidarity Society. See Lin Shaoyang, *Ding ge yi wen: Qingji geming yu Zhang Taiyan 'fugu' de xin wenhua yundong* (Revolution by Literature: Late Qing Revolution and Zhang Taiyan's 'Antiquarian' New Culture Movement) (Shanghai, 2018), cha. 3.
[52] Lin Shaoyang, *Ding ge yi wen*, cha. 3.
[53] Rebecca Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (London, 2002), 169.

[54] Ibid., 170.

[55] Ibid., 174.

[56] Ibid., 166.

[57] Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, 2016), 68-9.

[58] Timothy Cheek, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge, 2015), 32.

Images:

[59] *Zhang Taiyan*, before 1900, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%E7%AB%A0%E5%A4%AA%E7%82%8E.jpg.

[60] Zhangzhugang, *Hangzhou Zhang Taiyan Jinianguan*, May 20, 2012, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hangzhou_Zhang_Taiyan_Jinianguan_20120520-03.jpg.

[61] *Tokyo Imperial University*, 1925, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tokyo_Imperial_University%EF%BC%8C1925.jpg.