

C8.1

Reflection

DANTE ON THE EVIL OF TREACHERY

Narrative and Philosophy

Eleonore Stump

C8.1.P1

Dante Aligheri (1265–1321) is a superb Thomist and, in his *Divine Comedy*, he puts flesh on Aquinas's sophisticated philosophical and theological views by means of an allegory with novelistic elements, complete with many subplots and many highly memorable characters.

C8.1.P2

One of the characters is Dante himself. Dante puts himself into his poem as a traveler, who stands in for every human being. There is great illuminating power in this device of Dante the traveler, and Dante the poet uses it to excellent, although differing, effect in the three parts of his poem, *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*.

C8.1.P3

The *Inferno* is structured into descending circles, corresponding to the seven deadly sins: lust, gluttony, avarice, sloth, wrath, envy, and pride (where lust is the least and pride the greatest of the sins).¹ In each circle, Dante the traveler represents the way to do well what the souls in Hell have done wrong. In the circle of the lustful, for

C8.1.N1

¹ The structure of the sins is obscured in the *Inferno*, because what is punished is the final fruit of the sin, and not the sinful disposition itself. And after the first of the sins, the sinful disposition can flower into a great variety of sinful actions. So, for example, pride itself is not punished; but rather what is punished is the flowering of pride into theft or murder or treachery.

example, he shows love in its guise as pity and compassion; in the circle of the wrathful, he manifests righteous indignation.

C8.1.P4

One of the most memorable uses of this device occurs in the last circle of all, the circle of the treacherous. At the bottom of Hell, where the very worst of human evil is stowed, are the treacherous. The rightful punishment of the treacherous is to be frozen in ice. Here, as elsewhere in the *Inferno*, the punishment both illustrates the nature of the evil being punished and matches it. A treacherous person has extinguished the warmth of human affection and care in himself, and he is callously cold to those who believed in him and depended on him. The punishment of being frozen in ice is an external manifestation of the state of the treacherous person's psyche, which is frozen in its harsh, unbending disregard for the ties of love and trust. Ice is an appropriate punishment for treachery.

C8.1.P5

Because there are degrees of trust, there are degrees of treachery, too. The worst of the treacherous are those who betrayed the bonds of trust between guests and hosts. (In the ancient and medieval world, without hotels and police, guests and hosts were particularly vulnerable to one another, and therefore the trust in such a relation had to be correspondingly great. The violation of so much vulnerable trust requires a corresponding degree of inhuman coldness.) These worst betrayers are so frozen that even their eyes are glazed over with ice, and the relief of weeping is denied them, as part of their just punishment.

C8.1.P6

As Dante is traveling through this part of the ice, one of the treacherous cries out to him. Since this sinner lives here and Dante is traveling through, when Dante stops to talk to him, Dante is, as it were, his guest; and the sinner, who has invited him to stop and talk, is his host. The sinner calls to Dante because he assumes that Dante is one of the newly dead who is making his way to his own punishment in the ice but has not yet got there. While Dante is still

mobile, the sinner wants Dante's help. He urges Dante to reach out a hand and remove the ice from his eyes, so that he can weep.

C8.1.P7

In making this request, the sinner is in effect being treacherous to Dante his guest. That is because the sinner knows that the freezing of his eyes is part of the just punishment assigned him by God. He knows therefore that Dante will be violating God's decree by removing the ice, and in Hell the sinner is in a position to appreciate what pain comes to a person who violates God's decree. So the sinner is manifesting callous indifference to Dante's fate, provided only that he can get something he wants from Dante. Furthermore, what the sinner would gain would be small, since his eyes will freeze over again almost immediately; and what Dante would lose would be something great, since he would incur God's punishment. But the sinner does not care what happens to Dante; for the sake of even a small good for himself, he is willing to let Dante suffer a lot. He is a cold and treacherous host to Dante.

C8.1.P8

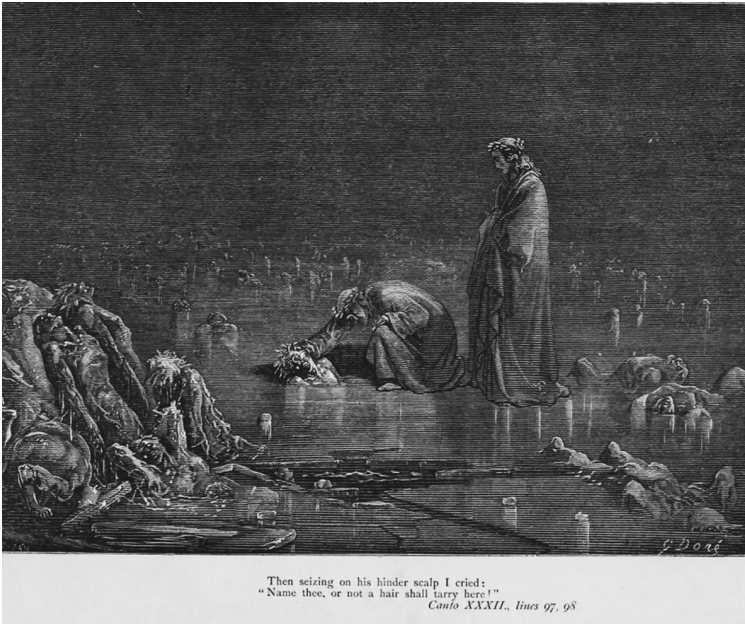
These same narrative facts are known to Dante the traveler too. But he himself has something he wants from the sinner. Dante wants his name. The souls in this part of Hell are eager to hide their identity to ward off further shame; but Dante offers this sinner a bargain, together with a promise. If the sinner wants Dante's help, then he must tell Dante his name. And, if he will tell his name, then Dante promises he will remove the ice from his eyes: may I descend to the last circle of the ice if I do not help you then, Dante swears.

C8.1.P9

Now Dante is going to the last circle of the ice anyway, as part of his road out of Hell; but Dante knows that the sinner will think that his line is just a way of swearing an oath. So Dante the guest is deliberating deceiving his host, the sinner.

C8.1.P10

The sinner believes the deception and tells Dante his name—"Alberigo"—and his story. For good measure, he throws in the name of one of the sinners near him to seal the deal with Dante. There is no promise to free the eyes of that other sinner; Alberigo just betrays him to Dante for Alberigo's advantage.



C8.1.F1 FIGURE 2 Gustave Doré
Hell, Volume 1, Canto XXXII, lines 97, 98 (1892)
 From *The Divine Comedy by Dante, Illustrated*

C8.1.P18 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inferno_Canto_32_verses_97-98.jpg

C8.1.P11 Then having amply demonstrated that he is in Hell as he was on earth, treacherous to those whose place by him puts them in his power, he demands that Dante make good on his promise to free Alberigo's eyes. But Dante refuses. He betrays Alberigo's trust and fails to make good on his promise. Alberigo says, "now reach out your hand, and let me cry." And Dante comments, "And I did not keep the promise I had made, for to be rude to him was courtesy."²

C8.1.N2 ² Dante, *Inferno*, trans. John Ciardi (New York: Penguin, 1982), Canto 33, ll.148–150. Allen Mandelbaum and Robert Pinsky translate in roughly equivalent ways.

C8.1.P12 In betraying the trust of Alberigo, Dante the traveler works with the will of God to bring Alberigo the infamy he deserves; and Dante the poet adds vividness to his poem, which is powerful in its ability to promote the good.

C8.1.P13 For Dante, then, there is a time when it is just and right to betray even the trust between guest and host, namely, when the person trusting is depending on the trust in order to do evil. When the conspirators hosting Hitler at a conference betrayed his trust and attempted to assassinate him, they did well. If they had succeeded, so many people and nations would have been spared his devastations.

C8.1.P14 And so, here, as in every other circle in the *Inferno*, Dante the traveler exemplifies the way in which to do well what the sinner in Hell did horribly. The punishment of the sinner shows the ugliness of a particular evil, and the actions of Dante the traveler show something powerfully good that is the alternative, the near neighbor, of the evil. By this twinned means, the nature of the seven deadly sins is vividly exposed, and true goodness and love, opposed to all the seven deadly sins, is illuminated and poignantly depicted.

C8.1.P15 But in the *Inferno* Dante is not just an illustrator for the (to some) serene philosophy of Aquinas's ethics. There is something to be gotten from Dante's narrative that could not be gotten from Aquinas's thought alone. If I could say just what that additional element is, of course, then whatever I say could be taken to be just an implication of Aquinas's own philosophical propositions. And so it is hard to explain what every deep reader of Dante feels: that in Dante's *Commedia*, he has been given something that cannot be found in philosophy alone.

C8.1.P16 Perhaps we can think of it this way. In his philosophical work, Aquinas, one might say, gives an almanac of the realm of a certain worldview, a recitation of claims and reasons characterizing that worldview. Dante benefits greatly from this almanac, but he

develops it by providing an anecdotal travelogue through that realm. The many small-scale stories and the great overarching narrative that contains them give us experience of that realm, of the sort we otherwise would never have. And, in the manner of all experience, that narratively provided experience serves in myriad ways to provide insight, intuition, and understanding of the worldview in question.³

C8.1.P17

So Dante is not only a superb Thomist and an insightful philosopher in his own right, but he incarnates the philosophy in narrative; and that makes all the difference in the world to his ability to give us insight into evil.

C8.1.N3

³ For a detailed discussion of this issue, see chapters 1–4 of my *Wandering in Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

C8.2

Reflection

CALVINISM AND THE DEMONIC IN THE DIVINE

Derk Pereboom

C8.2.P1

One of the core ideas in historic Calvinism is the sovereignty of God in the process of salvation. Accordingly, Calvinists have been predestinarians about salvation, arguing that salvation is not conditional on any response, such as faith or belief, on the part of the saved. Rather, God's election of the saved is unconditional, and responses such as faith are a result and not an occasion for divine grace.

C8.2.P2

This account gives rise to a particular anxiety about the nature of God. If election to salvation is not conditional on our response, and God is loving and good, why doesn't God predestine everyone to salvation? Some Calvinists, such as Friedrich Schleiermacher, have embraced such a universalism; most have not. But the doctrine that God either passes certain people over in the process of election, and allows them to be damned for eternity, or that God actually positively predestines people to damnation, gives rise to what Paul Tillich calls the "sense of the demonic in the divine" and has a profound effect on one's conception of God and the quality of one's relationship with God.¹

C8.2.N1

¹ See Paul Tillich, *Systematic Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

C8.2.P3

Calvinists nonetheless affirm that God is just and good in damning the reprobate. One objection to this is that God plays favorites in saving some and damning others independently of any response on their part, and doing so is unfair and compromises divine goodness. Another stems from the theological determinism that some, but not all, Calvinists endorse. A motivation for endorsing theological determinism is that it provides an uncontested way to secure a strong notion of divine providence, one according to which everything that happens, including our actions, precisely accords with God's providential will, and this is a core Calvinist concern.² Our lives are subject to pain, failure, loss, and death. How do we cope with all of this and the suffering it occasions? Accepting the strong notion of divine providence involves the belief that everything that happens to us, to the last detail, accords with God's providential will. On this view, great comfort in life can be secured by the conviction that even minor harms, let alone horrendous evils, cannot befall us unless they feature in God's perfectly benevolent plan. But if theological determinism is true, God would causally determine our sinful actions, and this would raise a challenge to the justice of eternal damnation (see figure 3).

C8.2.P4

The famous divide in Calvinism between the *infralapsarians* and the *supralapsarians* yields two responses to these concerns. The first arguably attempts to minimize the demonic in the divine, while the other threatens to embrace it. The key difference is in the logical or explanatory order of the divine decrees. For *infralapsarians*, the decree to save some and damn others is logically subsequent to the decree to permit the fall. On this view, it's open that people sin of their own free will, and God's response is to elect some out of mercy and damn others out of retributive justice. On the *supralapsarian*

C8.2.N2

2. For example, see Paul Helm, *The Providence of God* (Leicester: Intervarsity Press, 1993).



C8.2.F1 FIGURE 3 Anonymous
Hell (detail), 16th Century

C8.2.P9 https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cd/Hell_%28detail%29_by_Anonymous_16th_Century_1_of_2_%28582x800%29.jpg

view, by contrast, the order of these decrees is reversed. The first degree in the logical order is to manifest divine mercy through salvation and divine retributive justice through damnation. The subsequent decrees involve setting up the occasions for this divine self-manifestation: creating morally responsible beings, permitting or causing them to sin, electing some to salvation, and damning others.

C8.2.P5

The concern for the supralapsarian view is that damnation of the reprobate is orchestrated by God as a means to self-revelation. This occasions the Kantian concern that God is treating the damned merely as a means; in fact, this constitutes the worst possible treatment merely as a means imaginable for a person, and hence the extreme threat of a demonic God. This problem for supralapsarianism is enhanced when the theological determinism that most supralapsarians affirm is brought to the fore, as it is by Nathanael Emmons, New England Calvinist preacher and educator, in his sermon on the reprobation of Pharaoh:

C8.2.P6

It is often thought and said that nothing more was necessary on God's part, in order to fit Pharaoh for destruction, than barely to leave him to himself. But God knew that no external means and motives would be sufficient of themselves to form his moral character. He was determined, therefore, to operate on his heart itself, and cause him to put forth certain evil exercises in the view of certain external motives. When Moses called upon him to let the people go, God stood by him and moved him to refuse. When Moses interceded for him and procured him respite, God stood by him and moved him to exult in his obstinacy. When the people departed from his kingdom, God stood by him and moved him to pursue after them with increased malice and revenge. And what God did on such particular occasions, he did at all times. He continually hardened his heart, and governed all the exercises of his mind, from the day of his birth to the day of his death. This was

absolutely necessary to prepare him for his final state. All other methods, without this, would have failed of fitting him for his destruction . . . Pharaoh was a reprobate. God determined him from eternity to make him finally miserable. This determination he eventually carried into effect. He brought him into being, formed him a rational and accountable creature, tried him with mercies and judgments, hardened his heart under both, caused him to fill up the measure of his iniquity, and finally cut him off by an act of justice. (Emmons, Works, v. 2., 1860, 327, 330/1987, 391–392, 395)

C8.2.P7

In Emmons' story, God causally determines Pharaoh from moment to moment in order to realize the self-revelatory plan. Still, Emmons maintains that Pharaoh is morally responsible and that God justly damns him to hell for his actions. How could Pharaoh have been morally responsible, one might wonder, given the causal history of his actions? Emmons says, "but it appears from the whole history of his life that he acted as freely and voluntarily as any other man in the world" (Emmons, v. 2, 1860, 332/1987, 397). Here the demonic in the divine has one of its strongest expressions.

C8.2.P8

Calvinists often recoil from this vision of God. Horace Mann, the great American advocate of educational reform, was raised in the Congregational church in Franklin, Massachusetts, when Emmons was pastor there. In Mann's words, Emmons "expounded all the doctrines of total depravity, election, and reprobation, and not only the eternity but the extremity of hell torments, unflinchingly and in their most terrible significance, while he rarely if ever descanted on the joys of heaven, and never, in my recollection upon the essential and necessary happiness of a virtuous life."³ Mann affirmed such a view until the age of fourteen, when his older brother by four years, Stephen, drowned.

C8.2.N3

³ See Mary Tyler Peabody Mann, *Life of Horace Mann* (Boston: Walker, Fuller, and Company, 1865.).

Emmons used the occasion of Stephen's funeral to preach of the hell that awaited those who died in an unconverted state. Hearing his mother's agonized reaction, Mann suspended his Calvinist beliefs in a God with such a demonic aspect, became a Unitarian Universalist, and for the rest of his life affirmed the kindness and ethical integrity of God.

C8.3

Reflection

FEMININE EVIL AND WITCHCRAFT

Sarah K. Pinnock

C8.3.P1

Are women especially prone to evil? In classical Greek and Roman philosophy, the ontological subordination of women was used to explain female weakness and evil tendencies. Later Jewish and Christian authors supported these ontological assumptions with biblical evidence that served to disempower women in religious and social institutions. The proof text was the Garden of Eden narrative in Genesis 2–3. Since Eve gave in to temptation before Adam did, women are supposedly more prone to sin; since Eve rather than Adam spoke to the serpent, women are more vulnerable to the Devil; and since Eve gave Adam the apple, woman is the downfall of man. With expulsion from Eden, sexual desire and shame result, and God commands Adam to rule over his wife. Where women are the instigators of sin and sexual temptation—whose evils God and man must control and punish—it is not surprising to find patriarchal social norms and misogyny.¹ The witch hunts in early modern Europe are a disturbing example of this imputation of feminine evil and its consequences.

C8.3.N1

¹ Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 136.

C8.3.P2

Historians estimate conservatively that 40,000–60,000 people were executed as punishment for witchcraft, and there were surely others whose deaths were not recorded by the authorities. Not an isolated phenomenon, witch trials extended from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries, peaking in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Witches were subjected to torture, legal trials, and death. Although both men and women could be accused as witches, witchcraft became increasingly feminized, and at the peak of the witch hunts, approximately 80 percent of those executed were women. Frequently, the men accused were punished as accessories to the crimes of female witches. Across Europe, the greatest number of trials and executions occurred in Germany and Switzerland, followed by France, England, and Scotland. But witch hunts occurred also in Eastern Europe and, famously, among English Puritans in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692.²

C8.3.P3

In its origins, the prosecution of witchcraft began during the Inquisition. It was viewed as a subspecies of heresy against Catholic doctrine, and Inquisition procedures for evidence, sentencing, and punishment were employed. In the extreme, the witch hunts display profound misogyny in European culture and fear of evil feminine powers by laypeople and clergy. The *Malleus Maleficarum* (*Hammer of Witches*), written in 1486 by Dominican inquisitors Heinrich Kramer and Johann Sprenger, was the single most widely circulated witch-hunting manual, widely reprinted in quantity in the late sixteenth century at the peak of the witch craze. Kramer and Sprenger wrote the *Malleus* in an attempt to escalate the pace of witch hunting in southwestern Germany after the bishop of Innsbruck refused permission to execute fifty witches due to insufficient proof of wrongdoing in 1485. Evils caused by witches, according to the text, included impotence, infertility, illness, and

C8.3.N2

² Joseph Klaitis, *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 52.

death. The book describes in lurid detail the insatiable sexual appetites of female witches involving sexual transgressions and obscene acts (see figure 4). As explained in the *Malleus*:

C8.3.P4 the devil has always operated in a form visible to the witch . . . because of the pact of federation with him that has been expressed . . . the witches themselves have often been seen lying on their backs in the fields or in the woods, naked up to the very navel, and it has been apparent from the disposition of those limbs and members which pertain to the venereal act and orgasm, as also from the agitation of their legs and thighs, that, all invisibly to the bystanders, they have been copulating with Incubus devils. (MM II, 4)

C8.3.P5 Only limited legal defense was allowed for witches in court, and the *Malleus* endorsed deception and torture to extract confessions.³ During a witch trial,

C8.3.P6 while the officers are preparing for the questioning, let the accused be stripped . . . [and] search[ed] for any instrument of witchcraft sewn into her clothes; for they often make such instruments, at the instruction of devils, out of the limbs or unbaptized children, the purpose being that those children should be deprived of the beatific vision. And when those instruments have been disposed of, the judge shall use his own persuasions . . . to induce her to confess the truth voluntarily; and if she will not, let him order the officers to bind her with cords, and apply her to some engine of torture . . . as she is being questioned about each several point, let her be often and frequently exposed to torture, beginning with the more gentle of them; for the judge should not be too hasty to proceed to the graver kind. And while this is being done, let the

C8.3.N3 ³ Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (London: Longman, 1987), 49–50.



C8.3.F1 FIGURE 4 Hans Baldung Grien
The Witches (1510)
 British Museum

C8.3.P15 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/416796>

notary write all down, how she is tortured and what questions are asked and how she answers . . . the torture must be continued on the second and third day, but not repeated at that present time unless there should be some fresh indication of its probable success. (MM I, Question XIV)

C8.3.P7

Belief in women's ontological propensity to evil ran so deep that in the sixteenth century the newly formed Protestant churches did not reject the practice of witch hunts, despite bold repudiation of so many Catholic practices. In fact, the Protestant churches not only accepted medieval Catholic demonology but sought to strengthen its biblical justification. Social historians have observed that the witch hunts were more prevalent in places where the institutional legitimacy of the church was under threat, such as regions with heightened Catholic-Protestant conflict or in outlying Catholic areas suspected of pagan tendencies. The rise of witch hunts corresponded with social instability, including church instability, and efforts to establish standards of orthodoxy during the turbulent post-reformation period.⁴

C8.3.P8

In the search for witches, women involved in healing or midwifery were particularly vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft. Female healers relied on folklore to concoct remedies for the sick and often they were accused of placing curses on people who were ill or causing the evil eye by means of pagan magic. With high rates of mortality in childbirth, midwives were in the unfavorable position of having responsibility for the health of the birthing mother and newborn baby. If mother or baby took ill or died, midwives bore the blame and were subject to defamation. It was rumored that witch-midwives sometimes murdered unbaptized

C8.3.N4

⁴ Jon Oplinger, *The Politics of Demonology: The European Witchcraze and the Mass Production of Deviance* (London: Associated University Presses, 1990), 111.

infants and used their bodies for dark rites at sabbath rituals attended by male demons.⁵ In the *Compendium Maleficarum* (1608), Catholic monk Francesco Maria Guazzo offers a standard list of malfeasance attributed to witches in describing the crimes of a witch convicted in Avignon (1582):

C8.3.P9

and (fie for very shame) with the greatest reverence you did kiss with sacrilegious mouth his [the devil's] most foul and beastly posterior; and did call upon him in the name of the true God and invoke his help; and did beg him to avenge you upon all who had offended you or denied your requests; and, taught by him, you did wreak your spite in spells and charms against both men and beasts, and did murder any new-born children, and with the help of that old serpent Satan you did afflict mankind with curses, loss of milk, the wasting sickness, and other most grave diseases. And your own children, many of them with your own knowledge and consent, you did with those magic spells suffocate, pierce, and kill, and finally you dug them up secretly by night from the cemetery, where they were buried, and so carried them to the aforesaid synagogue and college of witches. There you did offer them to the Prince of Devils sitting upon his throne, and did draw off their fat to be kept for your use, and cut off their heads, hands, and feet, and did cook and stew their trunks, and sometimes roast them, and at the bidding of your aforesaid evil father did eat and damnable devour them. Then adding sin to sin . . . in most bitter and icy connexion and foul coitus with demons, you did commit the unspeakable crime of buggery. (*Compendium Maleficarum* II, 15)

C8.3.P10

The illustrations in the *Compendium Maleficarum* explicitly display the eroticism of witches' sinful behavior (see figure 5).

C8.3.N5

⁵ Joseph Klaitz, *Servants of Satan*, 97.



C8.3.F2 FIGURE 5 Anonymous
The Obscene Kiss (1608)

Illustration from Francesco Maria Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* 1608

C8.3.P16 http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Compendium_Maleficarum

C8.3.P11 Natural evils too—including crop failure, drought, fire, farm animal deaths, or other economic losses—were frequently blamed on witches. Certain female characteristics were correlated with suspicions of witchcraft, such as being unmarried or a widow, eccentricity, isolation, destitution, or being quarrelsome with neighbors; hence the image of the witch as an ugly old hag. Given patriarchal social dominance, women exemplifying these characteristics often had few resources to defend themselves from accusations. As a result, suspicion typically fell upon women marginal to society or women who were of low social standing. In the seventeenth century, influenced by collective fear and mass hysteria, young girls became involved as witnesses who would point



C8.3.F3 FIGURE 6 David Teniers the Younger
Witches' Initiation (1633)

Musee de la Chartreuse in Douai, France

C8.3.P17 <https://www.lessingimages.com/viewimage.asp?i=40030268+%&cr=1&cl=1>

fingers at accused witches in their communities. Witchcraft became an explanation for misfortune individually and collectively.⁶

C8.3.P12 As witch trials continued over the centuries, the lore about witches became more elaborate and the emphasis on demonic involvement more prominent. In the eyes of Catholic and Protestant reformers, wars, plagues, and other social upheavals seemed to confirm the reality of demonic conflict in the world. In later witch hunts, attempts to prove the witch's pact with the Devil and accusations of copulation with incubus demons and participation in blasphemous witches' sabbaths prevailed (see figure 6).

C8.3.N6 ⁶ Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (New York: Viking, 1996), 94

C8.3.P13 Proof of this demonic pact was discovery of a secret mark or Devil's teat found on the private parts of a woman's body, which required male judges and clergy to strip women naked for display. Moreover, women were tortured on the principle that an innocent woman would more gravely suffer or even die, whereas a guilty woman would be more resilient to torture with help from demons. In the treatise on witchcraft (1597) by King James VI of Scotland, later King James I of England, it states that there are two main ways to identify a witch. There is the Devil's mark which is insensitive to pain, and the ability of witches to float on water because "God hath appointed, for a supernatural sign of the monstrous impiety of the witches, that the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom that have shaken off them the sacred water of baptism, and willfully refused the benefit thereof" (*Daemonologie*, III.VI).

C8.3.P14 Scholars today tend to regard witchcraft as a figment of the Christian imagination motivated by the fear of evil forces.⁷ They also make the case that the theological association of women with sin and deviance was not only derogatory but dangerous. It is ironic that the attempt to eradicate evil by conducting witch trials resulted in more egregious evils and thousands of innocent deaths.

C8.3.N7 ⁷ Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972), 266.