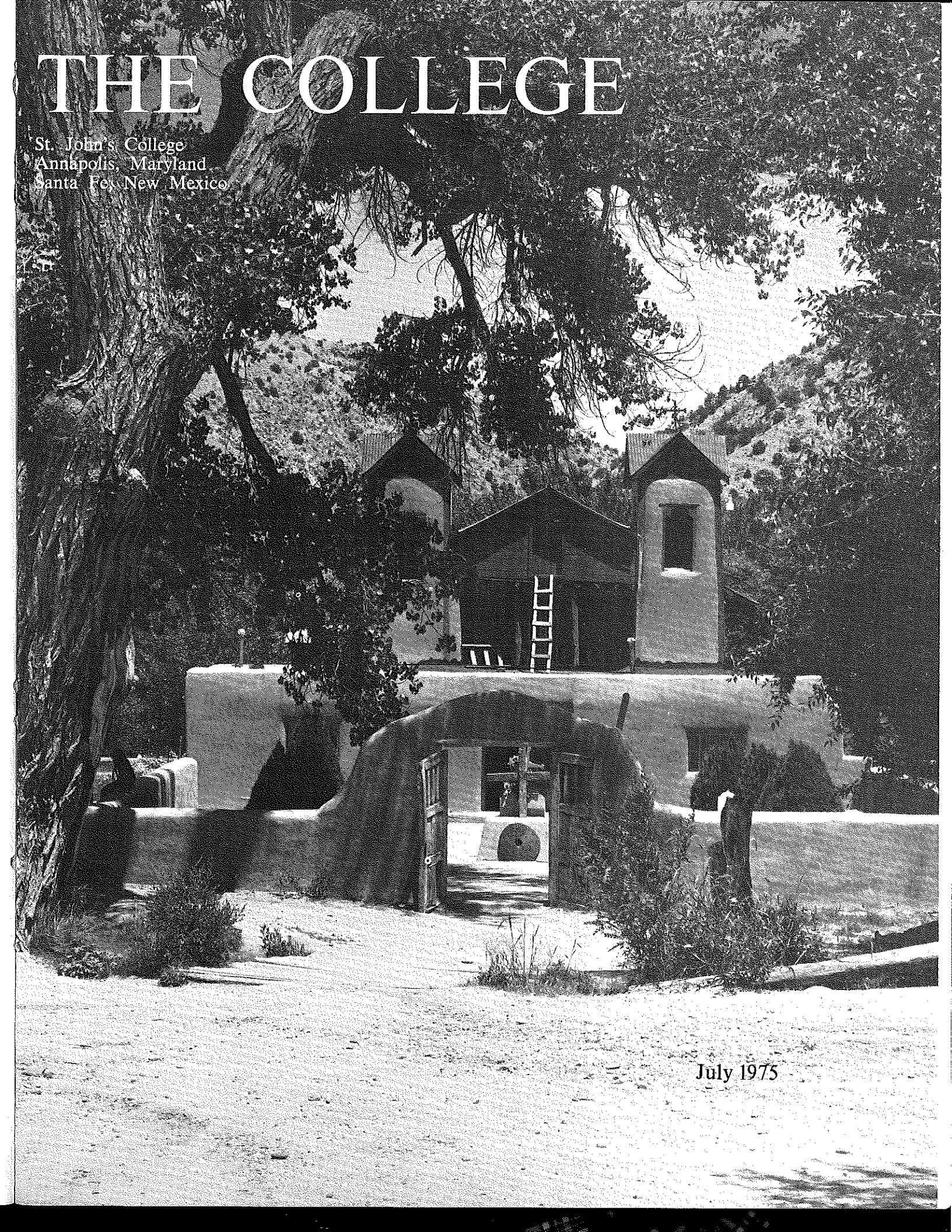


# THE COLLEGE

St. John's College  
Annapolis, Maryland  
Santa Fe, New Mexico



July 1975

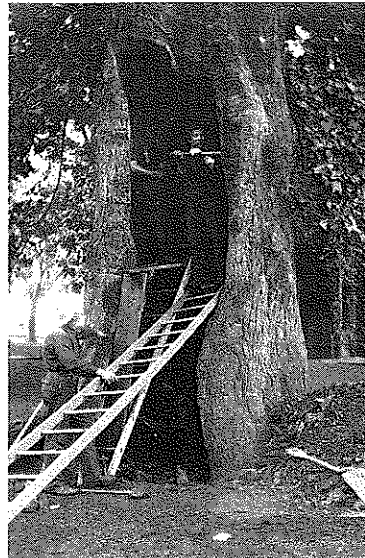
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Editor: Beate Ruhm von Oppen

Managing Editor: Thomas Parran, Jr.

Editorial Advisory Board: William B. Dunham, Barbara Brunner Oosterhout '55, E. Malcolm Wyatt, Elliott Zucker-  
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T.P. Jr.

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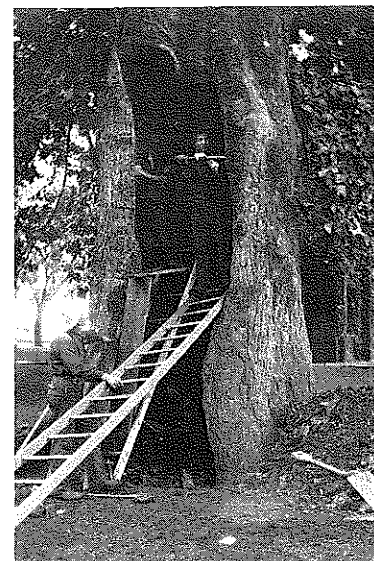
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# Commencement Address

Annapolis 1975

by Robert S. Bart

I am honored and I am grateful that you have invited me to celebrate this occasion with you in speech. And what a celebration it is! Today the chrysalis emerges from its cocoon to spread its wings as butterfly. Commencement is a Festival Day for us all. I am proud that you wish to listen once again to me: there is no audience that I know of whose merits make a higher demand on a speaker, none more intimidating than you, who are gathered together before me here. What listeners you are!

This is the climax of our celebration. After yesterday's music and speeches, what can be added to these festivities? Yet is it not a perplexing time to celebrate? We are met today to bring to an end four years together, to take our leave of one another. We all know how sad that is. Were your speaker an ambassador from the world outside, it would be different: he might report to you how he found things out there, and what in his view would be waiting for you as you commenced; commenced, that is, to take and to make your place in the world. In such commencement exercises, while your stay with us was ending, you would already be straining your sight on ahead to what you are about to begin.

As it is, following a happy tradition of this College, you have asked one of your Tutors to mark this occasion with you: you have not overlooked that when about to begin a new life, it is well to pause in the forward rush of continuous time, to pay brief tribute to what we have shared together, to face the hazards which lie unknown ahead, calmly and in the sober light of a past well spent. There is a very old Russian custom you have read of in *War and Peace*, at the moment when Rostovs are about to leave Moscow, in the panic at Napoleon's approach.

The family gathers just before setting out on the journey, to sit for a moment of silence and peace before the break with the old life is made and the strenuous motion begins. Let us pause in some such way together now, under this giant and venerable tree (you must exercise your imagination!), whose gallant vigor and green deny what age and storms have done to it. The most precious gift that the very old bring to those of us who are yet younger is the way they bless life by embracing it with enthusiasm. When age rejoices, how can we be sullen?

In a few minutes you will receive your diplomas. We whose care it has been to watch over you as your Tutors will no longer have that right and privilege. After this we meet as friends and equals. Your classes are over. Some of you may be through with classes forever. In any case these classes are over. Let us think for a few minutes what they may have given you to take along with you as you depart: that may make the parting sweeter. It can't be French or music, can it?, or Maxwell and Kant? Not even Plato or mathematics. In your time with us you may well have learned many things along the way: you may have come to delight in Greek mathematics, in the elegant phrasing of the dances of analogy and proportion; you may have relished the subtle nets into which that old Proteus the infinite is lured, the ingenious cages that constrain but never lay hold of that irrational monster: the method of exhaustion, the Dedekind cut, the limit definition that bounds the ultimate approach of a function repelling it as if by magnetism, at least to the extent of a tiny epsilon. You may know other artful devices as well. But that does not make you mathematicians. Despite all that you have seen and all that you have savored, our pro-



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gram has never allowed you to satisfy your natural desire to do at least one thing well; or so it may seem. (By the way, who could know the burden of that frustration better than your tutors, who for the most part have committed themselves for life to the frustration and confusion which you have endured for four years?) We who prescribed for you Greek and lab, and all those other things, what do we hope and expect that you will *all* have made your own, so as to take it along with you as you go?

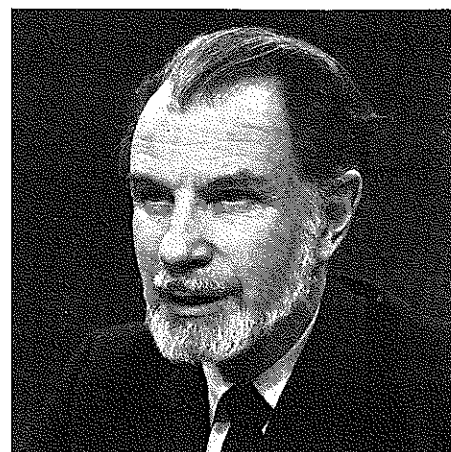
A week or so ago, at the Bolshoi Ballet I saw an exquisite dancer, as light as a bird. She poised herself on the point of one foot, adopting such perfect and graceful attitudes, executing such delicate motions with gesture of arms and head, of legs and feet, it seemed that only a winged deity could so articulate the music. Yet for all that, she was just a slip of a girl: to give her talents that polished form, she must have been in training from the time when she was a little child.

Are you so lacking then in art that you must envy her achievement? Have you nothing like that to show for all these years of patient submission to the program's iron discipline? Of course you have. Only it is something that makes no display of itself, being modest. I have no hesitation in saying that you have spent these years in learning to listen: to listen better than ever before, and in a way that you did not imagine. It is hard, I know, to learn to speak, to express the feelings and desires and opinions we are aware of in ourselves. Yet almost every human being becomes proficient in that art, and says pretty much just what he means. Alas! that we are so reluctant to learn the related art of listening. It sometimes seems as if with all these master speakers, there were none left to hear. I am especially delighted when a visitor to our classes appreciates the kind of attention everyone pays to each speaker in turn. For not only is the art of listening indispensable for the right use of the mind (reading too is a kind of listening), but it is also the most gracious, the most open and the most generous of human habits. Wherever you go, whatever you do, you will be welcome and loved if only you continue to be able and eager to listen. To you,

as to Alyosha Karamazov, everyone will unfold the secrets of his heart and the most daring, the most difficult of his thoughts.

Is there any aggravation more common in the world than to find one is speaking to deaf ears? Is it not a relief to find one doctor that can bear to listen to his patients? One executive, one bureaucrat, one parent, yes, one child, one business man or college president that supposes he could be told something he does not already know? Sometimes it seems they are all stone deaf in the mind! If we have put you in the way of curing some of that native inability to hear, we have helped you to become one of the rarest, dearest, and most sought-after creatures in the world. And indeed that is just what you are in the way of becoming, or so it seems to me as I listen to you each day in class, each of you attending closely to the other, opening himself to another's meaning, and when you fail to get it, ready to try again. With joy I see that this has become your very habit. What friends and lovers, what fellow workers, what parents and what children you may be, if you retain that sweet and modest habit when you have passed beyond the restraints of this particular community!

And how shall you retain it? Perhaps it will help if you remember its causes and conditions, and fear the consequences of its loss. How has this wonder come about in you? What are its causes? That is, if miracles can have causes. I shall be brief, since for each of us both the idea and the experience are familiar enough, though no less wonderful for that familiarity. The causes are mainly two: first, your awareness of your ignorance, an awareness which we have done everything to sustain by the vast breadth and the rapid pace of the curriculum we have set before you and by its exalted standards; second, your concern to obtain the very understanding that you are aware of not possessing, or of not knowing how to lay hold of in and by yourselves. When a man thinks he knows, he abounds in speeches and commands; naturally he will not listen. When he does not care, though he may listen out of politeness or boredom, hoping to be amused, he will



not hear the meaning of a serious speaker or discover in himself a serious question.

In addition there have been some essential conditions of your learning to listen this way: I will name two. To help you bear the burden of your ignorance and of your concern for unknown things, we have contrived that you remain detached from practical action as much as that is ever possible for adult men and women. This deliberate condition of irresponsibility could become mere indulgence in you, but it has also offered you an innocence in your reflections, freedom from the temptation to prejudging that action of any sort tends to present. Today that idleness ends: full responsibility begins. Ignorant or not, you must now act. Will reflection therefore stop and prejudice set in?

A second condition we have imposed is that you treat one another with genuine courtesy, and more than courtesy if possible, with gratitude for the help that comes from sharing ideas; and friendship, too. Your tutors have constantly provided models. We have discouraged, we would have eliminated if we could, the natural taste for winning arguments. That ambition can sharpen the hearing, of course. It breeds a kind of close and concentrated attention; but it displays the cunning patience of a cat waiting to pounce, the iron patience of the enemy who can afford to await the one moment of weakness in which victory will come to him. But while the victor gloats and the victim smarts, all listening ceases.

You know I do not mean that the student should merely listen: the requirement of listening is imposed on us by our own lack of knowledge. Now there are limits to that lack, as the learner proves by his questions. You know too well for me to need to stress that the first premise of this College is the absolute spontaneity of true learning: the learner will only make his own what he finds out for himself. All else is borrowed and at second hand, or third. Learning is a quest: on the silence of the listener follows the thrust of his question. The best questions usually come as a surprise: they are the gift the listener makes to the speaker. The latter may feel threatened; he may even

retreat. Nonetheless, the first obligation of the learner is to his question: there are victories essential to the life of the mind, victories over error that cannot be foregone out of courtesy and politeness. Some opinions and hypotheses can be shown to be false and their claims proved specious: in that demonstration passion and cunning, searching scepticism and relentless logic must all be summoned and used unsparingly. Let me remind you of a couple of cases.

Ptolemy gives on the whole a reasonable and beautiful account of the movement of the heavens. The weakness of his theory, as you know, only begins to be felt as he works out the consequences in detail. But the trouble is right at the start, hidden in the original axioms and some plausible physics. They must be questioned; but you know the courage, the imagination, art and insight it took to correct that error. A mere question was not enough: the earth had to be set spinning in the heavens, and the mind had to come to terms with inertia.

There may be a parallel in Marx. We Americans must never forget that much, perhaps most of the world finds his theories persuasive, clear and scientific. His picture of alienation in the general moral poverty of our bourgeois society is perceptive and moving. But are there not questions that must be asked? Marx was the first perhaps to give productivity and technology their proper place in the explanation of the modern world: but does he for all that know their true roots? Does he not assume too easily that by a deft twist his account can appropriate to its own purposes the supple strength of Hegel's dialectic, outrageous as that dialectic may already be in its own context? Without that dialectic, what would become of the class struggle and the theory of capital? These are the keystones in the interpretation of history which itself is providing the basis for revolution all over the world.

Learning requires that we be true above all to our serious questions; the circumstances of life may require of us that we pursue the truths we see to conflict and victory. But that is not my special theme this afternoon.

I have now mentioned the conditions that seem to determine our happy way of listening to one another. If we



Seniors Jane D'Agnes, Sandra Davenport, Matthew DeBacker, and Michael Dink, left to right.

lack modesty, our listening fails, and learning ceases. Pride then, sure of itself, lets tragedy take shape. Achilles will hear nothing, though the embassy pleads with sense and eloquence. In fact the tragic hero seems to be born deaf. Creon is deaf to Antigone, Jason to Medea. Othello gives ear to Iago alone, while Desdemona's words fall helpless and unheard, or else are turned against her. Theseus only trusts Phaedra, hardening himself against his own son's assurances. Lear can hear in Cordelia only her restraint, and will not find the love. Unaware of their ignorance, they all make huge errors of judgment. Intransigent and implacable in their rage, the heroes hurl to ruin themselves and all they hold dear. But deafness is not always so grand: the ridiculous pretensions of ignorance are also the theme of farce and satire.

As the *Iliad* provides the pattern for all tragedy, so it points the way back out of madness in a reconciliation which transcends tragedy. When he listens to the word his mother brings from Zeus, Achilles turns away from his insatiable and senseless fury. And again listening in wonder to Priam, he allows himself to be reminded of his own father. In the aged Priam before his eyes, he beholds the father he will never see again. With all his grace restored, he returns the hated body of Hector, aware with a new sadness of his own and Priam's losses. So too at the end of the *Oresteia*, the Furies, who once were so rigid in their confrontation with Apollo and Athena, demanding their rights, rights against rights, now yield to winged words, half in fear of Zeus, half in hope of new honors. Their merciless hate is transformed into a willing cooperation that brings peace and prosperity to Athens.

After his madness abates, Lear calls himself 'a foolish fond old man.' When he is thus helpless he is open as never before to the words of love, and the forgiveness he needs. Cordelia is eager to offer him both. When he says she has cause not to love him, she hears his full repentance. In her answer, 'No cause', her forgiveness annihilates his terrible curse in the first scene, and completes a reconciliation unparalleled in literature.

Is it only by passing through tragedy that we can hope

to come to such perfect and mutual understanding? In the dialogues Plato suggests that if we humble ourselves to the level of our ignorance and regularly in each case work out the limits of our knowledge, we may hope to find the questions that will carry us safely through. It is helpful, I imagine, to have Socrates for a friend, and great intellectual gifts besides. In a more universal mode, and one dearer to my heart, Shakespeare seems to hold out in his romantic comedies a promise of an understanding which does not presuppose such special gifts, nor on the other hand the experience of antecedent disaster. Listening is our clue today, and who is a more eager listener than the lover? Of course his passion had better be held in check a while, lest he pervert the sweet discourse of love to ends more restricted than the fullness of love requires. Rosalind chooses to keep her disguise even with Orlando, for fear that the violence of her passion, and his, may betray them into sudden folly. But when their courtship is over and it is time for love to have all his rites, Rosalind puts off her disguise and appears with Hymen. She begins a life with Orlando in perfect openness, now prepared by her sure possession of herself to give herself fully to him. From the bottom of my heart I hope for each of you that life will come to you freely with its best gifts, and that it will find you prepared to receive them.

I thank you for your listening now, and in the past. I say without irony that you have always understood my words better than I have understood them myself. In what I have said today, if I am wrong, I know that you will correct me, and thus you will prove me right after all, by showing yourself, as I said all along, the best of listeners. May you be so fortunate as always to find others ready to listen and to question as faithfully as you have listened to me and questioned me. But if you are not so fortunate as to find them, your listening, I promise you, will go a long way towards making them.

This is the text of the Commencement Address given by Robert S. Bart on 25 May 1975. Mr. Bart has been a member of the Annapolis faculty since 1946.

# Thucydides, Aristotle's *Politics*, and the Significance of the Peloponnesian War

by Leo Raditsa

This lecture is divided into four parts, two of them analytical and two narrative. I shall begin with a short discussion of the character of the Peloponnesian War, then I shall describe and assess the significance of the campaign of the Spartan Commander Brasidas in 424-423, the eighth year of the war. After some brief remarks concerning Aristotle's view of the Spartan constitution and its bearing on Brasidas' campaign, I shall turn to the events which occurred at Athens in 411, right after the failure of the Sicilian expedition. In the concluding section I shall attempt to understand the significance of the Peloponnesian War through Aristotle's *Politics*. Throughout—but not always in direct fashion—I shall be concerned with polarization and the relation of oligarchy and democracy.

I have chosen the campaign of 424 B.C., because in his refusal to use the support of revolution among the subjects of Athens as an instrument of war, Brasidas drew an important distinction between policy and ideology. In 425 the Athenian politician turned general, Kleon, shocked the Greek world when he captured several hundred Spartan soldiers in the Western Peloponnese, at Sphacteria off Pylos. In reckless defiance of Pericles' warning not to engage the Spartans in direct combat, Kleon's victory had cast doubt on Spartan heroism and courage. Brasidas' campaign in 424 represents a constructive response to the Athenian challenge to Sparta's reputation. Without it the Peace of Nikias, which ended the first part of the Peloponnesian War in 421, would not have occurred. Called the Archidamian War, this first part of the war had lasted ten years, from 431 to 421.

In contrast to Brasidas' campaign, which is notable for its refusal to prosecute the war by encouraging revolution, the events in 411 B.C. show Athens herself for the first time having to cope with the kind of violence and intrigue

which had been one of her own main instruments of aggression against her enemy's allies. With the failure of the Sicilian expedition the war for the first time came home to Athens. Treated in the eighth and last book of Thucydides, the crisis of 411 marks the beginning of the end for Athens. In the subsequent seven years of the war, which ends in 403, Athens never regains internal stability.

## I

### *The Character of the Peloponnesian War*

The Peloponnesian War represents the decisive turning point in the history of the Greek city states. It ended but the Greek city states never recovered from it. There remained always a certain mistrust of self and foreboding—one no longer dared so much, one feared more.

The period following the Peloponnesian War, the fourth century, appears to be cut off by the Peloponnesian War from earlier traditions, especially the tradition of Marathon. There is a sense, however, in which much of its activity seeks to come to terms with it in some non-political fashion: for you cannot come to terms with disaster, politically.

I am thinking mainly of the experience of the distinction between the irrational and the rational which is so clearly drawn in philosophy, in Aristotle and Plato. How much of that experience is in some way related to the Peloponnesian War? For instance, in a few minutes I hope to show how Aristotle's *Politics* can be used to understand the Peloponnesian War. I am not sure Aristotle intended it for that purpose—and yet it does help to understand that event.

I am saying that even though the Peloponnesian War destroyed the world of the independent Greek city states



## The College

forever, something came of that destruction: a clear sense of the distinction between being out of touch with reality and in touch with it, of what it was to live in the world and outside of the world.

Something analogous has occurred in this century. The very serious, probably irreparable damage which Europe has done to herself in this century was accompanied in the work of psychoanalysis by a powerful effort to distinguish the rational from the irrational, to live in a world, and to distinguish the world from one's fancies. Both movements or accomplishments,—the philosophy of the fourth century and the psychoanalysis of this century—have the strength which comes from facing up to weakness rather than denying it or wishing it away. That is why they can so easily be accused of undermining or weakening, when they are actually only attempting to uncover what has been undermined, to look at it in the plain light of day and see it for what it is. Certainly, they do not betray an easy confidence. They come from uneasy worlds in which it is difficult to distinguish doubt from worry, thought from brooding—and in which for that very reason real doubt indicates freedom from worrying and real thought freedom from distraction.

What kind of event was the Peloponnesian War? What kind of war was it? In the beginning of his work Thucydides speaks of it as a *kinesis*—a movement, a disturbance. He sensed also that it was a big event which would drag almost everything along with it. It had the power of dividing the whole world. It would last a long time and it would spread. On the strength of that judgment, Thucydides began his work almost at the time of the events. (It is no small achievement to write, while the events are occurring, an account that is more than a chronicle; most history is written after the events—a generation after at least.) In a remarkable passage Thucydides indicates that the heavens and nature were active during the Peloponnesian War, that there were more natural disasters than usual—the whole earth was disturbed.

In some sense the Peloponnesian War is two wars. This is I think the import of the speech of the Syracusan leader, Hermokrates, to the Sicilian cities. He says it is not unnatural for a city like Athens to rule where she can—and it is up to the cities whom she threatens to band together against her rather than to ask her to intervene in their quarrels—for Athens had not come to Sicily unasked. The first war is the war in which cities, faced with a threat from outside their country, band together and resist. This is the straightforward war of the old sort in which men can accept matter-of-factly that a foreign power will rule where she can. The second kind of war is something much more complex and problematical, and dirty. It is the war of division, of ideology. It is the war in which there is always one element in the city—usually the democratic element—which sides with Athens, which prefers the victory of Athens and of its party to the victory of the fatherland and its preservation. In this sense the victory of

Athens often also meant a revolution in which the citizens who had called her in came to power.

In this kind of war one fought not for what one was, but for what one wished to become, whether oligarch or democrat, not for the world one knew but another which one did not know, which could, therefore, demand the unquestioning allegiance of those who have never disappointed you. One fought not for what one had but for what one dreamt of having.

To the extent that the Peloponnesian War was a war of division, of external attack combined with internal revolution, it was a war of aspiration and, therefore, like all wars of aspiration, limitless. It asked of men that they betray themselves, their land and their friends and relatives, in the name of party and the higher truth, which is always synonymous with party.

Thucydides stresses events at Corcyra in 427, because they marked the first appearance of the war of division, of civil combined with external war, which was to spread in the course of years to all the Greek cities. When they indulged in the war of division and encouraged others into it, which meant actually encouraging men to betray everything they were—that is why the words at Corcyra, as Thucydides says, no longer mean what they once did—the Athenians and the Lacedaimonians engaged in getting men to subject themselves, to turn their energies against themselves.

In some sense this was to be the whole deeper movement of the war, especially on the Athenian side—for it never came to civil war at Sparta. If they had started out by attacking others and encouraging them to tear themselves apart, they ended by tearing themselves apart. The arms they had turned against others, turned against themselves. The few real statesmen who appeared in this war, the Spartan Brasidas, for instance, and the Syracusan Hermokrates, attempted to halt the war of division and aspiration and to fight the more straightforward war between sovereign states. In contrast to the war of aspiration, this kind of war usually has defined and achievable aims—and is, therefore, capable of being settled.

The Boeotian statesman Pagondas grasped the deeper issue when he told the Boeotians: this is not the usual border war, and you should not mistake it for such. It is not the kind of dispute where we argue about where to put the boundaries. The Athenians take up arms not only against neighbors but against anybody, against the world. The only people they respect are those who are willing to stick up for themselves.

I think there is a profound truth in that observation of Pagondas. Certainly, the Athenians must have despised those who were ready to betray their country and friends for an imported democracy—they could have no illusions that such men loved themselves.

It is precisely because the Athenians were interested in something as fundamental and as simple as who would stand up for himself that the war spread and questioned

all assumptions. The war of aspiration is a war about human nature and, what amounts to almost the same thing, human self-respect. When Alcibiades remarked that Socrates was the only man in Athens who could make him feel ashamed, he was talking about this same reckless quest for men who could stand up for themselves, who knew their true interests and loved life.

One might say that the war of aspiration is a war fought by men who think they live in the world, while the first war, the war of limited objectives, is fought by men who know they live in a world. *Oedipus at Colonus*—that tragedy which came to life at Athens in 401, just after the end of the Peloponnesian War—is about a man and a king who has been cast out into the world and seeks to take root in a world again: that is why place is so important in it.

In a sense what had happened to *Oedipus* had happened to almost everybody at Athens in varying degree. The Athenians had desecrated what was most their own, what they had thought most sacred—and in their instance, as well as that of *Oedipus*, it had been done unwittingly. For one really desecrates when one does not know one is doing it—that is what allegiance to party above country really means, the licence not to know what one is doing, that blindness, characteristic of those who are sure they can explain everything to you, that deadness, which has much murder in it, which comes with thinking you have all the answers. When you are involved in wars of aspiration you have to think you have all the answers.

I am saying that wars of aspiration are great uprooters: they turn men into wanderers, into wayfarers, for whom the whole world is home—but who do not have a home. In the most obvious sense the war uprooted the Athenians by forcing them in from the countryside where their ancestral altars were and where their ancestors were buried. You remember *Strepsiades* at the beginning of the *Clouds* dreaming of the country—of the distinct fragrance of figs, of the silence and the simplicity.

Unfinished spiritually and intellectually as well as actually, Thucydides' work raised questions it does not answer except by its very existence. The central question is simply, "Is there anything that men who have the power to do, will not do?" That is, are there any values, truths, which are not conditioned by force? In a sense this question results from the loss of proportion and measurelessness. It is the question which occurs once that loss of the sense of proportion has occurred. Like all reductionist questions that of Thucydides is agonizing, for it questions one's capacity to live, and to believe, and to feel pleasure, and to know, all activities closely related to each other and interdependent. Because of this it is hard to recover from reading Thucydides.

Thucydides resolved or at least set aside the agonies of this question by bearing witness and attempting to understand, or at least, describe, what happened. In that very act of description, and especially of judgement of the

relative importance of events which came with it, and of which he is a great master, he restored a kind of proportion—but at the price of distance. That life he described was in an important sense no longer his own—he wrote for the future, perhaps even for us.

The war spread somewhat like a disease—another reason why Thucydides stressed the plague, barely mentioned in modern accounts. The war involved all. It drew them towards it and disaster. You will remember, in Socrates' *Apology*, how clearly Socrates grasped the fear of those-in-responsibility, in the last years of the democracy and under the Thirty Tyrants. Because they knew they were doing wrong, they insisted on involving as many people as possible in their guilt. Occurring at the end of the war, the incident, I think, displays one of its principal mechanisms: its capacity to involve people in something they knew was wrong and despised, and to suck them in ever deeper, even to their destruction.

In a sense Athens did this to Sparta.

With one of the most revered constitutions in Greece, Sparta traditionally had respected the sovereignty of her allies—who were, in fact, more worthy of respect than the allies of Athens. Unlike the allies of Athens, the allies of Sparta had never ceased to look out for themselves. Where the Athenian allies had in effect entrusted their defense to the Athenian fleet, whose expenses they helped to cover, the allies of Sparta kept up their own armies. Despite this tradition of respect for sovereignty, Athens taught Sparta the technique of promoting revolution in the cities whose allegiance one desired. That is the technique of ruling by destroying the sovereignty of your would-be associates.

In this contest with Athens, Sparta, however, was a fairly likely loser. For oligarchy could hardly be made into an effective rival of democracy. If it came to a choice, democracy was clearly the preferable alternative, Aristotle remarked. The point was to avoid coming to that choice.

What was it that made the deadly rivalry between oligarchy and democracy so powerful, powerful enough to destroy the fabrics of the Greek city-states?

To explain the deadly enmity between oligarchy and democracy Aristotle directly referred to the nature of rationality itself. That is, he clearly implies, there is a close connection between political conflict of the irrational sort and the make-up of individual men, of their character. Or, to put it in bookish terms, the *Politics* and the *Nicomachean Ethics* are different aspects of the same thing.

Once alliance and revolution became in some sense synonymous, that is, once it began to be accepted that change of sides in the Peloponnesian War entailed violent revolution or civil war at home, it became increasingly difficult to imagine any alternative to domination or slavery. The choice appeared to be increasingly between conquering or being conquered—and no one dared to think of a constitution which respected its own laws as anything but a naive fancy. You will remember also

Kreon's gloating contempt for what he takes to be Oedipus' naive reliance on Theseus' guarantees and international law.

In short there are only the two extremes, domination and servility—and no one is even able to think of the mean, which in this case is clearly freedom, that is, being ruled and ruling in turn. In this kind of polarization, it is clear, power comes to be confused with strength—which means that men will try to think they are strong when they are actually weak.

In Aristotle's terms this attitude, which sees only two alternatives, either to dominate or be dominated, reflects a highly polarized society in which there are only rich and poor and no middle class. Excessively humbled by the harshness of life, the poor cannot distinguish between the broken obedience of a slave and the freely given consent of a freeman to a command. (In understanding that distinction, it helps to remember the wonderful fact that in Greek, the word for "obey" means "to be persuaded.") The rich on the other hand, spoiled from childhood by governesses and teachers who fawn on them and fear them, hardly know how to command. For they cannot imagine any one freely consenting to obey. A city, polarized between rich and poor, increasingly becomes a place where the ruling attitudes—I will not call them emotions, for at most they are only the dim remembrance of what it was like to feel—are envy and overwhelming contempt.

## II

### *The Campaign of Brasidas in Chalcidice*

In one of his few references to foreign policy, Aristotle touches briefly upon the Peloponnesian War's tendency to exploit and increase the tendency to polarize between democracy and oligarchy in every Greek city. He says that there was only one statesman, at the time when the Athenians and Lacedaimonians held hegemony over the Greek cities, who renounced the policy of forcing revolutions in the states one desired to win over to one's side. Instead, this individual called to life, in the cities he dealt with, a constitution which in some ways represented the mean between oligarchy and democracy, which Aristotle calls simply "the constitution," or, as it is often translated, "polity" (*πολιτεία*).

Aristotle does not identify this individual, and there are many speculations as to who he was. A frequent candidate is Theramenes, the Athenian politician, prominent among the Four Hundred in the crucial year, 411 B.C. As far as I know no one has suggested the Spartan, Brasidas. He seems to me likely. But the question is not important. What is important is that an alternative to combining alliance with revolution was thought of, and attempted, during the Peloponnesian War. In my judgment it represented the only way of ending the war of aspiration by *bona fide*, negotiated settlement, that is a settlement between two sides which respect each other—rather than by

total destruction and its almost equally disastrous counterpart, total victory.

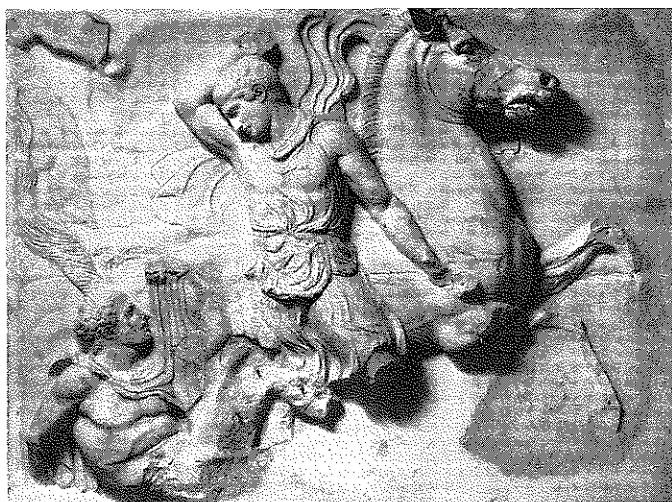
Brasidas understood that by reducing herself to the same level as Athens, Sparta could never bring the war to a halt. For at the time, in 424, Sparta still entertained no ideas of victory. If that was anybody's delusion it was that of Athens. Sparta wanted above all the return of the Spartan prisoners, which, to the astonishment of all the Greeks, Kleon had captured near Pylos, and then a settlement which would end the hostilities. Yet by reducing herself to Athens' level, that is by posing in some sense as a rival, revolutionary power, Sparta had forfeited, almost without noticing it, much of the immense prestige she enjoyed among the Greeks.

I imagine most of us think of Athens when we say Greece—but this was not the case among the ancient Greeks. If they did not think of themselves, they thought of Sparta. Think for a minute. With the exception of Homer, almost everything you read here is Athenian—or at least written in Athens, or in some way connected with Athens. Even our text of Homer comes in large part from an edition made under the patronage of the Pisistratids. When we say Greek we mean for the most part Athenian. But I do not think this was so at the time, in the fifth century and probably also in the fourth. I do not think Athens was so important in the consciousness of the Greek peoples. In fact Athens represented a kind of intrusion in the consciousness of the Greek cities—"an education to all Greece," Pericles called it. In a way the Peloponnesian War represented an attempt to fight off that consciousness of Athens—or, if necessary, to come to terms with it. Athens represented something with which nobody could cope—and nobody can still cope—and something, as it turned out, with which she could not cope.

At Athens everybody talked, and many learned how to speak and mislead each other. At Sparta, in old aristocratic fashion, deeds counted for a lot more than words. They knew more deeply than at Athens (though the Athenians also keep reminding themselves of it) that what one did counted for more than what one said. At Sparta a kind of silence reigned—even as it reigns now. It is the kind of silence that can hold the respect of those who talk too much, who chatter because they do not hear the silence—men for instance who do not know how to distinguish between the questions they are obliged to answer and those they are not.

And when a Spartan spoke, like Brasidas, it could make a real difference and move people profoundly. Thucydides wrote of him that he spoke well, when one kept in mind that he was a Lacedaimonian. In a sense Socrates combines the virtues of both worlds, for he knew both when to speak and when to keep a silence—and when to listen.

Of the Spartans some of the Greeks said, "All the Greeks know what is right but only the Lacedaimonians do it." In contrast to that kind of reputation, naval hegemony such as Athens exercised is not of much conse-



This funerary relief is probably an official monument to the dead, erected by the city of Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

quence. Brasidas—whom Thucydides describes as a man of piercing intelligence, and honorable—realized all that. He realized that by her indolence or her passivity, and by her readiness to indulge in the ugly practice of encouraging the violent dissolution of the Greek cities, Sparta was betraying her traditions. For freedom can either be a word, an ideology, that is, propaganda—or an actual concept, and as much a part of nature as the trees. And unless one knows the difference, one is liable to end up a slave who is convinced he is free—which is very much the contemporary style; and also the ancient one. In the *Wasps* of Aristophanes the realistic son tells his father, who is a fanatical follower of the politician Kleon, that he thinks he is free, but is actually slave of a master who gives little or nothing for his pains.

Thrown off-balance by the capture of several hundred Spartans at Sphacteria, Sparta in 425 feared that the Athenian presence in the Western Peloponnese might spark a rebellion of the helots. (In fact Sparta was panicked enough to murder several thousand of her most independent helots in cold blood.) It was then that the general, Brasidas, conceived of responding to the requests of the citizens of Chalcidice for support. The neighbor of the Chalcideans, Perdikkas, King of Macedon, ostensibly a friend of Athens, had also let Sparta know of his dissatisfaction with his relations with Athens. There was reason for Brasidas to make an expedition to these Northern regions. At the edge of the Greek world, Chalcidice had many little cities, with a mixed Greek and Greek-speaking barbarian population. Although these cities were by no means all Athenian colonies, the area had been for some time under Athenian influence. Its lumber and silver were important to Athens and it controlled the land, and, I think, the sea-route from the Hellespont, from which came a good deal of the grain which fed Athens.

From the beginning Brasidas seems to have thought of his expedition as depending largely on the consent and support of the Chalcideans, who had in fact promised to feed his troops. It was in no sense to be a conquest. Brasidas' force consisted of something under two thousand soldiers. Look at his line of communications: Athens dominated the sea. By land, almost every people whose territory he had to cross were wavering in their allegiance to Sparta: Boeotia, Thessaly, Megara. If he did not succeed, there would be most likely no going back.

We first catch sight of Brasidas near the Thessalian frontier. We hear him addressing Thessalian democrats sympathetic with Athens who oppose his passage through Thessaly on his way to Chalcidice. He tries to dissuade them by telling them that Sparta's enmity with Athens has nothing to do with Thessaly. Like Hermokrates before the Sicilians, Brasidas tries to bring home to the Thessalians that their allegiance to themselves should come before their devotion to Athens.

We next see him before the unexpectedly closed gates of Akanthus, on the Chalcidic peninsula of Akte. Outside, in the fields stretching out from the city, the grapes are thickening on the vines.

Here, at the first stage of his campaign, which is crucial for setting the tone for the rest, Brasidas faces refusal. He does manage to gain permission to address the assembly, and, in a heated debate, he explains that he has come to free the cities of the area: freedom means independence or sovereignty, not democratic control necessarily. He guarantees their constitutions and their property—and declares that he has not come to take sides in a struggle between the few and the many. If the Akanthians will not be convinced, he will destroy their crops. He must do this. He has come a long and dangerous way from Sparta to aid them, and it is simply impossible to stop at this point. He points also to the traditional reliability of the Spartans: the Akanthians can trust his word.

Moved by his speech—and fearful for their crops—the Akanthians vote to allow Brasidas to enter and to break with Athens. A little while later at Amphipolis, the prominent Athenian colony on the Strymon River, Brasidas follows the same policy. Although he could have taken the city by force, through the betrayal of the oligarchically minded, he chooses to address the population, who, as at Akanthus, are largely democratic and adamant against having anything to do with him. Here again, however, his words convince the people of Amphipolis, especially his guarantee of their constitution and their property.

Amphipolis' break with Athens shocks the Greeks. Satisfied that Brasidas means what he says, other Greek cities secretly let Brasidas know of their willingness to join him and Sparta. At Athens there is great alarm and fear that the revolt will spread to the other subject allies. In the middle of winter a few garrisons are sent to Chalcidice. For his part, Brasidas sends to Sparta requesting more troops, but at home there is not much enthusiasm for his

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accomplishment, even though it had thrilled the Greek world who had never before seen the Spartans pursue a policy with passionate commitment. Some are jealous, others think only of somehow contriving the return of the prisoners and stopping the War.

Brasidas realized that the infectious and increasingly destructive spread of the Peloponnesian War could only be brought to a halt by reasserting the leadership of Sparta. This leadership had been disoriented for more than a generation by the new situation created with the victory over Persia. In order, however, really to reassert leadership you need a policy which backed by force will dispel ideology by its self-evident reasonableness. In these terms force means little more than that you mean what you say.

Brasidas' policy was simply to sever alliance from revolution. Change of alliance would not involve change of constitution and expropriation. In short his policy was that obedience to the law was more important than the apparent ideological content of a constitution. Aristotle would have agreed with this. For in his view, either democracy or oligarchy would do, as long as they obeyed their own laws.

There was another good reason why Sparta should attempt to create the conditions for a negotiated peace by rising above party, above encouraging the despairing alternation between oligarchy and democracy. In contrast to Athens whose way of life and constitution was decidedly democratic, Sparta was not really an oligarchy. In fact Aristotle points to the Spartan constitution as an example of the best practicable constitution which combines the element of oligarchy and democracy in such a way as to make it difficult to tell whether it is an oligarchy or a democracy.

In addition Aristotle says that Sparta had the kind of "polity" which made reference to excellence. Because Sparta had fashioned a society in which money was of little importance, she was, in Aristotle's view, that kind of polity which is a combination of democracy and aristocracy, rather than oligarchy.

In Sparta uniformity of dress, that is freedom from the costs and invidious distinctions of fashion, and common education minimized the distinction between rich and poor. All freeborn men could hold some office like the ephorate, others like those of the old men, the *gerousia*, were restricted to certain individuals.

This view of Aristotle's implies that Sparta was violating her own character when she allowed herself to be lured into competing with Athens in fostering revolutions. By tradition and polity constituted to see the whole, she acted as if she only understood a part or one side—and the weaker side at that.

At a moment when Sparta's losses at Sphacteria appeared to point to a decay in her traditions, Brasidas had rediscovered them in a policy which allowed him once again to refer to Sparta as the Defender of Greek Freedom. Unfortunately for Sparta and the Greeks, he was

killed in battle in Chalcidice in 422.

### III

#### *The Events in Athens in 411*

Thirteen years after Brasidas' campaign in Sicily, Athens was forced to come to terms of some sort with the polarity between democracy and oligarchy she had done so much to encourage elsewhere. For great powers who cannot teach themselves, the only teacher is disaster. The events of 411 in Athens are inconceivable—without the Sicilian disaster which occurred in 413.

Defeat in Sicily meant disorientation and temporary loss of confidence. Nobody knew what to expect. Many allies of Athens showed signs of wavering, especially the rich and powerful island of Chios, who showed her intention to defect from Athens openly in 412.

In general attention shifted from the far west to the Eastern Mediterranean. In addition to Chios, Samos, Miletus, to a degree Lesbos are now to be the centers of attention. Also and most importantly, Persia now enters the war for the first time. To a large extent it was Alcibiades who had come from Sparta to Persia, who brought Persia again into the consciousness of the Greeks. This is another characteristic of wars of aspiration and betrayal, those who live and die in them ignore or deny obvious facts which might force them at least temporarily to drop their ideologies.

Exiled from Athens, because of the mutilation of Hermæ which had occurred on the eve of the Sicilian expedition in 415 and unable to return to Sparta, Alcibiades attempted to make the possibility of help from Persia the pretext for change at Athens. He sent a proposal to the oligarchically minded commanders of the Athenian fleet, stationed at Samos: he would bring Persia into the war on the side of Athens, if Athens agreed to change her constitution to an oligarchy and vote his recall.

Alcibiades argued that the Great King could not possibly have any confidence in any arrangement made with the present extreme democracy at Athens. If Persia was to enter the war on the side of Athens, there must be a government at Athens which would win the confidence of the Great King. Speaking out against Alcibiades' proposal, Phrynichus, a statesman of some nobility, pointed out to his oligarchically-minded colleagues in Samos that Alcibiades had no particular devotion to oligarchic ideals but desired only to return to Athens. Persia would in any case trust Sparta more than Athens, because Sparta had never done her any real harm. Above all—and this was the real brunt of Phrynichus' advice—violent factional strife and revolution must be avoided at Athens.

In its realization that no ideological yearning could possibly justify the undermining of law and the respect for law which violent change necessarily entailed, Phrynichus' advice recalls Brasidas' wisdom. It sounds, how-



ever, out of place. The times were much grimmer than in 424—and, therefore, men smarted at good sense. It appeared odd. It embarrassed the shameless. The commanders voted to send a delegation immediately to Athens and the assembly to present Alcibiades' proposals. I shall call this delegation, the delegation of Pisander, after the oligarchic commander who led it.

It was against a background of brutality that the delegation of Pisander arrived in Athens from Samos bearing the proposals Alcibiades had sent from Persia. The matter was brought up before the assembly. In a heated debate in which he questioned all of the opposing speakers, Pisander managed to persuade the Athenian *demos* to allow a reform in their constitution and to give him full powers to negotiate with Alcibiades and the Persians. Pisander's principal argument was what we call national interest. If Persia did not help Athens she would help Sparta and this would mean the defeat of Athens. In a sense the revolution at Athens started at this point and with something approaching the legal consent of the *demos*.

As Pisander left Athens for Persia and Alcibiades he contacted all the secret societies of the upper classes and the aristocracy. One of the first acts to occur after his departure was the murder of a prominent and popular democratic speaker. When the murderers were not discovered and arrested, it became apparent that any one who was not suitable would be done away with. *ἐπιτηδεύειν* became the slogan characteristic of the period. But appearances were kept up. The constitution appeared to function as before—only somehow debate was controlled. The democrats were worsted in their innermost convictions and dared not speak up. They felt thankful for having escaped violent death. Secret messengers slipped out of Athens to tell the fleet at Samos of the atrocities occurring at home.

At the palace of Tissaphernes in Persia, Pisander did not have any success. Although the promises of Alcibiades had impressed the Athenian people, the commitment of the Athenian people did not impress the Persian. Alcibiades could not deliver. Outraged, the oligarchic commanders with Pisander now recognized the truth of Phrynichus' warning that Alcibiades held no particular commitment to oligarchy.

This is the crucial moment in the revolution, the moment when the oligarchic revolution dropped any pretext of legality or foreign policy justification. Unable to negotiate the alliance with Persia which the *demos* had authorized, the commanders nevertheless determined to go on and seize power at their own risk and expense. In their judgment they had already gone too far, and now must do openly what they had before done covertly. Such were the immediate results of noticing Persia and listening to Alcibiades.

Upon its return to Samos from Persia, the delegation of Pisander took a decision which is almost the direct

opposite of the one taken by Brasidas. They determined that on their way to Athens to seize power, they should cause oligarchic revolutions among the most important of Athens' subjects. By bringing those like-minded with themselves violently to power, they expected to command but not to hold the respect of the subjects of Athens. This too is a characteristic of wars of aspiration, revolution and betrayal, that they take opposition for disloyalty—because they are too insecure to withstand criticism.

The outcome, however, betrayed the expectation of Pisander and the other oligarchs. The upper classes of the cities welcomed the change to oligarchy, for they conceived of it as an encouragement to independence. They did not, however, take Athens seriously in her pretence of supporting well-ordered, aristocratizing cities. They impugned her motives and in the course of several months deserted to Sparta. As it turned out, Pisander and the oligarchs encouraged the very defection they had wished to prevent.

With the return of Pisander to Athens, the oligarchs called an assembly at Colonus, outside but within sight of the city, in which they restricted access to five thousand of the wealthier citizens. One of the first motions in this assembly concerned suspension of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, the accusation which any citizen could lodge against another who made a motion in the assembly which was clearly illegal. In effect the constitution and all the laws were suspended. Further, the people were deprived of their franchise. The Four Hundred who were to replace the *βουλὴ*—and who actually were to force the *βουλὴ* out of the council house in a few days with the aid of aristocratic thugs—were to replace themselves by coöpting individuals from the Five Thousand.

These changes are staggering—they represented a return to the situation before Solon, almost two hundred years before, who had first made the people part of the commonwealth. Thucydides recalls Pisistratus whose tyranny had come to an end almost a hundred years before.

He also notes that the most excellent and talented men in Athens took part in this conspiracy. That is important, for it indicates how deeply upset the elite of the city were and to what extent they were dissociated from the democracy. One of the first acts of these men after they had seized power was to open negotiations with Sparta for peace.

The test of an usurping government, however, is whether it can rule. The absence of a large part of the people away on active duty with the fleet had facilitated the seizure of power by the Four Hundred. When exaggerated reports of the crimes and atrocities and the suspension of the democracy reached Samos, the fleet fell into an uproar. All generals who were suspected of sympathizing with the Four Hundred were stripped of their command. The assembly of sailors and marines decreed the return of Alcibiades from Persia.

In effect there were now two governments of Athens,

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one at Samos, the democracy, and the oligarchy at Athens—but there was also the war and it was the war and Alcibiades that finally kept the two governments from becoming two cities and destroying Athens. Upon his return to Samos from Persia the sailors demanded of Alcibiades that he lead them in arms against their native city. He faced them down, something, Thucydides judged, nobody else could have done. They had elected him general and he would command.

Instead of leading the fleet against Athens, Alcibiades negotiated with the Four Hundred. Making it clear that his and their first priority ought to be the prosecution of the war, he told the Four Hundred he would accept the government of the Five Thousand but not the Four Hundred. This amounted to telling the Four Hundred they should become what they had always pretended to be, the more moderate government of the Five Thousand. Alcibiades' demand found resonance in the ruling circles of the Four Hundred. Here there was much dissension especially among those whose expectations of power had been disappointed.

Further, a clear and crucial difference in respect to foreign policy obtained among these men. The extreme oligarchs appeared more and more to be willing to settle with Sparta on any fair terms, the milder oligarchs desired, like the fleet at Samos, to prosecute the war. About such a matter there could be no compromise.

With the support of Alcibiades the milder oligarchs succeeded in ousting the extremists, the hard core of the Four Hundred. The new government they established was actually based on the Five Thousand. More importantly, it immediately set to restoring the laws. In contrast to the Four Hundred it would obey the law. Its two most characteristic measures were the limitation of military service to the richer classes and prohibition of all payments for offices including the payments for jury duty and attendance at the assembly which Pericles had first instituted. Of this government Thucydides said it was one of the most apt mixtures of oligarchy and democracy he had experienced—and provided Athens with the best government of his time.

Since this new constitution excluded many men from exercising citizen rights, it hardly amounts to an exact equivalent of Aristotle's polity. But it had much of the spirit of polity. The extreme oligarchy of the Four Hundred had confused assurance with murder and had been much too anxious to settle with Sparta; the extreme democracy had undertaken the war of aspiration, division, and betrayal. In some sense a mean between these two extremes of violence and servility, the government of the Five Thousand, had it lasted, might have negotiated an honourable peace with Sparta. This is no more than a guess. I mean it might have grown balanced enough not to define itself in terms of what it hated. But perhaps it was too late.

The Spartan Brasidas, by refusing to interfere in the

internal affairs of the cities whose alliance he sought, and the Athenians, when they attempted to contrive a government that took better account of the few and the many, represent attempts on the part of statesmen to combat the polarization between democracy and oligarchy that increasingly became the basic mechanism of the war and especially the basic reason for its spread.

## IV

### *Aristotle and the Peloponnesian War*

In my discussion up to now, I have on occasion referred to Aristotle's conception of polity, as a combination of oligarchy and democracy. Aristotle's attitude toward polity is paradoxical. At the same time that he makes it clear that it is the best of attainable constitutions, he also emphasizes its rarity—and does not explain it.

In my judgment Aristotle's discussion of polity provides a powerful understanding of the function of polarization. I do not know if he was trying to understand the Peloponnesian War when he discovered the conception of polity. But clearly he was trying to understand how it came about that oligarchy and democracy, the few and the many, were so often antithetical, so often enemies unto death, when in actuality and nature they were complementary parts of a whole and could not be themselves without each other.

In short he was trying to understand why men hated so much just what they needed to make them whole. Why the many hated the few, and the few the many, when the many could not respect themselves, if they did not respect the few, nor the few respect themselves when they did not respect the many for what they were. That is, a city could not have any true values, which means it could not experience life itself, joy, pleasure, knowing, unless in some way it had living space for both quantity and quality, for both democracy and oligarchy. And this could not occur without a sense of proportion, without a sense of the relations which obtained between things not directly comparable on a one-to-one quantitative basis. Without this sense of proportion, without being able to see how parts relate to each other in other than quantitative terms, it was impossible to distinguish between one thing and another except in quantitative terms, in terms of what was bigger than another. The perception of all relations of quality was blunted. It became difficult to distinguish between a father and a son: they in fact appeared interchangeable, as happens in the *Clouds* between Strepsiades and Pheidippides. In simplest terms this means that it was a world in which it was difficult to grow. Also, it became difficult to experience difference, for instance, between relatives and other men. It is not an accident that theories concerning the abolishment of the family arise in an Athens on the one hand democratic enough to confuse egalitarianism with liberty, on the other so oligarchic that she can attempt for a short time to exclude most of her

population from citizenship. Nor is it accidental that the story of Oedipus who could not tell who were his parents takes on undeniable clarity in this same levelling Athens. The oligarchs reacted to this levelling with a correspondingly outrageous ideology of difference. Because of birth and wealth they claimed innate superiority in all things. There was no question that both oligarchs and democrats were in some sense right, because both equality and inequality exist in nature. But they were both wrong in wishing to make what they understood into the whole truth. They were wrong because it is impossible to understand quantitative equality without understanding the reciprocal equality which exists between unequals. By extending their truth beyond its compass, oligarchs and democrats were exploiting it to deny an equally valid truth. This is a common mechanism in politics, a deeply rational principle used to justify an irrational one which undoes its justifier.

For instance, when he is discussing how a polity combines democratic and oligarchic elements to create something on some occasions different in kind from either democracy and oligarchy, Aristotle gives the example of selecting magistrates. In oligarchy the magistrates tend to be elected from a restricted number of candidates, in democracy all citizens are eligible for office but they are chosen by lot. Polity combines the two institutions in a manner which distinguishes their rational from irrational features. From democracy it takes the noble principle that all should be eligible for office, from oligarchy the equally rational principle that choice of magistrates should be made in responsible fashion, that is through election. From democracy it takes freedom of choice, from oligarchy the sense of responsibility for choice. At the same time polity discards the irrational notions which the deeply rational principles of democracy and oligarchy had been made to justify. It does away, for instance, with the incredible institution of the lot. For the principle that all men should be eligible for office does not imply that one man is as good as another. If one thinks it does, one is merely saying that one has contempt for the best that is in one, for the very thing one aspires to. Polity also does away with the equally irrational notion that recognition of the responsibility of choice somehow implies that choice should arbitrarily be limited beforehand.

This example also shows how democratic and oligarchic institutions when isolated from each other tend to undermine each other, but when put in the presence of each other, strengthen and define each other. Polity is a mean. Like the mean of the *Nicomachean Ethics* it contains the extremes in some fashion. But at its best the mean is also different in kind from the extremes. That is by containing them, by bringing them into dialogue with each other, polity transforms the extremes.

Aristotle's connection of polity with the mean is crucial, for it shows that polity is more rational than either of the extremes of oligarchy or democracy. And if it is

more rational it is more capable of doing the apt thing at the fitting time for the right reason. That is it will know when to fight and when to make peace, when to insist on equality and when on difference, when on quantity and when on quality. It will not insist on equality in order to deny rational inequality or on quantity in order to overwhelm quality. It will not make peace, because it fears to fight—or fight because it fears peace. Most simply, it will know the difference between one thing and another, pleasure and pain, knowledge and ignorance, courage and arrogance, strength and power and so on.

The Peloponnesian War represents a denial that political life had shape or proportion and at the same time testifies to the inability to perceive it and stand the pleasure accompanying its perception. One comforted oneself for that inability by destroying others outright or tempting them to destroy themselves, by letting things work, by reductionist thoughts seeking to persuade others because they did not convince oneself. These thoughts tolerated no answers, brooked no obstacles and spread through the weakness which comes of not being able to point to the obvious. Men repeated what they did not believe, because they feared to be overwhelmed by the truth—and its modesty which appeared to them shameless. It is this which Thucydides means when he says things are turned inside out and words denote something close to the opposite of what one used to know.

No one can read Thucydides without wondering if values, if valuing one thing above another, is in any sense a part of nature—rather than something most men pay lip service to, but only fools believe. To ask this question amounts to asking nothing else than if men can live, rather than merely exist, feel life in them rather than merely yearn for it. The Peloponnesian War was a war about the inability to live. With the victory over Persia the Greeks, especially the Athenians, realized they were free to do what they pleased. In the Peloponnesian War they discovered there was nothing stopping them except themselves.

#### Author's Note:

The chief question during the discussion that followed was whether it was anachronistic to describe the struggle between democracy and oligarchy during the Peloponnesian War as a struggle between ideologies. In contrast to the justifications for violent seizure of power since the French Revolution, the Greeks of the fifth century, it was suggested, did not believe that the truth of their views licensed them to do what they could to obtain what they would. More clearheaded about their motives than the moderns, they did not indulge in the fancy that they could fundamentally change human life and character for the better through violence. Finally it came to this: Was Stalin a tyrant simply or a man whose crimes found some excuse in a "higher, self-evident truth"?

This is a fundamental question of our lives and divides our world. Hesitation in its regard tells of tragedy—and invites it. But we hesitate.  
L.R.

Leo Raditsa has been a tutor in Annapolis since 1973. This is the text of a lecture delivered in Annapolis on February 14, 1975.

# Brothers of Our Father Jesus— The Penitentes of the Southwest

by Marta Weigle

Meanwhile, the sun sinking at our backs had turned the cliffs across the valley into splendid cathedral shapes of rose and saffron beauty—a beauty that is touched here in this country with a sometimes terrible sense of eternity, loneliness, and futility. For all the gay laughter of youth on the hillside, the stark parable of the Crucifixion is close to the country's soul. It eats into the heart, this terror; and it is not difficult to imagine how the early Franciscans felt, as they gazed upon this terrible afternoon light on bare mesa and peak, and felt the thorns of this eternal loneliness pressing into their souls. Actual mortification of the flesh is perhaps less poignant. (*Brothers of Light*, 1937, p. 49)

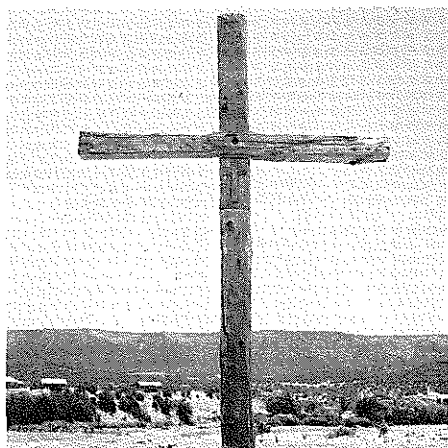
This is how Alice Corbin Henderson describes Good Friday at the tiny New Mexico village of Abiquiú sometime in the early 1930s. Hers is a poet's view of the same land which has since inspired Georgia O'Keefe's artistic vision. It is also a sensitive and compelling account of the Holy Week rituals of the Brothers of Our Father Jesus, more commonly, and too often pejoratively, known as the Penitentes. For nearly two centuries, this lay brotherhood of devout Catholic men (women were generally auxiliaries only) provided material aid and spiritual support to Hispanic villagers in the mountain and river valleys of what is now northern New Mexico and southern Colorado (until 1861 part of New Mexico).

The heart of New Mexican Spanish Catholicism is Franciscan. From the establishment of Don Juan de Oñate's first colony in 1598, until the Pueblo Revolt of

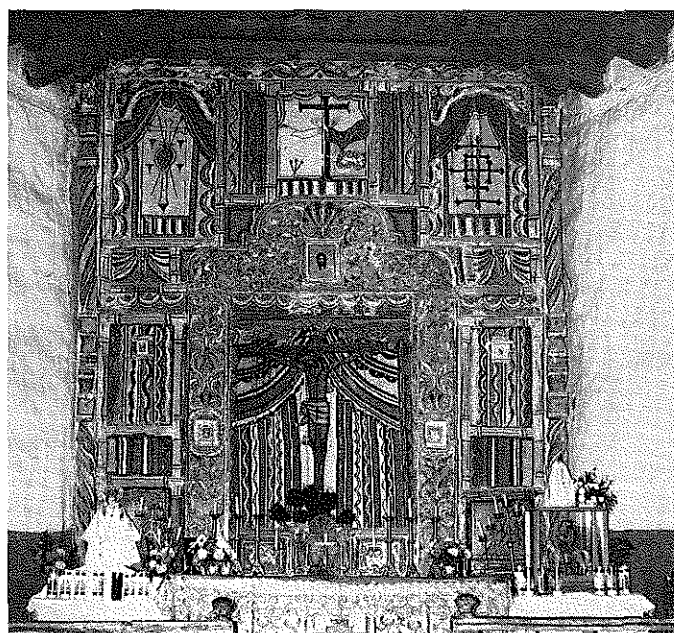
1680, the friars were the only religious on the isolated northern frontier, which was designated the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul and administered from the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel in Mexico City. After Captain General Diego de Vargas' reconquest (1692-96), the colony's spiritual affairs continued to be dominated by the Franciscans.

Although the Custody was officially annexed to the Diocese of Durango in 1729, neither the Bishops of Durango nor the Provincials in Mexico City were ever able to supply sufficient clergy for the remote region. When Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez visited the interior of New Mexico in the spring of 1776, he reported that 22 missions and 20 priests served a population of 18,344, including Indians. In 1812, Don Pedro Bautista Pino's belated report to the Spanish Cortes stated that the 26 Indian Pueblos and 102 Spanish settlements were served by only 22 Franciscan missionaries and 2 secular priests. Pino pleaded with the Spanish authorities to grant New Mexico a bishop and twelve additional ecclesiastics, preferably Franciscans because "the settlers have become so accustomed to seeing the Franciscan gown that it is likely that any other order would not be so welcome."

The beleaguered Spanish government could not heed Pino's pleas, and the ecclesiastical situation in New Mexico continued to deteriorate even after Mexican independence in 1821. In 1833, when Don José Antonio Laureano de Zubiría, Bishop of Durango, made the first episcopal visitation of interior New Mexico since 1760, he was alarmed to find *hermandades de penitencia*, brotherhoods of penance, or, as he preferred to call them, *de carnicería*, of carnage. These Penitentes practiced excessive public self-mortification and cross-bearing and, at least at Santa Cruz, met in a room specially maintained for their purposes. Zubiría considered such congregations and im-



ABOVE: *Calvario*; UPPER RIGHT: The east *morada* at Abiquiú. Built between 1820 and 1850, this may be the oldest surviving *morada* in New Mexico; LOWER RIGHT: Principal *reredos* behind the altar at El Santuario de Chimayó (see cover). The large crucifix represents Our Lord of Esquipulas; its prototype is the miraculous Black Christ of Esquipulas in southeastern Guatemala. Painted images across the top of the *reredos* represent (left to right): the Holy Cross with lance and five wounds of Jesus; the Franciscan emblem, the crossed arms of Christ and St. Francis; and the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, or Cross of the Holy Sepulchre. The figure on horseback in a glass case to the right is St. James, known here as Señor Santiago. (All except photograph above from the Cultural Properties Review Committee-State Planning Office Files, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe).



moderate penances to constitute a potential threat to Church authority. His injunction was the first of many in a long and complicated series of misunderstandings between the Brotherhood and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The exact origins of the Brotherhood will probably never be known, but there is good evidence for a strong Franciscan influence on its rituals and rules. Most likely, the neglected pioneers resourcefully patterned local observances of Holy Week, to them the most important event in the Church year, after rites fostered by the friars. These traditionally included various forms of self-discipline, primarily flagellation, the *Via Crucis* or Way of the Cross, and other devotions centered on the Passion

of Jesus. The emergent Brotherhood also sponsored funeral services, another crucial function in the isolated communities.

On August 18, 1846, acting Governor Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid surrendered New Mexico to Brigadier-General Stephen Watts Kearny, and the northern province of Mexico became the southwestern frontier of the United States. Pope Pius IX transferred the Vicariate Apostolic of New Mexico to the Archdiocese of St. Louis in 1850, and the newly consecrated Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy arrived in Santa Fe in the summer of 1851. The transition to a North American Church largely administered by French clergy was not a smooth one. However, the Brotherhood



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provided an organization through which native Hispanos could learn to cope with new political, ecclesiastical, social, and linguistic forms while preserving familiar patterns of community, worship, and language.

Unfortunately, many Anglo newcomers, few of whom were Catholic, compounded an already difficult situation by publicizing sensational accounts of the "weird" rites of "fanatical" and "death-worshipping" descendants of the Medieval *flagellanti*. These inaccurate descriptions soon led to the desecration of community observances by scores of uncomprehending outsiders. Penitente-hunting became a kind of sport, and the few sober and sensitive portrayals of the Brotherhood, such as Henderson's, were inundated by a stream of irresponsible, opportunistic pieces, which still continue to be published. Such journalism is above all vicious; it disregards both the important year-round fraternal and charitable purposes of the Brotherhood and the faith which inspires this intense devotion to the Passion.

On January 28, 1947, Archbishop Edwin V. Byrne signed an official statement recognizing "the Brothers of Jesus of Nazareth (commonly called the Penitentes), in order to clarify their status both to Catholics as well as to non-Catholics." This was an attempt to end the century or more of difficulty and ambiguity between Church and Brotherhood. Byrne stated "that the Association of Hermanos de Nuestro Señor Jesus Nazareno is not a fanatical sect apart from the church, as some seem to think, but an association of Catholic men united together in love for the passion and death of our Blessed Lord and Saviour."

The late Don Miguel Archibeque was largely responsible for paving the way to this reconciliation. He helped organize local chapters and councils of chapters into the Archbishop's Supreme Council, and Byrne appointed him the first *Hermano Supremo Arzobispal* (Archbishop's Supreme Brother). (The third *Hermano Supremo Arzobispal*, Sr. M. Santos Melendez of Mora and Albuquerque, now leads the Brotherhood.) In 1958, Archbishop Byrne presented Archibeque with a copy of a limited edition portfolio entitled *The Way of the Cross: A New Mexico Version* and edited by Reginald Fisher. In part, a translation of the inscription reads:

For Don Miguel Archibeque . . . in appreciation of the important role his Brotherhood has had in the development and preservation of this beautiful expression of the true vocation of New Mexico Spanish people.

Brotherhood devotion is expressed through prayer, meditation, discipline, and music in both public and private rituals and processions. None of these expressions are aberrant; all have precedent in the history of Spanish Catholicism and its mystical, penitential and Franciscan traditions. Together, they added a vital sacred dimension to rural life in the harsh new land.

It is impossible to describe a single Brotherhood ritual.

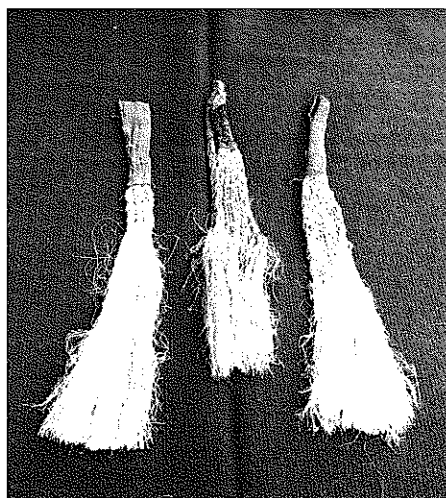
Observances vary from year to year and from place to place. An elected *Hermano Mayor* (Elder Brother), guided by local tradition and contemporary conditions, oversees all worship, deciding which services, processions, and penances are collectively appropriate for that Holy Week. Individual Brothers also have various personal vows to fulfill through particular exercises or visits. The brief descriptions which follow are therefore generalized, and they refer not to current practices, which have been considerably modified and are more often conducted in private, but to customary patterns of worship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Throughout Lent local chapters, called *moradas* (a word which also refers to the Brothers' meeting-house itself), met on Friday nights to worship and prepare for Holy Week. From Holy Tuesday through Good Friday night, the Brothers would be in retreat at the *morada*. During this time they slept little—maintaining constant vigils, welcoming and worshipping with groups of visitors from the village and from neighboring *moradas*, and undertaking various public and private processions and services. Their nutritious, meatless meals were brought to them by specially designated men or female auxiliaries.

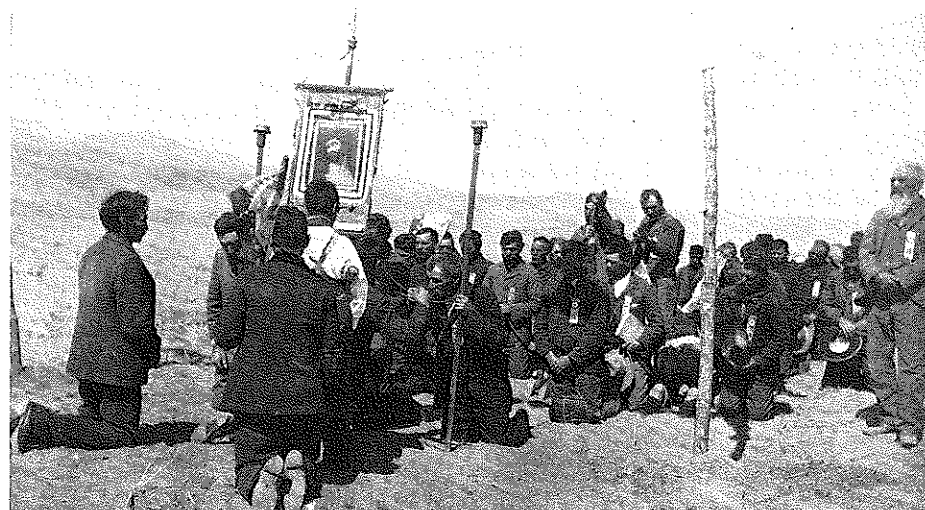
Penances included fasting, long hours of prayer and meditation while kneeling on *arroz* ("rice"—small, sharp stones from anthills strewn on the floor of the *morada* chapel), and self-flagellation with *disciplinas* (whips) of loosely plaited yucca fibre. Another common form was to drag a heavy wooden *madero* (cross) to a spot designated as the *Calvario* (Calvary) by a large upright cross. This discipline was especially strenuous because *maderos* are taller than a man and weigh several hundred pounds. Still other penitents might wrap themselves in ropes, cactus, or chains, or bind their arms to small crosses.

Novices and Brothers engaged in active penance were known as *Hermanos de Sangre* (Brothers of Blood). *Hermanos de Luz* (Brothers of Light) were either the elected officials of the *morada* or all full-fledged members accompanying those doing penance. When active penitents appeared in public procession, they wore not only the obligatory white *calzones* (trousers) of the *Hermano disciplinante* (Brother in discipline) but also a black *venda* (hood) to insure humility.

In certain *moradas*, pulling the death cart was a traditional penance, especially during Good Friday processions. Carved figures of *La Muerte* (Death, known in New Mexico as *Nuestra Comadre Sebastiana* or *Doña Sebastiana*), depicted as a skeleton uncovered or clothed in black, were seated in small *carretas* (carts) filled with stones to increase the difficulty of the exercise. One or two Brothers dragged the cart by means of a horsehair rope over the shoulders and around the bare chest. Instead of the traditional scythe, New Mexican *Muertes* carried a bow and arrow or occasionally a wooden hatchet. Almost every village preserved a legend recounting the time *Sebastiana's* arrow felled an unbelieving bystander.



ABOVE: *Yucca disciplinas*. The whips were dipped in an antiseptic solution before use. UPPER RIGHT: The simulated crucifixion at San Mateo, New Mexico, on Good Friday, 1925. This was an elaborate enactment, much closer to a passion play than most. Note that all three men are standing on platforms. RIGHT: *Nuestra Comadre Sebastiana*, Death in her cart with drawn bow and arrow. Photograph taken in the 1930's. BELOW: Brothers from Cuba, New Mexico (wearing ribbons signifying official status), are received by Brothers from Cubero, New Mexico, April c. 1908. Before 1912, Brothers from Cuba made a lengthy annual pilgrimage of several hundred miles. Note the standard at their head and the violinist and guitarist standing in their midst. (Upper right and right from the Dorothy Woodward Collection, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. Photograph below from the Collections in the Museum of New Mexico, reproduced here from Weigle, *The Penitentes of the Southwest*, with permission of Ancient City Press, Santa Fe.)



BELOW: Six Brothers of Blood flagellate themselves during an exercise at a *Calvario*. Photograph taken by E. M. Cosner, probably near Wagon Mound, New Mexico, in the early 1890's, and copyrighted in 1896. (From the Dorothy Woodward Collection, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.)



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However, the Brotherhood did not worship death; *Muerte* figures and sometimes human skulls served as *mementa mori*, reminders of mortality and of the necessity to prepare the soul for its departure from the body.

Whatever their form, penitential exercises were never uncontrolled masochistic or sadistic tortures. Outside the *morada*, penitents were almost always accompanied by *Acompañadores* or *Ayudantes* (Helpers) and by Brothers singing, praying, playing the *pito* (flute), and carrying small crosses and *santos* (sacred images) as guides. Devotion, not destruction, was the goal of self-discipline.

Revenant Brothers often joined night-time processions. These ghostly penitents appeared as transparent, hooded figures who scourged themselves silently on bloodless backs. They were thought to be deceased members who had either broken vows or been unable to fulfill them due to an untimely death. Stories of such encounters also instilled respect for Brotherhood privacy among non-members. In fact, many villagers referred to Brothers of Blood as people of the dead and kept their distance from such processions.

The community was invited to visit the *morada* during Holy Week and to participate with the Brothers in certain observances. Brothers and other villagers followed an outdoor Way of the Cross on various occasions. Small wooden crosses marked each of the fourteen *Estaciones* (Stations). Worshippers knelt at each one while the *Rezador* (Reader) read an appropriate meditation and led the prayers. *Alabados* (hymns) were sung as the people walked to the next Station.

Most enactments of final events in Jesus' earthly life were highly stylized and symbolic tableaux which focused on a single moment and more often involved wooden *santos* than human actors. Some *moradas* dramatized the *Emprendimiento* (the seizure and religious trial of Jesus) on Holy Thursday. Many observed *El Encuentro* (the Encounter), the meeting of Jesus and His mother along His way to Calvary (the Fourth Station of the Cross), on Good Friday morning.

*El Encuentro* is an especially moving rite, particularly for the women. They process from the church or chapel, carrying an image of the Virgin Mary, usually *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* (Our Lady of Sorrows). The Brothers come from the *morada* bearing a large robed statue of the *Cristo* with arms bound and a crown of thorns. When the two groups meet, there is a recitation or a hymn commemorating the Passion. At the appropriate time, the figures are tipped and brought close together in a symbolic last embrace of Mother and Son. In some places, elements of the sixth Station of the Cross, Veronica wiping Jesus' face, were incorporated into the *Encuentro*; in others, *Las Veronicas*, young village girls, took part in Good Friday afternoon observances.

The simulated crucifixion, which formerly took place on Good Friday afternoon, was a climactic time of intense religious feeling. The man who played the cherished role

of the *Cristo* was chosen by miracle or inspiration, by lot, by appointment, or by selection from among petitioners. Since actual crucifixion was never intended (and rarely resulted), this man was usually young and sturdy, and his sacrifice closely supervised. There is absolutely no substantiated evidence for nails ever having been used, and it seems very unlikely that the community would risk losing any able-bodied man.

Two contemporary accounts by sympathetic onlookers convey the sense of this momentous interlude. The first is set at Córdova, New Mexico, during the early part of this century. Lorin W. Brown, then a resident of the village, wrote the description for the New Mexico Writers' Project of the W.P.A.

In front of the *morada* is a large cross used on this occasion. Amidst the weeping of the women and the pitying comments of the men, the blind-folded figure is led to the base of the cross. To a descriptive reading of this scene in the life of the Redeemer, he is raised to the beam. His arms are tied tightly, and his legs are cruelly bound to partially support his body. His head drops to his chest as impeded circulation makes him lose consciousness. A sponge is carried to his lips, simulating the scene on Calvary. After a time, his apparently lifeless body is carefully lowered and carried inside the *morada*, there to be brought back to life by massage and hot drinks brewed from herbs. The crowd leaves, this last scene so impressed on their minds that some of the women are still sobbing.

The second account is Henderson's; it precedes the interpretive paragraph quoted at the beginning of this article. In the 1920s and 1930s, the village of Abiquiú was often mobbed by curious outsiders during Holy Week, and many writers, artists, and even the Governor of New Mexico witnessed Brotherhood observances.

The *Morada* meanwhile gave no sign of life, save for a thin line of smoke going up from the chimney and, in watching the people on this hillside, we had almost forgotten the object of our waiting, when, without any preamble whatsoever, a man came out the door of the *Morada* and commenced to dig a small deep hole a little way in front of the house. The whole hillside became hushed at once, and everyone crowded along the stone wall.

. . . Then, finally, a group of men came out carrying a small wooden platform on which stood the almost life-sized *Cristo* in a red dress. Again the door opened, and the heavy cross, with a living man bound upon it, was carried out, with its cross-beam upward, through the door and laid upon the ground with its foot on the edge of the

hole made ready to receive it. Slowly and carefully the cross was raised into place, turned facing the *Morada*, and made firm; and on the cross hung the supreme penitent, in imitation of his Saviour. Facing the penitent on the cross stood the red-robed *Cristo*, who, with eyes no longer blindfolded, thus acknowledged His living disciple. At the foot of the cross, the *Hermano Mayor* and other leaders of the Brotherhood knelt praying. The black-cowled figure on the cross wore only the white cotton drawers rolled up as a loin-cloth. His wrists and arms were bound to the main timber by a horse-hair rope. Around his chest, a band of linen supplemented the rope, and eased the strain somewhat.

For ten, fifteen, seventeen minutes . . . the figure hung on the cross; then the black-cowled head suddenly fell forward, the body slumped, and the men slowly lowered the cross and carried it into the *Morada* with the limp figure hanging upon it. The men with the *Cristo* followed singing and the door closed upon them. (*Brothers of Light*, 1937, pp. 45, 46, 49)

Clearly, neither of these scenes is a literally enacted passion play as many outsiders have intimated. Passion plays as such were unusual, and the Passion was more frequently evoked through long narrative hymns (Richard Stark of St. John's in Santa Fe is preparing a detailed historical and musicological study of New Mexican *alabados*.), the Way of the Cross, penitential processions, and these stylized, dramatic tableaux.

The final observance during Holy Week was *Las Tinieblas*, *Tenebrae* services very similar to official Roman Catholic ones. During the Middle Ages, *Tenebrae* (from the Latin: darkness, lower world, death) were conducted in total darkness, giving the ritual its name. Psalms were sung and candles extinguished one by one to indicate the Apostles' desertion of Jesus. The removal of the last candle symbolized Jesus' burial and its reappearance His resurrection. The din at the end was originally the sound of chant books being closed, but it came to be interpreted as the chaos following Jesus' death at the "sixth hour," when "there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour, while the sun's light failed" (Luke 23:44-45, RSV), and "the curtain of the temple was torn in two, from top to bottom; and the earth shook, and the rocks were split; the tombs also were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised, and coming out of the tombs after his resurrection they went into the holy city and appeared to many" (Matthew 27:51-53, RSV).

Usually held on Holy Thursday and Good Friday nights and preceded by a *rosario* (rosary service), the Brotherhood's *Las Tinieblas* is open to members and non-members. In the past, active penitents might prostrate them-

selves in front of the door so worshippers would step on them while entering the church or *morada*. Then the Brothers of Blood would gather in the back or in a side room for the service.

After the doors are closed, the only light comes from thirteen to seventeen candles in the triangular white *candelabro* (candelabrum), the black *tenebrario* (special candle holder), or on the altar. Each candle or pair of candles is extinguished following the singing of an *alabado* verse. When the last light has been removed or covered, a signal is given, and a period of loud, raucous noise ensues. Chains, *matracas* (wooden ratchets), drums, flutes, clapping, and stamping simulate the time of chaos. Formerly, the Brothers of Blood flagellated themselves during the cacaphony. The tumult alternates with periods of silence during which *sudarios* (prayers for the dead) are offered for deceased relatives by request from various members of the audience. The single candle is finally brought back, and the rest relit from it. If the event is held in a church, the Brothers leave first, walking backward through the front door. If it is at a *morada*, the visitors depart immediately.

Lenten and Holy Week observances have been emphasized in most accounts of the Brotherhood, but they are by no means the only important purpose of the organization. The Brothers of Our Father Jesus require fraternity, community, and piety of all members. They annually commemorate the Passion of Jesus, but they also attempt to emulate His life by living simply and morally and by performing unobtrusive good deeds. This rule is vividly expressed by former Brother Cleofes Vigil of San Cristóbal, New Mexico. Vigil is quoted in Stan Steiner's *La Raza* (Harper & Row, New York, 1970, p. 4). He describes the old days when a man whose harvest was ready did not have to ask help from his neighbor because: "His neighbor watched the field of his neighbor, and he knew when it was time to go and help. . . That is the way it should be. A man should help his neighbor without being asked."

In the past at least, *moradas* conducted important rituals at times of death, during Lent and Holy Week, and on various feast days. The Brothers are still organized to render mutual aid and to help their communities throughout the year to the best of their now limited resources. Collective as well as individual life is thus enhanced and has at times been sustained by the Brotherhood's objectives and observances.

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Marta Weigle was a Freshman at St. John's, Annapolis, in 1961-1962, went on to Radcliffe, and took her Ph.D. degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1971, with a dissertation on the Brotherhood. She is now a member of the Faculty of the University of New Mexico. Her publications include *The Penitentes of the Southwest* (1970) and (as editor) *Echoes of the Flute* (1972). A volume she edited on *Hispanic Villages of Northern New Mexico* is due out this summer, and in the winter the University of New Mexico Press is bringing out her two-volume work tentatively entitled *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood: The Penitentes of the Southwest*.

# AUTHOR'S INDEX

April 1969—April 1975

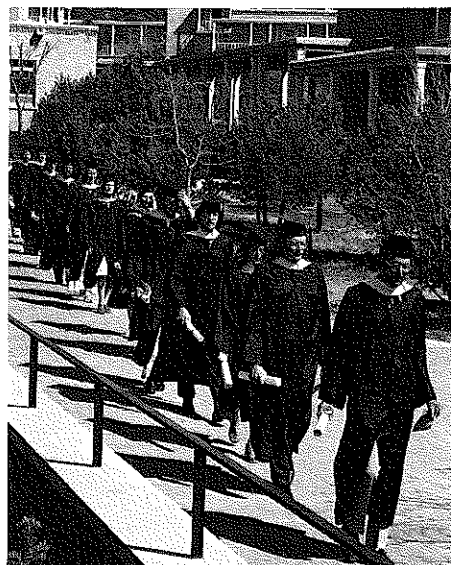
The College completed its sixth year of publication in April, an event which was not, we regret, properly noted at the time. In belated celebration, then, and in recognition of the place which the magazine has come to occupy in the life of the College, we thought an index of authors might be appropriate and useful. And it is to those people that we owe whatever success the magazine has enjoyed.

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	St. John's College Asks John Locke Some Questions	Apr 71
Ham, Michael W. '61	<i>Black Mountain</i> ; a book review	Apr 73
Jacobsen, Bryce '42	"When Is St. John's Going To Resume Athletics?"	Apr 70
Kass, Amy Apfel	The Liberal Arts Movement: from Ideas to Practice	Oct 73
Kieffer, John S.	A World I Never Made	Apr 69
	Iola Scofield, A Memorial	Jul 72

Author	Title	Issue
Klein, Jacob	The Problem of Freedom	Dec 69
	A Giving of Accounts (with Leo Strauss)	Apr 70
	The Myth of Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i>	Dec 70
	On Precision	Oct 71
	Discussion As a Means of Teaching and Learning	Dec 71
	Speech, Its Strengths and Weaknesses	Jul 73
	Memorial to Leo Strauss	Jan 74
	Plato's <i>Phaedo</i>	Jan 75
Kutler, Samuel S. '54	Mathematics as a Liberal Art	Jul 69
Littleton, Michael S.	Prayers	Jul 70
Mackey, Kimo '77	The Odyssey of the "Cresta"	Apr 75
McGrath, Hugh P.	An Address for The Rededication of the Library	Dec 69
Neidorf, Robert A.	Biological Explanation	Apr 70
	The Ontological Argument	Apr 72
	Old Wars; Commencement Address, Annapolis, 1972	Jul 72
Ossorgin, Michael	"How Is The Seminar?"	Apr 69
	Two Writings in the Sand; Santa Fe Baccalaureate Address, 1974	Jul 74
Ruhm von Oppen, Beate	Bach's Rhetoric	Jan 75
Scofield, Richard	The Habit of Literature	Dec 69
Simpson, Thomas K. '50	Faraday's Thought on Electromagnetism	Jul 70
Slakey, Thomas	Personal Freedom	Sep 70
Smith, Joseph Winfree	The Teaching of Theology to Undergraduates	Jul 69
	Commencement Address, Annapolis, 1970	Jul 70
	Aristotle's <i>Ethics</i>	Jan 73
	Memorial to Leo Strauss	Jan 74
Spaeth, Robert L.	An Interview with Robert Bart and Peter Weiss	Apr 73
	An Interview with Alvin Fross	Jul 73
Sparrow, Edward G.	Logic and Reason	Apr 71
	Noun and Verb	Jul 71
Strauss, Leo	A giving of Accounts (with Jacob Klein)	Apr 70
	What is a Liberal Education?	Jan 74
Van Doren, Mark	How to Praise a World That May Not Last	Dec 71
Weigle, Richard D.	The Liberal Arts College: Anachronism or Paradigm?	Sep 69
	The Report of the President	Sep 69
	The Report of the President	Sep 70
	The Report of the President	Oct 71
	The Report of the President	Oct 72
	The Report of the President	Oct 73
	The Report of the President	Oct 74
Williamson, Ray & Abigail	Plastering Day	Jul 74
Wilson, Curtis A.	Reflections on the Idea of Science	Dec 70
Zelenka, Robert S.	The Ruin	Jan 75
	<i>Hommage à Dietrich Buxtehude</i>	Jan 75
Zuckerman, Elliott	The Magic Fire and The Magic Flute	Dec 69
	What Is The Question?	Apr 73



# COMMENCEMENTS



Santa Fe graduates, from the right: Boyd Cooke Pratt, Jonathan Morgan Teague, Alice Gibbs Ericsson, George Kevin Johnson, Russell Wayne Mayfield.

## SANTA FE COMMENCEMENT

Robert A. Neidorf, dean of St. John's in Santa Fe, delivered the address to the graduating seniors at the eighth commencement on the New Mexico campus on Sunday, May 18th. Twenty-three seniors received the Bachelor of Arts degree during the commencement ceremonies.

*Summa Cum Laude*—Boyd Cooke Pratt.

*Magna Cum Laude*—Jonathan Morgan Teague.

*Cum Laude*—Alice Gibbs Ericsson, George Kevin Johnson, Russell Wayne Mayfield, Thomas J. Myers.

Rite—Ellen Gates Anderson, Sandra Mason Bell, Kathryn Marie Brewer, Christopher Hudson Chase, Daniel Patterson Dabney, Mark Paul Habrel, Sheldon Cary Heitner, Leslie Marie Johnson, Nancy Susan Miller, Giselle Suzanne Minoli, Anne Charlotte Ray,

Margaret Mary Sheehan, Richard Martin Skaug, Elizabeth Greer Strider, Jeffrey Elvin Teague, David Bruce Wallace, Dennis Yaro.

## SANTA FE AWARDS AND PRIZES

During the commencement ceremonies in Santa Fe, certain annual prizes and awards were presented:

A silver medal for the senior with the highest standing, from the Board of Visitors and Governors—Boyd Clarke Pratt. The Duane L. Peterson Scholarship, for a junior—Matthew Gale Krane.

The Bromwell Ault Memorial Scholarships—Class of 1976: Christian Burks, Mark Laird Copper, Michael Alan Gross, Glenda Kay Holladay, Matthew Gale Krane, Barbara Lynn Skaug; Class of 1977: Debra Deanne Carroll, Jane Frances Chambers, Michael Rutherford Jones.

The St. John's College Community Scholarships—Class of 1976: Paula Jean Fuls, Denise Claire Waxman; Class of 1977: Kim Brian Childs, Walter Thomas Featherly; Class of 1978: Glen Bostwick Meredith, Thomas William Wood.

The Alfred J. Verratti Science Scholarship—Walter Thomas Featherly.

Acknowledgements of Excellence were awarded as follows for the purpose indicated: Senior Essay (Margo Dawn Gerber Memorial Prize)—Alice Gibbs Ericsson and Boyd Cooke Pratt; Junior Annual Essay—Matthew Gale Krane; Sophomore Annual Essay—Shaun Kelly Abshire and Glen Bostwick Meredith; Poem Cycle (The Henry Austin Poetry Prize)—Teresa Jane Engler; Poem—Russell Wayne Mayfield; Musical Composition—Gregory John Gillette; Essay Relating to Laboratory Program—Dean Harvey McFalls.



## ANNAPOLIS COMMENCEMENT

The Annapolis commencement was held inside for the second time in three years, as lowering clouds and rain covered the Annapolis area. A crowd of parents, students, alumni, and friends, overflowing the Francis Scott Key Auditorium onto the stage, saw a record sixty-five members of the Class of 1975, plus three from earlier classes, receive their diplomas on May 25th. Robert S. Bart, an Annapolis tutor, had been selected by the students to deliver the traditional address (see elsewhere in this issue).

*Magna Cum Laude*—George Malcolm Davidson Anastaplo, Michael Gerard Dink, Peter Thornton Fox, Christopher Hannes Hoving, Nancy Marie Polk, Edward Cary Stickney.

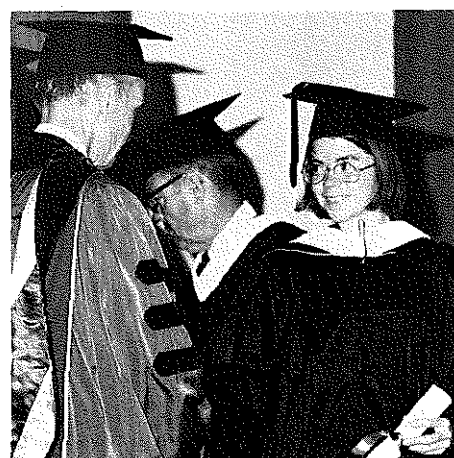
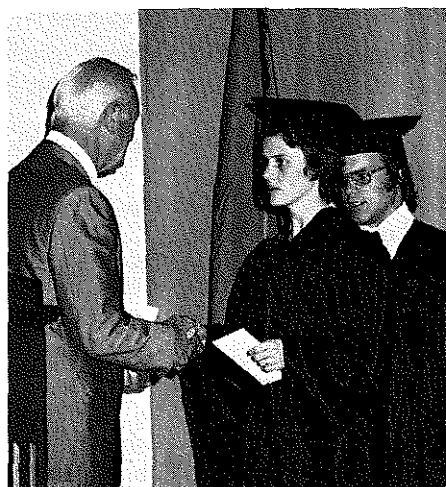
*Cum Laude*—Carol Josephine Alberto, David James Ashmore, Ted Arland Blanton, Madeleine Sophie Clarke, Daniel Timothy Feinstein, James Nelson Jarvis, Mary Sarah Rogers, Lawrence Alan Sonnenfeldt, Kevin Stacey, Elizabeth Fort Tomlinson, Shiu-Chun Wong, Rebecca Anne Zlatoff.

Rite—Thomas Marvin Ash, III, G. Kay Bishop, Laura Tremaine Bridgman, Jonathon Lee Church, Rachel Channon Crain, Derek Evan Cross,



Above: "Carol Josephine Alberto of Martinsville, Virginia, *Cum Laude*," first to receive her diploma from President Weigle.

Upper and lower right: Edward Cary Stickney and Laura Tremaine Bridgman tied for the Susan Irene Roberts prize for best senior essay. Mr. Stickney also received the Tydings prize for excellence in speaking. Below: Madeleine Sophie Clarke and Michael Gerard Dink were the first recipients of the new Alumni Association awards for contributions to the athletic program. Association President Bernard F. Gessner '27 makes the presentation.



Jane Ellen D'Agnese, Sandra Davenport, Matthew Octave DeBacker, Sallie Ann Dobrer, Bairj Donabedian, Gershon Ekman, George Frederick Ellis, Sara Coulson Ellis, Donald Stephen Feldman, Paul Seth Fishleder, Mary Carla Garrettson, Seth Lawrence Ginsburg, Caren Leigh Greisman, Mark Stephen Gruber, Gene Heller, Michael Edward Hendry, Charles Edward Niblett Hoffacker, Arthur Clyde Horvath, Eugene Geno Iorgov, Jr.

Dennis James Johnson, Patricia Anne Joyce, Eugene Thomas Kelly, Christopher Austin King, Cynthia Ann Kirschner, Peter Lionel Kniaz, John Maxwell Larson, Joyce Susan Mendlin, Lisa Chedzoy Morrison, Dale Burton Mortimer, Christine R. Paulson, Elizabeth Ann Peterson, Harriet Ann Quesenberry, John Elwood Rogers, Tina Joanne Saddy, Marguerite Judson Smith, Elizabeth Jean Tracy, Annette Therese Tullier, Robert G. Tzudiker,

K. C. Victor, Stephen Charles Weber.

As of the Class of 1974: Geoffrey Eareckson Cockey and JoAnn Marie Risburg Mollin.

As of the Class of 1972: Theophus Harold Smith.

#### ANNAPOLIS AWARDS AND PRIZES

Certain awards and prizes were presented during the Annapolis commencement ceremonies, among them a new athletic award sponsored by the Alumni Association:

A silver medal for the senior who has the highest standing, from the Board of Visitors and Governors—Michael Gerard Dink. The Duane L. Peterson Scholarship, for a junior—Joseph Michael DiGeorge.

The C. Markland Kelly, Jr., Memorial Scholarships—junior David Evan Clement, sophomore Vicki Louise Cass, freshman Terry Clifton Schuld. The Joan Yvonne Ronay

Memorial Scholarship, to a junior—Julia Perkins. The Senator Millard E. Tydings award for excellence in speaking—Edward Cary Stickney.

Best senior essay—Laura Tremaine Bridgman and Edward Cary Stickney. Best junior essay—Honorable mention: Susan Elizabeth Kirk and Katherine Myfanwy Owen. Best sophomore essay—Stephanie Meline Eiger. Best freshman essay—Caroline Elizabeth Allen.

Freshman-Sophomore mathematics prize—Eric Huang Wefald. Best Greek translation—Joseph Orville Olson. Best translation of a French poem—Barbara Lois Schmittel. Best original English poem—Catherine Elizabeth Allen.

To the senior man and woman, who by their participation, leadership, and sportsmanship, have contributed most to the College's athletic program, special maroon blazers, offered by the Alumni Association—Madeleine Sophie Clarke and Michael Gerard Dink.

# CAMPUS—ALUMNI NEWS



Yale/St. John's College Consort—Left to right: Mary Posses, David Irwin, Manuel Maramba, Richard Weinhaus, David Gordon.

## YALE-ST. JOHN'S MUSIC

With the end of the academic year the first year of the musicians-in-residence program on the Santa Fe campus comes to an end. A cooperative effort involving the Yale University School of Music and St. John's College brought five May 1974 Master's degree graduates of the Yale School of Music to spend the year in Santa Fe, teaching freshmen music tutorials and attending twice weekly seminars in addition to performing frequently as the Yale/St. John's College Consort.

The musicians were Mary Posses, David Irwin, David Gordon, Richard Weinhaus and Manuel P. Maramba.

Mary Posses, flute and piccolo, is a native New Yorker who attended Wellesley College and received a B.A. degree from Yale magna cum laude before doing graduate work.

David Irwin, clarinet, is from Atlanta, Georgia and received his Bachelor of Music degree from Florida State University.

David Gordon, bassoon, is a New Mexican. He was born in Espanola, graduated from Espanola High School and received a Bachelor of Music Education degree from the University of New Mexico.

Richard Weinhaus, double bass and guitar, is an Amherst College graduate who has done other graduate work at Wesleyan University in Afro-American

music and cross-cultural comparisons of church music in the Middle Ages.

Manuel P. Maramba, piano and harpsichord, is a native of the Philippine Islands. He received his Bachelor of Music degree from the University of St. Tomas in Manila and a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy from San Beda College there. He also holds a Bachelor of Music degree in composition from Peabody Conservatory of Music in Baltimore, Maryland, and is now working toward a D.M.A. from Yale.

The group presented the third of the regular College concert series concerts in December, and in April joined oboist Henry Schuman, violist John Graham, violinist Leonard Felberg, and cellist Joanna de Keyser for a formal Friday night concert at the College.

They presented two concerts at the University of New Mexico, one at New Mexico Highlands University, one at the College of Santa Fe, and one at the Santa Fe Preparatory School in addition to a number of concerts at churches in northern New Mexico communities. The church performances were usually Sunday afternoon presentations featuring classical music as well as early Spanish music performed on the harpsichord and guitar.

Last fall three of the musicians, billed as the Yale Woodwind Trio, played a half dozen special concerts for the Los Alamos elementary schools. Each performance was attended by approximately 150 children and consisted of several pieces by Bach, a discussion of the instruments, and a question and answer session.

In March they presented a concert at St. Francis Auditorium in the Fine Arts Museum in downtown Santa Fe for the joint benefit of the Museum of New Mexico Foundation and St. John's.

This spring the group traveled to the Navajo reservation in northwestern New Mexico to play concerts at the Ramah Indian School.

Manuel P. Maramba presented a special program of Spanish music at the International Folk Art Museum sponsored by El Instituto Hispanico de Santa Fe.

In addition, the group has presented more than a dozen informal Sunday and Wednesday night programs in the Great Hall primarily for the enjoyment of the College community.

## SANTA FE SENIORS RAISE MONEY

A check for \$3,465.20 was presented to St. John's College President Richard D. Weigle during commencement exercises in Santa Fe on Sunday, May 18. Senior Sheldon Heitner in making the presentation explained that the amount represented proceeds from the Gregory Peck personal appearance and evening of films sponsored by the Senior Class last month.

The class voted the money to be added to the fund for building a gymnasium which was started by a gift from last year's graduating class.

On behalf of the Class of 1975, Heitner thanked the people of Santa Fe for their generous support of the benefit, and to Gregory Peck for graciously volunteering to come to Santa Fe to appear with two of his best known films, *To Kill A Mockingbird* and *The Gunfighter*.

## AWARD OF MERIT

Once again the call goes forth for nominations for the annual Alumni Award of Merit. Association President B. F. Gessner invites all alumni to let him know of potential candidates, and requests that sufficient information

## ALUMNI COMMUNICATIONS

Two years ago Peter Fairbanks, then an about-to-be-graduated senior, suggested a very simple way to help alumni keep in touch with the College—and thus the Communicard was born. Instant success, to say the least, and certainly worth doing again. Thus the card you will find enclosed in this issue; please use it to keep your Alumni Office informed of your doings.

about each candidate be included to permit thorough evaluation. The records of the College do not always contain complete and up-to-date information on all alumni.

The Award, first presented in 1950, is made to an alumnus (alumna) "for distinguished and meritorious service to the United States or to his (her) native state or to St. John's College, or for outstanding achievement within

his (her) chosen field." There may be as many as three awards made each year, although the Alumni Association is not required to grant any awards.

Address confidential letters of nomination to B. F. Gessner, c/o Alumni Office, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. 21404. The envelope should be marked "Award", and all nominations should reach the Alumni Office no later than September 1.

## CLASS NOTES

### 1928

Another well-deserved honor for historian Louis L. Snyder: the New Jersey Institute of Technology presented him with a special citation at its Eighth Annual New Jersey Writers Conference on April 26th. Professor Snyder, who teaches history at The City College of the City University of New York, is Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (McGraw-Hill) and a prolific author and book reviewer.

### 1929

Sanford Stephen Neal, Jr., was ordained a deacon on Sunday, June 15th, at The Cathedral Church of St. Luke in Orlando, Fla., by The Right Reverend William H. Fowell, Bishop of Central Florida.

### 1934

The Rev. Robert L. Jones has retired from active ministry and is living in Annapolis.

### 1935

Our deepest and most embarrassed apologies to John C. Donohue, who, on May 10th, during the half-time of the Hopkins-Navy game, was inducted into the National Lacrosse Hall of Fame: there is no Maryland Lacrosse Hall of Fame; we were incorrect in the item in the April issue.

### 1938

Francis Elwood Barkman has been a pro-

fessor of law at the University of Toledo (Ohio) College of Law since 1962. He joined the faculty there in 1956 after ten years with the law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell of New York City. After graduation *magna cum laude et cum honore* (in economics), Elwood earned a J.D. degree from the Duke University School of Law, and has done post-graduate work at the University of Denver, Harvard University, and New York University; from the latter he received the LL.M. degree in 1967. He has been admitted to the bar in Maryland, New York, and Ohio, and to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States. He is also active in a number of professional associations.

### 1945

Robert L. Campbell's book about ghetto education, *The Chasm*, was nominated for a National Book Award this year.

Another author in the class is William Goldsmith, a professor of history at Brandeis University. Bill has written a three-volume, 2,340 page work entitled *The Growth of Presidential Power: A Documented History* (Chelsea House-R. R. Bowker, 1975). In his foreword, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., writes: "In the earlier period Professor Goldsmith's book would have been invaluable. After Vietnam and Watergate it is indispensable."

### 1946

More evidence that St. John's alumni can indeed write: John M. Cuddihy's book *The Ordeal of Civility: Marx, Levi-Strauss, and the Jewish struggle with Modernity*. (Basic Books,

## STUDENT COUNSELING AT HOMECOMING

The Director of Placement for the Annapolis campus, Brenda Robertson, has identified the general interest areas of the class of 1976. Some 63% are now thinking of graduate school of one sort or another. In view of this, the Alumni Counseling session at Homecoming will concentrate on graduate schools.

The Homecoming Committee would like alumni volunteers to help with the counseling, and asks that those interested get in touch with the Alumni Office in Annapolis. The areas in which help is needed are: alternate health care, anthropology, art history, classics, criminal justice, economics, education, engineering, history of science, journalism, languages, law, library science, mathematics, medicine, music, philosophy.

1975) was reviewed, for instance, in the April 7th issue of *Time*.

### 1947

After fifteen years as an associate on the staff of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Stephen Benedict last January joined the Council on Foundations, to direct a new advisory project on cultural programming, "Project in the Arts." Steve has long been interested and involved in the arts, and has participated actively in a number of local and national arts organizations. The "Project in the Arts" will, among other functions, advise philanthropic foundations on opportunities for support of cultural activities.

### 1949

Allan P. Hoffman is a candidate for Trustee of the Village of Lawrence (N.Y.). Al is a governor of the Lawrence Association, vice president and national marketing manager of Handy-Andy Specialty Co., Inc., of New York City, and has been active in a variety of civic and philanthropic organizations.

### 1960

Last summer John E. Gorecki received the Ph.D. degree in English from the University of South Carolina. His dissertation was on Milton's images of Satan in *Paradise Lost* and their traditional implications. He would like to hear from his classmates and friends, and may be addressed at the Department of English, University of South Carolina at Allendale, Allendale, South Carolina 29819. He is teaching there and working on publications on Milton and other writers.

1962

Neil C. Potash left us a note the other day, saying that he now works in the Hall of Records on the Annapolis campus, and is engaged to be married in December.

1966

David E. Long has announced his candidacy for mayor of Boston from the Massachusetts Libertarian Party. David's campaign platform features wide repeal of almost all laws regulating transportation, gambling, alcoholic beverages, drugs, sex among consenting adults, and many other activities.

1967

Clark Lobenstine has received a Patterson Memorial Fellowship from the Louisville (Ky.) Presbyterian Seminary. The fellowship provides \$2,000 for graduate study in any institution of his choice. Clark will delay his graduate work for two or three years in order to take advantage of his earlier appointment as director of the United Crescent Hill Ministries in Louisville (see *The College*, April 1975).

1968

Word from the Alburys in Australia: Randy tells us that Becky is a research assistant at the University of Sydney, in the Government Department, on a nuclear weapons strategy project.

1969

Miss Nancy Elizabeth Leighton of Baltimore and Harold O. Koenig were married on Saturday, May 24th, at the Cathedral Church of the Incarnation in Baltimore. Richard D. Ferrier was best man, and Henry C. Constantine '70 was one of the ushers.

Mark Mandel writes that he is progressing toward his Ph.D. degree in linguistics at the University of California at Berkeley. Mark's work on a project in theoretical linguistics will be helped, starting this summer, by the NSF fellowship he has just been awarded.

1970

Miss Charlotte Fletcher tells us that Ed Macierowski received an M.A. degree two or three years ago, and is now finishing up the second half of his licentiate thesis on St. Thomas' critique of Ibn Sina's theory of ema-

nation. Ed is studying at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto.

1971

Cliff Martin has passed his candidacy examinations for the Ph.D. degree at Pennsylvania State University.

1972

Ray Boedecker has received an M.A. degree in education from Catholic University, and is teaching at Georgetown (D.C.) Day School. Ray and Jane (Silberman) are living in McLean, Va.

Jean Carr writes from New Orleans that she received her M.A. degree in biology from Mount Holyoke College last November. Since that time she has completed course work toward a doctorate in epidemiology at Tulane School of Public Health in New Orleans. She has taken a job as field epidemiologist for a project studying occupational pulmonary diseases, and hopes the work will provide research material for her dissertation. Although her project will require travel to factories all over the country, Jean is obviously very happy to have New Orleans as a home base.

Karen Shavin stopped to tell us that she and Thomas Crabtree were married last October 6th in Greater Baltimore Medical Center, where she was being treated for phlebitis. They plan to move to Salt Lake City (with the dogs) at an early date. They will study art/architecture there.

Tradition was broken in a most delightful way with the appointment in April of Joanne (Aitken) Rowbottom as Director of Admissions on the Annapolis campus.

1973

Burchenal Ault, vice president on the Santa Fe campus, sends this letter:

"Dear Mr. Ault:

"Thank you very much for P. Neruda's Nobel lecture, especially since the role of the poet and his 'weltanschauung' are among the ideas and questions that intrude upon me at this time.

"The next installment [of a gift to Santa Fe] might not make it for a while yet, but it will be forthcoming. Every little bit helps, I hope. The college was a major experience in my life; at times I believe it has made me who

I am now. Therefore I naturally attempt to support it whenever and however I may.

"I am not in the Army but rather am a Civil Service Temporary Hire employee of the Department of Defense. I work as an Engineering Technician (Procurement) wherein my duties are to review from the technical standpoint requests for items and services within the U.S. Army (Europe). My appointment expires in July, and I am trying to decide whether to return to school, travel, or work. I have applied for a job with DOD in Saudi Arabia, but don't know what my chances are. My free time is spent with reading and sport.

Respectfully yours,  
M. Aaron"

David K. Allison, a *summa cum laude* graduate in Annapolis two years ago, has received a Graduate Fellowship grant from the National Science Foundation. David plans to continue studies in the history of science at Princeton University.

Robin Chalek writes that she is married to George Jannes, and is living in New York City. She is a public relations writer and her husband is a free-lance illustrator. They both study Ajapa Yoga, and within the year hope to be off to their home on the island of Kythera in Greece.

James Tourtelott has been a graduate student in English at SUNY Stony Brook for the past year and a half. He was due to receive his M.A. degree in June, and has been accepted for doctoral studies at Stony Brook beginning in September. Jim will also be a teaching assistant in the department of English.

1974

Tom Byrnes, class secretary for the Santa Fe portion of this class, sends along the following:

Ginger Boyle, occupied with construction work since graduation, is off for Europe;

Carl and Karen (Cook) Huffman are in Boulder, where he is doing graduate work in the classics at the University of Colorado;

Tom Jelffe and Celia Yerger are working for the State of Mississippi.

Maria Kayanan, an Annapolis graduate, has completed a seventeen-week course at the Institute for Paralegal Training in Philadelphia, and is now qualified to be a lawyer's assistant.

1975

George M. D. Anastaplo was awarded a fellowship by the National Science Foundation for three years' graduate study in the history of science. His older sister Helen, now Sharbach, graduated from St. John's in 1971, and his younger sister Sara has completed her sophomore year.

Matthew DeBacker is the recipient of a Thomas J. Watson Fellowship, and with his wife Susan (Fitzpatrick) '76 he will leave in August for a year of independent study abroad. His purpose in investigating farming in France, Belgium, Germany, and England is to determine whether a career in agriculture can leave time for a satisfying personal life.

## In Memoriam

1907—Francis B. Gwynn, Brandywine, Md., April 25, 1975.

1912—Nicholas G. Pulos, Bethesda, Md., April 2, 1975.

1916—Dunleavy C. Downs, Washington, D.C., April 27, 1975.

1918—Russell E. Smith, Severna Park, Md., April 26, 1975.

1919—Charles C. Holmes, Baltimore, Md., April 17, 1975.

1928—Herman D. Parsons, Ocean City, Md., December 3, 1974.



## TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

### Homecoming 1975

Friday, October 24:

Evening      Lecture by T. K. Simpson '50, tutor at St. John's, Santa Fe,  
followed by informal get-together for alumni and guests.

Saturday, October 25:

9 a.m.-3 p.m.      Registration, Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall.  
10 a.m.-Noon      Alumni Seminars (readings and rooms to be announced).  
10 a.m.-Noon      Special Seminar, Class of 1950 only, Library.  
11:30 a.m.      Luncheon in Dining Hall with students.  
1:15 p.m.      Alumni Association Annual Meeting; presentation of Awards of  
Merit, election of directors.  
2:45 p.m.      Student Career/Job Discussions.  
4 p.m.      Annual Alumni-Student Soccer Classic on Back Campus.  
6:30-7:30 p.m.      Alumni Homecoming Reception for Alumni and Guests,  
Annapolis Hilton Hotel.  
7:30 p.m.      Homecoming Banquet, Annapolis Hilton Hotel.

The final schedule, together with a reservation form, will be sent later.

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St. John's College  
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

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