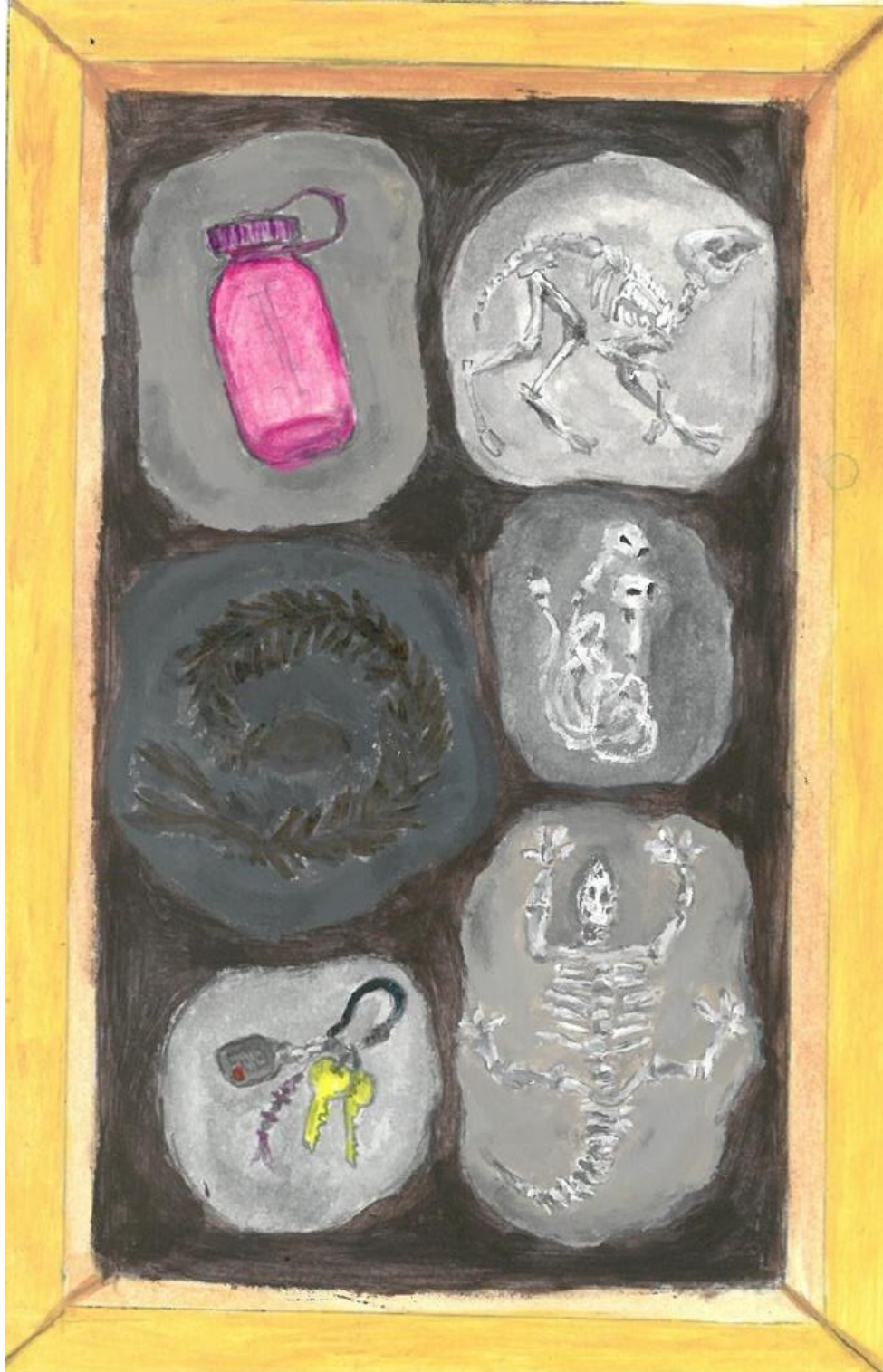


Pangaea

The Dalhousie Undergraduate History Journal



Pangaea

The Dalhousie History Undergraduate Journal

2025 – 2026

Executive Editors

Margaret Rossi

Clara Ross

Editorial Board

Samual Orozco

Grace Bender

Liv Traboulsee

Hasana Tombs

Rebecca Merner

Faculty Advisor

Krista Kesselring

Cover Art

Liv Traboulsee

Table of Contents

- 5 Grace Bender
**Building an Arena of Agency: West African and Zanzibari Women’s Marital
 Autonomy in the First Half of the Twentieth Century**
- 15 Isabella Bisci
**Maybe We Don’t Need to Be Inclusive: Memorials and The Limits of Inclusion in
 the Global Memory Marketplace**
- 22 Victoria Chung
Behind the Luster: Revealing Points of Contact in a Manises Albarello
- 35 Julian Doak
**The Witchcraft Binary: Gender Performance and Societal Disruption in Early
 Modern Europe**
- 41 Samantha Edwards
**Searching For Nandi: Appeals of Contemporary Feminism and the Veiled History
 of Female Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom**
- 55 Liam Hall
In the Shadow of Cyrus: Alexander, the Seleucids, and the Persian Legacy
- 64 Mairi Jacobs
**The Kids Are Alright: Documenting Youth and Subculture in 20th Century Art
 Photography**
- 72 Sadie Jerrott
**We All Want to Change Your Head: The Affirmative Effect of Protest Music on the
 Anti-War Movement in 1960s America**
- 78 Jet Lachman
**A World Within the Commonplace: Layers of Meaning in a 19th Century
 Commonplace Book**
- 85 Samuel Orozco
The Spice Wars: Dutch–Portuguese Rivalry in Asia to 1700
- 93 Harry Pressman
Greeks in the Achaemenid Empire: Graffiti
- 105 Samantha Sherman
Historical Revival in Fancy Dress as Victorian Ideals of Nationalism and Empire

Letter from the Editors

The supercontinent of Pangaea presented something of a wonder. In looking back in time on Earth and seeing a world so ancient and different from our own, it is not hard to appreciate the significance of that once large land mass that would eventually split and form our modern world. Needless to say, the small herbivorous synapsid, *Lystrosaurus*, which roamed across Pangaea during the early Triassic, had little awareness of the iconic world it was living in and the history it was a part of. Unlike *Lystrosaurus* however, many of us today are painfully aware of the history that is being created before our eyes. Every note we take in class, diary entry we write and every horrifying gas receipt we keep is a record of what is going on in the world today. Yet for history students, current events often prompt us to think about the past, which is what eleven of our undergraduate students at Dalhousie and King's have done to contribute to this journal.

History is about the stories we tell ourselves and each other, and in this year's issue of *Pangaea*, the topical, temporal, geographic scope of these stories is especially impressive. From African women's history to modern American history and studies on material culture to conflict in early modern Asia, our students have demonstrated their immense dedication, hard work, curiosity and talent, in bringing their passion for history to the page. The amount of interest we receive in the journal for submissions is inspiring yet leads to a difficult selection process. The editorial board is responsible for sifting through these submissions with the intent of organizing a journal that accurately represents the strength and range of the Dalhousie and King's history departments, and which highlights the very best our students have to offer. We believe this 2026 issue of *Pangaea* does just that. So, please find some time to sit down, relax, and immerse yourself in the world of witchcraft, Greek graffiti, ornate vases, strong African women, and American teenagers that await you in the following pages.

The 2026 *Pangaea* team would also like to extend our condolences to the family of Jet Lachman, who sadly passed away during the selection and editing of this journal. You can find Jet's paper, "A World Within the Commonplace: Layers of Meaning in a 19th Century Commonplace Book," on page 82.

Lastly, we would like to thank Dr. Krista Kesselring, the 2026 *Pangaea* staff supervisor, for her guidance, support, and patience from the initial call for papers through to the publishing of this issue of *Pangaea*. Dr. Kesselring, your support has not gone unnoticed.

We hope you enjoy,
The 2026 *Pangaea* Editors

Building an Arena of Agency: West African and Zanzibari Women's Marital Autonomy in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

Grace Bender

The collaborator/resistor dichotomy that has often been used to describe African responses to European colonialism in both the 19th and 20th centuries is not an adequate framework to fulsomely explore women's actions in the first half of the 20th century. Rather than assume oppression under both patriarchal African systems and the encroaching colonial systems, it is important to investigate how women, despite their subordinate roles in society to men in both French West Africa and Zanzibar, worked within these systems to gain control over their lives.¹ In French West Africa, this requires an analysis of women's actions within the new French courts, which were influenced by both French Republican values and Islamic law, and in Zanzibar attention must be paid to the practice of Islamic law. Overall, it becomes clear that women living in the strict patriarchies of French West Africa and Zanzibar used the channels provided to them within marital institutions to carve out an arena of agency. In both regions, there are examples of women demonstrating agency through the marriages they got into, their independence in marriage, and their use of divorce.

The imposition of French colonial courts on West Africa offered women channels of freedom they had not previously experienced when it came to marriage. In his analysis of French Soudanese court cases, Richard Roberts observed a trend where Africans would pick and choose which court they would go to – the colonial court or the native African court – based on who they thought would rule in their favour.² One of the ways women showed agency was to be very much involved in this system. They recognized how because the French colonial courts were influenced by republican values and not run by village elders, they were more likely to get rulings in their favour, especially when it came to marriage. So, instead of bringing their marriage disputes to the village courts, they would strategically go to the French courts with the expectation of a more impartial and decisive ruling.³ However, it should also be mentioned that in their attempt to not intervene in African dealings too much, the French tried to implement Islamic law where they could because they saw it as more rational than what they were seeing in West Africa. So, because Zanzibar also used Islamic law, there is an interesting cross-continental similarity between women's experiences in marriage: bridewealth/dower was expected to be paid back to finalize divorce and only excessive abuse qualified a woman for divorce, among other similarities.⁴ Either way, the idea that women could recognize when a colonial system would work in their favour is consistent with the fact that these women could not be considered either collaborators or resisters during the colonial period. Women utilized the channels available to them to improve their lives one day at a time.

A similar co-optation of provided channels in marital institutions by women also occurred in colonial Zanzibar. While French colonial officers in West Africa frequently involved

¹ Emily S. Burrill, "Domestic Violence, Colonial Courts, and the End of Slavery in French Soudan, 1905-12," in *Domestic Violence and the Law in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Emily S. Burrill, Robert L. Roberts, and Elizabeth Thornberry (Ohio University Press, 2010), 35. And Elke Stockreiter, *Islamic Law, Gender, and Social Change in Post-Abolition Zanzibar* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 100.

² Richard L. Roberts, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in French Soudan, 1895-1912* (Heinemann, 2005), 19.

³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴ Emily S. Burrill, *States of Marriage: Gender, Justice, and Rights in Colonial Mali* (Ohio University Press, 2015), 60-1.

themselves in civil cases, when the British entered Zanzibar, they left the native *kadhis* in charge of civil law, which of course included marriage law.⁵ Islamic law as it was practiced in Zanzibar was unique because although just like in French West Africa women were considered subordinate to men, *kadhis* practice of law “stress[ed] women’s responsibility and capability as legal persons.”⁶ Therefore, women were known to use the Islamic courts of the *kadhis*, left relatively untouched by British colonial officials to find success in their marriage disputes and divorce cases. There is therefore an important distinction to make here between women’s channels in French West Africa and their channels in Zanzibar. While women’s agency in court in French West Africa stemmed from the French republican attitudes that ruled in the colonial courts, women’s legal agency in Zanzibar was separate from the British colonial system and relied on the observance of pre-existing Islamic law by the *kadhis*. Regardless of this difference in legal systems, the actions taken by French West African and Zanzibari women in their marriages to demonstrate their social agency remained remarkably similar.

Working chronologically, the first way women have shown their agency through marital institutions is in determining who they married. In French Soudan, accepted practice was for the male heads of the two households to coordinate the marriage between the bride and groom. Then, the exchange of bridewealth from the bride’s family to the groom’s would legitimize the arrangement.⁷ Although this system appears to leave little room for women’s autonomy, women were still able to find ways to determine who they married, and more importantly, who they did not. One of the reasons brides could refuse to marry the men their father or uncle had chosen for them was if they found out their groom was ill or incapacitated. At the start of the bridewealth process, a woman named Faramata discovered her fiancé had leprosy and refused to marry him on this basis.⁸ Thus, despite entrance into marriage being mostly dictated by the male head of the household, women were known to take advantage of what opportunities they had to control who they married.

However, women in French Soudan were not fully satisfied just working within the opportunities set out for them and worked outside of accepted practice to gain control over their marital status. There have been some recorded cases of women going off to marry their lovers outside of the patriarchal bridewealth system entirely. For example, the daughter of Bala Diallo had left his house without permission to move in with her lover with complete disregard for the established bridewealth system.⁹ Balo Diallo’s daughter’s disregard of the cultural and economic importance of the bridewealth makes this example a significant demonstration of women’s marital autonomy. Bridewealth was often a combination of money and goods that was transferred from the groom’s family to the bride’s family in exchange for the bride’s physical and sexual labour.¹⁰ The bridewealth was meant to compensate the bride’s family for losing a member of the household and if the bride’s family had young men, the bridewealth could be used to pay for their marriages. Thus, for a woman to completely disregard the payment of a bridewealth to her kin by marrying a man without payment was an affront to the patriarchal system she lived in and no doubt disrupted the economic balance that was so valued.

⁵ Stockreiter, *Islamic Law, Gender, and Social Change in Post-Abolition Zanzibar*, 5.

⁶ *Ibid*, 100.

⁷ Emily S. Burrill and Richard Roberts, “Domestic Violence, Colonial Courts, and the End of Slavery in French Soudan, 1905-12,” 35.

⁸ Roberts, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in French Soudan, 1895-1912*, 158.

⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 151.

There have also been recorded instances of women controlling which marriages they entered in colonial Zanzibar in the first half of the 20th century. In a similar case to that of Bala Diallo's daughter, a Zanzibari woman, Asha, decided to marry Abdall bin Mfaume, a man of lesser status against her brother's wishes, thus disregarding her brother's role as her superior and the practice of *kafā'a* which entitled women to marry a man of higher status than she.¹¹ *Kafā'a* was a vital aspect of Muslim marriage and Asha's disregard of both her brother's wishes and *kafā'a* demonstrated Asha's will to marry a man of her choosing. Furthermore, because Asha was past childbearing age at the time of her marriage, there is evidence that Mfaume and her married for companionship, if not simply for love.¹² Thus, this was another woman-coordinated affront to the very economic and male-dominated institution of marriage that demonstrates how women were able to act with agency within marital institutions.

Interestingly, ex-slave women in Zanzibar, who had a very different social standing compared to Asha were also able to show some autonomy in marriage, and arguably more. Unlike in French Soudan, where marriage was seen as an investment, many former slave women in rural Zanzibar, specifically in Unguja and Pemba, "viewed marriage as a temporary endeavor" and saw marriage more as a vehicle to material and social capital.¹³ This may seem strange, as Zanzibar followed Islamic marriage law, but the women's unique contexts as ex-slaves provided them with more freedom than women in the cities. Due to the skewed sex ratio of men to women on Pemba after abolition, where men greatly outnumbered women, women were able to be selective in who they married and could refuse to marry a man who would be abusive or overbearing.¹⁴ Women therefore jumped from marriage to marriage to gain social standing, material wealth, and have children by making this skewed sex ratio work in their favour. Therefore, ex-slave women's abilities to take advantage of their circumstances to better their lives is yet another example of women not being collaborators or resisters of the colonial system, but people who looked at their options and demonstrate agency where they could, in this case, in choosing who they married. Once women got into marriages, however, they were often able to maintain much of this agency, but in different forms.

Because of the transactional nature of marriage, women in French West Africa, specifically French Soudan, benefitted from a system of property ownership that allowed them to build and maintain wealth separate from their husbands. This is one of the ways that women in African could demonstrate autonomy within marriage. According to West African marriage custom, women and men each had allotted free time either per day or per week and women often used this time tending to their fields and cattle and making artisanal goods.¹⁵ They could then sell their products at the local markets and keep the profit for themselves to gain independent wealth. For example, in French Soudan, Nini Coulibaly worked hard when she was married and in her leisure time made palm frond baskets, the income from which allowed her to accumulate

¹¹ Elisabeth McMahon, "Marrying Beneath Herself": Women, Affect, and Power in Colonial Zanzibar," *Africa Today* 61, no. 4 (2015): 37, <https://doi.org/10.2979/africatoday.61.4.27>. And Stockreiter, *Islamic Law, Gender, and Social Change in Post-Abolition Zanzibar*, 121.

¹² *Ibid*, 37.

¹³ Elisabeth McMahon, "The Value of Marriage: Missionaries, Ex-Slaves, and the Legal Debates Over Marriage in Colonial Pemba Island," in *Gendered Lives in the Western Indian Ocean: Islam, Marriage, and Sexuality on the Swahili Coast*, ed. Erin E. Stiles and Katrina Daly Thompson (Ohio University Press, 2015), 63-4

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 75-6.

¹⁵ Roberts, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in French Soudan, 1895-1912*, 198.

“four cows, three oxen, and 104,000 cowries.”¹⁶ Coulibaly’s ability to accumulate wealth independent of her husband demonstrates how she was able to maintain individual power within her marriage. She could then spend that money on good for herself, her children’s schooling, or put it back into her business. However, Coulibaly’s freedom to do this was also not a result of resistance. Just like how setting up marriages had fail-safe rules so women did not have to marry sick men, marriages had built-in rules to ensure marriage was a partnership which women gladly took advantage of.

Although the freedom for women to accumulate independent wealth in marriage was built into West African marriage custom, women did still need to defend themselves from being taken advantage of by both their husbands and their husband’s kin. Thus, women showed additional autonomy in marriage through their dealings with husbands who did not pay back loans and were dishonest when it came to distant trading. It was common for women to lend their husbands money, and it was almost just as common for men to die before paying their wives back. Roberts describes a case that occurred in Bamako, where Aoua Diabite had lent her husband money and had not been paid back before he had died. She proceeded to take his family to court so that she would be re-paid. The tribunal ruled in her favour and it was determined that she would be able to keep her husband’s estate because it was equal value to that of the loan.¹⁷ Thus, it is clear that not only did women in Soudan spend much time accumulating independent wealth, but kept track of it and refused to have it wrongfully taken from them. Thus, even when the state did not specifically facilitate it, women showed agency within their marriages, or at least just after they ended.

Husbands were also known to take advantage of their wives distant trading needs and attempted to accumulate wealth at the expense of their wives. Although women commonly traded their good locally, it was accepted practice that men were the ones who travelled to trade. So, if a woman wanted to trade her goods farther than the local markets, she had to rely on her husband to do the trading for her.¹⁸ The fact that women had to rely on their husbands to reach distant markets is not a good argument for women’s autonomy in marriage. Instead, it is the way women dealt with the dishonesty of their husbands upon return that highlights women’s agency in the West African trading system and their power as legal actors within marriage. For instance, when Mariam Cisse sent her husband with Fr. 77.50 and two sacks of dried tamarind to trade on her behalf in Guinea, he returned with no money for her, claiming that her goods had been lost during the trip. Cisse recognized her husband’s fraudulence and successfully sued him for the worth of her goods in court.¹⁹ Thus, although women did rely on their husbands for entry into distant markets, this practice only gives historians a deeper look into these women’s practice of autonomy – they kept track of their goods and held their husbands legally accountable when they were not compensated appropriately, thus demonstrating their agency within marriage relations.

Lastly, women in West Africa were known to co-opt colonial laws to escape slave masters who claimed they were wives around the time of abolition. Due to the nature of bridewealth and was what effectively the purchase of a bride’s productive and reproductive labour, the line between slave and wife was very blurred. So, when abolition was becoming more serious in French West Africa nearing the end of the 19th century and into the early 20th century, it was

¹⁶ Roberts, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in French Soudan, 1895-1912*, 198.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

common for a man to retain his slaves under the premise that they were his wives.²⁰ However, women continued to find ways to escape the hold of men trying to control them, even in these ever grim conditions. Two unnamed women who had found themselves held in captivity by a wealthy merchant named Mandiou Cisse were able to escape one day when he left to look for food. They made it to the town of Kaolack where the French administrator there identified them as slaves, and not as wives. They were then given a choice as to whether they wanted to be released back to Cisse or remain in town as independent women.²¹ Although it would come with its own challenges, the women ultimately decided to remain in the village. Thus, even though the end of slavery and the blurred line between wife and slave worked to oppress women outside of the law, these women in Senegal were still able to show agency. They did this first by running away from Cisse, and then by taking advantage of the French colonial system that refused to release them to Cisse without their permission.

Although the Islamic society of colonial Zanzibar represented a vastly different context for marriage relations compared to that of French West Africa, the ways women showed agency within their marriages is shockingly similar across the two regions. Stockreiter argues that under Islamic law, married women had independent assets, transactions, and even loaned their husbands money.²² This is exactly like what can be seen in French West Africa in the first half of the 20th century. However, more so than in French West Africa, Islamic law “stressed the aspect of marriage as a business concept”²³ Women were expected to contribute reproductive labour and fund their children’s schooling, and in return, men were expected to provide maintenance, clothing, and suitable housing for their wives. If women were dissatisfied with what their husband were offering them, Islamic law provided channels through which they could voice concerns and seek compensation. For example, when Yusuf failed provide his wife, Hamida, with a suitable home because he had recently gotten a new wife, she sued him for “past and future maintenance, her deferred dower, or divorce.” The *kadhi* sided with Hamida according to Islamic marriage laws by granting her the divorce, her deferred dowry, and the maintenance Yusef had denied her.²⁴ The story of Yusef and Hamida exemplifies how not only did women have an intricate understanding of their rights in marriage, but did not hesitate to use the channels provided to them by the Islamic courts to secure their rights. Both these things demonstrate how women in colonial Zanzibar were able to use marriage institutions to control their own lives.

Another aspect of marriage under the Islamic system that afforded independence to women was the dower. Although similar to bridewealth in that that dower was a sum of money transferred from the groom’s side to the bride’s side, the theoretical purpose of the dower was different from that of the bridewealth. As mentioned previously, bridewealth was paid from the groom’s kin to the bride’s kin over many years as a way to purchase the reproductive and productive labour of the bride. A dower, however, which was more unique to the Zanzibar archipelago and was a sum of money sent from the groom’s side to the bride herself. It was

²⁰Marie Rodet, “Gender, Migration, and the End of Slavery in the Region of Kayes, French Soudan,” in *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade: Volume 1, The Sources*, ed. Alice Bellagamba, Sandra E. Greene, and Martin A. Klein (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 321.

²¹Emily S. Burrill, “‘Wives of Circumstance’: Gender and Slave Emancipation in Late Nineteenth-Century Senegal,” *Slavery and Abolition* 29, no. 1 (2008): 49, 56, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01440390701841059>.

²² Stockreiter, *Islamic Law, Gender, and Social Change in Post-Abolition Zanzibar*, 18.

²³Ibid, 117.

²⁴Ibid, 127.

common for the dower to be paid in two installments: an upfront installment and a deferred installment.²⁵ Although it should also be noted that this tradition was influenced by the bridewealth practices in the mainland and so sometimes the money would be given to the bride's family. Either way, the existence of a deferred dower payment gave some control to the bride and her family, as the deferred installment was paid when the wife asked for it. The purpose of the dower was to ensure the bride had some available money in case her husband failed to maintain her or divorce her.²⁶ Thus, the dower represents a part of the Islamic marital system that acknowledged the needs of women and provided them with power within their marriages.

The dower was also a powerful bargaining tool that Zanzibari women were known for using to control their lives within the realm of marriage. The idea that women were entitled to the deferred dower whenever they asked for it meant that men could be held accountable if they did not provide the sum of money when requested. Stockreiter explains how "an important female strategy was suits for deferred dower, which enabled women to raise other issues."²⁷ When men failed to present the deferred dower when requested, women had grounds to go to court and sue for the value of the dower that was being withheld from them. Once they got into the courts, however, they were also able to bring up other complaints about their marriage. For instance, a Zanzibari women named Amne sued her husband, Naji b. Sultan for her deferred dower, and then proceeded to sue for maintenance, clothes, and a suitable home as well. The *kadhi* ruled in her favour, but after Naji had still not paid her after two months, Amne was granted a divorce where she did not have to repay her groom's kin.²⁸ Thus, Amne's case represents how women in Zanzibar could take advantage of channels provided to them in Islamic law to push own agendas when it came to ensuring they were getting a fair deal in their marriages, even if it led to divorce. In fact, divorce is also one of the most significant ways women in both French West Africa and colonial Zanzibar demonstrated agency in the first half of the 20th century.

Divorce was one of the most powerful and common ways women in French West Africa exercised agency in their lives. They expertly co-opted the colonial court system that the French implemented early in the 20th century to overcome the control elders in their communities held over their marital status. In *Litigants and Households* Roberts describes how women who were denied divorces at the native courts run by local elders often appealed to the higher up French courts and would have their divorces granted.²⁹ Women's experiences with divorce in the early 20th century were therefore closely tied to their living under French colonialism. Although the French supposedly wanted to respect custom, those Frenchmen overseeing the courts were imbued with republican values, one of which was a woman's right to ask for a divorce.³⁰ Women clearly recognized this pattern and took advantage of French administrators' sympathy towards their desire to end unhappy marriages and soon began going straight to the French colonial courts for their marital problems. Furthermore, Roberts describes how during 1905 women were the primary instigators of marriage-related court cases in Bamako.³¹ In divorce cases, women were often the ones bringing their husbands to court. Additionally, although most marriage cases

²⁵ Ibid, 114-5.

²⁶ Ibid, 115.

²⁷ Ibid, 186.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Roberts, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in French Soudan, 1895-1912*, 129.

³⁰ Ibid, 133.

³¹ Ibid, 126-7

were brought to court by husbands, they were in response to wives running away or refusing to live with them. Thus, women recognized the agency they could have under the new very exploitable French court system and took full advantage. This is yet another example of women interacting with the colonial court system that can neither be described as collaborating nor resisting. They were instead co-opting the colonial state for their own means, namely, agency.

However, leaving unhappy marriages was not always as easy as it seemed. Divorce, even under the French courts could not be removed from Soudanese marital tradition and so wives were often expected to repay bridewealth to make the divorce legitimate in the eyes of her community. Luckily, as discussed in the previous section, women in Soudan commonly accumulated private wealth and were able to repay the groom's family, thus formally removing themselves from the undesirable marital union. In 1907, Diaara, a woman in colonial Mali requested a divorce from her abusive husband, Mamadou. However, he said he would only accept the divorce if she was able to repay the bridewealth, thereby compensating him for the loss of her labour. Thankfully for her, Diaara was able to pay the Fr. 200, and the divorce was made official.³² Women were also known to find new partners and have them pay the bridewealth back to their former husbands on their behalf, which allowed the women to save their independent wealth.³³ Women paying back their own bridewealths is emblematic of the type of agency they claimed within marital institutions. Not only did West African women have a fulsome understanding of what was involved with divorce but had the monetary means by which to legitimize their divorces and leave marriages when they wanted to.

What is almost more impressive than women co-opting the French courts and paying their own way out of marriages (or convincing someone else to) was women's intimate knowledge of the reasons they would be afforded a divorce without having to repay bridewealth. In their chapter on domestic abuse in French Soudan, Emily Burrill and Richard Roberts outline a case in which a woman, Malado A., went to court claiming that her husband, Oumare D. and his brothers had beaten her on multiple occasions. She knew that for her claim to be successful she would need witnesses to confirm the beatings and so made sure to collect witnesses and present them in court. She left the courtroom victorious and not only did she not have to repay the bridewealth, but the judge ruled that her husband owed her extra compensation because of how she was treated.³⁴ Malado A.'s case demonstrates how despite the court being open to working in a woman's favour, it was ultimately her understanding of the legal abuse threshold and the necessity of witnesses that won her the divorce. Without these two things, she would not have been able to end her marriage through legal channels. Thus, Malado A.'s divorce was emblematic of the arena of agency and autonomy that women had carved out for themselves in French West Africa. These women understood the legal system and used it to their advantage against an otherwise oppressive patriarchal system. Across the continent in colonial Zanzibar, due to the similar implementation of Islamic law, we see a similar trend in women using their divorce channels to maintain control over their lives.

There were three types of divorce under Islamic law as practiced in colonial Zanzibar. *Talāq* occurred when the husband wanted a divorce, *khul* occurred when the wife wanted a divorce but her husband did not, and *faskh* occurred when both parties were in favour of the

³² Burrill, *States of Marriage: Gender, Justice, and Rights in Colonial Mali*, 65-6.

³³ Roberts, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in French Soudan, 1895-1912*, 171.

³⁴ Emily S. Burrill and Richard Roberts, "Domestic Violence, Colonial Courts, and the End of Slavery in French Soudan, 1905-12," 45-6.

divorce, but the wife still had to repay the dower. *Talāq* did not require the involvement of a *kadhi*, whereas both *khul* and *faskh* did.³⁵ Women recognized that *khul* and *faskh* were the channels of divorce that could facilitate their agency and so invoked two main strategies for using these channels. Yet despite these pathways laid out for women in Zanzibar by Islamic law, Laura Fair asserts that between 1910 and 1930 women were undermined in their quests for divorce, even when they had legal grounds.³⁶ However, there are a multitude of examples presented below where instead women were the ones undermining the system. In some cases, women were just able to use their opportunities as intended by Islamic law to navigate divorce, and in other cases women intentionally manipulated the system to navigate divorce.

Khul operated much like how divorce did in French Sudan and Senegal, where women would have to pay back their bridewealth. Women could invoke *khul* in court and be separated from their husbands by paying back the dower; so, although they still had to pay their way out of divorce, *khul* was a way for women to get divorces by their own will. In the early 1950s, Mgeni bt. Ja'far gave up her "furniture, a trinket, two gold bangles, and four gold foot rings," as well as the deferred dower to obtain a divorce from her husband.³⁷ Although her husband was able to walk away from the divorce with money, this was a direct result of Mgeni's agency. Had she not had the wealth to pay her way out of the marriage, or the knowledge of *khul* she would have had to remain in that relationship. Yet, she was able to end her unhappy marriage both because of her independent wealth, which was mentioned above in the section about agency within marriage, and her knowledge of the legal channels built into Islamic law.

In another case in 1934, Musu b. Suleiman and Khadija bt. 'Ali were seeking a *mambāra*, which was a subtype of *khul* where neither spouse owed the other money to end the marriage. When the *kadhi* confused the two types of divorce, Khadija tried to take advantage of his wife by claiming she owed him additional compensation. However, Musu recognized this treachery, brought the mistake of the *kadhi* forward in court, and ensured she would have to pay any extra sum to finalize the divorce.³⁸ It can be seen from this example that Zanzibari women did not only understand their rights enough to request divorce, but could also recognize when they were being taken advantage of and advocate for themselves against patriarchal forces.

The other way women demonstrated agency by navigating the realm of divorce in colonial Zanzibar was through manipulating the customs and traditions that interacted with Islamic law. In Zanzibar, much like in West Africa, men were responsible for pairing brides and grooms, and a marriage could be considered invalid if a woman facilitated the marriage instead.³⁹ So, in 1931 when Mgeni bt. Ja'far wished to get a divorce from her husband of thirteen years, a man whom her mother had acquired for her, she filed for dissolution on the grounds that the marriage was invalid.⁴⁰ Mgeni used the fact that her marriage was facilitated by her mother to bypass the usual channels of divorce and secure a separation from her husband without having to compensate him. Clearly, this was a strategized move, as for the first thirteen years of marriage Mgeni did not protest the legitimacy of her marriage and I predict that only once she became unhappy with her marriage did she use the fact that her mother had been the guardian. I should

³⁵ Stockreiter, *Islamic Law, Gender, and Social Change in Post-Abolition Zanzibar*, 169.

³⁶ Laura Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, (Ohio University Press, 2001), 202.

³⁷ Stockreiter, *Islamic Law, Gender, and Social Change in Post-Abolition Zanzibar*, 181.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 178-9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

also note that I discusses a woman by the same name in a previous paragraph; it is possible it was the same woman, and she found herself in need of a divorce twenty years later as well, but I am unsure. Nonetheless, this 1931 example of a woman named Mgeni bt. Ja'far is emblematic of how women were able to act with agency when they wanted to leave marriages and this sometimes meant operating outside of the pathways to divorce provided by Islamic law.

Lastly, a woman's understanding of *kafā'a*, combined with potential dishonesty also helped her secure divorce outside the established legal channels of *khul*, *mabāra*, and *faskh*. Around the times of abolition in Zanzibar in 1903, a freed slave, Mwajuma sued her slave husband for pretending to be a freed man when they were married. However, her husband claimed that she did know of and accept his status as a slave when they were married and he had witnesses to prove it.⁴¹ There are no records after this, but the story up until this point demonstrates how women who understood *kafā'a* could use it to get out of marriages where questioning *kafā'a* was applicable. Also, depending on whether Mwajuma's husband was telling the truth or not about her knowing about his slave status, Mwajuma's claim that she had been married to someone of lesser status than her could show that women were willing to dishonestly take advantage of legal channels in the name of claiming agency over their lives.

Both West African and Zanzibari women demonstrated agency in the first half of the twentieth century through their actions within marital institutions. By looking at marriage, it becomes clear that although these women, living a continent apart and under strict patriarchal regimes, found shockingly similar ways to take advantage of the channels offered to them to maintain control over their lives. Women controlled which marriages they entered by recognizing when their fiancés were medically unfit, and in other cases by running away. They acted with independence within their marriages by taking advantage of their ability to accumulate independent wealth – this was available to them in both French West Africa and Zanzibar. And finally, women practiced autonomy through divorce, both by using their independent wealth to leave marriages, and by undermining the divorce systems entirely. Ultimately, it should be acknowledged that although women in French West Africa and Zanzibar lived in vastly different contexts, marriage was an institution where both groups carved out an arena of agency and autonomy in an otherwise patriarchal society.

⁴¹Ibid, 189.

Bibliography

- Burrill, Emily S. "Contesting Slavery and Marriage in Early Colonial Sikasso." In *States of Marriage: Gender, Justice, and Rights in Colonial Mali*. Ohio University Press, 2015.
- Burrill, Emily S. "'Wives of Circumstance': Gender and Slave Emancipation in Late Nineteenth Century Senegal." *Slavery and Abolition* 29, no. 1 (2008): 49-63.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01440390701841059>.
- Birrell, Emily and Richard Roberts. "Domestic Violence, Colonial Courts, and the End of Slavery in French Soudan, 1905-12." In *Domestic Violence and the Law in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Edited by Emily Birrell, Richard Roberts, and Elizabeth Thornberry. Ohio University Press, 2010.
- Elisabeth McMahon, "The Value of Marriage: Missionaries, Ex-Slaves, and the Legal Debates Over Marriage in Colonial Pemba Island," in *Gendered Lives in the Western Indian Ocean: Islam, Marriage, and Sexuality on the Swahili Coast*, edited by Erein E. Stiles and Katrina Daly. Ohio University Press, 2015.
- Fair, Laura. *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*. Ohio University Press, 2001.
- McMahon, Elisabeth. "Marrying Beneath Herself: Women, Affect, and Power in Colonial Zanzibar." *Africa Today* 61, no. 4 (2015): 27-40.
<https://doi.org/10.2979/africatoday.61.4.27>.
- Roberts, Richard L. *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in the French Soudan, 1895-1912*. Heinemann, 2005.
- Rodet, Marie. "Gender, Migration, and the End of Slavery in the Region of Kayes, French Soudan." In *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade: Volume 1, The Sources*, edited by Alice Bellagamba, Sanda E. Greene, and Martin A. Klein. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Stockreiter, Elke. *Islamic Law, Gender, and Social Change in Post-Abolition Zanzibar*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Maybe We Don't Need to Be Inclusive: Memorials and The Limits of Inclusion in the Global Memory Marketplace

Isabella Bisci

Memorialization, sitting squarely in the messy intersection of the personal, historical and political, is rarely satisfactory to all involved. The struggle of commemoration is heightened by conflicting historical narratives and further muddled by the creation of a 'memory marketplace.' These memory marketplaces are played out through monuments; rather than uncompromisingly adhering to facts, memorials become unfiltered and constructed narratives are legitimized. By creating memorials that are inclusive to all narratives – what I am terming “all-inclusive memorials” – there is a creation of mutual victimhood and an equalization of suffering, often providing comfortability at the expense of the minority group's memory. This removal of nuance can derive from various political and economic motives, but results in the obfuscation of the truth and subtlety of complex histories.

Kathleen E. Smith's "A Monument for Our Times? Commemorating Victims of Repression in Putin's Russia" examines the creation of The Wall of Sorrow, a state-sponsored monument to victims of political repression in Russia. By looking at the artistic challenges, controversies, and the limitations of a singular memorial, Smith "offers a window into the current state of post-Soviet memory work in Russia."¹ One of the central controversies was the hypocrisy of the government's sponsorship and involvement in the monument while it was actively involved in perpetrating political violence.² Such challenges of memorialization open the question of memorialization's social function and political stakes. In creating a monument to victims of political repression – a rather broad focus – there is a removal of social distinctions, in its way a kind of forgetting.

The design for the Wall of Sorrow was chosen through a competition. The official announcement stated that works should "not only preserve and relay the memory" but "lead to thoughts of the impermissibility of terrorist methods of government rule...the value of human life, [and] the personal responsibility of each person for the future of the country."³ For Smith, there was an implication that this monument "should rise above the level of the 'typical' and reflect the scale of the tragedy," and serve both a pedagogical and commemorative function.⁴ This is a tall order, all the more so given the inherent subjectivity of art and the sensitivity of the contemporary political situation. When the Wall of Sorrow was unveiled, the design was for failing to single out any particular *aspect* of the repression, nor did it call out any specific ideology or political actors. As Smith puts it, the "faceless victims appear to be accidental targets of events beyond their control."⁵ With its sweeping mission statement commemorating all victims of political repression, the Wall of Sorrow leaves unanswered the question: Are former perpetrators of political repression, like Lavrentiy Beria – who, ironically, eventually became a victim of the system he helped set up – included? Allowing space for the oppressor undercuts the power of the Wall of Sorrow memorial. Although an ultimate victim of the system, Beria does not hold the same place as a victim who played no role in setting up and supporting a system of terror.

¹ Kathleen E. Smith, "A Monument for Our Times? Commemorating Victims of Repression in Putin's Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 8 (2019): pg 1328, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1648765>.

² Smith, "A Monument for Our Times?," 1315.

³Smith, "A Monument for Our Times?," 1325.

⁴Smith, "A Monument for Our Times?," 1325.

⁵Smith, "A Monument for Our Times?," 1337.

Upon considering the purpose and responsibility of a monument, Smith cites many conflicting views on the purpose of the The Wall of Sorrow: for some, it was to “confront the regime with evidence of long-hidden atrocities”; others saw its primary function as a “space for mourning.”⁶ This ambiguity concerning the purpose of a given monument only reinforces its marketplace logic. Such lack of definition simultaneously removes onus from the creator and ensures dissatisfaction from at least one faction. Regardless, many of these primary functions place a prodigious amount of expectation on a subjective artistic representation while seeming to neglect the fundamental role of prior education. Though art can be pedagogical and nuanced, it should nevertheless not be saddled with the sole responsibility of detailing historical events since the societal function of art necessarily allows for a degree of interpretation that can exacerbate the marketplace logic of memorialization. A monument can perform a variety of functions, serving as a beacon for remembrance, for grieving, reflection, but it should never be seen as inherently educational in its own right or as replacement for didactic education. Memorialization relies on prior education, and without proper education memorials lose their meaning, becoming ripe for co-option.

The role of a memorial is often at odds with the motives behind its creation. Smith highlights this, arguing that through funding the construction of Wall of Sorrow “the state appears magnanimous in recognising victims and signals that the unfinished business of affirming their innocence has been taken care of at last,” allowing them to shut down any public examination – a public relations move aimed at deflecting the state’s own acts of political violence.⁷ This turns the monument into a “tool for promoting civic accord,” demonstrating how political motivations can obscure the purpose of a monument.⁸ In many cases, the centrality of political motives within a monument are deeply enmeshed with economics. This is conspicuously present in the case of Richmond, Virginia, where the politics of tourism and economics have shaped, and continue to shape, memorial practices. Heritage tourism, a commercial endeavour which “seeks to both entertain and inform its audience,” and tends to represent popular or dominant narratives, has been vital to Richmond and its economy.⁹ Marie Tyler-McGraw describes how, following the Civil Rights era, Richmond – and the South more broadly – strongly perceived the need for the “appearance, at least, of racial healing in order to attract both business headquarters and tourists.”¹⁰ As both Black and white tourism were large economic generators, this meant integrating two opposing memories within the framework of Richmond’s heritage tourism.¹¹ By adding African American history to the Richmond walking tours, plaques and memorials, both memories were given equal legitimacy, turning conflicting memories into ‘southern diversity.’ In doing so, there was an overarching message that these memory practices would “heal wounds and promote reconciliation.”¹² In doing so, both memories were given equal legitimacy, turning conflicting memories into ‘southern diversity’.¹³

⁶Smith, “A Monument for Our Times?,” 1329.

⁷Smith, “A Monument for Our Times?,” 1342.

⁸Smith, “A Monument for Our Times?,” 1338.

⁹Marie Tyler-McGraw, “Southern Comfort Levels: Race, Heritage Tourism, and the Civil War in Richmond,” in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, ed. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 165.

¹⁰ Tyler-McGraw, “Southern Comfort Levels,” 165.

¹¹ Tyler-McGraw, “Southern Comfort Levels,” 157.

¹² Tyler-McGraw, “Southern Comfort Levels,” 157.

¹³ Tyler-McGraw, “Southern Comfort Levels,” 157-159.

Complicating this was the popular ‘lost cause’ counternarrative which painted white southerners as victims of the North and negated the memories of Black suffering. Efforts of inclusiveness often depended on lack of interpretation and “on keeping the narrative very general or conflicting stories geographically separate,” so much so that much of Richmond's memorialization remained segregated even within a paradigm of (attempted) integration.¹⁴

The Canal Walk memorial, a neutral space, was an attempt to integrate these opposing memories. The featured image of General Lee was highly controversial and, following a public backlash from the Black community, it was initially removed.¹⁵ This prompted a counter-backlash from the white community, as well as from groups such as Sons of Confederate Veterans, leading to a compromise which reinstated Lee but in civilian dress rather than a uniform.¹⁶ This compromise was considerably more favourable to one side, mirroring heritage tourism's tendency to side with the dominant/popular narrative; when including contradicting memories without adequate interpretation, inevitably someone's pain will be dissimulated. In trying to synthesize these narratives, Richmond allows for Black pain at the expense of white comfort and pride.

Broad inclusion at the expense of minimizing one group's suffering is furthermore highlighted in the memorial practices of post-war Germany. Not only among Germans but across Europe, there was a crisis in terms of how to memorialize the Holocaust since “iconographical vocabularies and cultural understanding [...] were unprepared to memorialize” something of that scale of devastation.¹⁷ Previous memorial iconography in Germany relied heavily on Christian motifs, featuring themes of sacrifice and redemption, but “the Holocaust was defined by anonymous mass murder” which no narrative of justified sacrifice could make sense of.¹⁸ Post-war Germany was split in two: West Germany or the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) under Allied control, and East Germany or the German Democratic Republic (GDR) under Soviet control. As both regimes grappled with how to memorialize such inconceivable suffering, they struggled to fit it into their respective ideological narratives and state practices.

Though both took different approaches regarding memorialization, they both allowed for a narrative of equal victimhood, erasing nuanced motives of the violence in the process. In the FRG, this is exemplified in the *Plötzensee* [“Memorial to the Victims of the Hitler Dictatorship”], created to honour the millions of victims of the Third Reich who, for either political conviction, religion, or racial heritage, were murdered.¹⁹ The memorial, a reconstruction of the site of executions, incorporates a “simple urn containing earth from all Nazi concentration camps” and a large wooden cross, drawing on traditional German and Christian memorial practices.²⁰ This inclusive approach acknowledges that the group of victims was “large and

¹⁴ Tyler-McGraw, “Southern Comfort Levels,” 159.

¹⁵ Tyler-McGraw, “Southern Comfort Levels,” 160-161.

¹⁶ Tyler-McGraw, “Southern Comfort Levels,” 160-161.

¹⁷ Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 200).

¹⁸ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 200.

¹⁹ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 183.

²⁰ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 183-184. The earth recalled the traditional narrative of a German national identity and the “close relationship between the landscape and the national community” The large wooden cross, surprise surprise “symbolized Christian themes of sacrifice and renewal” which was common in traditional German monuments.

varied, including many different nationalities and political opponents,”²¹ but by blurring distinctions and including all victims of the regime, “former supporters of the regime who ran aground of the system would find their way into the circle of heroes.”²² By not differentiating between those persecuted for religious, ethnic and political reasons, and by disregarding the unequal levels of agency and complicity of those involved, victimization is made equal.²³

In the GDR, the first goal of memorialization was to “honor the Soviet Army and German working class resistance to fascism”, while all other victims occupied a secondary place.²⁴ For the GDR, it was important to “set about defining a historical tradition and creating the iconography and symbolic landscape.”²⁵ Despite this, they “drew heavily on prior commemorative practices.”²⁶ The basis of all Soviet memorials was the larger political narrative that the USSR was “the victor over imperialism, capitalism, and fascism.”²⁷ Likewise, the antifascism ideology of East Germany prevented looking “beyond economic logic as the fundamental basis of fascism” and made it impossible for the victims of fascism to have been persecuted and killed because of ethnicity or religion.²⁸ This goes beyond equalizing victimhood, to outright erasing the motives behind victimization to fit a political narrative, and is embodied in the *Neue Wache* [“Memorial to the Victims of Fascism and Militarism”]. The site was previously a memorial for Prussia’s military victory against Napoleon, but under the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich it became a “national site of mourning.”²⁹ Under Soviet rule it was converted into the “Memorial for Victims of Fascism and Militarism” and quickly became a touristic pilgrimage destination.³⁰ The site was chosen partially because it could be seen as a “symbol of German-Russian friendship” due to its association with the anti-Napoleonic coalition of 1813.³¹ Like the FRG’s *Plötzensee*, the *Neue Wache* took a broad and inclusive approach to memorialization, making it a site of mourning for all victims. But as Koshar points out: “If antifascist ideology organized a pyramid of victims with Soviet and German Communists at the top, who could guarantee that visitors to the memorial would not also mourn for Jews, dissident Christians, aristocratic military officers, ordinary German soldiers, or even former members of the Nazi party—indeed *all* victims equally?”³² The *Neue Wache* and the *Plötzensee* reflect the FRG and GDR's tendency to homogenize memorialization which, by lacking differentiation, allows for an equalization of victimhood.

The equalization of victimhood was once again taken up in post-war reconstructions and the memorialization of concentration camps. In the Soviet Union, former WWII camps became some of the “most important locations of ... antifascist remembrance,” but also where the Jewish memory of the Holocaust would be suppressed.³³ Koshar highlights how “no internationally

²¹ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 183

²² Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 183

²³ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 183

²⁴ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 188

²⁵ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 188

²⁶ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 189-190.

²⁷ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 188.

²⁸ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 189

²⁹ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 193.

³⁰ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 193.

³¹ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 193.

³² Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 194.

³³ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 198.

valid meaning of the Holocaust was established”; this lack of accepted interpretation left it open to individuals, groups and governments.³⁴ This was seen early on in the memorialization of Auschwitz, which had a “tendency to avoid narrating the history of the camp in all its complexity.”³⁵ There was a narrative of “the misery of Poles,” but by putting Jews and Poles at the top of the hierarchy of victims, it equated and generalized the memories of suffering, creating a sense of equal victimhood.³⁶ Auschwitz also showed a division between Christian and Jewish memory of the Holocaust, as well as memorialization practices. These competing interpretations often negated each other and, similarly to the Canal Walk memorial, when left open to interpretation, the popular or dominant narrative was favoured. Many renderings of the suffering of the Holocaust were put in Christian terms at the expense of Jewish memory.³⁷ The Christian imagery was seen as befitting “a country that traditionally called itself “the Christ of Nations,” and post-war memorialization that used themes of suffering and redemption allowed for the “Jewish memory to be almost entirely excluded from historical memory.”³⁸ In some cases it went beyond exclusion to outright negation, such as in the case of the Commemoration of Maximilian Kolbe, a “rabidly anti-semitic priest” who voluntarily took the place of another Polish prisoner at Auschwitz.³⁹ His commemoration was highly controversial; it not only drew attention to the incongruities between Christian and Jewish memory of the holocaust, but by not addressing the complexities of the Holocaust, people with radically incompatible views were memorialized at the same site.

Christianity also played a role in the FRG Holocaust memorialization. Koshar points out that camps became “important site[s] of Cold War anti-Communism,” standing as a general symbol of totalitarianism. As symbols, they became closely intertwined with Christianity since churches would link “their persecution at the hands of the Nazis with their contemporary opposition to the godlessness of Communist states.”⁴⁰ The first monument, erected at the site in 1961, honored the Catholic clergy who were killed there.⁴¹ The 1960s saw much development in memorial projects at Dachau, with reconstruction and museum projects, such as a Jewish memorial temple and plans for a central memorial.⁴² This was met with local resistance, many citing that the “camp had been imposed on them by the Nazis,” and echoed a larger set of national narratives that “the Nazis had victimized the German people.... [who] after the war were again victims of the Allied occupiers.”⁴³ Apart from an unwillingness to accept responsibility, there was an economic drive behind locals’ resistance to memorialization of the camp. Tourist guide books lamented that the Nazis’ imposition of the camp on Dachau gave what had once been seen as a “pleasant town” an “evil” reputation.⁴⁴ This self-victimization and detachment from the camp shows that “until Germans faced up to their role as perpetrators, they

³⁴ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 200.

³⁵ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 203-204.

³⁶ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 204.

³⁷ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 203-204.

³⁸ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 203-204.

³⁹ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 204.

⁴⁰ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 219.

⁴¹ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 219.

⁴² Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 220.

⁴³ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 220. This theme of resistance to unjust alien forces has a long history in German monuments and commemorative practices and in the case of the holocaust it was “deployed to legitimize both remembering and forgetting”.

⁴⁴ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 220.

would reconstruct identities around distorted images of the victims.”⁴⁵ War memorials in both West and East Germany led to “the erasure of Germans themselves,” allowing for the excusing of the German populace as complicit, let alone as perpetrators and supporters of Nazi atrocities.⁴⁶

All-inclusive monuments turn memorialization into a “memory marketplace” as interpretation is left open, and is shaped by a combination of political drivers, private and public initiatives, and economic interests, such as tourism.⁴⁷ Although events, styles, and rhetoric may change, attempts to synthesize conflicting narratives result in an equalization of victimhood. This mutual victimhood affords comfort for the dominant group even as it erases the uncomfortable but more nuanced truth. By having a memorial assume and absorb various interpretations, it risks crumbling under the weight of its own overwhelming contradictions.

⁴⁵ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 198.

⁴⁶ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 224.

⁴⁷ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 218.

Bibliography

- Smith, Kathleen E. "A Monument for Our Times? Commemorating Victims of Repression in Putin's Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 8 (2019): 1314–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1648765>.
- Tyler-McGraw, Marie. "Southern Comfort Levels: Race, Heritage Tourism, and the Civil War in Richmond." In *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, 151–67. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Koshar, Rudy. *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Behind the Luster: Revealing Points of Contact in a Manises Albarello

Victoria Chung

At the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Montréal (MBAM), there resides a golden drug jar decorated with iridescent blue and golden ivy leaves in the permanent One World exhibition. Measuring 38 centimeters in height and roughly 20 centimeters in diameter, this golden ceramic albarello has been identified as originating from Manises, a town near coastal Valencia in Spain, and produced sometime between 1435 and 1475.¹ This Manises albarello exemplifies the fusion of Islamic and Christian or Gothic elements typical in Hispano-Moresque ceramics. Museum records show that this albarello was donated to the museum in 1944 by Harry A. (Arunah) Norton as part of a significant collection of antique glass.²

Henry Glassie, a material cultural researcher renowned for his study of folk cultures, suggests that individual objects can be understood as one part of a set and that different meanings will rise to the fore when the object is situated in different contexts, especially with use and alteration.³ Glassie further suggests that the creation and subsequent use of an object can be thought of as “creative layering, the wills of many makers” such that “use becomes creation when objects become parts of objects, when the context becomes a composition.”⁴ Borrowing this material culture framework that Glassie suggests, this research paper aims to trace the biography of this ceramic *albarello* in order to illuminate the social contexts of those who encountered this vessel and to demonstrate how its glazed surface and form are embodied contact points. Contact points in the study of material culture can be understood to be areas of encounters between people, objects and environments. These embodied areas of contact arise out of and illustrate relationships of exchange, expression and use. The three areas of social contact that I will discuss in the paper can be loosely categorized as creation, European consumption, and lastly, circulation via private collecting practice.

To place the lustered albarello more fully in its historical context, I will briefly discuss the evolution of lusterware and the migration of this ancient Islamic craft technology to illustrate the transmission of culture and meaning embedded in the craft. I will then consider the MBAM lusterware albarello as a handmade object in order to reveal the artisanal skills and knowledge held by its anonymous makers in a community of other artisans in Manises. Next, I will discuss the commercial and cultural significance of the ivy pattern on the surface of the albarello. I will then argue that the adaption and modification of meaning in Hispano-Moresque lusterware is a result of changing social conditions and market preferences. Lastly, the albarello will be considered in relation to the whole of Harry Norton’s private collection to reveal the social and aesthetic aspects of his collecting practice.

Islamic Motifs and Cultural Context

¹ *Pharmacy Jar (Albarello)*, 1435–1475, Earthenware, underglaze blue and overglaze lustre decoration, opaque glaze., Musée Des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada. <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/works/23890/>

² “*The Norton Collection of Ancient Glass- A Virtual Exhibit*,” Musée Beaulne, accessed December 10, 2025, <https://www.museebeaulne.ca/en/virtual-exhibit-ancient-glass/>

³ Henry Glassie, “Studying Material Culture Today,” in *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Gerald L. Pocius (St. John’s Nfld: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1991).

⁴ Glassie, “Studying Material Culture Today,” 264.

The production of lusterware has a long historic tradition tracing back to the 9th century in Baghdad at the end of the Abbasid dynasty.⁵ The technology to produce luster spread to Iran, Egypt, northern Africa, and to the Iberian Peninsula of Spain with the conquest by the Moors in the 12th century.⁶ As Muslim craftsmen migrated due to political upheaval and economic instability, the technical skill and specialist knowledge they held travelled with them.

Lusterware was an exalted commodity in the Islamic context and it was sought after by wealthy patrons for its resemblance to golden vessels.⁷ Because luster gave the appearance of metallic vessels, early forms of this ceramic mimicked the forms of beaten metal vessels which may have been used for ceremonial purposes.⁸ Scholars have suggested that the golden surface of the vessels were imbued with spiritual meaning and inspired personal reflection. The intricacy of Islamic art objects, and surface patterns of Islamic lusterware, could be read as “aesthetic pursuit[s] of beauty” to act as “reminders of the beauty of God’s presence.”⁹

Scholars have also argued that the circulation of this art form depended on the movement of these potters because they held not only technical skill but also fluency of design drawn from their familiarity with Islamic cultural and religious contexts.¹⁰ Consequently, the embedded meaning in the motifs and patterns on the surface designs of the ceramic vessels were also circulated through repeated usage. For example, the tree of life and the palmette motif (*Fig. 1*) signify fire, honour and achievement and would have suggested rightful authority when used in surface decoration of ceramic vessels produced for the Sassanian kings.¹¹

The motif of the *Alafia* pattern, derived from the Arabic word for “Providence” or “Blessing,” and the Hand of Fatima motif which is understood to mean “God with us,” would have acted as protective symbols for both the object and the object’s owner.¹² Because lustered vessels were often created for specific purposes, exemplified by the ewers, platters, and tureens created for

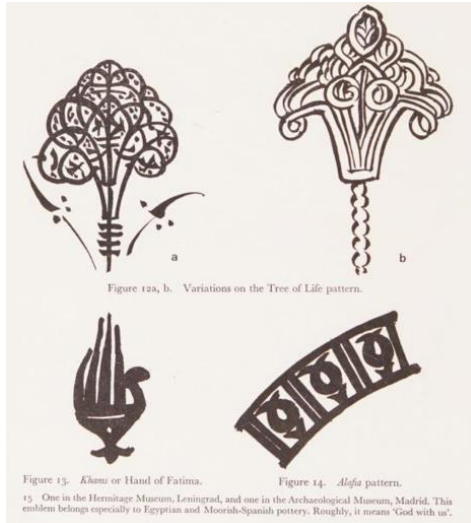


Figure 1. Chart with popular Islamic decorative motifs.

⁵ Alan Caiger-Smith. *Lustre Pottery: Technique, Tradition, and Innovation in Islam and the Western World*. (London; Faber and Faber, 1985), 26.

⁶ Alan Caiger-Smith. *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World; the Tradition of 1000 Years in Maiolica, Faience & Delftware*. (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 53.

⁷ Scholars have also suggested that the popularity of lusterware may be related to the *hadith* or religious prohibition which states that “*He who drinks from gold and silver vessels drinks the fire of hell.*” The use of golden ceramic ware may have allowed believers to convey prestige and wealth without breaking Islamic law. Nada Velimirovic. *Reflections of the divine: Muslim, Christian and Jewish images on luster glazed ceramics in Late Medieval Iberia*. Graduate Theological Union, 2016, 41.

⁸ Suleman also suggests that in Fatimid Egypt, “the [luster] pottery itself may have been used in this capacity as a medium for retelling oral literature” which further supports the transmission of cultural and religious meaning and values. Fahmida Suleman. “The Lion, the Hare and Lustreware.” In *Metalwork and Material Culture in the Islamic World: Art, Craft and Text - Essays Presented to James W. Allan*, eds. Venetia Porter and Mariam Rosser-Owen (London; I.B. Tauris & Company, 2012.) 379.

⁹ Velimirovic, *Reflections of the divine*, 43-44.

¹⁰ Jaume Coll Conesa. “Valencian Tin-Glazed Earthenware and Technological Change: A Mediterranean Industry.” *Historical Archaeology* 57, no. 4 (2023): 1212-1230.

¹¹ Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*, 29.

¹² Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*, 61.

communal dining¹³, these protective symbols would be especially significant given that these vessels held food or drink and would have been used to serve families and honored guests.

Making Practice and Material Analysis

The albarello (*Fig. 2*) was a pharmacy drug jar which was used to house aromatic spices or dry medicinal goods. It originated in Mesopotamia as a vessel designed to hold herbs, roots, spices and syrup ointments for the hospitals and schools established there.¹⁴ Different shapes of jars (i.e. rounded forms with spouts or handles) would have been employed to house the different pharmaceuticals. The use of tin-glazed earthenware answered the necessity of smooth hygienic and impervious surfaces for these medicinal containers.¹⁵

The proportions of the albarello were designed to be functional for packing and transportation. The vessel was produced with a slight concave waist for ease of handling and a wide rim that would have allowed for a piece of parchment or cloth to be tied to the neck as a cover.¹⁶ The pragmatic nature of these vessels, and their subsequent discovery in large numbers at excavation sites, suggests that the potters would have made them in large numbers and been adept at throwing repetitively.¹⁷ Scholars have noted that the artisan must possess a superbly confident hand to produce the pleasing flowing brush strokes of effective design onto the dry powdery surface of the tin glaze as the surface did not allow for mistakes to be undone.¹⁸ The technical and artistic skills necessary to create the intricate patterns and the slower pace of work suggests that this was a different skillset and may have been done by painters trained for the task.¹⁹

Making lusterware is a time and energy intensive process requiring three firings in the kiln and expert knowledge of the materials involved. The technique and the glaze recipes to create golden luster were closely guarded secrets and were often passed down from master to apprentice.²⁰ The technique, known as *reflejo metallico* in Spain, yielded a microscopic film of silver or copper metal embedded in the glaze.²¹ It is distinguishable from gilding where the surface layer of metal is easily scratched or worn away from the surface. In Manises, the ratio of silver to



Figure 2. Pharmacy Jar (Albarello). Manises, Spain, about 1435-1475, height: 38 cm, diameter: 19.6 cm. Musée des Beaux Arts Montréal.

¹³ Daphne Carnegy. *Tin-glazed Earthenware: from Maiolica, Faience and delftware to the contemporary*. (London: A & C Black, 1993), 20.

¹⁴ Carnegy, *Tin-glazed Earthenware*, 19-20.

¹⁵ Carnegy, *Tin-glazed Earthenware*, 20.

¹⁶ William M. Milliken, "Majolica Drug Jars." *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 32, no. 3 (1944): 294.

¹⁷ Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*, 57.

¹⁸ Milliken. "Majolica Drug Jars." 294.

¹⁹ Pérez Camps finds evidence of a tradition of *pintores*, or male painters, working in Valencian tile factories in the 117th century and *pintoras*, female painters working similarly in Manises the early 18th century. This was cross-referenced with Caiger-Smith's suggestion that there was likely a division of labour between the potters and the artisans as the painting work was slower. Josep Pérez Camps. "Women in the ceramic industry of Manises."

²⁰ This has the unfortunate result that the exact technique and ability to reproduce the same effects of luster have been lost to history. Eva Wilson. *Islamic designs for artists and craftspeople*. (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1988), 13.

²¹ Pérez-Arantegui et al. "Luster pottery from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century: a nanostructured thin metallic film." *Journal of the American Ceramic Society* 84, no. 2 (2001): 442.

copper was about one to ten.²² The higher the ratio of silver, the more golden the luster would become whereas higher concentrations of copper would result in a reddish brown. The ratio of silver to copper in finished lusterware can also tell us a story about how well a production centre is doing due to the higher cost of silver.

The Manises albarello was likely created on the wheel by Moorish men,²³ specifically by Mudéjar men who were Muslims living under Christian rule, as Valencia and its neighbouring towns had been reconquered in 1238.²⁴ A kick wheel would have been used for forming the shape of hollow vessels like the albarello and a smaller hand wheel would have been used to finish the rims.²⁵ The clay source was also likely owned by the Manises community²⁶ and workers were responsible for procuring their own lead and tin which were essential materials for the glaze.²⁷ Mortars and pestles would have been used to grind and mix the glazes and “vats and tubs for mixing clays and washing sooted plates; and a variety of quills, feathers, brushes, reed pens, and metal styli for painting and marking designs.”²⁸

The pot would be fired for the first time in a kiln to create its permanent hardened shape before being dipped in a lead glaze. This glaze was “made by melting tin and lead together, which, after cooling, was ground, mixed with salt²⁹ and sand, and liquified.”³⁰ The tin in the glaze would help create an opaque smooth surface on which the design could be painted on.³¹ In Manises, the blue overglaze is likely comprised of cobalt ore which was roasted at a high temperature commonly referred to as “safra”³² or “zaffre.”³³ The painter would have painted the blue decoration first and then had to leave empty spaces in anticipation of the luster decoration that would be completed at a later stage.³⁴ The pottery was then fired for the second time at 800° Celsius.³⁵

The albarello’s most distinctive feature is the iridescent golden decorations known as luster. To make the luster overglaze, the potters would finely grind silver and copper which would be dissolved in vinegar and then mixed with red ochre, fine silt and some oil to create a paint-like mixture that could be thickly applied to decorate the pots.³⁶ The more delicate and intricate the brushwork, the greater the value of the vessels. The delicate banded lines separating the blue and gold ivy leaf patterns and the curling lines of the leaf and scroll motif were likely drawn on with a quill or reed-pen. Once the luster overglaze had been painted on and dried, the artisans would

²² Caiger-Smith. *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*. 74.

²³ The absence of documentary records suggests a patriarchal culture surrounding the work at the potteries in Manises. Pérez Camps, "Women in the ceramic industry of Manises."

²⁴ Mariam Rosser-Owen. *Islamic Arts from Spain*. (London: V&A, 2010), 98.

²⁵ Timothy Husband. "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century: Notes and Documents." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, no. 1 (1970): 14.

²⁶ Polvorinos et al. "The evolution of lustre ceramics from Manises (Valencia, Spain) between the 14th and 18th centuries." *Archaeometry* 53, no. 3 (2011): 507.

²⁷ Pérez Camps, "Women in the ceramic industry of Manises."

²⁸ Husband, "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century," 14.

²⁹ Polvorinos et al. believes that barilla plant ashes may have been used in the glaze as a source of potassium and sodium salts. The use of these plant ashes was known to be an important resource to the glass industry nearby in Valencia. Polvorinos et al., "The evolution of lustre ceramics" 498.

³⁰ Husband. "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century." 13.

³¹ Milliken. "Majolica Drug Jars." 294.

³² Coll Conesa, "Valencian Tin-Glazed Earthenware and Technological Change," 1216.

³³ Polvorinos et al., "The evolution of lustre ceramics," 499.

³⁴ Caiger-Smith. *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*. 70.

³⁵ Husband. "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century." 14.

³⁶ Husband. "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century." 14.

have used the sgratiffio technique where they would incise fine lines into the ivy leaves to create the appearance of leaf veins.³⁷

The albarello would have been carefully loaded into a kiln where it would be fired at a low temperature (i.e. 600-650 °C) to avoid melting the previous layers of glaze.³⁸ When the temperature had been reached, expert tinderers would have thrown in resinous brushwood, like rosemary or juniper, to create a smoky oxygen-deprived atmosphere (i.e. in reduction) in the kiln for about an hour.³⁹ The remaining black residue of the ochre on the surface of the vessels was then washed off with a brush and polished with a cloth to reveal the metallic luster.⁴⁰ Without the aid of precise instrumentation, the artisans' knowledge of kiln construction, technical experience of how to control atmosphere within the kiln⁴¹ and material understanding of the raw materials necessary to produce the luster effects would have been considerable to achieve consistent results when the technique required accuracy.⁴² The specialized division of labour and presence of expert tinderers, potters, and painters together with apprentices and merchants suggests that there would have been an artistic community focussed on the production of this ware at Manises.

Because the Manises albarello is lacking any unique commissioned elements (like heraldic shields or family insignia), it seems likely that it is the kind of ordinary ware that would have been the mainstay for the potteries, simple enough to have been used to train apprentices, and would be used to fill up the kilns "once the special pieces were in position, and could be relied on to cover costs when large things were cracked or damaged in a firing."⁴³ These relatively simpler lustered vessels were acquired by merchants, townspeople and for apothecaries.⁴⁴ It is unclear if there are existing traces of medicinal ingredients inside the Manises albarello but the wear pattern on the lip of the jar and the foot-ring suggests that that the vessel has seen repeated use.

³⁷ Caiger-Smith. *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*. 76.

³⁸ Caiger-Smith. *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*. 74.

³⁹ Caiger-Smith. *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*. 74.

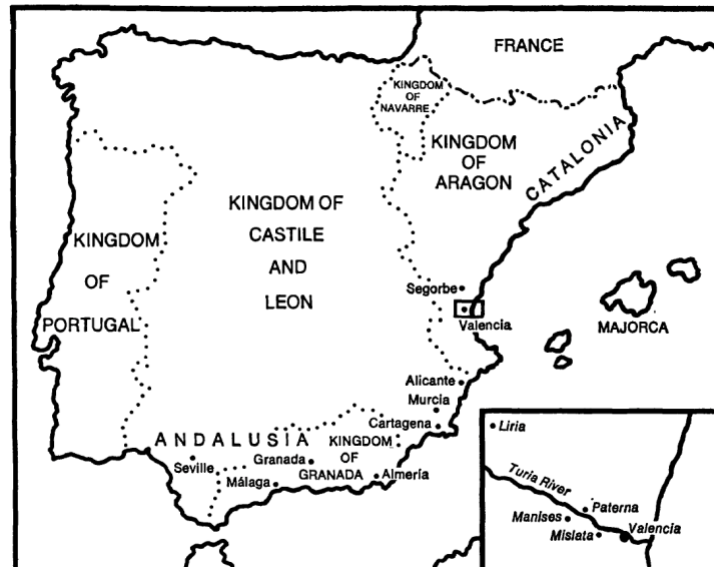
⁴⁰ Pedro de Buyl is also sometimes referred to as Peter Boil. Husband, "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century," 14.

⁴¹ Caiger-Smith notes that that "in kilns of the type, it would be hard to avoid overheating some pieces and underfiring others. The pot near the floor of the kiln would inevitably get hotter than those higher up." Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*, 72.

⁴² Pérez-Arantegui et al., "Luster pottery from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century," 445.

⁴³ Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*, 77.

⁴⁴ Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 101.



Map 1. Kingdoms of Spain in the 14th-15th century highlighting production centers near Valencia.
Husband, "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century"

Significance of Surface Pattern

Following the reconquest of Valencia in 1238, Pedro de Buyl, a gentleman of a noble family of Aragon or Catalan descent, became the Lord of Manises and sought to establish Manises as a new and profitable centre of lusterware production by recruiting Moorish master artisans from Malaga.⁴⁵ Having previously visited Granada on a diplomatic mission for the Aragon court, he probably encountered Nasrid lusterware and had seen the profits that Valencia was enjoying from luster production.⁴⁶ Manises, a town bordering the coastal port city of Valencia, was ideally located to access the trade routes Valencia had to Majorca, Italy and beyond (see Map 1). The artisans, facing increasing piracy and religious conflict in Malaga, may have been seeking safety and the relative stability of the Christian ruled Kingdom of Aragon.⁴⁷ In their new homes in Manises, the workers were responsible for the cost of their own materials⁴⁸ while the de Buyls were known to take at least ten percent of the profits made.⁴⁹ The de Buyl family were well-connected to the Aragon court and to Spanish nobility.⁵⁰ The artistic community of Manises, having been exposed to new patterns from Christian imagery in their new surroundings and facing financial pressures and the growing popularity of lusterware, must have been eager to fulfill the demand for their wares.

⁴⁵ Husband, "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century," 16.

⁴⁶ Rosser-Owen, "Islamic Arts from Spain", p. 97-98.

⁴⁷ Velimirovic, *Reflections of the divine*, 85.

⁴⁸ Pérez Camps, "Women in the ceramic industry of Manises."

⁴⁹ Husband, "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century," 16.

⁵⁰ Records have shown evidence of royal commissions from the Queen Dona Maria of Aragon for sets of lustered tableware. Husband, "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century," 16.

The Manises albarello features a surface design with two motifs: an Islamic leaf-scroll and a naturalistic ivy or vine-leaf pattern (as shown in *Fig. 3*).⁵¹ This fusion of styles speaks to the makers' social and commercial environment. The albarello's surface acts as a contact zone as it speaks to the power dynamics between the potential buyers and the Mudéjar artisans and to a lesser extent, but no less significant, the relationship between the artisans and influential middlemen like the de Buyl family. To adapt to the tastes and demands of customers, the artisans demonstrated a readiness to adopt new patterns with Gothic elements, like the vine-leaf motif of the Manises albarello, into their repertoires. The surface designs become notably more secular and more decorative in the middle of the 15th century with Moorish designs giving way to European motifs.⁵² With time, the albarello shifted from an object of utilitarian function to a sought-after art object.⁵³ No longer employing the Islamic motifs for their talismanic invocations for health, prosperity or good fortune, the golden surface itself became the primary focus so that ownership of lusterware became a display of grandeur and an unconscious invocation of prestige and wealth.⁵⁴

The position of Valencia as a strategically placed port location in conjunction with the development of a new fashionable style blending Islamic and Christian elements together created the conditions for the easy and profitable export of lusterware to wealthy nobles throughout Spain and Italy in the 15th century. Moorish lusterware quickly becomes established as a status symbol and "prestige pottery" for wealthy families in Florence and is distributed as a collectible luxury commodity through to the 17th century.⁵⁵ Wealthy Italian noble families and merchants become the biggest market for Manises lusterware with noble families sending drawings of their family arms for the potters to copy onto specially commissioned commemorative and armorial pieces.⁵⁶ The ivy and leaf-scroll Hispano-Moresque pattern, as exemplified on the Manises albarello, proves to be incredibly popular with this new market with examples of similar albarellos in multiple museums,⁵⁷ including at the V&A museum and in the Portinari triptych (Figure 4). The pattern is eventually imitated in Italian ware and is adapted once more to become a "filler" pattern with smaller, less defined vine leaves as is evidenced in the commissioned Medici vase (Figure 5).

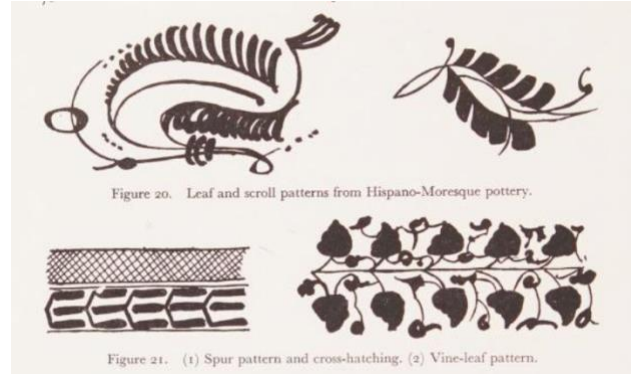


Figure 3. Chart with common Hispano-Moresque decorative motifs. Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery*, 76.

⁵¹ Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*, 66.

⁵² Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 113.

⁵³ Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 111.

⁵⁴ Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 111.

⁵⁵ Timothy Wilson. "The beginnings of lustreware in Renaissance Italy." In *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar*, 1996, 36.

⁵⁶ Wilson, "The beginnings of lustreware in Renaissance Italy," 36.

⁵⁷ "Hispano-Moresque Albarello," British Antique Dealer's Association, accessed December 10, 2025, <https://www.bada.org/object/hispano-moresque-albarello>



Figure 4. The Portinari Triptych: Detail, by Hugo van der Goes, c.1475, oil on wood, 253 x 304 cm. Held at Le Gallerie Degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy.



Figure 5. The Medici Valencian vase. Manises, c. 1465-1480. British Museum.

Loss of meaning transmission

If we consider the changing painted designs as physical indicators of painters responding to their social environment (including the desires of their buyer markets), the modification of meanings of the old patterns becomes incredibly significant. While the traditional Islamic motifs are aesthetically pleasing to the eye through the intricacy of their details, the meanings conveyed through these patterns may not have been understood by their new audience. Alan Caiger-Smith, a renowned artist and scholar specializing in the history and recreation of lusterware, notes that the painters began to drift away from these traditional meanings only when Gothic motifs began to enter the aesthetic vocabulary around 1400.⁵⁸ The secularization of Islamic motifs led to mistranslation and erasure of significant meaning. This mistranslation could be a deliberate strategic response or an unconscious evolutionary drift from the traditional design vocabulary. Either way, the growing use of gothic motifs suggests that the artisans faced growing pressure of Christianization and were responding to the power differential they faced with their new market.⁵⁹

The modification and erasure of meaning is most evident in the use of a pseudo-Arabic script where the calligraphy is rendered illegible and become



Figure 6. Drug jar (albarello) with designs imitating Arabic calligraphy. Manises, 1375-1400, held at the V&A Museum, London.

⁵⁸ Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World*, 61.

⁵⁹ Scholars have also suggested that the Italian Renaissance created a desire to move away from the perceived outdated fashions of the Old World and that the increasing pressure of Catholic conversion created a desire to present outward aversions to Islamic associations.

merely decorative marks on the pot.⁶⁰ The evolution of Mooresque motifs to become mere design elements is also evident in the use of the *alaffia* motif in combination with the use of the patterns mimicking the angular lines of Kufic calligraphy (see *Fig. 6*).⁶¹ The loss of meaning from the original Islamic motifs and subsequent evolution into these iterations suggests these motifs have become mere aesthetic design to be used on a prized commodity and perhaps speak to a self-awareness of exoticism or of foreignness.

The creation of the Hispano-Moresque style accedes that the Mooresque style has become a passé visual style no longer in keeping with the social mores. But why then was lusterware made specifically by Mudéjar craftsmen so coveted and sought out by the noble families of Spain and Italy? I believe that the Moorish heritage of these items remained valuable to these audiences and were prized, at least in part, for their perceived exoticism. While this interest could be attributed to the famed skill of the Mudéjar craftsmen and the beauty of the finished wares, or even perhaps the long, illustrious history of the craft, the successive reinvention of Islamic motifs and adoption of Gothic motifs suggests that the lusterware may also have been prized for the perceived exotic heritage of its craftsmen.

In regard to the lustered albarello from Manises, its form as a drug jar may also signal ancient and esoteric connections to the history of medicine and the origins of many medicinal ingredients. As part of a collection in a pharmacy, these objects may well have given an air of authenticity and legitimacy to doctors and pharmacists in a time when the efficacy of medicines was not well understood.⁶² Mathew Martin, a lecturer in Art History and Curatorship at the University of Melbourne investigating the significance and meaning of the illegible pseudo-scripts on Italian Renaissance maiolica dishes, suggests that “the use of strange-sounding names in unfamiliar languages must have heightened the sense of mystery associated with their ritual use and thus have rendered them even more powerful.”⁶³ Scholars have also suggested that the golden surfaces of lusterware may have evoked connections to alchemy and exoticism.⁶⁴ If these hypotheses prove true, the practice of collecting of these objects may have established a precedence to or have been an early example of Orientalist collecting practices.

Harry A. Norton’s Collecting Practice

Drawing from the records available at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art, I learned that the Manises albarello was part of a large collection donated to the museum in 1944 by Harry A. Norton. Born in 1872, Harry Arunah Norton was the son of the wealthy anglophone industrialist, Arthur Osmore Norton.⁶⁵ Arthur, who made his fortune manufacturing jacks for

⁶⁰ Leah R. Clark. "Objets croisés: Albarelli as vessels of mediation within and beyond the Spezieria." *Études Épistémè. Revue de littérature et de civilisation (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* 36, (2019).

⁶¹ Clark, "Objets croisés."

⁶² Clark, "Objets croisés."

⁶³ Martin, Mathew. "Making sense of nonsense: pseudo-script on an Italian Renaissance maiolica dish," *Art Journal* 57, April 30, 2020, accessed December 8, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/making-sense-of-nonsense-pseudo-script-on-an-italian-renaissance-maiolica-dish/>

⁶⁴ Timothy Wilson writes, “Apart from its technical brilliance, there was perhaps another element in the fascination cast by Valencian lusterwares throughout Europe - alchemy. A principal aim of medieval magic and science was the search for the ‘philosopher’s stone’, which could turn base substances into gold. For the medieval European, there was a precise sense in which lusterware may have seemed magical - golden pottery without the use of gold.” Wilson, "The beginnings of lustreware in Renaissance Italy," 36.

⁶⁵ “*The Norton Collection of Ancient Glass- A Virtual Exhibit*,” Musée Beaulne, accessed December 10, 2025, <https://www.museebeaulne.ca/en/virtual-exhibit-ancient-glass/>



Figure 7. Photograph of Harry A. Norton's Glass Collection at Norton Manor in 1942, taken by G. Nakash. Musée Beaulne.

railway construction, built Norton Manor (now Beaulne Museum) in Coaticooke, Québec near the U.S. border.⁶⁶

Harry Norton was known as a great lover of art and antiquities and collected mostly Islamic and pre-Islamic glass acquired through his art dealer, Azeez Khayat.⁶⁷ Khayat, a self-taught, self-styled archaeologist from Lebanon, would have likely guided Norton in his acquisitions with his specialist expertise (Jenkins-Medina). Aside from glass objects, the remaining items in Norton's donated collections at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art and the Royal Ontario Museum were mostly comprised of Mina'i ceramics and Kashan lusterware from Iran and Iznik pottery from Turkey. What does it tell us that this albarello is the only Spanish ceramic in an otherwise Arab collection? And also, what does the inclusion of this object in the greater collection reveal about the collector?

Caron and Zoïtopoulou write that:

“Harry Norton was not an archaeologist, but an aesthete and was apparently more interested in glass vases as objets d’art, their shape and colour- and iridescence- rather than constituting a comprehensive collection of every type of glass vase.”⁶⁸

It is evident from my survey of Harry Norton's collection at the Montreal Museum of fine Art and the Royal Ontario Museum that Harry Norton's collection focused on historical objects associated with prestige from the Islamic world. As the only known example of Hispano-Moresque ware in his collection at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art, I would argue that despite the Gothic ivy motif on the albarello, Norton acquired this vessel as representative of Islamic craftsmanship and history without any specialist interest in lusterware aside from being drawn to its perceived Oriental history. I am inclined to believe that Norton collected according to his areas of personal interest and taste and thus, was drawn to objects that had aesthetic qualities he admired and also belonged to ancient craft traditions that had a mystical quality to their creation. How he began collecting glass and how he came to be fascinated with these Middle Eastern wares is unknown as of yet and warrants further research.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to uncover the biography of a lustered Manises albarello and to reveal the social contexts of the anonymous craftsmen, buyers and collectors who existed with this pot, however briefly. In order to learn something of the hands and minds of the artisans who made and designed the object, it was necessary to delve into the history of this technique and to follow the potters' migration in order to better understand the context of the evolution of pots

⁶⁶ Musée Beaulne, “*The Norton Collection of Ancient Glass- A Virtual Exhibit.*”

⁶⁷ Musée Beaulne, “*The Norton Collection of Ancient Glass- A Virtual Exhibit.*”

⁶⁸ Beaudoin Caron and Eléni P Zoïtopoulou. “Collection of Mediterranean Antiquities.” *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*, Vol.1, *The Ancient Glass*, (Leiden ; Brill, 2008).

like the lustered Manises albarello. The arrival of luster technology created a new paradigm for earthenware throughout Europe and it would change how the West perceives and continues to value ceramic vessels. The creation of the new Hispano-Moresque style and adaptation of historic patterns allowed the Mudéjar artisans to appeal to the changing tastes of their consumer base and to react to the changed political climate of their new surroundings. This sometimes had the effect of altering and erasing meanings embedded in the stylistic motifs. Throughout its lifespan, the Manises albarello has existed simultaneously as both an artifact of Islamic culture and craft and a prized artistic commodity. It has been interesting and rewarding to see the ways in which albarellos have acted as cultural vessels, capable of holding different meanings for those who have come into contact with it.

Bibliography

- Caiger-Smith, Alan. *Lustre Pottery : Technique, Tradition, and Innovation in Islam and the Western World*. London: Faber and Faber, 1985.
- Caiger-Smith, Alan. *Tin-Glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World; the Tradition of 1000 Years in Maiolica, Faience & Delftware*. London: Faber, 1973, 19-98.
- Carnegy, Daphne. *Tin-glazed Earthenware: from Maiolica, Faience and delftware to the contemporary*. A & C Black, 1993.
- Caron, Beaudoin, and Eléni P. Zoïtopoulou. "Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Collection of Mediterranean Antiquities, Vol. 1, The Ancient Glass." Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Clark, Leah R. "Objets croisés: Albarelli as vessels of mediation within and beyond the Spezieria." *Études Épistémè. Revue de littérature et de civilisation (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* 36, (2019).
- Coll Conesa, Jaume. "Valencian Tin-Glazed Earthenware and Technological Change: A Mediterranean Industry." *Historical Archaeology* 57, no. 4 (2023): 1212-1230.
- Glassie, Henry. "Studying Material Culture Today," in *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Gerald L. Pocius (St. John's NFLD: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1991).
- "Hispano-Moresque Albarello," British Antique Dealer's Association, accessed December 10, 2025, <https://www.bada.org/object/hispano-moresque-albarello>
- Husband, Timothy. "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century: Notes and Documents." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, no. 1 (1970): 11-19.
- Jenkins-Madina, Marilyn. "Collecting the "Orient" at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America." *Ars Orientalis* (2000): 69-89.
- Martin, Mathew. "Making sense of nonsense: pseudo-script on an Italian Renaissance maiolica dish," *Art Journal* 57, April 30, 2020, accessed December 8, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/making-sense-of-nonsense-pseudo-script-on-an-italian-renaissance-maiolica-dish/>
- Milliken, William M. "Majolica Drug Jars." *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 32, no. 3 (1944): 294.
- Nakash, G. *Photograph of Harry A. Norton's Glass Collection at Norton Manor in 1942*. Photograph. Musée Beaulne. Accessed Dec. 5, 2025. <https://www.museebeaulne.ca/en/virtual-exhibit-ancient-glass/>
- "The Norton Collection of Ancient Glass- A Virtual Exhibit," Musée Beaulne, accessed December 10, 2025, <https://www.museebeaulne.ca/en/virtual-exhibit-ancient-glass/>
- Pérez-Arantegui, Josefina, Judit Molera, Angel Larrea, Trinitat Pradell, Marius Vendrell-Saz, Iliaria Borgia, Brunetto G. Brunetti et al. "Luster pottery from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century: a nanostructured thin metallic film." *Journal of the American Ceramic Society* 84, no. 2 (2001): 442-46.
- Pérez Camps, Josep. "Women in the ceramic industry of Manises." *Pharmacy Jar (Albarello)*, 1435–1475, Earthenware, underglaze blue and overglaze lustre decoration, opaque glaze., Musée Des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada. <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/works/23890/>
- Polvorinos, A., Marc Aucouturier, A. Bouquillon, J. Castaing, and J. Camps. "The evolution of lustre ceramics from Manises (Valencia, Spain) between the 14th and 18th

- centuries." *Archaeometry* 53, no. 3 (2011): 490-509.
- Rosser-Owen, Mariam. *Islamic Arts from Spain*. London: V&A, 2010.
- Suleman, Fahmida. "The Lion, the Hare and Lustreware." In *Metalwork and Material Culture in the Islamic World : Art, Craft and Text - Essays Presented to James W. Allan*, eds. Venetia Porter and Mariam Rosser-Owen (London ; I.B. Tauris & Company, 2012.) 379-391.
- Velimirovic, Nada. *Reflections of the divine: Muslim, Christian and Jewish images on luster glazed ceramics in Late Medieval Iberia*. Graduate Theological Union, 2016.
- Wilson, Eva. *Islamic designs for artists and craftspeople*. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1988.
- Wilson, Timothy. "The beginnings of lustreware in Renaissance Italy." In *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar*, 1996, pp. 35-43.

The Witchcraft Binary: Gender Performance and Societal Disruption in Early Modern Europe

Julian Doak

O Barbarous and inhumane Monster, beyond example; so farre from sensible understanding of thy owne miserie, as to bring thy owne naturall children into mischief and bondage; and thy selfe to be a wisse upon the Gallowes, to see thy owne children, by thy devilish instructions hatcht up in Villanie and Witchcraft, to suffer with thee, even in the beginning of their time, a shamefull and untimely Death.¹

With these words, Thomas Potts began his passionate account of the trial of the Lancaster Witches. This text is an example of the attitudes held in Early Modern Europe regarding witchcraft. The document that follows this opening quotation illustrates how a son's testimony can condemn a mother, and how in return the mother's trial can condemn the son. From this, one can ascertain that the gender of a witch does not necessarily indicate whether or not they will be brought to trial. But is there more at work here than the simple fact that men could be tried and condemned for witchcraft in this period? This essay will argue that the gendering of witchcraft is a product of a dualistic moral dichotomy between the masculine versus the feminine and good versus evil that does not accurately portray the reality of the witch hunts in Early Modern Europe. In the study of witchcraft, this dichotomy developed out of the underlying themes of inverted social order that can be found within the cumulative concept of the witch. Instead of following this theoretical framework, male and female witches can more accurately be divided by the social inclinations of their time, the expected performance of the masculine role versus the feminine role in the community, and fears about the disruption that could be caused by those who did not live up to the cultural norms of their own society.

The Cumulative Concept of the Witch

To begin, the theory of the cumulative concept of the witch in Early Modern Europe must be addressed and defined. This is the theory that the image that is often thought of in connection with witchcraft was built up from many sources over a period of time, rather than coming into existence simultaneously. One of the many aspects of this cumulative concept theory is the inversion of social norms and what was considered proper moral behaviour. The witch is prone to defy the roles that both men and women are supposed to play in their communities, to the detriment of those around them. This is how French magistrate Nicholas Rémy described the phenomena of inversion in his 1595 work *Daemonolatreiae libri tres*, or *Demonolatry*:

[I]t may simply be that they love to do everything in a ridiculous and unseemly manner. For they turn their backs toward the Demons when they go to worship them, and approach them sideways like a crab; when they hold out their hands in supplication they turn them downwards; when they converse they bend their eyes toward the ground; and in other such ways they behave in a manner opposite to that of other men.²

In the *Malleus Maleficarum*, a 15th century treatise on witchcraft, a common theme is that of sexuality, largely female, and how the witch strays from what is socially acceptable through their magical powers. An example of this as described within the text is the witch's ability to steal the

¹ Thomas Potts, "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches" in *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, edited by Marion Gibson (Taylor & Francis Group, 2001), 199.

² Nicholas Rémy, *Demonolatry*, translated by E.A. Ashwin, edited by Montague Summers (Dover Publications, 2008), 61.

fertility of men. They do this by “collect[ing] male organs in great numbers”³ to put inside the nests of birds. These male organs are then able to move around as though they are living creatures, eating oats and corn that the witch gives to them.⁴ A fear of the witch and their sexual power - creating impotence through the harvesting of male sex organs - is one way that the *Malleus Maleficarum* creates a gender divide within the idea of what a witch is capable of.⁵ In this treatise, Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger are describing the witch as a feminine subject already, without the nuance of a neutral-gendered view. They propose the theory that women are naturally more inclined towards witchcraft, due to a weakness in character that is not seen in the male subject.⁶ The inversion of the feminine role of fertility is what the *Malleus Maleficarum* illustrates with the example of the organ collection.

One way that scholars have conceptualized this inversion is through the use of dualistic binaries. For example, good/bad, rational/irrational, and male/female. This helps explain how the female subject can become associated with barbarity, lewdness, irrationality, and devil worship.⁷ This concept has been expanded on by women’s studies scholar, Sigrid Brauner:

Kramer and Sprenger develop a powerful sex-specific theory of witchcraft based on a hierarchical and dualistic view of the world. Everything exists in pairs of opposites: God and Satan, Mary and Eve, and men (or virgins) and women. Each positive principle in a pair is delineated by its negative pole. Perfection is defined not as the integration or preservation of opposites, but rather as the extermination of the negative element in a polar pair. Because women are the negative counterpart to men, they corrupt male perfection through witchcraft and must be destroyed.⁸

It is the identification of the female subject as the “Other” to the male subject that creates the concept of a gendered inversion of social order within the context of witchcraft. This leads to the assumption that women are to blame for devilry, in turn making it seem as though persecution for witchcraft is confined to the female subject even as evidence points to the contrary.

The “Other”

The “Other” can be defined as a person or group that is perceived as being different from the dominant group that the “self” identifies with.⁹ This concept is often used to explain social prejudices, discrimination, and other forms of exclusion within a community or society. Palestinian-American academic Edward Said, speaking about the sexualization of subjects that have been labeled as “Other” said that “carnal female temptation”¹⁰ turns the othered woman into

³ Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, “Malleus Maleficarum,” quoted in *The Witchcraft Reader*, edited by Darren Oldridge (Routledge, 2020), 275.

⁴ Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, “Malleus Maleficarum,” quoted in *The Witchcraft Reader*, edited by Darren Oldridge (Routledge, 2020), 275.

⁵ Darren Oldridge, ed., *The Witchcraft Reader* (Routledge, 2020), 275.

⁶ Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, “Malleus Maleficarum,” in *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader*, edited by Martha Rampton (University of Toronto Press, 2018), 296-297.

⁷ Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, “Invisible Men: The Historian And The Male Witch,” in *Male witches in early modern Europe*, 36-37, JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155j84b.6>.

⁸ Sigrid Brauner, *Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews: The Construction of the Witch in Early Modern Germany*, (University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 38.

⁹ Ted Honderich, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 637.

¹⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Pantheon Books, 1978), 187.

“a disturbing symbol of fecundity”:¹¹ this subject’s “seemingly unbounded sexuality”¹² is then countered by the barrenness and corruption that she also represents.¹³ This is similar to the ways in which the witch is feared for the sexual power that they supposedly possess. The “often threatening Otherness”¹⁴ of these subjects then gets translated into a familiar form through representations in literature, art, and other practices of dissemination.¹⁵ Though Said was writing primarily about what he coined as “Orientalism” - the Western preoccupation and mythologization of anyone seen as “Other” to themselves, especially Near East and Asian societies, peoples, and beliefs - the concept of the “Other” can be intersectionally applied to fields outside of its original context.

Are Male Witches Feminized?

One way that the “Other” might be portrayed is through the reversal of gender roles. In this way, one might expect to see that reversal in Early Modern depictions of male witches as well, through a feminization that would land male witches on the opposite side of the binary chart discussed by Apps and Gow. On the contrary, the reversal of gender roles with regard to male witches in the Early Modern period is more complicated than that. The male witch is not, in the Early Modern period, a feminized subject. Rather, he is othered by the ways in which he fails to live up to the masculine social role that is expected of him in his community. The closest he gets to the feminine is through his relationships with female witches, which scholars such as Alan Macfarlane have argued makes him more likely to be implicated in the practice of witchcraft himself.¹⁶ The types of magic that male witches were accused of vary from that which female witches were expected to perform as well, with male witches being associated with male-dominated spheres of influence and responsibility such as agriculture, power relations within communities, and the weather.¹⁷ The harm that they cause to their community is through the inversion of their expected gender role: they are bad patriarchs and challenge masculine culture through their selfish economic practices.¹⁸ This contrasts with the female witch’s expected role as a bringer of disease and *maleficium*: malevolent magic.¹⁹ For the female witch, her inversion is that of illness instead of healing, rather than the economically centred accusations that are seen to affect male witches on trial.

¹¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 187.

¹² Said, *Orientalism*, 187.

¹³ Said, *Orientalism*, 187.

¹⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 21.

¹⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 21.

¹⁶ Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, “Invisible Men: The Historian And The Male Witch,” in *Male witches in early modern Europe*, 29, JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155j84b.6>.

¹⁷ Apps and Gow, “Invisible Men,” 34.

¹⁸ E.J. Kent, “Masculinity and Male Witches in Old and New England,” in *The Witchcraft Reader*, edited by Darren Oldridge (Routledge, 2020), 323-325.

¹⁹ Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, “Invisible Men: The Historian And The Male Witch,” in *Male witches in early modern Europe*, 34, JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155j84b.6>.

A Witch's Son On Trial

When men are brought on trial for witchcraft, often it is in association with the alleged witchcraft of a female relative or acquaintance. An example of this is found in the examination of James Device in Thomas Potts' *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witchcraft in the County of Lancaster* from 1612. He was the son of Elizabeth Device, one of the women accused of witchcraft during the Lancaster Witch Trials, and was brought into the courtroom to testify against his own mother as a witness to her alleged misdeeds. In his testimony, he says that Elizabeth Device had killed a man for refusing to be charitable towards her grandmother, Old Demdike, who was supposed to be a witch herself.²⁰ According to James Device's testimony, a "thing in shape of a browne dogge"²¹ spoke to Elizabeth Device, giving her instructions for the creation of a clay effigy of the man who had slighted Old Demdike.²² The clay figure was then allowed to dry and break, at which point the body of the man that was targeted would "decay and weare away."²³ This testimony, from the witch's own son, was used against her during her trial, and was a key piece of evidence that caused her to be found guilty.

But there is another side to this story: James Device himself was also on trial for witchcraft. Both him and his mother had been accused by Jennet Device, his own sister, and her testimony as well as an earlier confession that James had made to the Justice of the Peace for Lancashire, Roger Nowell, led to James being found guilty of witchcraft as well.²⁴ As the *Wonderfull Discoverie of Witchcraft in the County of Lancaster* explains:

This *Elizabeth Device* was the daughter of *Elizabeth Sothernnes*, old *Dembdike*, a malicious, wicked, and dangerous Witch for fiftie yeares, as appeareth by Record: and how much longer, the Devill and shee knew best, with whome shee made her covenant. It is very certaine, that amongst all these Witches there was not a more dangerous and devilish Witch to execute mischiefe, having old *Dembdike*, her mother, to assist her; *James Device* and *Alizon Device*, her owne naturall children, all provided with Spirits, upon any occasion of offence readie to assist her.²⁵

James' testimony against his mother did not absolve him of his alleged crimes against the community, as he was already seen as possessing the power to control certain spirits that could cause harm whenever he so chose to do so, due to his affiliation with his mother and grandmother's practice. Being male did not stop James Device from being tried and found guilty of witchcraft, and he joined his mother and his sister Alizon at the gallows.²⁶

Conclusion

The occurrence of male witches does not negate the idea that misogyny played a role in witch hunts, but it is also not an indication that there was a lack of gendered bias against women during the height of these trials in Europe. These cases must be examined with a degree of intersectionality: one reality does not erase the others. These issues are interrelated with each

²⁰ Thomas Potts, "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches" in *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, edited by Marion Gibson (Taylor & Francis Group, 2001), 203.

²¹ Potts, "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches," 203.

²² Potts, "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches," 203.

²³ Potts, "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches," 203.

²⁴ Thomas Potts, "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches" in *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, edited by Marion Gibson (Taylor & Francis Group, 2001), 253-255.

²⁵ Potts, "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches," 199.

²⁶ Potts, "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches," 255.

other and illustrate the larger societal gender norms that both men and women were subject to in the Early Modern Period. The heavy gendering of witches in later periods is a result of a dualistic approach to this study, and is not a reflection of the reality of the Early Modern Period. However, we can see some elements of these ideas at play early on in texts such as the *Malleus Maleficarum* and *Demonolatriy*. This suggests that the binary gendering of witchcraft as a female practice could be rooted in the cumulative concept of the witch that we see in the Early Modern Period. The concept of the “Other” can help to identify how femininity could become associated with devil worship through the sexualization of the female body, and shows how the dualistic binary evolves to include subjects that do not conform to what society might wish them to be, especially as it involves the mystical and the sensual. Male witches were often accused and condemned due to their association with female witches, as is seen in the case of James Device. The final point to reemphasize is that the male witch in the Early Modern Period is not himself a feminized subject, despite his own association with devil worship. Instead, he is seen through the context of the strict social expectations of the time period, and it is the failure of the male witch to live up to the masculine model that marks him as an othered subject. He is too masculine, individualistic and aggressive, and it is this hyper-masculinity that ostracizes him from his community and makes him into an object that can be brought to trial in the Early Modern witch hunts.

Bibliography

- Apps, Lara and Andrew Gow. "Invisible Men: The Historian And The Male Witch." *Male witches in early modern Europe*, pp. 25-42. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155j84b.6>.
- Brauner, Sigrid. *Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews: The Construction of the Witch in Early Modern Germany*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.
- Honderich Ted, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Kent, E.J.. "Masculinity and Male Witches in Old and New England." In *The Witchcraft Reader*, edited by Darren Oldridge. Routledge, 2020.
- Kramer, Heinrich and Jacob Sprenger. "Malleus Maleficarum." In *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader*, edited by Martha Rampton. University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Oldridge, Darren, ed. *The Witchcraft Reader*. Routledge, 2020.
- Potts, Thomas. "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches." In *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, edited by Marion Gibson. Taylor & Francis Group, 2001.
- Rémy, Nicholas. *Demonolatry*. Translated by E.A. Ashwin, edited by Montague Summers. Dover Publications, 2008.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books, 1978.

Searching for Nandi: Appeals of Contemporary Feminism and (Un)veiling the History of Zulu Women's Power

Samantha Edwards

Glossary of Zulu Terms Used

iziBongo : Zulu praise poems.

iLobola : 'Bridewealth'— a marriage transaction; traditionally in the form of livestock and given by the family, or head of the family, of a prospective groom to the family of the would-be bride as formalization of the proposal.

isiGodlo [pl. iziGodlo] : The physical structure housing the *umNdlunkulu* and *amaKhosikazi*; the term may refer to both groups that occupied the structure; women of the royal household.

amaButho : The male military age-group regiment and the female equivalent: *i.e.*, women organized into age groups for ceremonial purposes and displays.

iKanda [pl. amaKanda] : Military kraals; occupied by *amaButho* and containing an *isiGodlo*.

amaKhosikazi : Female relations of the royal family; wives of chiefs or men of status; elite women.

umNdlunkulu : Women given to the Zulu King by family; housed in *iziGodlo*.

The descriptions given have been gathered through the various sources that have contributed to this work.

They are not comprehensive translations, though they do provide their meaning in the context of their present usage.

Source material pertaining to Zulu Queen Mother Nandi kaBhebe (c. 1760s-1827) is scarce; what does exist is obscured by ambiguities and contradictory accounts. There is a glaring lack of focused historical attention regarding who Shaka kaSenzangakhona's mother was, and the extent of her function and influence in the early Zulu Kingdom. Mention of Nandi in primary source material appears only in oral testimonies, *iziBongo* (an oral tradition), and briefly in select colonial accounts. In nearly all cases of historical inquiry into the first decades of the Zulu Kingdom, as well as in the oral testimonies, Nandi is referenced only in the scope of: i. the circumstances of Shaka's birth and her relations with his father; ii. Shaka's childhood and its impact on his reign; iii. the potential involvement of Shaka in her death; and iv., the impact of her death upon Shaka and the Zulu population. There exists no direct mention of Nandi in primary source material which stands independent of Shaka aside from her *iziBongo* which, though of immense value, provides ambiguous insights. Secondary analyses too have most often inserted commentary on Nandi only within broader considerations that focus, again, on Shaka's rule. Thus it is the case that the inclusion of Nandi in historical discourse places her exclusively as a secondary extension of her son's legacy.

In contemporary feminist perspectives this placement has been reversed. Feminist deliberations that have zeroed in on Nandi do so as to place Shaka's extensive achievements in the Zulu Kingdom as being an extension of her, instead attributing him and his political success to Nandi—that they are a credit to her resilience, courage and ambition in the face of a patriarchal, oppressive society. However, this telling of Nandi reflects the broader challenge of interpreting the historical reality of precolonial southern African women in roles of leadership, given that the prevailing androcentric history has failed to provide adequate mention of precolonial women's contributions to and existence in spheres of political power; that proponents of the gender oppression school of historical analysis have perhaps over-emphasized patriarchal domination in understandings of women's history; and that there are significant difficulties to be faced with regard to available primary source material.

Drawing on the respective research of Sean Hanretta and Jennifer Weir into the political functioning of women in the Zulu Kingdom, this project seeks to explore the image of Nandi seen in contemporary feminist depictions in comparison to the historical reality of female leadership in her lifetime. It will first discuss the nature of Nandi's appearance in contemporary feminism; secondly, outline the historiographical difficulties related to the limited source material concerning Nandi; and lastly, consider the extent of female leadership under and before Shaka's rule. This shall provide the basis necessary to explore whether Nandi's representation in feminist perspectives may inadvertently obscure, or even diminish, the historical reality of female power in the early Zulu Kingdom.

To be certain, the aim is neither to deny the legitimacy of Nandi's legacy as a woman of power nor to label her appearance in contemporary feminism as unjustified. Rather, it is to explore the degree to which this portrayal may, by singling out one female figure, leave out Zulu women's historic involvement in the political system. It is not to combat Nandi's status in feminist deliberations, but to explore how the agency and authority of women in the early Zulu Kingdom might be more fittingly remembered.

Legacy in Contemporary Feminist Perspectives: Core Themes

As the mother of Shaka kaSenzangakhona (c.1787-1828)—the illustrious Zulu state builder and cornerstone of contemporary Zulu identity—it is unsurprising that Nandi has become a person of interest in feminist thought. In the spirit of International Women's Month,

Zimbabwe-based human rights activist and feminist Namatai Kwekweza posted to Facebook a glowing, celebratory ode to Nandi, stating that she had a claim to strong feminist attributes, raised a strong leader because she herself was a strong leader, and was ahead of her time in defying the bounds of her culture and tradition.¹ In recent years, a biographical musical has been created in Nandi's honor to teach women about her "inspiring life."² Journalist Jabulani Langa's review of the play stated that Nandi is "regarded as having opened women's eyes to cultural oppression" and referenced the director's belief that Nandi was "one of the most influential Africans."³

Such assertions, that Nandi is a model for female inspiration and empowerment, are echoed in blog posts, art installations, and graduate research. To explore the image of Nandi that contemporary feminist perspectives project, we look to three selected works coming from female scholars at the University of Johannesburg, the University of Cape Town, and the University of South Africa, respectively.

S. R. Mdluli's Appeal to Nandi

Sisana R. Mdluli's 2013 dissertation critically reviews the historic and contemporary subjugation of women in South Africa.⁴ It draws on Nandi's *iziBongo* to reform the patriarchal narrative that women are unsuited to roles in leadership; draws attention to Nguni praise poems' patriarchal insinuation of women's inability to perform in positions of power; and concludes that despite such depictions, the praises of women serving in institutions of leadership, like Nandi, "challenge any idea that women should by virtue be relegated to the back seat."⁵

Mdluli invokes Nandi's perceived legacy as a counterforce to gender inequality. Relying on the research of Norma Masuku and Noleen Turner, Mdluli gives a brief historical account of Nandi's life before critically engaging with the nuances of her *iziBongo*.⁶ Throughout both sections, her depiction of Nandi remains consistent. Foremost are the personal attributes ascribed to Nandi, largely derived from her pursuit of Shaka's father and her experience of societal shaming for deviating from a woman's prescribed role. She is marked as having been "strong", "ambitious," "determined," and "an assertive young woman of courage and audacity."⁷ Moreover, in analyzing *iziBongo* Mdluli identifies Nandi as someone who knew what she wanted, how to obtain it, and did not care to confine herself to the customs and cultural practices that upheld male domination and control.⁸

According to Mdluli, in the years following Shaka's birth Nandi's relationship with his father, Senzangakhona kaJama, soured; this came to be reflected in her increasingly unpleasant disposition, and culminated in her and Shaka's eviction from the household back to her family home at eLangeni. Mdluli explains that a girl, once married and having left for her husband's

¹ Namatai Kwekweza, "A Feminist Look at Queen Nandi kaBhebe," Facebook, 8 March, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1916489121816690&id=100052884473305.

² Jabulani Langa, "Daughter of Chief Bhebe!" in *Daily Sun*, 21 April, 2021, <https://www.sn124.com/dailysun/celebs/daughter-of-chief-bhebhe-20210330>.

³ Langa, *Daughter of Chief Bhebe*.

⁴ Sisana Rachel Mdluli, "A Reflective Perspective of Women Leadership in Nguni Oral Poetic Forms," Doctoral Dissertation, University of South Africa, 2013, 13.

⁵ Mdluli, *Women Leadership*, iii, 16-17.

⁶ Further discussion is warranted regarding the historiographical challenges of defining Nandi in light of numerous contradictory accounts. However, this is to be provided in later sections (see pages 7-12). The present focus is strictly the description of Nandi that appears in feminist works.

⁷ Mdluli, *Women Leadership*, 254, 260, 261.

⁸ Mdluli, *Women Leadership*, 257, 258, 260.

property, would invariably face social ostracization, humiliation, and disgrace should she ever return— as was the case with Nandi.⁹ The dissertation goes on to detail the hardships she surmounted, eventually leading to her becoming Queen Mother and attaining high status. This is not unlike the message conveyed in Brian Roberts' *The Zulu Kings*, wherein he describes “the once despised Nandi, who now enjoyed the status of a Queen Mother”— a statement which, like Mdluli's depiction, alludes to the novelty of her having climbed as a single parent out of the depth of social ruin, provided her son with a life destined for success despite societal barriers, and ultimately achieved for herself a position of political power.¹⁰

Moreover, Mdluli declares that: “Nandi broke almost every rule in the book and did this for a particular purpose. By her own volition, risking the dignity of all women, she brings forth a child who becomes a hero. In essence, the hero behind Shaka is his mother.”¹¹ With this claim she conveys an image of Nandi in which the political successes of Shaka and the Zulu must be credited to her resilience and determination, in spite of patriarchal customs and constraints. Similar interpretations of Nandi are repeatedly deployed by other voices of contemporary feminism and are a crucial aspect of how the historical figure of Nandi is channeled in feminist pursuits.

A. A. Masango's Appeal to Nandi

Ayanda A. Masango's 2021 thesis at the University of Johannesburg is mostly occupied with Shaka's paternal aunt more than his mother.¹² It still, however, references Nandi as a prominent, leading woman in the early Zulu Kingdom and is similar in tone to that of Mdluli. Though not as explicit as Mdluli's assertions, Masango's position aligns with the telling of Nandi that details her refutation of patriarchal ideals and endurance in a society set against her.¹³ Moreover, Nandi is defined by Masango as “the greatest single mother who ever graced this earth,” a perspective shared by Herbert Ntuli as he likewise refers to Nandi as “one of the greatest single parents who ever lived.”¹⁴ Though Ntuli does not refer to an explicitly feminist motivation, his attempt to elaborate on female political contributions to the Zulu state and correct typical conceptions deriving from gendered stereotypes undoubtedly conveys a message closely aligned to those of contemporary feminists.

Nandi's description as being *the* or even only *one of the* greatest single parents to have lived reflects Mdluli's statement of her being ‘the hero behind Shaka’— that as a single woman, isolated by her community due to her deviation from a patriarchal society's expectations, Nandi demonstrated commendable abilities in raising her child and is owed recognition for facilitating his later successes. This demonstrates the extent to which contemporary feminist descriptions often allude to, if not assert outright, Nandi's rejection of oppressive societal expectations as a critical factor in Shaka's achievements.

Z. M. Nkonyeni's Appeal to Nandi

Zamah M. Nkonyeni's 2021 thesis provides depth to understanding Nandi's inclusion and function within feminist thought as Nkonyeni introduces a deeply personal approach in her

⁹ Mdluli, *Women Leadership*, 255.

¹⁰ Brian Roberts, *The Zulu Kings*, London: H. Hamilton Ltd., 1974, 34.

¹¹ Mdluli, *Women Leadership*, 255.

¹² Ayanda Aaliyah Masango, “Mkabayi KaJama as a Woman Leader as Portrayed in Selected IsiZulu Literary Works,” Master Thesis, University of Johannesburg, 2021.

¹³ Masango, *Mkabayi KaJama*, 23.

¹⁴ Hebert Sihle Ntuli, “The Role of Women in Shaping and Sustaining the Zulu Monarchy in the Late 18th and 19th Centuries,” in *Gender & Behaviour*, 18, 1, 2020, 14890.

considerations. In “Isililo sikaNandi: Imagining Dithyrambic Dirge to Performatively Score the Precarity of Blackwomnhood,” Nkonyeni seeks to explore and reckon with her personal trauma and identity, redefine her experience of being a “young, South African, working-class, queer blackwomn,” and resist the “ontological arrest of [her] blackwomnhood.”¹⁵ This exemplifies the way in which Nandi’s legacy manifests not only in scholarly feminist agendas, but may relate to individual South African women’s efforts to strengthen their self-image against adversity and oppression, and as Nkonyeni puts it, explore the precarity of blackwomnhood.¹⁶

She identifies Nandi as the ideal historical figure on which to focus her exploration given that she can align with Nandi’s experiences due their shared cultural heritage, and that the hardships which punctuated her lifetime “were not unsimilar to those experienced by contemporary blackwomn.”¹⁷ Of these hardships, Nkonyeni draws a throughline from Nandi’s reported ostracization resulting from her ‘improper’ pregnancy, to modern, misogynistic tendencies to judge women based on sexual history and paint them in a hypersexualized light.¹⁸ Nkonyeni details how Nandi was regarded during her lifetime, as “‘damaged goods’” and, akin to the assertions of other feminist scholars, as defying the societal ideals that determined how women ought to act.¹⁹

According to Nkonyeni, Nandi was outspoken and stubborn, unafraid to speak her mind and had a “fierce temper”; importantly, she lived a life “rife with resistance, defiance, and deviation from the prescribed narratives or the ‘norm’.”²⁰ Nkonyeni also endorses the key component of Nandi’s appearance in contemporary feminism already mentioned— *i.e.*, Nandi’s being credited with Shaka’s successes and his thus being regarded as an extension of her, rather than the reverse. She proposes that the qualities for which Nandi was condemned were those which Shaka inherited and which contributed to shaping his both celebrated and feared reputation.²¹

The general trend in the portrayals of Nandi in feminist perspectives have been made abundantly clear; each has emphasized the strength of character, will, and determination Nandi is considered to have possessed. Moreover, each has reinforced the impression that Nandi did not heed the patriarchal expectations of Zulu society and later became the backbone to Shaka’s rule. The core themes of contemporary feminist appeals to Nandi having been identified, we turn to an exploration of the extensive historiographical difficulties that arise when attempting to uncover a clear-cut image of Nandi in the historical record.

Historical Discrepancies: In Primary and Secondary Literature

Arriving at any degree of certainty regarding the historical reality of Nandi’s life is immensely difficult. The accounts that do exist exhibit almost no unanimity, aside from the base fact that she was Shaka kaSenzangakhona’s mother. This section will consider some of the most discussed aspects of Nandi’s history and the competing versions that appear in both oral accounts and

¹⁵ Zamah Martinia Nkonyeni, “Isililo sikaNandi: Imagining Dithyrambic Dirge to Performatively Score the Precarity of Blackwomnhood” Minor Master Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2021, 4.

¹⁶ Nkonyeni defines her usage of the term ‘precarity’ thus: The state of being unstable or uncertain; an existence that is without security and life-sustaining predictability. Nkonyeni, *Isililo sikaNandi*, 16.

¹⁷ Nkonyeni, *Isililo sikaNandi*, 36.

¹⁸ Nkonyeni, *Isililo sikaNandi*, 38.

¹⁹ Nkonyeni, *Isililo sikaNandi*, 37-8.

²⁰ Nkonyeni, *Isililo sikaNandi*, 38.

²¹ Nkonyeni, *Isililo sikaNandi*, 38.

secondary literature. These include: the circumstances surrounding Shaka's conception; experiences of social disgrace resulting from her pregnancy and its impact on Shaka's early childhood; Nandi's role in his ascension to the throne; the cause and impact of her death; and more broadly, her prominence in Shaka's life and reign. However, only those topics most relevant to Nandi's depiction in contemporary feminism will be explored at length.

The purpose is not to decide which accounts ought to be regarded as accurate or inaccurate; this would be quite impossible to attempt and at present, unnecessary. Nor is it to examine the credibility of the respective sources or oral testimonies—doing so would be crucial to determining accuracy, however, this is not the current goal. Rather, it is to provide the historiographical context from which Nandi's legacy has emerged and been depicted in contemporary feminism, and to demonstrate the substantial challenges of searching for concrete data regarding Nandi's personal attributes and political influence. At times, commentary will be given regarding the implied nuances of certain accounts, how they have informed Nandi's depiction in contemporary feminism, and comparatively consider various contradictions.

Meeting Senzangakhona kaJama

The historical account of Nandi begins with her meeting Senzangakhona kaJama c. 1786 and becoming pregnant; all accounts at least agree that they encountered one another, engaged in premarital intercourse, and conceived Shaka. Varying versions note that [1] Nandi deliberately orchestrated a one-off encounter with Senzangakhona, [2] that her family played a role in facilitating their relations, or [3], that Nandi had unintentionally captured Senzangakhona's attention.

The first situation appears in Roberts' *The Zulu Kings*;²² in Mdluli's dissertation, which holds that Nandi "arranged for an intimate meeting" after hearing positive reports of Senzangakhona;²³ in Taylor's *Shaka's Children*;²⁴ and is further reflected in Jantshi kaNongolia's oral testimony.²⁵ The second portrayal which contends that Nandi's relatives played a role in instigating the encounter is advanced by colonial settler Henry Fynn who stated that a betrothal had been arranged by Nandi's father.²⁶ Similarly, James Stuart records that in conversation with Mkebni kaDabulamonzi, Mkebni held the firm conviction that Nandi was "presented" to Senzangakhona by the Langeni tribe, though they were never wed.²⁷ Ndhlovu kaTimuni's testimony closely aligns with that of Jantshi, though also claims that Nandi's family had assisted in orchestrating her meeting Senzangakhona.²⁸ Conversely, M. Z. Shamase argues that Nandi innocently encountered Senzangakhona; Ntuli accepts this narrative, and Omer-Cooper likewise

²² Roberts, *Zulu Kings*, 34.

²³ Mdluli, *Women Leadership*, 254.

²⁴ Stephen Taylor, *Shaka's Children*, London: Haper Collins Publishers, 1994, 43.

²⁵ James Stuart, Colin de B Webb, and John B Wright, *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976-2014, vol. 1, 177-8.

²⁶ Henry F. Fynn, *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter Publishers, 1950, 139. Relative to the narrow amount of historical material concerning Nandi, there is extensive debate on the matter of whether Nandi and Senzangakhona had ever wed; Mayinga kaMbekuzana's oral testimony on the matter does, however, claim that *iLobola* was given for Nandi, as would have been the case had there been a formal betrothal between the pair. See Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 2, 246.

²⁷ Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 3, 199.

²⁸ Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 4, 201-2, 214.

implies that they had met spontaneously, stating that Senzangakhona had been attracted one day by her “charms”.²⁹

The first narration of Nandi and Senzangakhona’s meeting is utilized in feminist accounts as evidence of Nandi’s courage, audacity, ambitious persona, etc., as well as her ability to break from societal norms.³⁰ Neither of the other two common narratives—that their meeting was happenstance, or that Nandi’s family had taken the active role in instigating their meeting rather than Nandi herself— would have advanced feminist claims about Nandi’s exceptional nature. Rather, any record of their meeting other than the first would largely contradict claims that she deviated from the conventional role of women as she pursued Senzangakhona; at worst, she would have to be seen as having functioned within the patriarchal structure of her household, or at best, that the basis from which many of her bold attributes are inferred is unviable. This is not to indicate that feminist scholars may be incorrect in their assertions, but only to clarify the extent to which the discrepancies and contradictions of Nandi’s historical record can transmit vastly different understandings.

Illegitimacy and Expulsion from the Zulu

Regarding the nature of Shaka’s birth and illegitimacy, there is again a plethora of contradictions in the historical record. These accounts pose similar challenges as those already discussed, in that feminist scholars have only endorsed particular versions they find useful to their cause. It is crucial to consider the varying accounts regarding the reasons for Shaka’s being deemed illegitimate and the causes of his and Nandi’s being ostracized by the Zulu, being that those which reference Nandi’s shame and impropriety on the subject are those that largely inform her crystallization in feminist thought as an oppressed women who combatted social constraints.

It is widely agreed that Shaka was conceived out of wedlock, a consensus often referenced as the basis for his status as illegitimate. However, many accounts argue that it was Senzangakhona’s being uncircumcised at the time of Shaka’s conception that rendered him illegitimate— Mkehlengana kaZulu,³¹ Madikane kaMlomowetole,³² Omer-Cooper,³³ and Fynn all support this version.³⁴ This depiction emphasizes Senzangakhona’s disgrace at having fathered a child while uncircumcised in contravention of Zulu customs, and thus implies that it was as a result of his actions that Shaka was marked illegitimate rather than as a result of Nandi’s impropriety. Had this version been acknowledged in feminist discourse involving Nandi, it would have necessitated the subsequent acknowledgement that Shaka’s illegitimacy did not only socially disgrace Nandi, if it did at all.³⁵

²⁹ Maxwell Z. Shamase, “The Royal Women of the Zulu Monarchy Through the Keyhole of Oral History: Queens Nandi (c. 1764 – c.1827) and Monase (c. 1797 – 1880)” in *Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 6, 1 (Boordfontein, South Africa: Forum Press, 2014), 2 ; Shamase, “Women of Valour: Character Exposition of Some Zulu Royal Women,” in *Gender & Behaviour* 15, 2 (Ife, Nigeria: IFE Centre for Psychological Studies, 2017), 9192; Ntuli, *The Role of Women in the Zulu Monarchy*, 14890; John Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*, London: Longman Group Ltd., 1966, 29.

³⁰ See Mdluli, *Women Leadership*, 254.

³¹ Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 3, 218.

³² Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 2, 47-8.

³³ Omer-Cooper, *Zulu Aftermath*, 29-30.

³⁴ Fynn, *Diary*, 12, 139-40.

³⁵ Fynn, *Diary*, 12. Fynn explicitly details the extent to which Senzangakhona would have been disgraced over this fact.

Moreover, there are conflicting accounts that provide reasoning for Shaka's ill-regard by both the Zulu and Langeni people other than unwed promiscuity on the part of his mother. Most drawn upon in contemporary feminist perspectives is that Nandi had been disgraced and humiliated for her improper pregnancy and had eventually been expelled from Senzangakhona's household on account of her strong persona and unfeminine temper. In historical literature, this narrative appears in Fynn's diary, and is replicated by Omer-Cooper, Ntluli, and Taylor.³⁶ Mayinga kaMbekuzana, however, maintains that Shaka was a 'wrong-doer' and their expulsion was a result of his actions, rather than Nandi's.³⁷ Others, however, express that Nandi's departure from the Zulu had been organized either by the Langeni or Senzangakhona's advisor, and she had been advised to conceal the pregnancy lest Shaka be murdered for being i) illegitimate or ii) the first born son of the Zulu chief.³⁸ Either of these latter two accounts would indicate that Nandi's return to the Langeni was not due to her untoward character, or a Zulu unwillingness to accept her since she had deviated from propriety— it is clear as to why feminist scholars overlook these accounts.

On the nature of the humiliation and disgrace she experienced with the Langeni people post-ostracization from the Zulu, there are many versions that contradict the claim that this was strictly on the basis of her being ill-regarded as a disgraced mother, or having personality traits unacceptable for a woman of her time. Most forceful of these other versions is that Shaka, concealed from his father, had been snuck into Senzangakhona's homestead as an infant to visit his paternal grandmother. This event resulted in a group of men being dispatched to the grandmother's home to find and kill the child; Shaka had been evacuated in time, and believing that word of his presence had been a faulty rumor, an enraged Senzangakhona ordered the murder of those he believed to be responsible.³⁹ T.T. Cele takes up this account and argues that Shaka had been hated by the Zulu because he was the reason for this slaughter, and had been hated by the Langeni due to jealousy toward his Zulu royal heritage.⁴⁰ Jantshi's oral testimony corroborates this telling of the Zulu's hatred toward Shaka and his mother.⁴¹ This is a direct contrast to the idea that the mother and son experienced social disgrace primarily due to Nandi's deviation from what was expected of a young woman; again, this version of events is unacknowledged in feminist descriptions.

There is much more that can be said on the various contradictory accounts contained in source material pertaining to Nandi including the relationship between her and Shaka, her role as a guiding figure in the Zulu Kingdom, the potential role of Shaka in her death, and Shaka's motives for actions undertaken during her mourning period. Much of this material would further undermine feminist arguments about Nandi and her legacy. However, the above explorations have sufficiently demonstrated the extent to which her record is rife with historical discrepancies, many of which would trouble key aspects stated in contemporary feminism. Given that the

³⁶ Fynn, *Diary*, 12, 140; Omer-Cooper, *Zulu Aftermath*, 30; Ntluli, *Women in the Zulu Monarchy*, 14891; Taylor, *Shaka's Children*, 43.

³⁷ Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 2, 246.

³⁸ Ndhlovu in Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 4, 201-2; mentioned in Carolyn A. Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 66-7; Mkebeni kaDabulamunzi in Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 3, 199.

³⁹ Nhdlovu in Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 4, 203.

⁴⁰ T. T. Cele "Qualities of King Shaka as Portrayed in Zulu Oral Testimony and in Izibongo," in *South African Journal of African Languages* 21, 2, 2001, 120-22.

⁴¹ Stuart, *JSA*, vol.1, 178-9.

source material is extremely varied—and in contradictory ways— only very specific versions of select events from Nandi’s life can fully support the portrayal she is given in feminist narratives.

Women and Politics: Under and Before Shaka

It is of further importance to consider that emphasizing the exceptionalism of Nandi's noncompliance with gender conventions —beyond the historiographic difficulties of doing so— may inadvertently uphold the gender oppression school of historical analysis which presents the power and agency of precolonial women as ubiquitously debilitated by patriarchal institutions.⁴² Recounting the history of individual, powerful women in the Zulu Kingdom is not detrimental on its own; although, when this is done by reinforcing these women's exceptionalism— especially when it is argued that their exceptionality is derived from their social nonconformity—it insinuates that precolonial southern African society was foundationally, patriarchally oppressive, and that, at the base level, precolonial Zulu women were inherently subordinate. By projecting this understanding, feminist narratives that champion Nandi's legacy as an exemplar of patriarchal resistance imply that she is a woman who stood out against the backdrop of the wholly oppressed group of more ordinary women, and taking this view on board uncritically may eclipse the historical reality of women's power in the Zulu Kingdom.

Thus, as Nandi’s legacy in feminist thought centers on her having challenged societal restrictions imposed on women— that she endured years of disparagement but nevertheless persevered and established herself as a woman of power in the early Zulu Kingdom— this description singles out Nandi’s political prominence as an exemplar of women’s abilities to overcome gendered stereotypes and oppressive institutions, and in so doing, implies that she was an exception among her fellow, marginalized women. This implication is, however, not representative of the historical reality of female power and leadership in the early Zulu Kingdom and as such, calls for an exploration of precolonial Zulu women’s political roles.

Sean Hanretta and Jennifer Weir’s research indicates the nature of and extent to which southern African women were politically involved in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These findings properly challenge the notion that Nandi’s political involvement as a woman was a novel occurrence. Depicting women during this period as a homogenous, wholly oppressed group— whether this be intentional, as done by those in the gender oppression school of thought, or inadvertent, as the feminist narratives discussed may do— is inaccurate. This inaccuracy is particularly clear when considering the relationship between socioeconomic status, subordination, and political power.⁴³

Female Leadership Under Shaka

Hanretta illustrates how specific developments occurred under Shaka’s reign which transformed gender relations by way of improving women’s ability to achieve political power and providing a new measure for female value in society. Central to this was the installation of the *amaButho* system, the *umNdlunkulu*, and female members of the royal family in *amaKanda*. Nandi herself of course predates the systems and structures that were introduced by her son.

⁴² Sifiso Ndlovu, “A Reassessment of Women’s Power in the Zulu Kingdom,” Benedict Carton et al., eds., *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, London: Hurst, 2009, 111-12; Anna L. Moagi and Butholezwe Mtombeni, “Women in Pre-colonial Africa: Southern Africa,” in Olajumoke Yacob-Haliso and Toyin Falola, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of African Women's Studies*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

⁴³ Carolyn A. Hamilton, “Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom,” Master Dissertation, the University of Witwatersrand, 1985, 424; Sean Hanretta, “Women, Marginality and the Zulu State: Women’s Institutions and Power in the Early Nineteenth Century,” in *The Journal of African History* 39, 3, 1998, 390.

However, the female power within them constitutes a historical avenue of Zulu women's political prominence that goes uncharted in feminist narratives focused explicitly on the exceptionality of individual women. They thus warrant our attention.

UmNdlunkulu, daughters given to the king as an act of patronage, lived in *iziGodlo* with and under the supervision of *amaKhosikazi*.⁴⁴ They were heavily isolated and lived their lives only under strictly controlled circumstances.⁴⁵ Despite the extreme degree to which they were controlled, the restrictions distinguished them from the rest of society and in turn provided them with augmented status. To the Zulu people, the *umNdlunkulu* were associated with “the ‘other’ world” of the king and their standing amongst men and non-elite women reflected this as they were permitted to be critical, outspoken, and verbally aggressive with powerful men who, along with all others in the community, were forced to yield.⁴⁶

Not only were their daily lives dictated by the state, but Shaka himself determined their marital state. He decided to whom they were to be given as a wife, as they would increase a man's prominence and social standing. In this situation, the marital exchange of women was no longer representative of lineage alliances valued on the fertility of women, but was a contract between king and subject instead valued on the political and social status of the *umNdlunkulu* woman herself.⁴⁷ Hanretta's research thus outlines the fact that women had become symbols of state power, able to attain newfound status and political power, and with their value now focused on political and social perceptions rather than reproduction.⁴⁸ This represents a definitive shift from typical understandings of women as strictly relegated to their prescribed place in the household, and establishes that large bodies of women had become both included and acknowledged within the Zulu political system.

Of Shaka's institution of the *amaButho* system, the expansion of the Zulu military network necessitated the installation of various military kraals, *amaKanda*. Each *iKanda* had its own small *isiGodlo* requiring the presence of *amaKhosikazi*. Needing trusted liaisons and representatives within the kraals of an expanding kingdom, this provided opportunity for royal women to serve as leaders of the *iKanda*, who could conveniently supervise the *umNdlunkulu* women at the same time.⁴⁹ The *iKhosikazi* leader had power not only over her immediate environment and those within it, but would have had general influence within Zulu political life and ultimately gained a rather extensive degree of autonomy.⁵⁰

Hanretta's findings illuminate the extent to which Shaka modeled his state organization after the traditional organization of the household. The position of the *amaKhosikazi* leading the kraals reflected this, as she assumed the dual role of mother figure, responsible for the functioning of the *iKanda*, and of the authoritative male figure, ruling over all those dwelling in the kraal. Not only did this heighten the power of the individual *iKhosikazi* woman, but “provided an ideological or discursive model which other women could use to attempt to increase their own power”.⁵¹ Thus it was not only the *amaKhosikazi* who benefitted from this transformation, but Zulu women in general. It is in the spirit of this rippling effect that—though

⁴⁴ Omer-Cooper, *Zulu Aftermath*, 34-5; Taylor, *Shaka's Children*, 72; Hanretta, “*Marginality and the Zulu State*”, 400.

⁴⁵ Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 401-3.

⁴⁶ Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 403; Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 1, 310. Lunguza kaMpukane's testimony paints a vivid picture of how these women were regarded and treated when allowed outside of the *isiGodlo*.

⁴⁷ Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 400-1.

⁴⁸ Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 412-14.

⁴⁹ Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 387-8.

⁵⁰ Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 399.

⁵¹ Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 399.

the above shifts in female roles under Shaka directly pertained to women of either royal blood or elite status bestowed upon them by the state— it is clear that societal conditions changed enough to impact the general female population, in providing a point of reference in *iziGodlo* women from which they could argue the expansion of their own autonomy.⁵²

Although Nandi's specific situation had come decades before these changes, the point is that when a woman such as herself is painted with an air of absolute exceptionality and distinction from her fellow women, the full scope of women's power in the early Zulu Kingdom goes under-acknowledged.

Female Leadership in Southern Africa, Pre- & Post- Shaka

Jennifer Weir deviates from Hanretta's argument as she contends that though there was a concerted effort by Shaka to focus the emerging Zulu Kingdom on the *isiGodlo*, female leaders of *amaKanda*, and prominent women like Nandi, this did not represent a wholly new system of women's value.⁵³ Women, and not only Zulu women, played a role in southern African chiefdoms prior to Shaka's reign and had been able to assert power independent of their male relations.⁵⁴ Thus it is intriguing to consider that the role of *amaKhosikazi* as heads of military kraals may not have been simply to fill the king's need for trusted representatives within an expanding military network, nor might it have been indicative of a new dimension to gender relations being constructed in the early Zulu Kingdom. Rather, their authority in *amaKanda* could be explained by the need to incorporate a preexisting structure of female leadership into state functions to maintain an adaptable, legitimizing basis for the newly emerging and radically transformative Zulu Kingdom.⁵⁵

As previously mentioned, Hanretta asserts that the leadership of *amaKhosikazi* within *amaKanda* allowed them to 'newly' assume the symbolic positions of both man and woman and obtain political power. Drawing upon evidence compiled by Adam Kuper, Hanretta posits that:

Using loyal members of the royal family to oversee military settlements did more than keep the king in touch with his soldiers. It also allowed him to bolster the idea that the various sections of state government were organized along the same principles as the 'house', the basic political unit of Zulu society, and to present the state as, in fact, nothing more than a logical extension of the household on a larger scale.⁵⁶

Although he does not touch on the motive for or necessity of Shaka's presenting state organization as an extension of traditional household organization, it would seem plausible that this organization of the state, and Shaka's instating *amaKhosikazi* in roles of leadership, may have been an effort to retain long-practiced structural aspects of the chiefdom in a rapidly progressing, revolutionary new state system—aspects which involved female leadership, not only inside the literal household but in the symbolic household of the political sphere. Weir's research affirms the plausibility of this theory, asserting that "leadership by women was an intrinsic part of the pre-colonial Zulu political system," it was unconfined to the private domains

⁵² Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 414.

⁵³ Jennifer Weir, "'I Shall Need to Use Her to Rule': The Power of 'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand." In *South African Historical Journal* 43, 1, 2000, 4.

⁵⁴ Weir, 'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand, 6-10, 13-4; Hamilton, *Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power*, 433; See also: Tununu kaNonjiya, 284, and Lazarus Xaba, 343, in Stuart, *JSA*, vol. 6.

⁵⁵ Weir, 'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand, 5-6.

⁵⁶ Hanretta, *Women, Marginality and the Zulu State*, 398.

of the household, and in order to rule at all, Shaka needed to rule *alongside* women, thereby involving them in his new socio-political framework.⁵⁷

Admittedly, these considerations are speculative at present. However, placing focus on the power of one single woman— and emphasizing the remarkableness of this one woman's power as *the* historical exception— impedes the possibility for these speculations to take place in contemporary understandings of southern Africa's political past. Additionally, though the above findings do not, and cannot, collapse all conceptions regarding the marginalization of Zulu women, they do illuminate the extent to which large groups of women were able to enter, perhaps even as requisite part, into the political functioning of the state. Many did in fact have ritual, administrative and judicial power, and were involved in spheres of leadership and politics before, during, and after Shaka's reign.⁵⁸

Conclusion: Contemp. Feminism's Nandi and Women's Power in History

A homogenous definition of southern African women in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as subordinate does not do justice to the myriad ways in which women were involved in political leadership. Central to Nandi's historical image in contemporary feminist appeals are the years in which she is reported to have faced extreme societal ostracization, humiliation, and disgrace as result of her impropriety. According to feminist scholars, these were challenges which she overcame, through which she maintained her defiance toward patriarchal ideals and expectations, and awarded herself the opportunity to become a woman of prominence in the Zulu Kingdom. The differences between historical accounts of Nandi appear slight and so may be considered inconsequential. Even so, when source material regarding any single historical figure is so minimal, what is accessible becomes heavily relied upon and is often taken beyond face value. Disregarding the historiographical difficulties of defining Nandi's persona and the extent to which she is owed responsibility for her son's successes, it is quite unlikely to have been the case that she was the exception to a population of wholly oppressed, subjugated women as feminist scholars might inadvertently imply.

In a history that is constructed around men and was recorded most often by colonialists, patriarchal, androcentric notions have veiled the reality of women's roles within and historical contributions to southern African politics.⁵⁹ The danger of contemporary feminist perspectives which single out Nandi as an anomaly among her fellow women— on account of her having rejected the usual oppression, her rebellious comportment, and unique political power— is then that they may be continuing the tradition of ignoring the full extent of women's political contributions in history. It is not the case that Nandi, or other select figures, stand out against the backdrop of a uniformly oppressed body of women, and emphasizing such a brand of exceptionality renders these historical truths obscure.

In light of this, it must be asked: Is it more important to identify a few key women as exceptional, while more ordinary women are automatically assumed to be oppressed? Or instead, might it be better and more appropriate to begin focusing upon the socio-political history of women in southern Africa as a whole, a history that has been made secondary to the prevailing, androcentric conceptions? I am partial to the latter.

⁵⁷Weir, *'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand*, 6-7, 10, 21-2.

⁵⁸Weir, *'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand*, 10.

⁵⁹Daphna Golan-Agnon, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism*, Boulder: L. Rienner, 1994, 15; Weir, *'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand*, 21-2.

Bibliography

- Afonja, Simi. *Beyond Our Imaginations: African Women's Realities*. Ibadan [etc.]: Spectrum Books in association with Safari Books, 2007.
- Cele, T. T. "Qualities of King Shaka as Portrayed in Zulu Oral Testimony and in Izibongo." In *South African Journal of African Languages* 21, no.2 (2001): 118–32.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2001.10586521>.
- Fynn, Henry F. Edited by James Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm. *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter Publishers, 1950.
<https://archive.org/details/the-diary-of-henry-francis-fynn-1950.pdf/page/n3/mode/1up?q=Nandi>.
- Golan-Agnon, Daphna. *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism*. Boulder: L. Rienner, 1994.
- Hamilton, Carolyn A. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Hamilton, Carolyn A. "Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom." Master Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1985.
https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Carolyn_Hamilton5/publication/33938274_Ideology_Oral_Traditions_and_the_Struggle_for_Power_in_the_Early_Zulu_Kingdom/links/5f7ed349a6fdccfd7b4f8b73/Ideology-Oral-Traditions-and-the-Struggle-for-Power-in-the-Early-Zulu-Kingdom.pdf.
- Hanretta, Sean. "Women, Marginality and the Zulu State: Women's Institutions and Power in the Early Nineteenth Century." In *The Journal of African History* 39, no.3 (1998): 389–415.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/183360>.
- Langa, Jabulani. "Daughter of Chief Bhebe!" In *Daily Sun*, 21 April, 2021,
<https://www.sn124.com/dailysun/celebs/daughter-of-chief-bhebhe-20210330>.
- Kwekweza, Namatai. "A Feminist Look at Queen Nandi kaBhebe," Facebook, 8 March, 2020,
https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1916489121816690&id=100052884473305.
- Masango, Ayanda Aaliyah. "Mkabayi KaJama as a Woman Leader as Portrayed in Selected IsiZulu Literary Works." Master Thesis, University of Johannesburg, 2021.
<https://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/mkabayi-kajama-as-woman-leader-portrayed-selected/docview/2724235919/se-2>.
- Masuku, Norma "Motherhood Venerated in Zulu Proverbs and Folktales: The Africana-Womanist Approach." In *South African Journal of African Languages* 40, no.2 (2020): 218–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2020.1804287>.
- Masuku, Norma. "Womanist Inclinations in the Analysis of Nandi's Praise Poem: An African Perspective." In *South African Journal for Folklore Studies* 18, no.2 (2008): 1-12.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/342397593_WOMANIST_INCLINATIONS_IN_THE_ANALYSIS_OF_NANDI'S_PRAISE_POEM.
- Mdluli, Sisana Rachel. "A Reflective Perspective of Women Leadership in Nguni Oral Poetic Forms." Doctoral Dissertation, University of South Africa, 2013.
<https://ir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/13174>.
- Moagi, Anna L., and Butholezwe Mtombeni, "Women in Pre-colonial Africa: Southern Africa." In Olajumoke Yacob-Haliso, Toyin Falola, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of African Women's Studies*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77030-7_125-1.

- Ndlovu, Sifiso. "A Reassessment of Women's Power in the Zulu Kingdom." In Benedict Carton et al., eds., *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. London: Hurst, 2009, 111-21.
- Nkonyeni, Zama Martiniah. "Isililo sikaNandi: Imagining Dithyrambic Dirge to Performatively Score the Precarity of Blackwomnhood" Minor Master Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2021. <http://hdl.handle.net/11427/37657>.
- Ntuli, Hebert Sihle. "The Role of Women in Shaping and Sustaining the Zulu Monarchy in the Late 18th and 19th Centuries." In *Gender & Behaviour*, 18, no.1 (2020): 14886-14897. <https://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/role-women-shaping-sustaining-zulu-monarchy-late/docview/2445578058/se-2>.
- Omer-Cooper, John D. *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1966.
- Roberts, Brian. *The Zulu Kings*. London: H. Hamilton Ltd., 1974.
- Shamase, Maxwell Z. "The Royal Women of the Zulu Monarchy Through the Keyhole of Oral History: Queens Nandi (c. 1764 – c.1827) and Monase (c. 1797 – 1880)" in *Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 6, no.1 (2014): 1-14. <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ijhss/article/view/105742>.
- Shamase, Maxwell, Z. "Women of Valour: Character Exposition of Some Zulu Royal Women." In *Gender & Behaviour* 15, no.2 (2017): 9191-9208. <https://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/women-valourcharacter-exposition-some-zulu-royal/docview/2108818533/se-2>.
- Stuart, James, Colin de B Webb, and John B Wright. *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples*. Vol. 1-4, 6. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976-2014.
- Taylor, Stephen. *Shaka's Children: A History of the Zulu People*. London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994.
- Walker, Alice. *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens : Womanist Prose*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1983.
- Weir, Jennifer. "'I Shall Need to Use Her to Rule': The Power of 'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand." In *South African Historical Journal* 43, no.1 (2000): 3–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02582470008671905>.

In The Shadow of Cyrus: Alexander, the Seleucids, and the Persian Legacy

Liam Hall

As Alexander of Macedon conquered eastward on his great *anabasis*, he was profoundly changed by the lands and peoples he encountered. As he rose from the rulership of a (comparatively small) Greco-Macedonian hegemony to the formidable and expansive Achaemenid Empire, Alexander's methods of ruling and administering his domain needed to be adapted for his new situation. To this end, Alexander found accommodation within the existing Achaemenid administration system; the divisions of territory known as satrapies. As his campaign continued, Alexander soon embraced other aspects of Achaemenid personal kingship, such as religious ecumenism, prostration of supplicants, adoption of local royal titles, and polygamy; as well as continuing existing Achaemenid logistical projects, notably the seasonal damming of the Tigris and the use of a *corvée* labour system to accomplish it. Alexander also showed himself willing to incorporate Persians into his state apparatus, in both the rank-and-file of his army as well as in administrative positions. By the time of his death, Alexander had in many ways begun to style himself a monarch with Iranian elements rather than purely Macedonian. Following Alexander's death, the Successors (*diadochi*), Alexander's closest friends and generals, scrambled to seize what power and territory they could and hold it against their rivals. Most did their best to emulate Alexander's image and policies. None had a better opportunity to practice Alexander's policy of Persian integration than Seleucus, once a commander of the Macedonian infantry and, following Alexander's death, the newly-made satrap of Babylon; an important administrative and religious centre of the Achaemenid Empire as well as Alexander's chosen capital. Seleucus quickly capitalized on and continued Alexander's legacy of administrative and religious integration, legitimizing himself as the rightful successor to Alexander's empire and enthroning himself with Macedonian, Achaemenid and Babylonian titles like King of Asia, Great King (*basileus megas*), King of the Universe, and King of Babylon. This demonstrated a clear Seleucid desire to continue Alexander's legacy of adopting both Persianate and Macedonian styles of kingship. Alexander and his eastern successors, the Seleucids, pursued a policy of integration with their subjects by means of religious incorporation and administrative continuity from the Achaemenid era.

Firstly, the continuation of Iranian systems of governance under Alexander and the Hellenic successors is clearly patronized by Alexander following his campaigns. Even early on in his campaign, Alexander demonstrated his desire to co-opt the satrapal system by appointing Macedonian officers to take up satrapal posts, controlling the garrison and taxation of a particular region. Alexander also declared that the people of these conquered settlements would continue to pay the same tribute as they had under Achaemenid rule.¹ Recognizing this development, some western Persian satraps and other subjects of Darius became inclined to see what might be gained by acquiescing to Alexander, or otherwise had simply lost the ability to carry on the fight following his early victories in Asia Minor. The Phoenician cities of the Levant (except Tyre) submitted to him in exchange for retaining the increased autonomy they had enjoyed under Achaemenid rule.² In Egypt, the Persian satrap Mazakes, deprived of his military forces, surrendered the region to Alexander without battle.³ Here in Egypt is seen the first example of Alexander placing non-Macedonians in power, if only nominally; the two Egyptian nomarchs Doloaspis and Petisis, although only Doloaspis actually took up the post. However, command of

¹ Briant, Pierre. *Alexander the Great and His Empire : A Short Introduction*. Princeton University Press, 2010. pp. 68

² Arrian. *The Anabasis of Alexander*. Transl. E.J. Chinnock. Hodder and Stoughton. II.15.

³ Arrian. III.1

the garrison and taxation was instead remitted to a Macedonian, Cleomenes, as it had been in the other satrapies.⁴ Egypt also provided an early example of Alexander absorbing another Achaemenid imperial tradition; the assumption of local royal titles to legitimize his rule in new territories. Alexander was acknowledged as Pharaoh during his time in Egypt, and it is recorded that the king sacrificed to Apis as was required of a new Pharaoh. The priestly class of Egypt recognized him as such by starting a new count of years at the beginning of his reign, signalling an end to Darius' authority and placing Alexander as the legitimate Pharaoh of Egypt.⁵

Later, as the Macedonian army entered Mesopotamia following the victory at Gaugamela in 331 B.C.E, Alexander again employed this policy of investing himself into local traditions of kingship, drawing parallels between himself and past Persian rulers. He was received by the elites and the people of Babylon with joy and treated as a liberator, and even made a triumphal entrance to the city upon a chariot. He ordered for a restoration of the temples of the city, which had been destroyed by Xerxes I, thereby casting himself as a restorer of rightful rule over the city as Cyrus the Great did when he had supported the Babylonian temples during his own conquest. Alexander also sacrificed to the requisite Babylonian gods relating to kingship as he had done in Egypt, such as Baal (Bel), Marduk, and Nabu.⁶ Here in Babylon is an important step forward in Alexander's satrapal policy; the appointment of a Persian to the satrapy. Mazday, or Mazeus, the ruling satrap, was allowed to retain his post under Alexander. Alexander was also acknowledged in traditional royal titulary while in Babylon, being referred to in Babylonian astronomical diaries as King of Lands.⁷ The king subsequently decided to centre his empire in Babylon, marking both his recognition of and desire to use the city's legacy as an Achaemenid imperial centre as well as a prestigious and ancient urban centre in its own right. Alexander also took up former Achaemenid infrastructure projects in Mesopotamia, notably the yearly construction and destruction of dams (called *kattarraktes*) meant to aid irrigation when the water levels on the Euphrates were low. When the waters rose again, Persian kings utilised a corvee system to command labour from the local populace and remove the dams. Alexander continued this annual project, using the same corvee system that the Great Kings had once employed. He destroyed the dams at the opportune times, ensuring proper irrigation of the Mesopotamian floodplains.⁸ Here, Alexander demonstrated further adoption of Achaemenid imperial administrative practices and underscored his concern for the economic prosperity of his non-Greek territories. As Darius III lost legitimacy in his western lands, Alexander took up the local traditions and functions of kingship as the conquering founders of the Achaemenid dynasty once had.

Another opportunity to show himself as the rightful successor to the Achaemenid legacy presented itself when Darius, in flight towards the east, was killed by a conspiracy led by his vassal Bessus, who crowned himself Artaxerxes V and resolved to battle Alexander in the field. As a result, Alexander gained an opportunity to reframe the ongoing conflict in the empire. Alexander portrayed himself as the avenger of the murdered king, seeking justice against the regicidal Bessus.⁹ This position was strengthened by Alexander's magnanimous treatment of Darius' captured family, making him more palatable to Iranian nobles than Bessus.¹⁰ The change in the war's objectives gave some notable Iranians, such as leading nobles like Artabazus and his

⁴ Arrian. III.V

⁵ Briant. pp. 104-105

⁶ Arrian. III.16

⁷ Briant. pp. 106

⁸ Briant. pp. 92-93

⁹ Briant. pp. 112-113

¹⁰ Arrian. II.12 and IV.20

sons, administrators like Phrataphernes, the satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, or military leaders like the cavalry commander Nabarzanes, a chance to shift their loyalty to Alexander and abandon the losing cause of fighting him while still being seen as maintaining their fidelity to Darius.¹¹ Alexander was more than happy to honour those who had come to his side, and even named Artabazus the new satrap of Bactria.¹² However, there were still nobles in the east who retained the will to fight Alexander, most notably Spitamenes, a Sogdian warlord who initially supported the rebellion of Bessus. Following his own failures to repel Alexander, Bessus soon found himself on the wrong end of a courtly conspiracy and was arrested and handed over to the Macedonians by his own men. Here, Alexander again sought to comport himself with respect to Iranian custom, and so handed Bessus over to a council of Persians and Medians for judgement, and enacted a traditionally Persian style of punishment on him (removal of the nose and ears followed by death).¹³ The eastern resistance against Alexander continued following Bessus' death, led by Spitamenes, as a guerilla campaign rather than the traditional battles Alexander had faced before. This period of eastern resistance threatened Alexander's grip on the region and the safety of his planned Indian campaign, but was eventually concluded with the death of Spitamenes and the submission of Oxyartes, another Iranian noble, at the Sogdian Rock.¹⁴ Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, was married to Alexander. Oxyartes himself, despite his previous rebellion, was made satrap of Paropamisadae.¹⁵ In Alexander's first marriage, his motivation is clear, and supports his policy of Iranian integration; his union with Roxana would endear him to Iranians, especially those of the east who Alexander had now spent multiple years subduing. His new father-in-law, once an enemy, now had a vested interest in ensuring his future grandchildren might one day inherit Alexander's throne and could serve to keep Central Asia in check. However, the violent suppression of the eastern territories by Alexander had damaged Iranian and Macedonian views of each other, inconsistent with Alexander's hope to foster a sense of unity between the two peoples as his new ruling elite.

The king sought to alleviate this problem via his plans for a united campaign of Macedonians and Iranians into India. To this end he recruited thousands of Iranian soldiers, both cavalry and foot, to bolster his Macedonian forces against the Indians.¹⁶ In this campaign, Alexander wished to smooth over Irano-Macedonian relations following the difficult period of Bactrian resistance by once again giving Iranians and Macedonians a common enemy and fostering camaraderie through allied warfare. The Indian king Porus chose to resist Alexander's invasion and fought him at the river Hydapses. Following his defeat, Porus submitted to Alexander and his kingdom was remitted to him as Alexander's vassal.¹⁷ The defeat of Porus provided an incredible propaganda opportunity for Alexander, which he did not let slip past; his famous tetradrachms, coins struck in commemoration of his victory in India, contained numerous symbols aimed at reaching both an Iranian and Macedonian audience. For example, the figure of Alexander himself depicted on these coins battling an Indian war elephant wore a piece of headgear which incorporated elements of both the Iranian upright royal tiara as well as a Macedonian soldier's helmet. The same headgear was present on Alexander's complementary figure on the reverse, accompanied by a winged personification of Iranian royal glory

¹¹ Arrian. III.23

¹² Arrian. III.29

¹³ Arrian. IV.7

¹⁴ Arrian. IV.19

¹⁵ Arrian. VI.15

¹⁶ Arrian. VII.6

¹⁷ Arrian. V.19.

(*Khvarenah*).¹⁸ Furthermore, other coins minted by Alexander commemorating the Indian victory featured an archer figure and a war elephant. Here, Alexander drew from the ancient Iranian symbol of the heroic archer to represent the Iranian soldiers in his army and to associate himself with Iranian heroic traditions,¹⁹ as well as replicating imagery found on older Persian *daric* and *sigloi* coins.²⁰

As he returned to Persia from his Indian victories, Alexander increasingly embraced the traditions of Achaemenid monarchical ideology. Following his marriage to Roxana and preceding the Indian campaign (around 327 B.C.E), Alexander had already attempted to introduce the Achaemenid custom of prostration (*proskynesis*) as a form of honouring the ruler.²¹ The Macedonians of his court flatly refused this and feared Alexander's mounting acceptance of Persian ways.²² However, Alexander still wished to demonstrate his acceptance of Persian imperial traditions. To this end, Alexander visited important sites of Achaemenid imperial power following his return to Persia in 325 B.C.E. Firstly, he visited the tomb of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae and ordered restorations to be made to the tomb and for the remains of Cyrus to be reinterred, offering respect and sacrifices to the original founder of the Achaemenid state.²³ Next, the king moved onwards to Susa where he would have his grand wedding of the Macedonian commanders to Iranian noblewomen, including two new marriages of his own in addition to his first marriage with Roxana. In the ceremonies at Susa, we see Alexander's embracing of yet more elements of Achaemenid royal traditions. Chiefly, examine his choices for his new brides; Stateira, a daughter of Darius III, and Parysatis, daughter of Artaxerxes III, Darius' predecessor.²⁴ Both of these Achaemenid princesses lent legitimacy and continuity to Alexander's rule. In addition, the king's marriage to the two women represented an acceptance of the traditionally Iranian concept of royal polygamy, which was not practiced in the Greek world.²⁵ Stateira's status as the daughter of Darius and his legal wife, rather than a concubine, also served to (partially) fulfill another Achaemenid tradition relating to marriage and legitimacy; the marriage of an incoming king to the wives of his predecessor. By the time of the weddings at Susa, Darius' wife, also named Stateira, had died. However, her line still survived in her daughters, and Alexander sought to bind this source of legitimacy to himself in marriage.²⁶ Lastly, let us consider the marriages of Alexander's Macedonian companions at Susa, most importantly the marriage of Hephaestion and Drypetis, another daughter of Darius and his wife, as well as the marriage of Seleucus and Apama, daughter of Spitamenes. By arranging the marriage between Hephaestion and Drypetis, Alexander fulfilled a long-running function of the Achaemenid king; the marriage alliances of royal daughters as "gift-giving" to noble vassal families.²⁷ Seleucus' marriage with Apama was also notable for a number of reasons. Apama's lineage as the daughter of Spitamenes spoke to a commitment of Alexander to continue to pacify the eastern Iranians through diplomatic means. Following the death of Alexander, Seleucus was also the only

¹⁸ Olbrycht, Marek Jan. "On Coin Portraits of Alexander the Great and His Iranian Regalia," *Notae Numismaticae* 6. Krakow University Press. 2011. pp. 19

¹⁹ Olbrycht, pp. 20

²⁰ Briant. 96-100

²¹ Arrian. IV.9

²² Briant. 123-124

²³ Arrian. VI.29

²⁴ Arrian. VII.4

²⁵ Brosius, Maria. *Women in Ancient Persia, 559-331 B.C.*, Oxford University Press. 1998. pp. 35-36

²⁶ Brosius. pp. 77-78

²⁷ Brosius. pp. 74-76

Macedonian recorded in the Susa ceremonies to not repudiate his Iranian wife, demonstrating Seleucus' recognition of the virtues of Alexander's integration policy, which he would carry on when he became a king in his own right following Alexander's death.²⁸

Finally, we may turn to Alexander's policy of religious syncretization and tolerance for the diverse faiths of his empire. Inspired by ideas of Achaemenid religious ecumenism, Alexander promoted the syncretization of Hellenic deities with Near Eastern and Iranian ones, as well as partaking in local religious customs and sacrifices. Prominent in this vein of thought is one of Alexander's most famous actions; his journey to the oracle at Siwa and his subsequent acknowledgement as the son of the god Zeus-Amun in early 331 B.C.E.²⁹ By representing himself as a son of Amun, Alexander ensconced himself further in the Egyptian pharaonic tradition, which had always looked to its rulers with divine honours. The Greek cities of Asia Minor, which had raised cults in the past to Alexander's earthly father Philip II as Philippic Zeus, now dedicated municipal cults to Alexander as well.³⁰ However, it seemed that the king did not force the issue onto regions which were not inclined to accept the divinity of living rulers, such as mainland Greece or in the Iranian heartland. Here, the practicality of Alexander's religious policy is plain, as he recognized that a single uniform religious policy applied across his empire was a recipe for failure. Alexander's assimilation with the image of Heracles is also an important facet of this adaptive policy. Alexander and the Argead dynasty claimed Heracles as a divine ancestor through the line of Temenus, making Heracles an important symbol of royal power.³¹ As Hellenic influence spread under Alexander's campaigns, Heracles became representative of Alexander's conquests and universal kingship. The god was equated with non-Greek heroes and deities like the Levantine Melqart or Iranian Verethragna/Bahram and took on more aspects of Iranian culture, notably an increase in depictions with a bow (the weapon of an Iranian heroic figure) rather than solely his traditional club.³² Alexander's religious policy, formed from older Achaemenid ideals of religious toleration, served as yet another way for Alexander to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the people he now ruled by following the example of the Great Kings who came before him and integrating aspects of his Hellenic culture with that of his subjects.

Having established Alexander's desire to integrate with the Achaemenid royal tradition and utilisation of the religious and cultural traditions of his subjects as a legitimizing tool, we may now consider how his successors who ruled over Iran and Mesopotamia maintained and advanced Alexander's policy of integration, with particular attention to Seleucus I and his descendants. First, however, the wider situation in Alexander's empire immediately following his death in 323 B.C.E must be briefly examined. The death of the king left his infant son Alexander IV and his half-brother Philip III as co-kings under a central regency. As the regional satraps sought more power for themselves, the authority of this central regency eroded. Each regional satrap sought complete dominance over all of the former Achaemenid territory, demonstrating that the idea of Achaemenid universal kingship, where the king must attempt to rule the 'civilized world' as a unity, had not died with Alexander and still influenced the decisions of his

²⁸ Briant. pp. 128-129

²⁹ Briant. 119-120

³⁰ Briant. 136-137

³¹ Gatzke, Andrea. "Heracles, Alexander, and Hellenistic coinage:." *Acta Classica* 64. Classical Association of South Africa. 2021. pp. 99-100

³² Strootman, Rolf. "Hellenism and Persianism in Iran: Culture and Empire after Alexander the Great," *Digital Archive of Brief Notes and Iran Review*. Samuel Jordan Centre for Persian Studies. 2020. pp. 211-212.

successors.³³ To declare yourself as *basileus* and not claim the entirety of Alexander's former territories was simply incompatible. It was in this tumultuous time that Seleucus came to power in Babylon. He was first rewarded with the satrapy by Antipater, the imperial regent, in 321 B.C.E. He was later forced out by Antigonos to exile in Egypt, and finally returned triumphant to the city and named himself as *basileus*. Defeating his rivals in the east, he established control over all of Alexander's territories east of the Euphrates. Notably, when Seleucus returned from his Egyptian exile, the people and garrison of Babylon went over to him and gave him the city, a clear parallel to Alexander's joyous reception by the Babylonian people.³⁴ Even the Iranian soldiers under the command of his rival Nicanor, satrap of Media, defected to his side following the death of their officers, which Diodorus explains as a recognition of Seleucus' superior character and kingly qualities as well as offense at the conduct of Nicanor and his patron Antigonos.³⁵ Even if the truth is not quite so simple, Seleucus clearly displayed some aspects of Alexander's incorporative style which made him more attractive to the Iranians than other Macedonian satraps. Following his ascension, he also invested in the administration of his empire and modified the satrapal system to include both Macedonian and Iranian elements. New officials, called eparchs, were created to function under the satraps.³⁶ Separation of civil, military, and financial authority remained a part of this new system, splitting from the satraps of the Achaemenid era who had slowly consolidated all power in their regions for themselves. In the Seleucid modification of the satrapal system, the satraps held less power compared to the king than they had previously. For example, they no longer had the right to raise taxes; revenues were instead raised by the king's own officials and then given out to the satraps in order to run their provinces.³⁷ Beyond the Iranian plateau, the Seleucids also continued traditions of Achaemenid governance in the eastern territories while fusing them with Greek ideas. Since the reign of Cyrus the Great, the lands of Central Asia which were controlled by the Achaemenid empire were markedly more autonomous than the satrapies of the imperial heartlands. Achaemenid rulers acquiesced to local rule rather than attempting to act as a centralizing force in the region.³⁸ Faced with these same territories, the Seleucids chose to embrace the Persian legacy of governance in the region while also expanding on Alexander's project of eastern Greek colonies. Utilising the Greek *polis* system, the Seleucids allowed for the creation of autonomous city-states in Central Asia made up of a combined population of Greeks and Iranians.³⁹ By accepting elements of both the Persian style of hands-off governance in the region, as well as fusing them with new Greek influences, the Seleucids transformed Central Asia into a prosperous bastion of Greco-Iranian culture which would survive well into the following centuries.

The Seleucid dynasty not only accepted the administrative traditions of their predecessors, but also began to embrace aspects of the cultural and religious traditions of the peoples they governed. The few pieces of physical evidence that remain from the Seleucid period

³³ Strootman, Rolf. "Men to Whose Rapacity Neither Sea Nor Mountain Sets a Limit: The Aims of the Diadochs" in "The Age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms (323-276 B.C.)". *Studia Hellenistica* 53. Peeters. 2014. pp. 310-317

³⁴ Diodorus. *Library of History*. transl. Russel M. Geer. Harvard University Press. XIX.91.

³⁵ Diodorus, XIX.92.

³⁶ McKenzie, Leah. "Patterns in Seleucid Administration: Macedonian or Near Eastern?" *Mediterranean Archaeology* 7, 1994. pp. 63

³⁷ McKenzie. pp. 64

³⁸ Frye, Richard. *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion*. Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishers. 1996. pp. 80

³⁹ Frye. pp. 104-106.

are especially illuminating for our purposes. In particular, we will focus on the Antiochus Cylinder found at the temple complex of Borsippa, as well as the statue of Heracles at Behistun. The former is a traditional Babylonian textual cylinder, written in Akkadian, containing a prayer from Antiochus I, son of Seleucus I, for the Babylonian god Nabu as well as describing the restoration work that the king was undertaking towards the temple complexes of both Esagila (the main temple complex of Marduk in Babylon) and Nabu's temple at Ezida. The implications of such a piece's existence are many. The Seleucid kings were willing to engage on an official basis with non-Greek art forms and language, appealing to their non-Greek subjects. The cylinder also illustrated the policy of patronizing local religions, begun by Alexander, which continued under the Seleucid dynasty. Numerous important observations can be gleaned from the text itself; the Seleucid adoption of Persian and Babylonian royal titulature, the personal delivery and blessing of bricks for the temple restorations by Antiochus, and the king's prayer for the god Nabu.

Antiochus, the great king, the mighty/legitimate king, king of the world, king of Babylon, king of lands, caretaker of Esagila and Ezida, first son of Seleucus, the king, the Macedonian, king of Babylon, am I. When I decided to build Esagila and Ezida, the bricks for Esagila and Ezida I moulded with my pure hands (using) fine quality oil in the land of Hatti and for the laying and foundation of Esagila and Ezida I brought (them)... (O) Nabu, first son, when you enter Ezida, the true house, may favour for Antiochus, king of lands, (and) favour for Seleucus, the king, his son, (and) Stratonice, his consort, the queen, be in your mouth.⁴⁰

The acknowledgement of Seleucus I as a 'Macedonian' while the title is absent from Antiochus' own list is also striking. This clearly demonstrated Antiochus' affirmation of his non-Greek heritage; recall that his mother was the Iranian noblewoman Apama. The cylinder bears similarities with the earlier Cyrus cylinder, which included the same Babylonian titles of kingship and invoked prayers to the Babylonian gods for Cyrus the Great and his heir Cambyses.⁴¹ The personal involvement with the ritual of temple construction and the recognition of Marduk, Nabu, and other Babylonian deities demonstrate that the Seleucid dynasty mimicked the policy of religious ecumenism inherited from Alexander and the preceding Achaemenids; the form that the document itself takes also shows a willingness to patronize non-Greek art and language in an official capacity. Next, we will consider the statue of Heracles found at Behistun. Heracles, already claimed as a divine patron by Alexander and popularized through Alexander's coinage, was also claimed as a divine ancestor and patron by the Seleucids.⁴² The statue of Heracles at Behistun provides important insight into Seleucid religious and cultural policy. The location of the statue itself is notable; Behistun was the site of the inscription commissioned by Darius I to legitimize his ascension as Great King after the fall of Bardiya/Gaumata. The placement of a Seleucid symbol in this location, already marked as a site of importance to the Achaemenid kings, exhibited the continuing use of the Achaemenid legacy as a legitimizing tool by the Seleucids. The style of the statue was more Iranian than Greek, and it is also key to note the choices of weapons associated with the god. As under Alexander, Heracles is depicted with a bow as well as his club, emphasizing the continuing image of the Iranian heroic archer. The

⁴⁰ Sherwin-White, Susan. "Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: The Cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. 1991. pp. 76-77.

⁴¹ Sherwin-White. pp. 78

⁴² Ogden, Daniel. *The Legend of Seleucus : Kingship, Narrative and Mythmaking in the Ancient World*. Cambridge University Press, 2017. pp 50-51.

god's pose also lends some understanding to the purpose behind the construction; he is depicted as Heracles *Kallinikos* (gloriously victorious).⁴³ He reclined with a drink, resting after completing his labours. This pose emphasized stability, order, and peace; all aspects that the Seleucids were eager to impress upon their subjects, and all the more easily communicated through this Greco-Iranian amalgamation of Heracles and Bahram.

The Seleucid kings continued to support other aspects of local religion and further encouraged the development of syncretization between Hellenic and Near Eastern religions. Chief among these were incorporations of the Greek Apollo with gods such as the Babylonian Nabu or the Iranian Mithra. Following his rise to power, Seleucus I had claimed Apollo as a divine father for himself as Alexander had done for Zeus.⁴⁴ Therefore, it became an important legitimizing symbol to relate Apollo to local deities, as seen in the Seleucid tetradrachm coins struck by Antiochus I. In these coins, Apollo is seen seated and contemplating an arrow in his hand with a bow by his side. Simultaneously, the arrow could also be viewed as a stylus, evoking the image of Nabu, god of scribes.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Apollo's status as a god of archery allowed Seleucid kings to easily relate him to the image of the Iranian heroic archer seen previously on Achaemenid *daric* coins, promoting Achaemenid continuity. Under the Seleucids, Apollo and his twin sister Artemis became syncretized with various sun/moon deities, eased by their images as archer gods. This syncretization was aided by the construction of shared temple spaces which included both Iranian and Greek forms of religious worship. The site of Ai-Khanoum in Media provided an excellent example of this shared physical space; the temple contained both an area dedicated to the worship of Hellenic Zeus as well as a channel of flowing water and libation jars pointing towards the worship of Anahita/Artemis in an Iranian style.⁴⁶ Employing these policies and images inherited from Alexander and the Achaemenids, the Seleucid dynasty engaged with Near Eastern and Iranian religions as another method of gaining legitimacy in the eyes of their subjects.

Drawing all of these elements together, a clearer picture of Hellenic kingship in the east comes into focus. Rather than the rule of a Greek urban elite over the non-Greek masses, marking a discontinuity with their Achaemenid predecessors, the reigns of Alexander and his Seleucid successors consisted of integration with multiple administrative, cultural, and religious traditions of their non-Greek subjects. Alexander chose to embrace many aspects of the former Achaemenid imperial policy, such as widespread religious syncretization and the assumption of local royal titulary, rather than attempting to impose the Macedonian style of kingship across the former Persian territories. Seleucus I and his descendants continued these policies, encouraging the growth of shared Greco-Iranian urban centres and the continuing integration of the Hellenic religion with Near Eastern and Iranian faiths. Rather than a violent end to Iranian kingship and the dominance of Hellenic ideas, the arrival of Alexander and the Seleucids in the east and the policies they enacted under their rule should instead be viewed as an evolution and synthesis of the Achaemenid and Hellenic styles of ruling into a new form of Iranian kingship.

⁴³ Strootman, "Hellenism and Persianism in Iran." pp. 212

⁴⁴ Ogden. 23-24

⁴⁵ Strootman, "Hellenism and Persianism in Iran." pp. 207

⁴⁶ Canepa, Matthew. "Seleukid Sacred Architecture, Royal Cult and the Transformation of Iranian Culture in the Middle Iranian Period." in *Iranian Studies : Bulletin of the Society for Iranian Cultural and Social Studies*. 48, no. 1. Cambridge University Press. 2014. pp. 81-83

Bibliography

- Arrian. *The Anabasis of Alexander*. Transl. E.J. Chinnock. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Briant, Pierre. *Alexander the Great and His Empire : A Short Introduction*. Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Brosius, Maria. *Women in Ancient Persia, 559-331 B.C.* Oxford University Press. 1998.
- Canepa, Matthew. "Seleukid Sacred Architecture, Royal Cult and the Transformation of Iranian Culture in the Middle Iranian Period." in *Iranian Studies : Bulletin of the Society for Iranian Cultural and Social Studies*. 48, no. 1. Cambridge University Press. 2014.
- Diodorus. *Library of History*. Transl. Russel M. Geer. Harvard University Press.
- Frye, Richard. *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion*. Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishers. 1996.
- Gatzke, Andrea. "Heracles, Alexander, and Hellenistic coinage:." *Acta Classica* 64. Classical Association of South Africa. 2021.
- McKenzie, Leah. "Patterns in Seleucid Administration: Macedonian or Near Eastern?" *Mediterranean Archaeology* 7. Meditarch. 1994.
- Ogden, Daniel. *The Legend of Seleucus : Kingship, Narrative and Mythmaking in the Ancient World*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Olbrycht, Marek Jan. "On Coin Portraits of Alexander the Great and His Iranian Regalia," *Notae Numismaticae* 6. Krakow University Press. 2011.
- Sherwin-White, Susan. "Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: The Cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. 1991.
- Strootman, Rolf. "Hellenism and Persianism in Iran: Culture and Empire after Alexander the Great," *Digital Archive of Brief Notes and Iran Review*. Samuel Jordan Centre for Persian Studies. 2020.
- Strootman, Rolf. "Men to Whose Rapacity Neither Sea Nor Mountain Sets a Limit: The Aims of the Diadochs" in "The Age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms (323-276 B.C.)". *Studia Hellenistica* 53. Peeters 2014.

The Kids Are Alright: Documenting Youth and Subculture in 20th Century Art Photography

Mairi Jacobs

On February 20th 2025, the *National Portrait Gallery* in London opened a new exhibition surrounding one of the UK's leading culture magazines in the late 20th century. *The Face Magazine: Cultural Shift* was described by the Gallery as a celebration of “[iconic] images and portraits from *The Face*, a trail-blazing youth and culture magazine that has shaped the creative and cultural landscape of Britain and beyond”. Indeed, the cultural impact of *The Face* cannot be understated; the magazine is credited with launching the careers of many young photographers, including Corrine Day, David Sims, and Elaine Constantine. The magazine was also crucial in surveying, contributing to, and influencing the youth and subculture landscape of Britain in the late 20th century. While *The Face* is undoubtedly a cultural influence on its own, its success is part of a broad shift in late 20th-century art photography that focused on the documentation and aestheticisation of youth and subculture. This shift is not entirely specific to Britain and can be found in other artistic and cultural centres like New York. Characterised by post-1960s views on counterculture, subculture and youth, the artistic images of this period combine intimate and realistic documentary photography with artistic expression from youth and subcultures. The overall result of this is a new lens into these demographics that both surveys and contributes to their experience. Through historical and visual analysis, this essay argues that late 20th-century photographers, including Nan Goldin, Anita Corbin, and Corrine Day, created a new lens into art photography by combining intimate, documentary-style photography with the aesthetics of youth and subcultures, resulting in a new means of expression in art photography and culture.

To understand how this era of art photography developed, it is important to clarify how social and artistic changes of the late 1960s and 1970s set the scene for this change. The 1960's showcased new changes in the visual sphere, specifically in direct relation to the counterculture and growing subcultures. This momentum worked as a foundation for art photographers in the 1970s and onwards, who were interested in documenting and capturing these movements. In New York, many major social movements of the era shaped the scene and subcultures for artists in the city. The downtown art scene of the city was heavily influenced by the Stonewall riots of 1969, and the post-Stonewall scene of New York became the subject of artistic documentation from photographers like Peter Hujar. Amongst this new liberation movement, the downtown scene was also characterised by the growing subculture groups that grew out of ideals from the '60s counterculture, perhaps the most famous of them being the punk scene. In *The Downtown Book: The New York Art Scene 1974-1984*, Martin J. Taylor discusses how the subcultures of New York in the 1970s and the downtown scene led to an important shift in American art. He writes that “Influenced by the Symbolists, Beats, New York School, Situationists, Dada, Pop Art, Hippies, Marxists, and Anarchists, Downtown New York artists sought to push the limits of traditional categories of art” further noting that these artists “sought to undermine from within the traditional structures of artistic media and the culture that had grown up around them”. Here, Taylor truly highlights how social, artistic, and political movements of the counterculture contributed to the subcultures and artistic expression of the late 20th century.

Art photographers in New York immersed themselves within this downtown scene and the subcultures that it fashioned. As previously mentioned, Peter Hujar was a leading art photographer capturing the queer subcultures of New York. Showcasing raw intimacy was

crucial to Hujar's photography, and he is quoted as saying that "I want people to feel the picture and smell it". Like Hujar, Nan Goldin also documented the queer and youth subcultures of New York in the 1970s and 1980s. Aside from photographing these subcultures, Goldin also began to take intimate images of her friends and family as part of her photography. In the article *Intimacy at Work: Nan Goldin and Rineke Dijkstra*, Alison Dean argues that intimacy in Goldin's work "is predicated on familiarity" and "immediacy". While Dean also argues that this familiarity separates Goldin from her images, Goldin herself disagrees with this. In an interview with *BOMB*, she stated that, "there was no separation between me and what I was photographing [...] I just accept what I'm looking at as being what it is. That's something that shows up in my work. I see people as who they are". This intimate style of photography by Goldin and Hujar is central to their oeuvres, and the familiarity in Goldin's intimate images showcases the turn toward this authenticity and documentation in art photography.

Goldin's photograph, "Rise and Monty Kissing", is part of her larger body of work, *The Ballad for Sexual Dependency*, which captures the intimacy of Goldin's friends, family, and the subculture groups of New York. "Rise and Monty Kissing" is an especially raw and intimate photo from the collection. Here, Goldin treads on the couple in a passionate and vulnerable moment, all of which can be felt through the photograph. The centring of the couple and lack of space in the photo is almost crowded and compressed, similar to the inevitable crowding of the environments and parties frequented by Goldin. Similarly, the shading and colouring of this image lean into this party atmosphere. While the couple's makeout session is saturated and on display, the rest of this environment is left in the dark. Goldin's photo not only captures the intimate, vulnerable state of the couple, but also a glimpse into the environment of the subcultures that she belonged to. The photo both documents and romanticizes these scenes, showcasing a turn towards intimate, art photography.



Figure 1: Nan Goldin, "Rise and Monty Kissing", *New York City*, 1980, Silver dye bleach print, The Museum of Modern Art.

While mainly based in the United States, the ideals and effects of the counterculture held global influence, and Britain experienced some of the same cultural and artistic shifts as that of America in this period. Subculture groups, like the radical feminist movement and the punk movement, once again grew out of the counterculture and political movements of post-war Britain. The punk subculture in Britain is particularly important to note, as this subculture began predominantly with working-class youth. The working-class demographic in Britain is crucial to understanding the country's youth, cultural, and artistic shifts. Ian Grovesnor and Natasha McNabb write that, “The 1970s and 1980s in Britain saw what has been referred to as “a wider democratisation of ‘art for everyone’”, with a consequence of this shift being a change in photographic practices.

Simultaneously, social and political shifts of the late 1970s and onwards created massive changes to culture and photography that cannot be understated. The election of Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the subsequent ‘Thatcher Years’ from 1979 to 1990 completely shaped British culture and photography. Photographer Anita Corbin stated that, in the early days of Thatcher’s premiership, “there was a lot of rioting, unrest, and direct action. Youth with a little bit of money in their pocket were able to escape that reality, getting into subcultures meant that they had their own world and Identity”. Corbin’s own visual series, *The Visible Girls*, showcases the representations of women and girls within ‘80s subcultures such as “mods, skinheads, and punks”. Like the intimate images of New York’s downtown scene, Corbin’s visual series showcased raw, unstylized portraits of young women in their respective subcultures, focusing on their individual styles and aesthetics; the collection gives agency to the young women and showcases the self-expressive nature of youth subcultures in 1980s Britain.



Figure 2: Anita Corbin. “Carrie and Gill Outside the Ladies”, Crystal Palace, November 1980, Museum of Youth Culture.

The Face was also part of this larger turn towards the documentation and aestheticisation of youth and subculture in Britain. Along with fashion magazine *i-D*, *The Face* is considered by some modern scholars to be a forerunner for new kinds of magazine photography. This “new photography” centred around aesthetic concepts in the magazine, and the creator controlled images and layouts by magazine photographers. Paul Gorman, author of *The Story of the Face*, stated that for the magazine, “the narrative of photography started to take over”. It is undeniable, then, the impact that photography had on the success of *The Face* and its outreach to youth culture. The photography in the magazine followed a similar model to this new means of artistic photography, by showcasing raw, authentic depictions of youth and subculture. The images below showcase how the magazine’s photographers, including Nigel Shafran and Corrine Day, combined both authenticity and subculture aesthetics within their photography. While these photos are more stylised than Goldin and Corbin’s work, they are not made to showcase the *glamor* typical of a fashion magazine. Instead, showcasing the real subcultures of British youth, including the Rude boy and Ska scene (Figure 3), and the rave and early grunge scene (Figure 4). The legacy of photography from *The Face* establishes its influence in British youth and subcultures of the late 20th century, and expanded upon the possibilities for art photography within magazine publishing.



Figure 3: Nigel Shafran and Richard Croft, “Ruder than the Rest”, 1991. Photograph. The Face Archives

Figure 4: Corrine Day, “The Daisy Age” 1990. Photograph, The Corrine Day Estate.

Art photographer Tristain O’Neill has stated that the role of magazines in late 20th-century Britain was crucial in establishing and continuing a subculture for youth at the time. O’Neill was part of the Jungle and Rave scene in 1990s Britain and documented the experiences of these raves through film photography. Photographs from O’Neill’s collection (like the image below) are full of bright, saturated colours and blurry backgrounds, which gives the images a “surreal” feeling. Similar to Goldin’s “Rise and Monty Kissing,” O’Neill’s use of colour, space, and focus combine to make the viewer *feel* like they are inside a sweaty, hallucinatory rave, once again highlighting the aestheticization of youth and subculture.



Figure 5: Tristan O'Neill. "Gurning raver wearing an open denim shirt with arms in the air" The Pleasuredome, Skegness UK, 1997. Film photograph. Museum of Youth Culture

The move towards intimacy, realism and documentation from these photographers' works cannot be overstated and signified a change in practices of art photography and in defining youth and culture of the late 20th century. From the images from New York's downtown and subcultural scenes to Britain's documentation on the aestheticization of youth subcultures, photographers established a practice in which art photography could read as authentic or intimate, rather than inauthentic and overly stylised. The effects of these images and artists also extend beyond the photographic sphere and into mainstream popular culture, influencing and promoting these aesthetics. This era of photography has also been blamed for negative effects within popular culture. Nan Goldin and Corrine Day were two of many photographers who were criticised for promoting 'heroin chic' within their photographs, as the images credited to these photographers often showcased gritty scenarios and waifish subjects. The panic over 'heroin chic' led then US president Bill Clinton to release a statement stating "the glorification of heroin is not creative, it's destructive". This perceived consequence of this art photography also showcases how ingrained these images and aesthetics have now become within popular culture, as opposed to subculture.

In a BBC article dedicated to a retrospective of *The Face*, Lindsay Baker stated that the magazine "certainly reflected youth culture. You could even argue that it embodied or encapsulated a particular generation". The legacy of these late 20th-century art photographers is

one that is incredibly multifaceted. Characterised with both admiration and controversy, this period of art photography showcases a turn towards authenticity within the artistic sphere of photography. In documenting the real and vulnerable nature of youth and subculture, photographers of the late 20th century showcased a new means of expression and aestheticization in photography and contributed to the artistic culture of the era.

Bibliography

- Abel-Hirsch, Hannah. "A Love Letter to the Queer Counterculture of NYC in the 70s and 80s - 1854 Photography." *British Journal of Photography*, July 7, 2020.
<https://www.1854.photography/2020/07/a-love-letter-to-the-queer-counterculture-of-nyc-in-the-70s-and-80s/#>.
- Baker, Lindsay. "How the Face Magazine Captured the Spirit of Gen X." *The BBC*, February 24, 2022.
<https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20171206-how-the-face-magazine-captured-the-spirit-of-gen-x>.
- Baker, Peter. "Clinton Blasts 'Glorification of Heroin' in Magazine Fashion Photospreads." *The Washington Post*, May 21, 1997.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1997/05/22/clinton-blasts-glorification-of-heroin-in-magazine-fashion-photo-spreads/2ef039af-2d59-4e8f-a3ad-e4380e60812c/>.
- Brittain, David W. "Photographic Magazines and Photo Magazines: Art Photography in British Magazines of the 1960s, '70s, and '80s." *Journal of Magazine Media*, vol. 20 no. 1, 2019, p. 72-88. *Project MUSE*, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jmm.2019.0026>.
- Dazed. "Revisiting 90s Moral Panic Over Heroin Chic." Dazed, November 30, 2015.
<https://www.dazeddigital.com/fashion/article/28630/1/revisiting-the-90s-moral-panic-over-heroin-chic>.
- Dean, Alison. "Intimacy at Work: Nan Goldin and Rineke Dijkstra." *History of Photography* 39 (2): 177–93. 2015, doi:10.1080/03087298.2015.1038109.
- Grosvenor, Ian, and Macnab, Natasha. "Photography as an Agent of Transformation: Education, Community and Documentary Photography in Post-War Britain." *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 51, no. 1–2, 2015, pp. 117–35,
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2014.997757>.
- Klorman-Eraqi, Na'ama. (2021). Radical feminism and punk: visual cultures of affect and disruption. *Photographies*, 14(2), 357–378.
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/10.1080/17540763.2021.1877792>
- McLaughlin, Aimée. "The Story of The Face: how the cult magazine changed British culture." *Design Week (Online)*, 14 Nov., 2017.
<https://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/story-face-how-cult-magazine-changed-british/docview/1963623907/se-2>.
- Murray, Eoin. "How the Face Changed British Culture - and Photography and Publishing – 1854 Photography." *British Journal of Photography*, October 30, 2017.
<https://www.1854.photography/2017/10/how-the-face-changed-british-culture-and-photography/#:~:text=The%20Face%20was%20a%20British%20magazine%20that,the%20most%20influential%20photographers%20of%20our%20time>.
- The National Portrait Gallery. "The Face Magazine: Culture Shift," n.d.
<https://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/exhibitions/2025/face-magazine/>.
- Rae, Esta. "The Jungle Years With Tristan O'Neill | Museum of Youth Culture." Museum of Youth Culture, April 6, 2024.

<https://www.museumofyouthculture.com/the-jungle-years-with-tristan-oneill-interview/>.
Maffrett, Esta “Visiting the Visible Girls | Museum of Youth Culture.” Museum of Youth Culture.

<https://www.museumofyouthculture.com/visiting-the-visible-girls-with-anita-corbin/>. Taylor, Marvin J., et al. *The Downtown Book : The New York Art Scene, 1974-1984*. Princeton University Press, 2006. Westfall, Stephen, and Nan Goldin. “The Ballad of Nan Goldin.” *BOMB*, no. 37, 1991, pp. 27–31. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40424261>

We All Want to Change Your Head: The Affirmative Effect of Protest Music on the Anti-War Movement in 1960s America

Sadie Jerrott

History as a discipline tends to focus on the where and how, but all historical narratives are nothing without the who; the people who informed, enacted, and experienced the events in our history books. The most effective way to gain insight into the cultural climate of an era is not through direct historical accounts, but rather through the art produced during that era. It is through examining art and its reception that we can gain an understanding of the moral and political stances of the people living during that time. Music, being perhaps one of the most accessible and most popular art mediums, can provide the most direct and wide-ranging view of a specific time period. The specifically turbulent decade of the 1960s saw massive political turmoil, cultural upheaval, and a burgeoning counterculture that aligned with anti-war sentiments of the time. Although they were united in their opposition, critics of the Vietnam War were not a homogeneous group. While the psychedelic-fueled, middle-class “flower children” of California and cities alike refused all structures of modern America in their own special, non-violent ways, students and members of the working class were organising for radical political change. Students across the country spearheaded political movements and stood toe to toe with opposing forces, from the Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley, to the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) who emerged in Ann Arbor, Michigan.¹ At the same time, the ‘hippies’ that dominated the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco and Lower Manhattan posed a threat to American authority and establishment by dismissing dominant culture entirely rather than appealing to it.²

As the cultural scope of 1960s America continued to shift, so too did its soundtrack. Producing some of the world’s most legendary artists, such as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and Bob Dylan. The decade saw both a continuation of popular genres of the 1950s and a boom in the popularity of rock and roll. Rock’s rapid growth occurring in synchronicity with the war’s escalation was no coincidence, nor was the reemergence of folk music, and the influx of protest material.³ Music has always been seen as a powerful tool and a “potent weapon in the propaganda arsenal”.⁴ Despite evidence that music can serve as an effective method of emotional movement and rally the masses, examples of protest music contributing to ideological change are scarce. As will be seen with the chosen examples, “Revolution,” “The Eve of Destruction,” and “Street Fighting Man,” those who agreed with the message often received the songs well, and those who disagreed opposed them. Good reception of protest music was commonly predisposed by an agreement with the song’s political message, and vice versa, proving that its impact was affirmative rather than transformative.

The musical scope of the 1960s shaped and was shaped by the counterculture that emerged from the increasingly turbulent state of the world and international affairs. The burgeoning youth movement, accompanied by the political turmoil, carved out a space for protest music that approached the anti-war message from several different angles. Beatlemania raged in the U.S. in the mid-to-late sixties, appealing mainly to the growing hippie culture that stood for

¹ Russell Duncan, "The Summer of Love and Protest: Transatlantic Counterculture in the 1960s." *In The Transatlantic Sixties: Europe and the United States in the Counterculture Decade*, ed. Grzegorz et al. (Verlag 2013), 145.

² Duncan, “The Summer of Love and Protest,” 157.

³ David James, "The Vietnam War and American Music," *Social Text* no. 23 (1989): 123.

⁴ Serge R. Denisoff, "Protest Songs: Those on the Top Forty and Those on the Streets," *American Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 807.

swapping war and capitalism for sex, drugs, peace, and spiritual enlightenment. Although hippies opposed the war, they did not fall in step with the political radicals. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) found the counterculture a barrier between them and their fellow youth, finding it difficult to confront its hedonistic appeals.⁵ Furthermore, the hippies believed that the political radicals of the New Left were stagnant in their progress and stuck within the system.⁶ This divide is echoed and exemplified in the Beatles' controversial 1968 hit "Revolution".

Written during one of the most turbulent years of both the war and protests opposing it, "Revolution" creates an interesting image when placed upon the backdrop of the hippie and SDS disagreement. The first and third verses of the single version of the song, released on the B side of "Hey Jude," serve as a critique of radical political action, denouncing the violent uprisings witnessed by John Lennon during the song's conception. Set to wild electric piano, upbeat drums, and the distorted guitar playing of both Lennon and George Harrison, the song echoes many of the same sentiments expressed by hippies regarding radical political action. The first verse features Lennon stating his position on the revolution outright, "when you talk about destruction/[d]on't you know that you can count me out".⁷ In the third verse, he goes on to criticise the mindset of political radicals advocating to "change the constitution," stating they need to instead change their heads and free their minds.⁸ This aligns heavily with the hippie ideal of individual spiritual improvement rather than improving society as a whole.⁹ Each verse is followed by the reassurance of the repeated line "don't you know it's gonna be alright".¹⁰

Being a sceptical, and at some points mocking, critique of the revolution that most saw as imminent and necessary, "Revolution" received heavy backlash.¹¹ The critique not only came from one of the most globally popular and influential artists of all time, but it also came at an especially violent time in U.S. politics. "Revolution" was released on August 26th, 1968, the first day of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Groups protesting the Vietnam War were met with intense violence from the Chicago police, and the nation was met with televised beatings of protesters, students, nonviolent demonstrators, and bystanders.¹² For many, this outburst of police violence was a signifier that peaceful protest was no longer an option.¹³

Given the context in which "Revolution" was released, backlash was inevitable. Many took issue with Lennon chastising the actions of political radicals as a globally famous multimillionaire, causing many to dismiss the song, as Richard Meron put it in the *New Left*

⁵ Russell Duncan, "The Summer of Love and Protest: Transatlantic Counterculture in the 1960s." *In The Transatlantic Sixties: Europe and the United States in the Counterculture Decade*, ed. Grzegorz et al. (Verlag 2013), 152.

⁶ Duncan, "The Summer of Love and Protest," 152.

⁷ The Beatles, "Revolution 1," John Lennon, Paul McCartney, 1968, Apple Corps Ltd, track 11 on *The White Album*, vinyl.

⁸ The Beatles, "Revolution 1."

⁹ Russell Duncan, "The Summer of Love and Protest: Transatlantic Counterculture in the 1960s." *In The Transatlantic Sixties: Europe and the United States in the Counterculture Decade*, ed. Grzegorz et al. (Verlag 2013), 152.

¹⁰ The Beatles, "Revolution 1."

¹¹ John Platoff, "John Lennon, 'Revolution,' and the Politics of Musical Reception," *The Journal of Musicology* 22, no. 2 (2005): 243.

¹² John Platoff, "John Lennon, 'Revolution,' and the Politics of Musical Reception," *The Journal of Musicology* 22, no. 2 (2005): 244.

¹³ Platoff, "Politics of Musical Reception," 244.

Review, as a “lamentable petty bourgeois cry of fear.”¹⁴ Issue was taken especially with Lennon’s repeated chorus line “don’t you know it’s gonna be alright”, as the song was released in a time of violence, turmoil, and social upheaval.¹⁵ It is no surprise that there is little to no evidence that the song was able to sway people’s opinion in favour of Lennon’s view of revolution. Although people fully understood Lennon’s intended message, those who disagreed were not swayed, and hippies were affirmed by Lennon’s advocacy for “personal transcendence.”¹⁶ In this way, “Revolution” between political radicals and their hippy counterparts by affirming existing beliefs.

John Lennon’s handling of his critical position as far removed from on-the-ground political action is further emphasised by its contrast to that of fellow British rock icon, Mick Jagger. 1968 saw the release of both “Revolution” and The Rolling Stones’ approach to protest, “Street Fighting Man”. Written under similar personal circumstances to “Revolution”, the song expresses Jagger’s own discontent with the political state of the world. The song’s lyrics portray a much more sympathetic view of the artist’s opinion on political action than “Revolution”. Rather than functioning as a criticism of political radicalism, it serves as an expression of guilt at not being able to help. This comes from Jagger’s own experience with attempting to join a protest. After his presence at an anti-war demonstration at the American Embassy in London, England, caused a massive distraction, Jagger realised that “his fame and wealth precluded him from the revolution.”¹⁷ This is almost the direct opposite of Lennon’s position, being an expression of someone outside of the conflict lamenting their inability to join in on the ground rather than an outside criticism of said on the ground action. For this reason, “Street Fighting Man” was seen as the right to John Lennon’s wrong.¹⁸

For many, protest music functioned not as a propaganda tool, but instead as an outlet to express personal disdain.¹⁹ It is from this desire to express discontent that folk music “trailblazer” Bob Dylan found his success, along with other heavy hitters of the 1960s folk scene such as Willie Nelson, Buffy Sainte-Marie, and Joni Mitchell.²⁰ This desire also sparked the writing of “Eve of Destruction”. Written by a then nineteen-year-old P.F. Sloan in 1965, “Eve of Destruction” is a matter-of-fact description of the sociopolitical state of the world at the time. Sloan’s lyrics highlight not only the contradictions of society but also those who turn a blind eye to the destruction occurring. He states that protests and marches cannot bring change if “human respect is disintegratin’.”²¹ He highlights the hate “in Red China” and “Selma, Alabama.”²² He goes on to touch on the paradoxical nature of American society, preaching patriotism and American values during a time of mass conflict and violence, writing “[y]ou can bury your dead but don’t leave a trace/[h]ate your next-door neighbour [b]ut don’t forget to say grace.”²³

¹⁴ Platoff, “Politics of Musical Reception,” 249.

¹⁵ The Beatles, “Revolution 1,” John Lennon, Paul McCartney, 1968, Apple Corps Ltd, track 11 on *The White Album*, vinyl.

¹⁶ Platoff, “Politics of Musical Reception,” 244.

¹⁷ John Platoff, “John Lennon, ‘Revolution,’ and the Politics of Musical Reception,” *The Journal of Musicology* 22, no. 2 (2005): 255.

¹⁸ Platoff, “Politics of Musical Reception,” 257.

¹⁹ Serge R. Denisoff, “Protest Songs: Those on the Top Forty and Those on the Streets,” *American Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 809.

²⁰ Denisoff, “Protest Songs,” 809.

²¹ P.F. Sloan, “Eve of Destruction,” 1965, Geffen Records.

²² Sloan, “Eve of Destruction.”

²³ Sloan, “Eve of Destruction.”

Notably, the song does not offer any solutions to the problems it describes, nor does it provide any reassurance, unlike Lennon's controversial insistence that "it's gonna be alright". This aspect led to the song being labeled as "unpatriotic," as it emphasised the weak points of American society without showing any belief that it could be improved.²⁴ One respondent of the survey stated that protest songs "present no concrete alternatives, and the only alternatives" that they could see were "anarchy or World Communism."²⁵ Another claimed that "it is easy to tear down society and criticize but it is quite another thing to give answers to these problems."²⁶

Though "Eve of Destruction" was written by P.F. Sloan, its most popular iteration was recorded by Barry McGuire in 1965. McGuire's version gained popularity on the airways and sparked debate on protest materials on the Top Forty. "Eve of Destruction" also created an avenue for the examination of the effectiveness of protest music as a propaganda tool. In a 1970 article, R. Serge Denisoff outlines a survey conducted during the height of the song's popularity. A questionnaire was given to 180 students from a college in San Francisco with a relatively right-leaning or apolitical student body.²⁷ The Young Republicans "operated sub rosa" as the only political group on the campus, and radical attempts to "institute free speech reform" at the college were largely protested by the student body.²⁸ The questionnaire measured the song's reach and its effect on listeners. It demonstrated both the fact that the presence of protest music on the radio greatly increased its outreach and that, despite reaching a wider audience, it had little impact on listeners' political outlook. Approval and disapproval of the song among the study's participants were relatively equal, with approval exceeding disapproval by only 5%.²⁹ Approval of the song was not entirely based on agreement with its political message, but rather simply liking the song as a popular song.³⁰

The most fascinating statistic provided by the questionnaire was that of the opinion on the effectiveness of "Eve of Destruction" and protest music in general. While 28% of the students responded negatively and 24% responded positively, 46% had no opinion, with the remaining 2% taking other stances.³¹ This presents compelling evidence of the protest music's impact being affirmative rather than transformative, given the presence of apolitical students. Additionally, Denisoff goes on to explain that those who approved of protest songs previously supported the anti-war movement.³²

Negative reception of protest material ranged from both pro-war critique of the song's message, and anti-war critique of protest material as a commercial product. Respondents who criticized protest songs deemed them "unpatriotic," and felt that "social criticism" during the war was inappropriate rather than necessary, with writers of protest music being accused of being "anti-American" and "afraid to help their country."³³ Others objected to the song not only on a political level but also on an artistic level, with some surveyed students saying they are "of poor

²⁴ Serge R. Denisoff, "Protest Songs: Those on the Top Forty and Those on the Streets," *American Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 815

²⁵ Denisoff, "Protest Songs," 816.

²⁶ Denisoff, "Protest Songs," 816.

²⁷ Denisoff, "Protest Songs," 812.

²⁸ Denisoff, "Protest Songs," 812.

²⁹ Denisoff, "Protest Songs," 813.

³⁰ Denisoff, "Protest Songs," 813.

³¹ Denisoff, "Protest Songs," 814.

³² Serge R. Denisoff, "Protest Songs: Those on the Top Forty and Those on the Streets," *American Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 818.

³³ Denisoff, "Protest Songs," 816.

quality” and “hit rock bottom.”³⁴ Outside of the survey, protest music, specifically rock n’ roll, was criticised for its hypocritical position as a commercial product decrying the capitalist system that it itself was a part of.³⁵ These critiques fall in line with those who denounced the Beatles’ “Revolution” as a far removed, bourgeois slap in the face to on the ground activists. Others took issue with music being used for the conveyance of political messages, stating that music “should be written for entertainment.”³⁶

When discussing its impact, it is important to make the distinction between protest music and other politicised music genres that flourished in America in the 1960s. “Freedom songs” served as a rallying tool during the civil rights movement.³⁷ They differ from protest songs in both use, conception, and intention. Freedom songs most often stemmed from familiar songs such as hymns.³⁸ These songs also strived to accomplish what protest songs achieved indirectly: to reaffirm beliefs and values already instilled in their listeners. Their difference in intention is shown by their lyrical and musical form. The songs, such as “Eve of Destruction,” are not conducive to amateur group singing as opposed to freedom songs designed specifically for that purpose.³⁹ The songs aimed to rally those already in support of the movement, rather than draw non-supporters towards it.

The art that emerges from a time of social and political turmoil is equally as crucial as historical documentation when it comes to understanding the events of that time. Music, being a direct linguistic expression of ideas, provides an in-depth view of moral and cultural sentiments. The cultural upheaval that came with the political instability also brought with it a burgeoning counterculture that saw the reemergence of folk music and a boom in the popularity of rock and roll. Protest music was a natural development given the artistic and social developments of the 1960s. Although protest music was effective in spreading political messaging, reaching success on the Top Forty, its impact did little to change existing beliefs and opinions, affirming and strengthening them instead. A 1965 survey given to a group of students on their opinion of Barry McGuire’s recording of “Eve of Destruction” showed that those who approved the song's anti-war message and the presence of protest music on airways held an anti-war position before hearing the song. Strong political opinions are reflected in both the songs produced and their songs’ opposers. The Beatles’ 1968 “Revolution” was met with backlash for its critique of radical political action. The song affirmed opinions of the non-violent hippie movement that were held by political radicals such as the SDS and the New Left. Evidence of protest music’s impact being affirmative rather than transformative does not signify that it was insignificant in the political and social change of the 1960s. It instead shows that during the turbulence of the decade, music served as a moral anchor and a beacon of hope.

³⁴ Denisoff, “Protest Songs,” 817.

³⁵ David James, “The Vietnam War and American Music,” *Social Text* no. 23 (1989): 124.

³⁶ Denisoff, “Protest Songs,” 817.

³⁷ Denisoff, “Protest Songs,” 818.

³⁸ Denisoff, “Protest Songs,” 819.

³⁹ Serge R. Denisoff, “Protest Songs: Those on the Top Forty and Those on the Streets,” *American Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 820.

Bibliography

- Denisoff, R. Serge. (1970). "Protest Songs: Those on the Top Forty and those on the Streets." *American Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 807–823.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2711871>
- Duncan, Russell. "The Summer of Love and Protest: Transatlantic Counterculture in the 1960s." In *The Transatlantic Sixties: Europe and the United States in the Counterculture Decade*, edited by Grzegorz Kosc, Clara Juncker, Sharon Monteith, and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson, 144–73. transcript Verlag, 2013. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1wxt2b.9>.
- James, David. "The Vietnam War and American Music," *Social Text*, no. 23 (1989): 122–43.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/466424><https://www.jstor.org/stable/466424>.
- The Beatles, "Revolution 1," John Lennon, Paul McCartney, 1968, Apple Corps Ltd, track 11 on *The White Album*, vinyl.
- Playoff, John. "John Lennon, 'Revolution,' and the Politics of Musical Reception." *The Journal of Musicology* 22, no. 2 (2005): 241–67. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2005.22.2.241>.
- Sloan, P.F. "Eve of Destruction". 1965, Geffen Records.

A World Within the Commonplace: Layers of Meaning in a 19th Century Commonplace Book

Jet Lachman

Introduction

Elizabeth Ann Aitken's commonplace book is a collection of literary extracts and recipes assembled in 1809, when she was 19. It is 18cm x 21cm, and the thick paper cover has a dipped ink pattern. It has 48 pages and is bound with string. Originally the book had 50 pages (25 folded sheets) but two have been excised. Aitken was born in Aberdeen in 1790 and died of bronchitis in 1867 (age 77).¹ Her father, the Rev. Robert Aitken, was initially sent to Moose Island as a chaplain for the garrison there, then moved to the Lunenburg Anglican Church where he worked until his death in 1825.² He was accompanied by his daughters, of which Aitken was the eldest. From the addresses of letters Aitken received, there were several trips to Canada in 1809 and the subsequent years, so it is difficult to say whether the book was created entirely in Canada or overseas. Nonetheless, the social, cultural, and personal contexts in which Aitken was writing added meaning. Elizabeth and Robert Aitken's papers were donated to the Nova Scotia Archives as part of the McGregor Miller collection. Among them are several letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Osmer, the wife of Aitken's cousin. In each one, Mrs. Osmer familiarly addresses Aitken as Bessie. Many of the recipes in the commonplace book are attributed to Mrs. Osmer, and some of the literary extracts are referred to in letters to Aitken from Mrs. Osmer, tying the friendship of these women to the contents of the book. By combining the frameworks of scholars, Henry Glassie (1991) and Madeline Shanahan (2014), I will examine the layers of context within the book, from the conceptual and physical contexts at the time of creation to the additional meanings accrued over time. I will demonstrate how the commonplace book served to connect Aitken to other people and places, and what it tells us about her, its creator.

Organizing Society and the Practise of Commonplacing

The first church in Lunenburg, St. John's Anglican, was built in 1754 and paid for by the British Government. It was attended to by missionaries sent from overseas to live and work alongside settlers in the area. Though settled for many years by this point, the town of Lunenburg was still frontier-like, bearing the scars and threats from various conflicts. It was invaded by Yankee soldiers in 1782 and, only 30 years later, was fortified again during the War of 1812.³ The social order was dominated by wealthy merchant families, and churches or schools often served as community gathering areas. Missionaries and their families were sent as part of an effort to civilize and organize society through these church institutions. The role of women in this period was to run the household raise children. This is typically referred to as the 'private sphere' of life, while the 'public sphere' was a man's domain—that of work, business, and socializing outside of the home. Merchant and missionary families would have had one or two servants to help with tasks in the home, and girls in these families were typically able to read and write, often receiving education in England.

Commonplace books have been traced back to antiquity and are generally defined as a compilation of verse and prose passages. They are often manuscript but were sometimes set in

¹ Death Record for Elizabeth A. Aitken, 28 February 1867, book 1812, page 17, Line 76, Nova Scotia Archives.

² History of the County of Lunenburg, Mather Byles DesBrisay, 86.

³ History of the County of Lunenburg, Mather Byles DesBrisay, 62.

type and published. Initially used by Latin students, they expanded in popularity to the general reading public.

As books became cheaper to produce and more accessible, and as Enlightenment ideas spread across Europe, the practise became extremely popular among the learned classes, and was also seen as acceptable for women to engage in. Scholarship focusing on commonplace books uses them as tools to elucidate thinking and reading practises of the creators through their interaction with text. Recent research has described the intersection of commonplace books with the topics of education, gender, memory, religion, politics, science, and music. Victoria Burke, a scholar of commonplace books, notes that the definition of commonplace books must expand to encapsulate the ways women adapted the male-oriented practise to suit their own needs, especially in their tendency to combine traditionally public topics (literature, poetry) with private sphere ones (recipes and household tips). She also describes viewing the books as a form of autobiography. In 17th-century Britain, the Rationalist concept of the self as residing in the mind became popular. Self-improvement could thus be found through careful organization and expansion of the mind. Commonplace books functioned as sites of this knowledge-organization and identity formation.⁴ Reading, especially for well-off young women in the Georgian period, was viewed as a vehicle for moral improvement and social cohesion. Discussing literature became a cultural activity, performed in parlours and at gatherings of the upper classes in England and the Colonies as an assertion of civilization.⁵ The cultural practise of reading and commonplacing is considered in my methodological approach.

Methodology

Historical archaeologist Shanahan argues for the inclusion of textual objects in archaeology. She suggests an approach that weaves together both the text and the object. In her considerations, she describes and demonstrates a framework for this type of interpretation, based on conventional source criticism methods, and adapted for manuscript recipes and texts from the early modern period. This is useful because it allows me to consider both the materiality of the notebook and its textual contents, since both influence its meaning to the creator. Shanahan's framework examines authorship, provenance, chronology, physical characteristics, contents, and function.⁶ Studies of material culture tend to draw from many disciplines, aiming to use objects as ways of understanding the past. The typical division of archaeologists studying 'things' and historians studying 'texts' is contrary to this goal, and by drawing on archaeological and historical techniques for reading objects and meanings I will explore the meanings embodied by the object. As Ulrich et al. point out, meaning in an object is unstable and changeable. Meanings become layered over the 'lifetime' of an object's use, and readings are influenced by the viewer's choices, interests, and experiences.⁷ My research is also informed by Henry Glassie, a folklorist and scholar of material culture. He describes some of the conceptual work we must perform as researchers of material objects. In noting that words and objects mean nothing in isolation, he describes how humans structure meaning in objects through their context. He describes three areas of context – personal, conceptual, and physical, and proposes a protocol for thinking

⁴ Victoria Burke "Recent studies in Commonplace Books," *English Literary Renaissance* 43, no 1 (2013): 153-77.

⁵ David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England*, Cambridge University Press (2010): 18.

⁶ Madeline Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects*, Lexington Books (2014): Introduction.

⁷ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Ivan Gaskell, Sara J. Schechner, and Sarah Anne Carter, "Thinking with Things," in *Tangible Things* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1-20.

through these layers. The personal context is the one determined by the viewer's experiences and personal associations.

The conceptual context is the set of associations in the mind of the creator, and the physical context is that of a body moving, or an accumulation of sensory information. Glassie describes envisioning the object as a composition (a set of parts) made meaningful through its association with other compositions (as parts of sets). Exploring the sequential interplay between these two concepts is how we pull meaning from an object – its association with other objects, creators, users, and bodies.⁸

These scholars all add to an ongoing conversation about the theory of material culture studies. Using their thinking as a scaffold, I will create my own reading of Elizabeth Aitken's commonplace book. I cannot be absolute or comprehensive, since meaning is not an inherent quality in objects, but is modified over time. The threads I tug at here are not the only ones there are to pull. Using the contents of the commonplace book to guide me, I expanded my research to examine reading practises in Georgian England, manuscript recipe collections, food, and globalization. I engage with the textual contents of the manuscript as well as what is there but not explicitly said. I utilize letters written to Aitken from Mrs. Osmer in the years surrounding the commonplace book's creation, which were also available as part of Aitken's papers in the Nova Scotia Archives holdings. The letters, though not written by Aitken, are written to her by someone she knew well, and they offer additional information, creating a partial portrait of who she was at the point in her life in which she created our object. Since so many of the recipes in the collection are ascribed to Mrs. Osmer, and many of the textual references are discussed in the letters, it is clear she was a significant character in Aitken's life. We can thus also view this object as a lingering trace of the relationship between two women separated by a large distance.

Homeland and Identity

Many of the literary extracts Aitken collected in the first half of the notebook relate to British and Scottish history and current events. Two pages are devoted to sections from *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, a narrative poem by Walter Scott published in 1805 describing the Scottish borderlands in the 16th century. A few pages later, an 1807 essay by Patrick Graham appears. It concerns an unfolding drama in the literary world, in which author James Macpherson claimed to be collecting and translating epic poems from an ancient Gaelic bard Ossian (Oisín). At their publication in 1765 the poems were immediately popular, establishing a Gaelic revival in literature as part of the Romantic movement. They consolidated Scottish identity and inspired a young Walter Scott. In the early 19th century, as critics continued to engage with Macpherson, the authenticity of Ossian began to be called into question, and the volumes were eventually revealed as a hoax crafted by Macpherson and his publisher. Aitken's involvement in literary debates is indicative of her status as an educated daughter of a clergyman. Many of the extracts are Scottish history or Scottish authors, which also tells us of a young woman far from her homeland, part of settlement in the New World. In discussing her reading with Mrs. Osmer, Aitken participates in reading as a cultural practise, signalling her location within the Enlightenment ideals of rational thought and self-improvement.

⁸ 8 Henry Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," in *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Gerald L. Pocius (St. John's NFLD: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1991): 259.

Recipes as Sites of Cultural Exchange

Figure 1 shows a spread from the Stewing Recipes section of the notebook. In reading through this section, I was particularly surprised by two that weren't what I expected: the Indian Burdwan Stew, and The Persian Method of Making Yeast.

I learned that recipe books are wonderful sources for historians, because they tell us about what people were eating, ingredients that were available, and how people thought about food. As a traditionally feminine realm, household cookery and manuscript recipe collections tend to be under-utilized as sources, and the type of learning and expertise needed for cooking is often underappreciated. The British Empire's overseas involvement was wide-reaching in the late 18th century, and ingredients were flooding into the country from many corners of the globe. Seeing recipes for Indian curries and stews in 18th century cookbooks is not as unusual as I initially thought. The incorporation of curry as a culturally 'British' food occurred slowly, as British subjects returned from living in India and brought new dishes with them. Many of the most popular cookbooks from the 19th century not only contain Curry recipes, but include these recipes in the stewing sections rather than the foreign food sections.⁹ By not filing curries with other foreign cuisines, the incorporation of some types of Indian food into vernacular British cooking neutralized the threat of foreign commodities by assimilation.

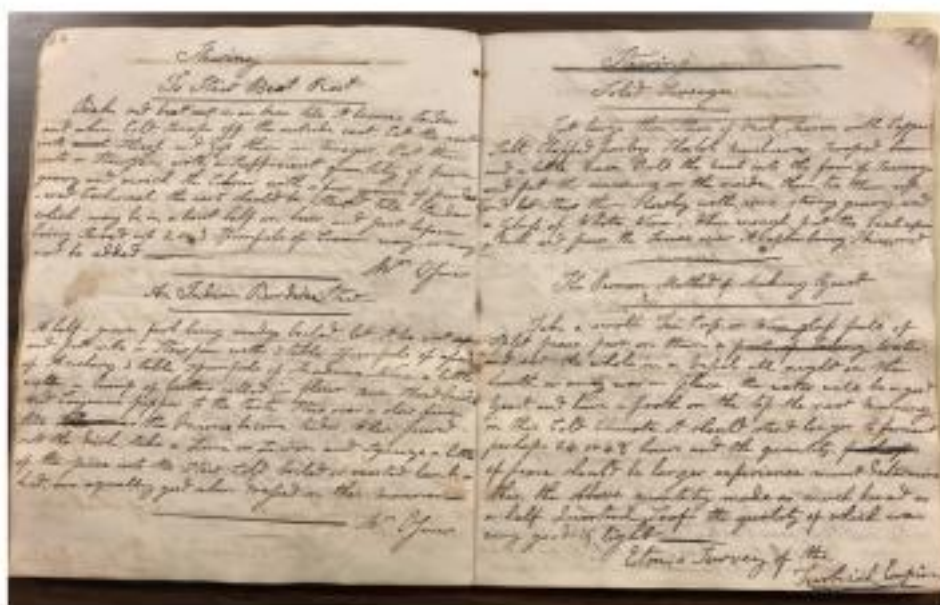


Figure 1 Stewing Recipes, Aitken, 1809, NS Archives

In their kitchens, Georgian and Victorian women acted as agents of cultural exchange and assimilation. The Persian recipe, noted by Aitken as coming from Eton's Survey of the Turkish

⁹ Susan Zlotnick, "Domesticating imperialism: Curry and cookbooks in Victorian England," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 16, no. 2/3 (1996): 51-68.

Empire (1798) is another example of the information spread occurring in the 19th century. In this way, Aitken's book acts as a document for 19th century imperialism, showing the ubiquity of foreign ingredients and the global reach of the empire through food.

Recipes, Materiality, and the Body

Recipes also bring us close to the physical body. Food is prepared by the hand as nourishment; combinations of flavours create rich sensory experiences for those consuming it. Recipes and home remedies speak of aches and pains in the body, an experience which is transient but significant in daily living. Mrs. Osmer writes to Aitken "I have and still continue to suffer much from the Rheumatism, but my knee is so well defended by your Prescription, [...] I think this summer it will be as well as ever."¹⁰ This line shows the two-way exchange of recipes and interactions between the women, and the ways in which the recipes affected everyday experiences of movement and pain. This is part of the conceptual and physical context of the book. The artifacts in the archives are made of paper and ink, durable materials. The experience of a body is intangible and impermanent, as is the experience of a friendship. In her creation of the commonplace book to remember recipes and literary extracts, Aitken as a creator also recorded some of her intangible experiences. In this way Aitken tells us about herself, and the book exists as a part of sets. This context is made all the richer when we further examine the materiality of the book. A hand held the pen and inscribed words upon the page. The edge is jagged where a page has been sliced out. The letters slant downward and shrink to fit the end of a verse on one line. As much as the contents of the book are important, so too are these physical details which tell of the body that created it.



Figure 1 Excised Page (right) and crowded letters (left), E. Aitken 1809, NS Archives

Conclusion

In approaching this object through the lens of Material Culture, the meaning I extract is different than what I would find if analyzing from an archaeological, ethnographic, or literary background.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Osmer, Letter to E. Aitken dated March 10th, 1811, MG1 Vol. 650, NS Archives.

Glassie and other scholars describe the accrual of meaning over an object's lifetime. Elizabeth Aitken created this commonplace book within the social and physical contexts of her time. She echoed a centuries old practise that was seeing new popularity as literature became more widespread. She married this practise of commonplacing with her own information needs, organizing it around the friendship and mentorship of a relative. She combined her book of literary extracts with recipes, many received from Mrs. Osmer. The information passed on by female relatives about cooking and home remedies is a type of non-institutional learning that is incredibly important to those who must one day run their own household. The subjects of the literary extracts are oriented toward Scotland and England, and many are recent, published within 5 years of the book's creation. This choice was likely influenced by Aitken's relocation to Lunenburg, far from her home. These were the circumstances under which Aitken created her commonplace book. However, the lifetime of an artifact is frequently much longer than that of its creator, and the subsequent surroundings add additional layers of meaning. Looking at the recipe collection as part of a set among Georgian and Victorian recipe books, we can trace the footprints of Empire, globalization, and exploitation. The incorporation of Indian food into vernacular British cooking was a way of neutralizing the threat of otherness flowing in from the colonies. That these recipes were then further transported to North America with settlers is also interesting. We can see the British public's fascination with foreign food, using flavours and ingredients as marks of worldliness. We can also look for the physical and sensory context, imagining how the body interacts with the object at the time of its creation and afterward. Its presence in the NS Archives allowed me to find it in their online catalogue, request the material, and examine the book alongside Aitken's other notebooks and letters. The experience of reading the notebook and turning its pages, researching the references and the letters from Mrs. Osmer led me in particular research directions. My personal associations led me to consider the book in the context of Lunenburg settlers, domestic work, and the experience of a young woman travelling far from home. The choices I made in interpreting the object and following leads has created one facet of meaning; however, this object has many other facets, and fits within other sets of contexts and meanings.

Bibliography

- Aitken, Elizabeth Anne. Death Registration. 28 February 1867. Book 1812, page 17, Line 76. Nova Scotia Archives.
- Aitken, Elizabeth Anne. Commonplace book. 1809. MacGrigor-Miller Family Fonds, MG1 Vol 652. Nova Scotia Archives.
- Allan, David. *Commonplace books and reading in Georgian England*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Burke, Victoria E. "Recent Studies in Commonplace Books." *English Literary Renaissance* 43, no. 1 (2013): 153–77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6757.12005>.
- DesBrisay, Mather Byles. *History of the County of Lunenburg*. 2nd Ed. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1895.
- Glassie, Henry. "Studying Material Culture Today," in *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Gerald L. Pocius. St. John's NFLD: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1991.
- Osmer, Elizabeth. Letter dated March 10th, 1811, Ipswich. Miller Family Fonds, MG1 Vol 650. Nova Scotia Archives.
- Riello Giorgio. "Things that Shape History: Material Culture and Historical Narratives," in *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. Karen Harvey.
- Shanahan, Madeline. *Manuscript recipe books as archaeological objects: text and food in the Early Modern World*. Lexington Books, 2014.
- Ulrich, et al. "Thinking with Things," in *Tangible Things*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Zlotnick, Susan. "Domesticating imperialism: Curry and cookbooks in Victorian England." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 16, no. 2/3. 1996.

The Spice Wars: Dutch-Portuguese Rivalry in Asia to 1700

Samuel Orozco

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Portugal became the first European power to reach Asia by sailing around Africa. Ever since the Ottomans blasted down the Theodosian walls of Constantinople, Christian powers had been searching for a direct route back into the coveted Asian trade. No longer would they be forced to negotiate with the Muslim Turks for access to the riches of the Orient. Upon this discovery by Vasco de Gama, King Manuel I of Portugal instituted a royal monopoly of the route to India via the Cape of Good Hope.¹¹ This monopoly was impossible to effectively enforce due to the distance from Lisbon to India and the supreme vastness of the world's three largest oceans. Spain was the first one to join them in this endeavor, having crossed into Asia through their New World possessions. While the Spanish were an annoyance and undercut the Portuguese monopoly to a degree, their greatest foe was the Dutch. These Protestant interlopers succeeded in outpacing the sluggish Portuguese. Between 1591-1601, the Dutch sent more ships to Asia than Portugal did.¹² The Dutch-Portuguese rivalry in Asia to 1700 was driven by economic competition, military conflicts, and shifting alliances. The Dutch ultimately surpassed the Portuguese through a more adaptable corporate trade model, reshaping European dominance in the region.

The seeds of Portuguese exploration into Asia had been sown by Prince Henry the Navigator, King Edward I of Portugal's brother. He sponsored expeditions, oversaw development of new sailing ships, and shifted Portuguese attention to the west coast of Africa¹³. These developments would culminate in Vasco de Gama's voyage and earned Henry the epithet "The Navigator". To enforce the royal monopoly, the Portuguese seized strategic territories along trade routes where they could garrison troops and resupply royal trade vessels. These *feitorias* were a pivotal method of Portuguese expansion, since they functioned both as trading posts and fortresses. The most important of these in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were: Goa (1510), Malacca (1511), Hormuz (1515), the Maluku islands (1522), and Macau (1555).¹⁴ Through these, the Portuguese also sought to restrict Asians from trading locally and with other European powers. This early Portuguese system of trade consisted of two enterprises: *Carreira da Índia* and *Estado da Índia*.¹⁵

The *Carreira da Índia* was responsible for the Cape route through which Asian goods were shipped from Goa directly to Lisbon. This voyage lasted six months, and was the singular route through which Asian spices and textiles made their way into Portuguese markets. The port of Lisbon saw a large expansion over the sixteenth century as the trade became increasingly important to the Portuguese economy. The shipyards in Goa saw a similar expansion as ship-

11. James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640* (Baltimore: 1993), xi.

12. Robert Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters : The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia 1595-1660* (Amsterdam: 2010), 1.

13. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia*, xi.

14. *Ibid.* 3

15. *Ibid.*

manufacturing increased to meet the demand. The viceroys who represented the king in India, also required fortifications to defend the ports from Asiatic marauders, and later, European rivals.

The *Estado da Índia* was responsible for trade within Asia, for which again Goa was the most important port. The Portuguese tried in vain to restrict trade in and around Asia, particularly that of spices which Europe so desperately craved. The kings of Portugal guarded this trade jealously, selling spices such as nutmeg, cinnamon and pepper out of Lisbon directly and through royal factories in Antwerp¹⁶, the spice-trading hub of western and northern Europe. These economic advantages were cancelled out by the challenges placed on the trade by the rigid and uninspired monopolistic system started by Manuel I, making the rise of formidable competition such as the Dutch inevitable. The *Estado da Índia* was ultimately powerless to stop individual Asian merchants from trading within the Indian ocean. The individual captains and viceroys were also able to leverage the distance between them and direct oversight in Lisbon to enrich themselves. They were left to their own devices so long as they met or surpassed the quotas on spices set by Lisbon, which left little incentive for meaningful change on both sides.¹⁷ The captains, viceroys and factors of the *Estado da Índia* were landed nobility, a relic from the age of feudalism; many labeled this archaic form of promotion as detrimental to the Portuguese efforts to combat the Dutch¹⁸. Their maritime monopoly in the Indonesian spice trade required Portugal to control the strait of Malacca. This narrow route through the archipelago is still used today, remaining a vital economic artery in the region. The Dutch did not pass up any chance to strike at this vein.

Dutch interest in the Asian spice trade was first recorded in the late sixteenth century, with intrepid explorers such as Jan Huygen van Linschoten traveling to the Orient in search of ways around the watchful eyes of the *feitorias*. Linschoten's account details the steps he took navigating the various ports of Asia, including Portuguese Macau and Goa.¹⁹ The Dutch foray into Asia initially began as a military move to counter Spain during the Eighty Years War.²⁰ Following the publishing of Linschoten's *Itenario*, Dutch merchants and sailors began to look more towards Asia as an avenue for trade as well. The Dutch system was far more corporatist when it came to governance than their Iberian rivals, allowing skilled leaders who would lead them to glory during the Dutch-Portuguese war, to emerge.²¹

The first iteration of this commercial venture consisted of fleets that would make the voyage and return a few years later with the valuables in tow.²² This system was slow and inefficient and within subsequent decades was replaced by a more permanent presence. Thus, the *Verenigde Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) was born. Instead of being a royal enterprise controlled by the Dutch state or Amsterdam, the VOC was more akin to a limited liability company. Its capital came from many investors whose liability was limited to how much they invested; a corporate structure which was unlike any other during this period.²³

16. Ibid. 6.

17. Ibid. 8.

18. Ibid. 3.

19. J. H. Van Linschoten, *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies : deuided into foure bookes* (London: 1598), 391.

20. Cristina M. R. d. S. Ferreira Leal, *A Primeira Viagem Neerlandesa à Ásia, 1595-1597 Objetivos e interações com os Portugueses* (2013), 40.

21. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters*, 31.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid. 35.

In order to better manage Dutch trade in Asia, the VOC was granted exclusive rights to trade in Asia by the Dutch *Staten-Generaal*.²⁴ Now that the Dutch had sorted everything out at home, they were ready to take on the Iberians in Asia.

The VOC found a permanent settlement area in Bantam, on the island of Java. From here the Dutch could trade with the neighbouring sultanates and Bantam's position gave it access to both South and East Asia. Similarly to the *Estado da Índia*, the VOC banned all outside trade within the colony²⁵ and formed an alliance with the English East India Company, to counter Spanish and Portuguese interests in the region.²⁶ Governor general of the Dutch East Indies, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, was able to convince the VOC leadership to allow for intra-Asian trade and shift focus to trans-oceanic trade to ease tensions with the locals. This created opportunities for private Dutch entrepreneurs to involve themselves in the trade, many of whom were formerly employed by the VOC.²⁷ The settlement of Batavia, which the VOC founded on Java in 1619, would come to supersede Bantam as the VOC's headquarters in the Dutch East Indies.²⁸ Batavia's proximity to the economically vital Sunda strait made it, as Robert Parthesius describes, "the spider in the web of logistical organisation".²⁹

The Dutch-Portuguese rivalry was an ever-present reality in the Indonesian Archipelago. Though the Dutch proved better organizers, the Portuguese had the resources of two empires by virtue of the Iberian union, which led to fierce competition over the trade of spices such as Nutmeg and Cloves. Malacca, Ceylon, and the island of Java were the primary suppliers of the products, which both sides wished to monopolize. Throughout these negotiations with local rulers, the European powers could conduct themselves somewhat more brazenly, as they had far superior military technology than the small city states who produced the spices.

The Bay of Bengal region was where the VOC could gain access to textiles while avoiding the Portuguese on the western coast of India. The company set up its first trading posts in the region along the Coromandel Coast. Its headquarters were in Pulicat, from where the VOC was able to engage in both inter-Asiatic and international trade.³⁰ This was also the base from which the VOC launched its offensives against Portugal during the Dutch-Portuguese War.

However, trade in the Far East was a different story. China was the cultural and economic centre of the Asian world, and it would not be pushed around by these *Nanban*.³¹ The isolationist Ming dynasty heavily restricted foreign trade.³² The Portuguese, who had gotten there first, told the Chinese that the Dutch were pirates. The unlucky first Dutchman to attempt to establish trade with the Middle Kingdom was promptly hung.³³ The Dutch response was to prove the

24. Ibid. 36.

25. Ibid. 37.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid. 40.

28. Ibid. 31.

29. Ibid. 6.

30. Ibid. 45.

31. "Southern barbarians", The Chinese considered their emperor to be the ruler of the whole world, as such any military actions taken by Europeans were viewed as 'rebellions'.

32. John E. Wills, *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-Hsi, 1666–1687* (Cambridge: 1984), 18.

33. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters*, 43.

Portuguese right. They began raiding Chinese ships bound for Portuguese and Spanish ports³⁴. This established a supply of ill-gotten but very prized Chinese goods.

Another example of an Asian nation who approached European trade with caution was the land of the rising sun, Japan. The Portuguese were the first to arrive in Japan in 1571, establishing the trading settlement of Nagasaki.³⁵ The Portuguese also served as important intermediaries who could facilitate trade between Ming China and Japan, as the Ming had placed an embargo on Chinese citizens directly trading with the Japanese.³⁶ In 1638, the Tokugawa shogunate instituted *Sakoku*³⁷, which worked against the previous century of diplomacy and contact that had existed between Portugal and Japan. The Dutch were now the only outsiders allowed to trade with Japan, and exclusively through Nagasaki at that.³⁸ This relationship stems from the ruling Tokugawa shogunate's hostility towards Catholic European ideals which they believed could harm their society if left unchecked.³⁹

The sea routes dotted with Portuguese *feitorias* were not the only route into Asia. For millennia before, the land route through Persia existed as the nexus of the Silk Road. Though the Ottomans had severely hampered the flow of Asian goods to Europe, there was still considerable wealth that passed over the hills and dunes every year. Portugal was not in a position to annex Persia, but through Hormuz, they could effectively blockade the Persian gulf.⁴⁰ This strait provided the threat of competition with the Cape route, and as such, the Portuguese were there to restrict trade not foster it. After the outbreak of the Dutch-Portuguese war, Portugal's possessions in the Middle East would not be spared. The VOC harassed Portuguese shipping in the area for decades and from 1636, blockaded Goa.⁴¹

There exists a notion that the Portuguese Catholics put more emphasis on proselytizing the indigenous rather than trade with them, which only hampered relations with native rulers and allowed the more cosmopolitan Dutch to gain an edge in diplomacy. An assumption given weight by the large population of Muslim merchants and sultanates in South and Southeast Asia. However, James Boyajian specifically writes against this in his work, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*. Boyajian cites the vast evidence of individual Portuguese traders bartering with all kinds of peoples throughout Asia, and "By the 1580s religion had all but lost its potency as a restraint on trade".⁴² Throughout his study on Portuguese trade in Asia, Boyajian makes it clear that trading practices were nearly identical between the Dutch and Portuguese. One of the very few restrictions on trade during this time was a ban by each on trading with the other.

Early confrontations between the VOC and the *Estado da Índia* were small in nature with scattered records of piracy by either side. The *casus belli* was the VOC seizure of the Portuguese galleon Santa Catarina, the worth of this prize was so enormous that it caused outrage among the

34. Ibid. 44.

35. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia*, 13.

36. Ibid. 63.

37. "Chained country", Japan enforced total isolationism under pain of death, which would both preserve their traditional culture and leave them developmentally behind in the coming centuries.

38. Ibid. 44.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid. 59.

41. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters*, 47.

42. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia*, 107.

Portuguese, who hastened preparations for war.⁴³ Four fleets sent by the Dutch between 1603 and 1607 directly attacked Portuguese holdings including Goa, Malacca and Mozambique⁴⁴. These fleets were ultimately unsuccessful in capturing any of the aforementioned linchpins of the Portuguese empire in the Indian Ocean. The first half of the seventeenth century saw the Dutch-Portuguese war intensify, with the Dutch avenging their earlier losses by seizing Malacca in 1640. In 1658 a VOC force led by Rijcklof van Goens also defeated the Portuguese and forced them from Ceylon.⁴⁵

The losses suffered by Portugal throughout this war caused much resentment towards Spain, from whom the Portuguese felt a lack of support.⁴⁶ This war was a disaster for Portugal, though it did lead to eventual Portuguese independence from Spain. The treaty of the Hague was signed between Portugal in 1661,⁴⁷ in which Portugal officially ceded both Ceylon and the Maluku islands to the Dutch Republic. This represented a major shift in the balance of power in Asia, as Portugal was now weakened. The Dutch Republic was able to consolidate their empire in the East Indies and Bengal.

After the war, the rivalry between Lisbon and Amsterdam may have been pushed to the side. Yet, the rivalry between Goa and Batavia was not so easily ended. The Qing dynasty which had conquered the Ming in 1644 was just as wary of foreigners. To trade with the Great Qing, a nation or kingdom must send an embassy to Peking;⁴⁸ with tribute for the Son of Heaven, of course. The Europeans were given no exception and held to the same standard by the Imperial court in Peking. A VOC embassy led by Pieter van Hoorn arrived in Canton in 1666 was allowed to trade for that year, however the expenses made the affair less-palatable to the VOC in the future.⁴⁹ Throughout the latter quarter of the seventeenth century, Sino-Dutch relations were on an opportunistic basis. The Portuguese were more successful in their dealings with the Qing. The Saldanha (1667-1670) and Pereira de Faria (1678) embassies were able to achieve their goals of extracting concessions from the court⁵⁰. Emperor Kangxi admired the Jesuit order and Portuguese interests would be somewhat secure under his long reign.

A comparison of the Portuguese royal monopoly system and the VOC's more corporate model tells us that Portugal and the Dutch Republic had aims other than a general desire for hegemony in Asia. The Portuguese wanted the other European powers to respect the Treaty of Tordesillas and their *Estado da Índia* system demonstrated how they sought not only profit, but to control trade across the Indian ocean. The VOC, in contrast, was far more profit-driven than their Iberian rivals. While they originally wanted to tightly control trade in the Indonesian Islands similar to Portugal, they later switched their position and accepted individual enterprise throughout their holdings.⁵¹ The Dutch system was ultimately more successful than the Portuguese as they were able to effectively monopolize the spice trade in the Moluccas and

43. Henk den Heijer and G. J. Knaap, *Wars Overseas: Military Operations by Company and State Outside Europe 1595-1814* (2024), 55.

44. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters*, 36.

45. *Ibid.* 46.

46. Heijer and Knaap, *Wars Overseas*, 91.

47. *Ibid.* 91.

48. Wills, *Embassies and Illusions*, 26.

49. *Ibid.* pp. 79.

50. *Ibid.* pp. 174.

51. See note 15.

Java⁵², while integrating the local producers into the European global economy. The contrasting feudal imperialist method of Portugal was supplanted by the corporate imperialism of the VOC.

The effect of their rivalry among the previous indigenous trade networks was significant as traditional trade routes were disrupted or completely inaccessible, while indigenous traders were reduced to being the intermediaries of these two empires. Power structures saw significant changes in regions which fell under Portuguese or Dutch control, or both⁵³. Most importantly, the Dutch-Portuguese rivalry drove the integration of Asia into the early modern global trade network. The VOC particularly laid the groundwork for the development of early capitalism which would have a profound impact on early modern globalization. These impacts were much more significant than simply the loss of Portuguese monopolies and territories. The conflicts between the two imperial mercantile endeavours created models that would influence global trade systems which persist to this day.

The Dutch-Portuguese rivalry in Asia had the political and military effect of exacerbating the decline of Portugal under Spanish Habsburg rule. Many of the vast networks of trading posts and commercial choke points which the Portuguese had established were taken over by the ascendant VOC, such as Malacca and Ceylon. These gains gave the Dutch unprecedented access and opportunity for trade in the Asian market and further assured their dominance over Portugal in the region.

The social and cultural effects of this rivalry persist today, with relics of Portuguese and catholic traditions existing in modern day Macau and Goa. Though the VOC would dissolve by the end of the eighteenth century, The Dutch Republic remained in control of Indonesia until the mid-twentieth century.

To further summarize the economic effects of the Luso-Dutch rivalry: Portuguese trade practices focused on controlling major ports and extracting wealth through taxation and were gradually replaced by a more dynamic and profit-oriented Dutch system. This is not to say that the Portuguese system did not have profit in mind also, as clearly evidenced by the interest taken by Portuguese monarchs in the trade.⁵⁴ The VOC was simply more driven by a need to produce returns for their shareholders, ever-conscious of the limited protection they were offered by the state.⁵⁵ The shift restructured Asian trade networks, integrating them more deeply into a global economy in which European powers acted as the intermediaries, redirecting the wealth toward European markets. As Dutch hegemony expanded, indigenous trade networks were marginalized, and local economies were increasingly pressed to serve European interests, laying the groundwork for long-term economic reliance on European imperial powers.

This intense struggle was driven by economic competition, military conflicts, and shifting alliances, with the Dutch ultimately surpassing the Portuguese through a more adaptable corporate trade model, reshaping European dominance in the region. This rivalry incontrovertibly shaped the economic interactions between Europe and Asia during the early modern period. Analyzing this conflict allows us to go beyond understanding a historical power struggle, it offers profound insights into the evolution of colonialism, the globalization of trade, and the enduring legacies of European imperialism. We gain a deeper understanding of how historical processes have shaped modern political, economic, and cultural landscapes, allowing us to critically assess the continuing impacts of colonialism and better navigate contemporary

52. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters*, 48.

53. Heijer and Knaap, *Wars Overseas*, 104.

54. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia*, 4.

55. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters*, 36.

global challenges. Through taxation and trade, conquest and loss, the Dutch-Portuguese rivalry became more than a battle for domination. It became a story whispered by the waves that witnessed it.

Bibliography

- Boyajian, James C. *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Knaap, Gerrit, and den Heijer, Henk. *Wars Overseas: Military Operations by Company and State Outside Europe 1595-1814*. Leiden University Press (LUP), 2024.
- Leal, Cristina Maria Ribeiro de Sousa Ferreira. “A Primeira Viagem Neerlandesa à Ásia, 1595-1597 Objetivos e interações com os Portugueses.” *Dissertação de Mestrado em História Moderna e dos Descobrimentos*. 2013.
- Linschoten, Jan Huygen van. “John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies : deuided into foure bookes.” Translated by William Phillip. Printed at London By Iohn Wolfe printer to ye Honorable Cittie of London, 1598.
- Murteira, André. “The Military Revolution and European Wars Outside of Europe: The Portuguese-Dutch War in Asia in the First Quarter of the Seventeenth Century.” In *The Journal of Military History*, 84, no. 2, 2020.
- Parthesius, Robert. *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters : The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia 1595-1660*. Amsterdam, 2010.
- Wills, John E. *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-Hsi, 1666–1687*. 1st ed. Vol. 113. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1984.

Greeks in the Achaemenid Empire: Graffiti

Harry Pressman

Conflict is often considered the defining characteristic of the relationship between the Persian and Hellenic worlds during the Classical era. However, before 500 BCE, the relationship between Darius I's Achaemenid state and the independent yet interconnected Hellenic communities was one of diplomacy. In the eastern Greek world, the Ionian cities flourished economically under Achaemenid rule, and in the west,¹ Athens was attempting to ally itself with Persia to protect against political interference from its neighbours.² Although the relationship between the Persian Empire and the Greeks was broadly peaceful, there were occasions which seemed to break this pattern of prevailing cooperation. In these circumstances, the Greeks acted purely in their own interest, without concern for Persia. However, in these instances where the relationship devolved into conflict, whether or not the Greeks' actions explicitly constituted rebellion relies on two factors. First: how their relationships were actually defined relative to each other, which can be established by the facts and events that transpired as basically as can be understood. Second: their own perspectives on themselves relative to each other in the context of their discourse. This criterion will be used to determine whether a seemingly innocuous feat - graffiti on the foot of a statue - can meaningfully be defined as one of resistance.

While the Classical Greek world has long been defined by the *polis*, or the city-state such a generalization is often reductive because "Greek-speaking communities were catered all over the Mediterranean, and they never achieved political, economic, or social unity."³ Kostas Vlassopoulos argues that the study of Greek history should shift from being defined by the *polis* to the cultural and intellectual unity "created by the huge numbers of people in movement" like "sailors, traders, artists, physicians, poets, intellectuals."⁴ This would result in looking "at the Greek world as a system of communities [...] maintained by various networks and organised around a variety of different centres,"⁵ also called a world-system,⁶ several of which can exist at once.⁷ Vlassopoulos defines the Greek world-system as "the networks moving goods, people and ideas and the various centres that organize and direct these networks."⁸ This is perhaps best exemplified by Panhellenic sanctuaries like Olympia and Delphi - places that acted as central nodes within these networks, shaping the ideas that informed both ritual practices and architectural design. Though Vlassopoulos's application of world-system theory explains the Greek world's interconnectedness, the political independence of these Hellenic communities must be emphasized given that different states were often at war with each other and, even when they were not, made political decisions independently. For example, as a consequence of Athens

¹ Ernst Badian, "Ionian Revolt," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XIII, Fasc. 2 (2004).

<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ionian-revolt/>; Maria Brosius, "From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy," in *A History of Ancient Persia: The Achaemenid Empire*, John Willet & Sons (2021), 77-78.

² Brosius, "From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy," 76-77.

³ Kostas Vlassopoulos, "Between East and West: The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System," in *Ancient West and East* (2007),

https://www.academia.edu/1198031/Between_East_and_West_The_Greek_Poleis_as_Part_of_a_World_System, 91.

⁴ Vlassopoulos, "The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System," 91.

⁵ Vlassopoulos, "The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System," 93.

⁶ "A world-system exists because there appear processes, exchanges and interactions that link many groups, communities and polities; and these processes, exchanges and interactions [...] range beyond the boundaries of a single group, community or polity" (Vlassopoulos, "The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System," 95.)

⁷ Vlassopoulos, "The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System," 95.

⁸ See Vlassopoulos, "The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System," 95-102.

turning into a democracy under Cleisthenes, “the Ionian Greeks clearly had more in common with the political structure of Cypriote and Phoenecian city-kingship,”⁹ and were therefore more similar to polities of the Near East than to those of the Aegean. The independence of the Hellenic communities that exist in shared cultural intellectual networks will be considered the basis for Panhellenic identity, as in the interplay between Greek and Persian actors.

One of the ways that Vlassopoulos understands the movements of people as a contributing factor to Hellenic world systems is forced displacement, including the movement of slaves. The movement of people necessarily provides the foundation for a world-system because as migrants, merchants, and other individuals like slaves move, they inevitably interact with the inhabitants of the communities they encounter, for example, in trade. As they move and trade, those connections and relationships become fortified. The knowledge and culture that travellers bring with them will become cemented in the place they visit and the knowledge and culture they receive will be brought back to their place of origin. In the case of slaves, this more tangibly looks like a one-sided exchange of the slave providing knowledge and for the person who acquires them without the slave receiving anything in return.

Victoria Cuffel offers a general understanding from metaphysical and practical perspectives. It is important to note that both of these perspectives stem from Athenian writers and orators or Herodotus. While these perspectives should be taken with a degree of skepticism, they can and should still be considered applicable to Panhellenic ideals more broadly given how Herodotus writes about them. This is particularly the case in the Democedes episode because of the networks in which ideas and people were transmitted in the Hellenic world-system. From the metaphysical perspective, authors like Euripides and Plato argue that a person’s servitude to the gods is that of a slave to a master. They also argue “that service [s] one which men can by an act of their own will avoid;”¹⁰ it is an imposition of fate and an “ever-present threat to remind men that power may be reversed and become weakness.”¹¹ The practical perspective is more complex, with some facets intersecting and belonging to the metaphysical perspective. How Greeks saw slavery in relation to foreign powers is paramount to the exploration of both the broader political macrohistory and the more individual-oriented microhistory. Cuffel argues that there existed “no such thing as a guaranteed individual security away from the walls of the home city [...] Communal security was stronger and provided more confidence than a security dependant upon oneself.”¹² Most importantly, slavery “linked the Greek ideas of freedom to the [...] possible defeat and subjugation of homeland [...] within the ambit of the disaster of slavery;”¹³ in fact, Herodotus often refers to “enslavement” as “the usual Greek expression for becoming [a] King’s subjects.”¹⁴ This expression of slavery, as both metaphysical ‘reversal’ and historical disaster, contextualizes how the different Greek actors might have envisioned themselves relative to the Persians.

⁹ Brosius, “From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy,” 78.

¹⁰ Victoria Cuffel, “The Classical Greek Concept of Slavery,” in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27, no. 3 (1966), <https://doi.org/10.2307/2708589>, 325.

¹¹ Cuffel, “The Classical Greek Concept of Slavery,” 323.

¹² Cuffel, “The Classical Greek Concept of Slavery,” 325-326; while this paper is in the context of Greco-Persian relations being relatively stable at this point in history, there was pretty consistent fighting between particular Hellenic city-states (Cuffel, “The Classical Greek Concept of Slavery,” 326.).

¹³ Cuffel, “The Classical Greek Concept of Slavery,” 324.

¹⁴ Badian, “Ionian Revolt.”

Establishing how the two entities existed parallel to one another as clearly and objectively as possible can be done by following a “grass roots” timeline. The Athenian Embassy to Persia took place around seven years before the Ionian Revolt. When Cleisthenes came to power and established the Athenian democracy, after the exile of the former tyrant Hippias, Cleisthenes’s government was at risk of Spartan takeover since the oligarchic faction in Athens was effectively controlled by a political pawn.¹⁵ To protect themselves, the democratic faction sent delegates to Persia to attempt to cultivate an alliance with Artaphernes, the then satrap of Lydia. Herodotus writes that Cleisthenes’s “new regime sought a cordial relationship with Persia and sent envoys to the court of Darius. There the ambassadors were asked to give earth and water,”¹⁶ “the symbolic token of submission to the king’s authority.”¹⁷ Herodotus is rather unclear about whether they submitted to their demands. Matt Waters takes the stance that they gave water, “and that, by doing so, they entered into a binding agreement;”¹⁸ Maria Brosius goes so far as to say that upon the delegates’ return to Athens, they were blamed for the fostering of this alliance.¹⁹ Following the position that the delegates gave earth and water, the Athenians acted either as if the act did not hold any authority or they recognized its legitimacy but did not care about the consequences. This ultimately resulted in a tenuous relationship between the two parties.

The Athenian perspective can be justified twofold: adherence to Panhellenic relations and their understanding of slavery. When Aristagoras travelled across the Greek mainland to seek support for his revolt, he appealed to the Spartans first and the Athenians second. He attempted to entice them both by leaning on Hellenic identity, the promise of riches “that rival Zeus,” and “rule over Asia.”²⁰ The difference in his attempts catered to each polis. He appealed to Spartan kingship and hegemony, calling them “leaders of Greece,” and to Athens he invoked the Panhellenic myth “that Miletus was a colony founded by Athens.”²¹ While Herodotus makes it clear that, given his desperation, “there was no limit to his [Aristagoras’s] promises, until he won them over,”²² the importance of appealing to the connection between these two cities in Panhellenic culture should not be understated. Herodotus sensationalizes democracy a lot in his *Histories*. For example, after being freed from the rule of a tyrant, “each [Athenian] man was eager to do his job, knowing that his efforts were on his own behalf.”²³ He also makes it abundantly clear that Aristagoras’s promises are empty and manipulative.²⁴ If Sparta were able to see through the deceit, then Athens likely could as well, but the Athenians might have felt a sense of responsibility to help the Ionians based on the binding imperative of a Panhellenic myth. The Eretrians sent help for a similar cause; their reasons were based on a shared identity that

¹⁵ Brosius, “From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy,” 76.

¹⁶ Herodotus, *On the war for Greek freedom: Selections from the Histories*, Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co (2003), Internet Archive. <https://archive.org/details/onwarforgreekfre0000hero/page/90/mode/2up>, 92

¹⁷ Brosius, “From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy,” 77.

¹⁸ J. Johns Collins, J. G. Manning, eds, “Xerxes and the Oathbreakers: Empire and Rebellion on the Northwestern Front,” in *Revolt and Resistance in the Ancient Classical World and the near East : In the Crucible of Empire* (Boston: BRILL 2016), ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/dal/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=4790405>, 94; Brosius, “From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy,” 76.

¹⁹ Brosius, “From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy,” 77.

²⁰ Herodotus, *Histories*, 92.

²¹ Herodotus, *Histories*, 92; Herodotus, *Histories*, 95.

²² Herodotus, *Histories*, 95.

²³ See Herodotus, *Histories*, 94.

²⁴ See Herodotus, *Histories*, 95 for more on the aforementioned endless promises.

simply had a much more recent and tangible history.²⁵ This also explains why, beyond prioritizing themselves as they might within Vlassopoulos's world-system,²⁶ they retreated from the rebellion after the loss at Ephesus - a less tangible "memory" relating to a perceived obligation. Second, given their political understanding of slavery as a matter of political subjugation, especially in the context of their democracy versus Persian kingship, the last thing that the new Athenian democracy would have wanted would be to exist as an imperial vassal, subject to the authority of a satrap and, by extension, Darius.

Through their involvement in the Ionian Revolt and their earlier refusal to take Hippias back to Athens, the Athenians acted directly against the Achaemenids' interests. While Herodotus provides some information on the subject, Brosius and Waters explore this exchange in more detail, and in doing so, they provide much-needed attention to the Achaemenid perspective. Fundamentally, the perspective of the Achaemenids would have been that "Athens was a Persian vassal, or, at the least, a tribute-bearing state that acknowledged the King's sovereignty—and therewith came obligations."²⁷ They would not have been the first sovereign entity in the Aegean to submit; Macedon and Thrace both submitted earth and water as tribute, confirming their submission to Persian governance. In fact, Brosius argues that if any physical support was required of the Achaemenids to combat the Spartans in warfare in the late sixth century, it would likely come from one of these sources.²⁸ By rejecting the request to return Hippias to Athens and, even more importantly, supporting a violent rebellion, they violated their obligation to the Achaemenids. Furthermore, given how early the Athenians abandoned it, the validity of the embassy's offering of earth and water, and the obligations to Persia therein, did not matter to the Athenian government. When weighed against the Persian perspective, this will be seen as the basis for a rebellious act since the Athenians and Persians now directly exist in the same network and not one of reciprocity.

This information allows us to understand why the aftermath of the Athenian embassy did, in fact, constitute a conscious rebellion against the Persians, since their actions challenged Achaemenid power and were enacted based on their perceived relationship. The context of how the two parties interacted from a relatively objective standpoint could be arrived at based on a retelling of the events.²⁹ It was found how the Athenians viewed themselves both as a distinct entity and in relation to the Persians: Panhellenic culture, as perpetuated by the Greek world-system proposed by Vlassopoulos, provided a basis for understanding similarities between different Hellenic groups. This was the case while still maintaining behavioural and socio-political distinctions, like how the Greek conception of slavery applied to the Athenian view of themselves relative to the Persians. Additionally, it was seen how the Achaemenids saw themselves as an independent imperial unit, one relatively superior to the Athenians. Since this would have been in the context of the embassy's offering of earth and water, their transgressions must have been seen as an offence. Even if the Athenians did not pay the tribute, the affront of not listening to the Achaemenid Empire might have been seen as obstructing the growth of the empire. This act thus displays a form of transgression against the Persians on the macro-level,

²⁵ See Herodotus, *Histories*, 95.

²⁶ The ability to fight "persia by land" was "hopeless" and because of the situation they were put in, their policy would have favoured neither "the tyrants or Persia" (Badian, "Ionian Revolt.").

²⁷ Collins and Manning, "Xerxes and the Oathbreakers," 96.

²⁸ Brosius, "From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy," 76. Support from Ionia and Cyprus would have also been possible.

²⁹ Because of the issues in Herodotus's account.

because of their direct involvement in the Ionian Revolt and disregard for their offering of earth and water, accounting for both of their perspectives independently and relative to one another.

In addition to understanding larger-scale resistance, resistance on a microhistorical level can be established using the same method. Around the same time Darius I came to power,³⁰ he hurt his foot hunting. He sent for his Egyptian doctors, but they only worsened the injury. Darius heard about Democedes, one of many captives taken by Oroetes, the satrap of Sardis before Artaphernes, following the war with Polycrates of Samos. Democedes was sent to Susa and eventually coerced into healing Darius. He succeeded and Darius rewarded him with riches but deprived him of one thing:³¹ his ability to “go back to Greece.”³² Democedes would go on to achieve many notable feats, including saving the Egyptian doctors from execution, and eventually becoming “a big hit with the king.”³³ Democedes would later cure one of Darius’s wives of a tumour in her breast. In return, he asked her to tell Darius to campaign against Greece to expand the empire, confirm a man is ruling, and to increase his list of accomplishments, all with the condition that Democedes be allowed to join as a guide.³⁴ Darius sent Democedes and fifteen Persians to Greece along with some of his treasure, but Democedes was not permitted to depart the ship. Democedes was eventually able to flee the ship with the help of the king of Tarentum, and pursued by the Persians, he fled to his home in Croton.³⁵ He was sheltered by some of the locals of Croton, and “the first Persians to travel from Asia into the Greek world” were sent home with the message that Democedes married the daughter of a famous wrestler, one apparently known to Darius.³⁶

Within the sequence of events, the two perspectives that need to be considered are those of Democedes and Darius. As with the Athenian perspective in the previous example, Democedes's view can be examined in the context of the Panhellenic world-system and through the lens of the Greek concept of slavery. Rüdiger Schmitt argues that Herodotus’s exploration of his career would have come “from reliable sources (perhaps oral reports that he heard in Magna Graecia)” due to the extensive detail he uses.³⁷ Two main themes are emphasized by Herodotus in this narrative: Democedes’s desire to return home and his freedoms, and his aversion to living in a foreign land and state of captivity while in Persia, no matter how good the conditions might have been. When Democedes is called for by Darius, he is found “among Oroetes’ slaves in a state of neglect.”³⁸ When he arrives at the palace, he is described as being dragged by “his chains and clad in rags.”³⁹ Democedes is not only described effectively as a slave, based on his physical position relative to others, his appearance and behaviour also befit one. His experience, as described, perfectly illustrates Cuffel’s examination of the Classical concept of slavery: that slavery was an omnipresent threat, especially outside the walls of one’s home and is as inescapable for an Athenian citizen as it is for a Spartan helot. Even as he was treated to

³⁰ Rüdiger Schmitt, “Democedes,” in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 3, (1994), <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/democedes/>.

³¹ Herodotus, *Histories*, 75-76.

³² Herodotus, *Histories*, 76.

³³ Herodotus, *Histories*, 76.

³⁴ Herodotus, *Histories*, 76-77.

³⁵ Herodotus, *Histories*, 77-78.

³⁶ Herodotus, *Histories*, 80.

³⁷ Schmitt, “Democedes;” Should still be absorbed with a degree of skepticism (see Brosius, “From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy,” 5.4.5.)

³⁸ Herodotus, *Histories*, 75.

³⁹ Herodotus, *Histories*, 75.

increasingly more luxury, the Greek concept of enslavement, as explained by Badian (being the subject of a foreign king, whether it be by a foreign city-state or by a non-Greek entity), pervaded his life so much that he sought his means of emancipation through Darius's own wife. This is consistent with Vlassopoulos's understanding of how the networks that define world-systems are created, as the forced movements of slaves helped construct some of them.⁴⁰ Not only would slaves and their masters have travelled along these networks, but so too would the idea of slavery as a universal concern for one's fate. Democedes even used this network,⁴¹ which began to connect with Persia, to let Darius know of his newfound marriage. This was done to "show Darius that he was a man of note in his own country;"⁴² in other words, the Hellenic world, for which he clearly feels a deep and personal connection, provided the same success that the Persian world did. From Democedes's perspective relative to his perspective of Darius, his experience was one defined by deprivation of his country and enslavement. This is evident by his forced stay in Susa, the support of the Crotonians upon his return, and even his relative happiness while serving under Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, in that he did not actively seek to leave his service.⁴³ Since safety from enslavement came from being in one's land and the shelter of that community, which pervaded the Hellenic world, what Democedes craved was effectively a sense of Panhellenism in the face of being somewhere completely foreign to escape his perceived status as a slave.

In contrast, not dissimilar to the general Achaemenid perspective on the Athenian defiance, Darius's perspective of Democedes would be one of a king to his subject. Instead of as a vassal state, Democedes was directly, as an individual, entirely at the whims of the king's command. Whether or not he would have considered him a slave, however, is more uncertain. In all societies with slaves, they experienced different levels of luxury. Democedes experienced something that was experienced by almost no one else throughout the empire - he "dined at the king's table."⁴⁴ He had so much influence that he was able not only to spare the Egyptian doctors who failed to cure Darius, but he was even able to convince him to spare a soothsayer who followed Polycrates.⁴⁵ Democedes would ultimately set a precedent for Hellenic physicians serving in Darius's and even Xerxes's court, among other Greeks that included "soldiers and mercenaries [...] exiles, artists, engineers, philosophers, [...] eunuchs, [...] and others,"⁴⁶ not all of whom would have been prisoners. Perhaps nothing better represents Darius's attitudes towards Democedes than his ability to bestow gifts upon his father and brothers and, even more notably, Democedes remained in Croton after his escape, as Darius did not retrieve him. While it is unlikely that Darius would have considered Democedes a friend, or at least someone on the same socio-political level, he certainly regarded him as something very far above a slave, since he let Democedes stay in Croton.

This suggests that Democedes acted with resistance in mind, specifically against Darius, because of their close relationship. Darius would have considered it a rebellion, as Democedes was an insubordinate subject. However, the situation was more complex for Darius. An

⁴⁰ Vlassopoulos, "The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System," 98.

⁴¹ Vlassopoulos, "The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System," 94.

⁴² Herodotus, *Histories*, 80.

⁴³ Schmitt, "Democedes."

⁴⁴ Herodotus, *Histories*, 76.

⁴⁵ Herodotus, *Histories*, 76.

⁴⁶ Jack Martin Balcer, "The Greeks and the Persians: The Processes of Acculturation," in *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 32, no. 3 (1983), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4435852>, 261.

important topic that should be discussed in the future is why Darius allowed Democedes to stay in Croton, given that he had rewarded him as he did and insisted on forcing his stay. In this way, Democedes not only disobeyed the king but he also refused opportunities that the king provided for him. For Democedes, it was about the pursuit of Hellenic life free from the restrictions he associated with enslavement. It thus follows that given the perspective of Darius and Democedes on their positions relative to one another and the events that transpired, Democedes's conduct was certainly consistent with the criteria for resistance.

Since the criteria have been shown to effectively establish macro and micro-historical levels of resistance, it can be used to establish whether a piece of art done by Greek artists at Persepolis fits the mould of resistance and/or revolt. To provide context and establish how the two parties actually existed alongside each other, the state of Ionia around 500 BCE and the existence of Greek art in Persia must both be investigated. Under Aristagoras, before his revolt, Ionia "was at the height of its glory."⁴⁷ Ionia's prosperity came from its successes in "commerce and trade [...] secured through the Persian king."⁴⁸ Miletus, due to its central location, became a hub for maritime industry, including in trade and warfare, and philosophy. Some Ionians also found success in farming and working on the construction of Persepolis.⁴⁹ The Susa tablets confirm this, describing how "the Yauna (Greeks) brought it [the Lebanese cedar timber] to Susa," how they ornamented the walls, and how they were the "stone-cutters who wrought the stone."⁵⁰ In addition to the foot graffiti, Ionian Greeks contributed to several other works, including a distinctly Hellenic relief of Apollo and Herakles fighting,⁵¹ the drapery on some of the bas-reliefs,⁵² and designs of specific animals like "sculptures in the round of [...] dogs, bulls, and ibex or goats."⁵³

⁴⁷ Badian, "Ionian Revolt."

⁴⁸ Brosius, "From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy," 77-78.

⁴⁹ See Balcer, "The Processes of Acculturation," 261.

⁵⁰ "DSf, Foundation Tablet from Susa," in *Livius* (2004), <https://www.livius.org/sources/content/achaemenid-royal-inscriptions/dsf/>; see Remy Boucharlat, "GREECE vii. GREEK ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN IRAN," in *Encyclopedia Iranica* Vol. XI, Fasc. 3, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/greece-vii/> for more.

⁵¹ See Michael Roaf and John Boardman, "A Greek Painting at Persepolis," in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100 (1980), <https://doi.org/10.2307/630751>.

⁵² See Gisela M. A. Richter, "GREEKS IN PERSIA," in *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 50, Issue 1 (Archaeological Institute of America, 1946), www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/epdf/10.2307/499745, 17 and Boucharlat, "GREEK ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN IRAN."

⁵³ Boucharlat, "GREEK ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN IRAN."



Figure 1. *Relief fragment with graffiti of two humans and animal heads*, Persepolis (c. 6th C BCE)

Pictured above is the graffiti in question. It features “[t]wo bearded men, a lion’s head and part of a lion’s body” between them; the incision works reflect “imagery typical of Greek painted vases.”⁵⁴ Additionally, “[t]he incisions appear below a layer of reddish purple paint which confirms a late 6th century B.C. date, and indicates that this illustration was completed by an artist working at the site during a phase of its construction.”⁵⁵ The challenge with attempting to understand the purpose behind this art’s creation is that there is no textual evidence to function as a guide. It therefore falls to turn to the themes touched on previously to attempt an understanding. Scholars have had varying opinions on the subject. Shahrokh Razmjou offers a few different interpretations, following the logic that “[t]he difficulty we now encounter in seeing many of the graffiti may [...] suggest that they were not intended to be easily visible.”⁵⁶ building on Herzfeld, the artists of this graffiti, and others, “may have sought to preserve images; the monuments thus served as a place for him to record an experience,”⁵⁷ or it could have “had a magical or propitious purpose,”⁵⁸ Ernst Herzfeld, the archaeologist famed for finding this piece, proposed “that here the artist drew the face of his friend during leisure time,”⁵⁹ while a contemporary archaeologist of his, Gisela Richter, said the Greek artist “evidently gave vent to a sudden desire to work in his own manner, untrammelled by the restrictions imposed on him.”⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *Relief fragment with graffiti of two humans and animal heads*, c. Late 6th century BCE, Limestone relief. 5.9 × 15.2 × 5.8 cm (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324014?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=darius+foot&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>.

⁵⁵ *Relief fragment with graffiti*, MET.

⁵⁶ Shahrokh Razmjou, “Herzfeld and the Study of Graffiti at Persepolis,” in *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies 1900-1950* (2005),

https://www.academia.edu/2390555/Herzfeld_and_the_Study_of_Graffiti_at_Persepolis_Ernst_Herzfeld_and_the_Development_of_Near_Eastern_Studies_1900_1950_ed_A_Gunter_and_S_Hauser_Brill_315_341, 317.

⁵⁷ Razmjou, “Herzfeld and the Study of Graffiti at Persepolis,” 317.

⁵⁸ Razmjou, “Herzfeld and the Study of Graffiti at Persepolis,” 317.

⁵⁹ Razmjou, “Herzfeld and the Study of Graffiti at Persepolis,” 320.

⁶⁰ Richter, “GREEKS IN PERSIA,” 27.

The Persian perspective is aligned closely with previous imperial notions. The Behistun inscription serves as a guide, providing information on expected conduct when interacting with imperial art. Darius had written that if one would “behold this inscription or these sculptures, and shall destroy them and shall not preserve them so long as your line endures, may Ahuramazda slay you, may your family come to nought, and may Ahuramazda destroy whatever you do!”⁶¹ For an artist creating graffiti, whether it was for one of the aforementioned reasons, as a model for a different drawing, or some other reason, the fact that it was hidden could indicate that, while the art was meant for public consumption, it was explicitly Persian art that was meant to do this. The vastness of the empire would have been represented in the varying locations of materials, the workmen, and even some of their techniques, but not the iconography. To a Persian supervising workers of vassal states, given the Behistun inscription, this could be seen as antithetical to proper conduct - an act of insubordination and by extension resistance.

When considering these different elements together, along with the Greek concept of enslavement in Panhellenic culture, an assessment on whether this would have been an act of resistance can be conducted. Jack Martin Balcer indicates in his text that many of the Eastern Greeks “were prisoners of war, deportees and even slaves.”⁶² Not all Greek artisans and artists fit into this category, however. Roaf and Boardman suspect that the Hellene who painted the explicitly Greek relief could have been “commissioned by one of the many Greeks who sought refuge or employment at the Persian court.”⁶³ The king would have eventually found and claimed this work as his property because it was found in the “Treasury.”⁶⁴ Notably, this was not displayed publicly for anyone to see at the Apadana. Even if the king did value this art, it clearly had no place among the imperial propaganda and royal story being presented. Richter said the Ionian artisans “could not give free rein to them but had to obey Persian instructions and adapt their imaginative Greek style to formalized Oriental concepts.”⁶⁵ For Greeks, whether from Ionia or not, the ever-present worry about slavery could make such graffiti concerning, which is potentially why it was painted over. While the Ionian cities prospered under Achaemenid rule, the question of how much an artisan might have tolerated being away from his native city may be answered with Democedes's immeasurable desire to go home, especially in the context of the “migration of thousands of Ionians to the West during the latter half of the 6th century due to the Persian conquest.”⁶⁶ A narrative could, therefore, be proposed, whether or not the artist was a slave or not, in which he drew his friend alongside a lion, and then painted over it out of worry for the consequences of non-Persian iconography. So, while the art in and of itself may not be rebellious, the artist could have been aware of the likely consideration as transgression and motivated by fear of enslavement perpetuated by the Panhellenic philosophy, hid it so as not to seem rebellious.

Using the Panhellenic world-system proposed by Vlassopoulos and the Greek conception of slavery proposed by Coffel, it has been determined that the graffiti on the foot of Darius could

⁶¹ “Behistun, Persian Text,” in *Livius* (2004), <https://www.livius.org/sources/content/behistun-persian-text/behistun-t-13/>, iv.77-78.

⁶² Balcer, “The Processes of Acculturation,” 261.

⁶³ Roaf and Boardman, “A Greek Painting at Persepolis,” 204.

⁶⁴ Roaf and Boardman, “A Greek Painting at Persepolis,” 204.

⁶⁵ There is a clear bias towards Greeks, one with potentially racist undertones. She is used evidence for the Greek perspective here because this was something that would have been relatively consistent with many Hellenic attitudes towards Persia (Richter, “GREEKS IN PERSIA,” 27.).

⁶⁶ Vlassopoulos, “The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System,” 98.

have been considered rebellion, or at least insubordination, by the Persians because the artisans were functionally acting against the message and orders of the king. Additionally, it could have been considered a cause for concern for the Greek artisans who created it since it did not follow the iconographic profile of Persepolis. The model of how two entities' relationships were defined relative to each other in the context of the events which transpired compared against their own perspectives on the matter within a kind of cultural discourse has shown to provide a successful model for understanding whether other ambiguous deeds of these political and human entities within the contexts of their cultures and politics can constitute forms of resistance.

Bibliography

- Badian, Ernst. "Ionian Revolt." *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Vol. XIII, Fasc. 2. 2004. 88-195.
<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ionian-revolt/>
- Balcer, Jack Martin. "The Greeks and the Persians: The Processes of Acculturation." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 32, no. 3. 1983. 257–67.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4435852>.
- "Behistun, Persian Text." *Livius*, 2004.
<https://www.livius.org/sources/content/behistun-persian-text/behistun-t-13/>
- Boucharlat, Remy. "GREECE vii. GREEK ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN IRAN." *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Vol. XI, Fasc. 3. 329-333.
<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/greece-vii/>
- Brosius, Maria. "From Bardiya to Darius I: Foreign Policy." *A History of Ancient Persia: The Achaemenid Empire*. John Wiley & Sons, 2021. 73-83.
- Collins, John J., and Manning, J. G., eds. "Xerxes and the Oathbreakers: Empire and Rebellion on the Northwestern Front." *Revolt and Resistance in the Ancient Classical World and the near East : In the Crucible of Empire*. Boston: BRILL, 2016. ProQuest Ebook Central. 93-102 <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/dal/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=4790405>
- Cuffel, Victoria. "The Classical Greek Concept of Slavery." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27, no. 3 (1966): 323–42. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2708589>.
- "DSf, Foundation Tablet from Susa." *Livius*, 2004.
<https://www.livius.org/sources/content/achaemenid-royal-inscriptions/dsf/>.
- Herodotus. *On the war for Greek freedom: Selections from the Histories*. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co, 2003. Internet Archive.
<https://archive.org/details/onwarforgreekfre0000hero/page/90/mode/2up>.
- Razmjou, Shahrokh. "Herzfeld and the Study of Graffiti at Persepolis." *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies 1900-1950*. Eds. A. Gunter & S. Hauser, Brill. 2005. 315-341.
https://www.academia.edu/2390555/Herzfeld_and_the_Study_of_Graffiti_at_Persepolis_Ernst_Herzfeld_and_the_Development_of_Near_Eastern_Studies_1900_1950_ed_A_Gunter_and_S_Hauser_Brill_315_341
- Relief fragment with graffiti of two humans and animal heads*. c. Late 6th century BCE. Limestone relief. 5.9 × 15.2 × 5.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324014?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=darius+foot&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>
- Richter, Gisela M. A. "GREEKS IN PERSIA." *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 50, Issue 1. Archaeological Institute of America, 1946. 15-30.
<://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/epdf/10.2307/499745>
- Roaf, Michael, and John Boardman. "A Greek Painting at Persepolis." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100 (1980): 204–6. <https://doi.org/10.2307/630751>.
- Vlassopoulos, Kostas. "Between East and West: The Greek Poleis as Part of a World-System." *Ancient West and East*. 2007. 91-111.
https://www.academia.edu/1198031/Between_East_and_West_The_Greek_Poleis_as_Part_of_a_World_System

Schmitt, Rüdiger. "Democedes." *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 3. 1994. 257-258.
<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/democedes/>

Historical Revival in Fancy Dress as Victorian Ideals of Nationalism and Empire

Samantha Sherman

In the broad sartorial tradition of nineteenth-century fancy dress as a heightened display of “ordinary dress” through the creatively conceived and the embellished, historical revival is the Victorian vision projected onto bygone periods of dress.¹ The aim of historical revival in fancy dress was to create a historically accurate costume, an approach that initially emerged in eighteenth-century theatre.² However, the attendees of Victorian fancy dress balls prioritized the projection of their desired ideals and identity onto their clothing, over the pursuit of historical authenticity. As such, it is evident that, as cultural history scholar Inga Bryden argues, “fashion is not necessarily superficial and transient,” recalling the past for recreation’s sake, “but that donning ‘historical’ attire is inextricably linked to a remodeling of material form and, with it, of cultural sensibility.”³ During the nineteenth century, historical fancy dress costumes were used as a political tool to affirm the burgeoning Victorian ideals of British imperialism and nationalism. In the transition from masquerades to fancy dress balls, dress became an effort in expressing one’s identity, not in disguising it.⁴ When identity was displayed through nostalgic retrospection, the aim was often a valuing of past ideals or, toward the latter half of the nineteenth century, national pride. Queen Victoria asserted her imperial and national values of international dominion through historic dress at the 1851 Stuart Ball and her 1897 Diamond Jubilee celebration. Victoria’s assertion of empire encouraged a similar statement in British historical fancy dress. Imperialism for the British public was showcased at the Duchess of Devonshire’s (1897) fancy dress ball. Similarly, post-Confederation Canada exhibited an increased sentiment of nationalism in costuming for the Earl of Dufferin’s Ball (1876) and the Victorian Era Ball (1897).

While the eighteenth-century masquerade permitted “revelers” the anonymity to hide their “social selves,” the Victorian fancy dress ball became a venue for direct dialogue about current issues and modern social identity through sartorial demonstration.⁵ In the nineteenth century, accelerated industrialization was causing a veneration of the medieval past, which was viewed as “a harmonious, stable social structure.”⁶ According to historian Helene E. Roberts, the Victorians believed “by assuming the superficial appearances, the deeper spirit of the age could also be captured.”⁷ As the 1842 publication of *The Illustrated London News* suggests, historical revivalism allowed imperial subjects to “merge the identity of their own character in that of the illustrious bygone days.”⁸ Individual ideals and virtues were represented through historical dress, and so too was the growing national identity. Historical fancy dress allowed one to strengthen their perception of their national “history and progress.”⁹ Historian David Cannadine claims that in the early part of the nineteenth century, “local loyalties... took precedence over national

¹ Rebecca N. Mitchell, “The Victorian Fancy Dress Ball, 1870-1900,” *Fashion Theory* 21, no. 3 (2016): 292.

² Cynthia Cooper and Linda Welters, “Brilliant and Instructive Spectacles: Canada’s Fancy Dress Balls, 1876-1898,” *Dress* 22, no. 1 (1995): 3.

³ Inga Bryden, “All Dressed Up: Revivalism and the Fashion for Arthur in Victorian Culture,” *Arthuriana* 21, no. 2 (2011): 29.

⁴ Cooper and Welters, “Canada’s Fancy Dress Balls,” 14.

⁵ Mitchell, “The Victorian Fancy Dress Ball,” 292.

⁶ Bryden, “All Dressed Up,” 30.

⁷ Helene E. Roberts, “Victorian Medievalism: Revival or Masquerade,” *Browning Institute Studies* 8 (1980): 32.

⁸ *The Illustrated London News* 1, no. 1 (1842), 9.

⁹ Cooper and Welters, “Canada’s Fancy Dress Balls,” 4.

allegiance.”¹⁰ However, over the course of the century, “Britain became a preponderantly urban, industrial, mass society with class loyalties and class conflicts set in a genuinely national framework for the first time.”¹¹ This burgeoning association with national identity encouraged allegorical and historical displays of national pride.¹² Interest in sartorial historical revivalism was a product of cultural change, that endorsed a display of national identity in alignment with “illustrious” past ideals.

As such, in the quest for adequate self-representation, historical fancy dress required research into a fashioning of self. The ability to create historical costuming for less wealthy attendees of fancy dress events relied on published fancy dress guidebooks of authors like Arden Holt and Marie Schild.¹³ Before the late eighteenth century, masquerade “revelers” without access to ancestral portraits had limited ways to characterize and create legitimate historic dress for their events.¹⁴ While published works on historical costuming increased in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, they were expensive.¹⁵ Authors like Holt and Schild pared the content down and distributed the knowledge in a more accessible and affordable format.¹⁶ Holt’s *Fancy Dressed Described* became a prevailing authoritative source in the late nineteenth century, with six editions printed between 1879 and 1896, its longevity was “a testament to its serviceability.”¹⁷ As follows, appropriate representation of self through fancy dress could only be achieved by being well-researched and studied: as Holt suggests, “it behoves those who really desire to look well to study what is individually becoming to themselves.”¹⁸ Research into one’s fancy dress came with responsibility. As Holt states, “In our day, when taste and culture are considered worthy of a thought, historical costume should not be chosen by people of education without some little study.”¹⁹ Thus, fancy dress authors created an accessible way for many to use historical dress to represent themselves, “or negotiate their social present,” aiding the movement of historical revivalism in fancy dress.

During Queen Victoria’s reign, she both donned and encouraged a British imperial cast on historical costuming at fancy dress balls. Victoria took an interest in fancy dress and particularly historical costume; made evident through three impressive historical costume balls that Queen Victoria threw in her time as sovereign: the Plantagenet Ball (1842), the Georgian Ball (1845), and the Stuart Ball (1851).²⁰ All three balls centered English history, bringing together nostalgia and nationalism. These events were high profile, “memorialized in paint and print.”²¹ While Queen Victoria’s garments for the first two balls were “nationalistic emblem[s],”

¹⁰ David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition,’ c. 1820-1977,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 116.

¹¹ Cannadine, “Invention of Tradition,” 122.

¹² This will be contextualized in the next section.

¹³ Verity Wilson, *Dressing Up: A History of Fancy Dress in Britain*. 1st ed. (Reaktion Books, Limited, 2022), 231.

¹⁴ Roberts, “Victorian Medievalism: Revival or Masquerade,” 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Wilson, *Dressing Up*, 226.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁸ Arden Holt, *Fancy Dresses Described, or, What to Wear at Fancy Balls*, 2nd ed. (London: Debenham & Freebody, 1880), 1-2.

¹⁹ Arden Holt, *Gentlemen’s Fancy Dress: How to Choose it*. (London: Debenham & Freebody, 1882), 3.

²⁰ Mitchell, “The Victorian Fancy Dress Ball,” 293.

²¹ Sarah J. Hodge, “Queen Victoria’s Banarasi Brocade: A Transcultural Approach to Royal Fashion,” *Fashion Theory* 29, no. 1 (2025): 68.

her garments for the 1851 Stuart Ball fashioned her as “the imperial queen of an empire.”²² When the Stuart Ball occurred, during the mid-Victorian era, Britain was at a peak in its economic power, largely due to its dominance in the global trade market.²³ Formal and informal international expansion of British power during this period enabled this dominance.²⁴ As such, at the Stuart Ball, Queen Victoria aptly took advantage of the fancy dress historical revival trend to “conscious[ly] fashion” her identity and image “as a ruler whose symbolic power extended beyond this British Isles.”²⁵ Her costume was fashioned after the court of Charles II, and contained very little English manufacturing: the brocade underskirt was woven in India, “the *moiré* silk is thought to be French, and the lace is supposedly of Irish manufacture” (Figure 1).²⁶ Victorian conviction is one of the “transformative power of dress” to evoke ideals and assert self.²⁷ Under that definition, Queen Victoria’s sartorial mélange represents both Britain’s broad imperial networks of trade, and the British ideal of nationally centralized global power. It is through Britain’s economic dominance, during this era, that dress affirmed the “power and wealth of the elite class.”²⁸ At the time of the Stuart Ball, Victoria did not yet have dominion over India, and yet, “the trans-culturation of the Indian fabric within the costume is representative of a nineteenth-century mindset which was so certain of British superiority that it felt no anxiety subsuming cultural items from elsewhere into itself.”²⁹ Queen Victoria, as a national figurehead, was asserting imperial strength as a personal and national British identity.



Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee (1897) was an invigoration of national and imperial displays of identity. The celebration marked Victoria’s imperial authority as constitutive to her reign. As per historian Cannadine, no ceremonial event of the British monarchs before the latter quarter of the nineteenth century could accurately be referred to as “an imperial event.” However, Joseph Chamberlain’s orchestrated procession of colonial leaders and troops in the Jubilee parade marked a turn toward “every great royal occasion [as] also an *imperial* occasion.”³⁰ “Imperial unity” emerged as a preeminent goal in the later years of Victoria’s reign.³¹

(Figure 1) Windsor, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 74860 (*Dressing for the Queen’s costume at the Stuart Ball, 13 June 1851, 1851, Pencil, watercolour and bodycolour, by Eugene-Louis Lami*)

²² *Ibid.*, 55-56.

²³ P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, “The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914,” *The Economic History Review* 33, no. 4 (1980): 483.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 479.

²⁵ Hodge, “Queen Victoria’s Banarasi Brocade,” 55-56.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Roberts, “Victorian Medievalism: Revival or Masquerade,” 14.

²⁸ Hodge, “Queen Victoria’s Banarasi Brocade,” 68.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

³⁰ Cannadine, “Invention of Tradition,” 124.

³¹ Ducan Bell, “The Idea of a patriot queen? The monarchy, the constitution, and the iconographic order of greater Britain, 1860-1900,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 15.

While the early years of her sovereignty were marked by woven symbolism of imperial network, the late years of her sovereignty were marked by imperial dominance and unity under herself as a figurative mother to her peoples and “Britain [as] the mother country to the colonists.”³² However, Joseph Chamberlain’s orchestrated procession of colonial leaders and troops in the Jubilee parade marked a turn toward “every great royal occasion [as] also an *imperial* occasion.”³³ “Imperial unity” emerged as a preeminent goal in the later years of Victoria’s reign.³⁴ While the early years of her sovereignty were marked by woven symbolism of imperial network, the late years of her sovereignty were marked by imperial dominance and unity under herself as a figurative mother to her peoples and “Britain [as] the mother country to the colonists.”³⁵

It was under this newly marked “imperial unity,” that the Duchess of Devonshire’s fancy dress ball commenced. It was one of the most well-documented events of the time, including a photographic record of the attendees.³⁶ One of the pictured attendees is Victoria’s son Prince Arthur as Effingham (Figure 2). Another is Edith Amelia (née Ward), Lady Wolverton as Britannia (Figure 3). Lord William Howard of Effingham was an admiral in the British Army, aiding in the defeat of the Spanish Armada.³⁷ Britannia is the personification of the nation, often depicted as “ruling the waves,” evoking imagery of global dominion.³⁸ As such, Prince Arthur displays historical nationalism in military prowess while Lady Wolverton displays allegorical unification under imperialism. Many other historical costumes put forth an identity of British imperialism, even if they did not invoke a historically lauded figure of British strength. As per a contemporaneous article in *The New York Times*, “The costumes were mainly those of the sixteenth century... copied from portraits of the Kings, Queens, and courtiers who flourished in Europe during the reign of Elizabeth.”³⁹ Thus, the Duchess of Devonshire’s fancy dress ball marked an identification with imperial dominance through historic costume.

³² *Ibid.*, 14.

³³ Cannadine, “Invention of Tradition,” 124.

³⁴ Duncan Bell, “The Idea of a patriot queen? The monarchy, the constitution, and the iconographic order of greater Britain, 1860-1900,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 15.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁶ Mitchell, “The Victorian Fancy Dress Ball,” 294.

³⁷ J. A. Cannon, “Howard, Charles, 2nd Baron Howard of Effingham and 1st Earl of Nottingham,” in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft, (Oxford University Press, 2015).

³⁸ Bell, “Patriot queen,” 6.

³⁹ “ROYALTY AT A FANCY BALL. Duke and Duchess of Devonshire Organize a Superb Social Function in London,” *The New York Times* (3 July 1897): 7.



(Figure 2) London, National Portrait Gallery [NPG], NPG Ax41009 (*Prince Arthur, 1st Duke of Connaught and Strathearn as Effingham*, 1897, by Lafayette, photogravure by Walker & Boutall)



(Figure 3) London, NPG, NPG Ax41044 (*Edith Amelia (née Ward), Lady Wolverton as Britannia*, 1897, by Lafayette, photogravure by Walker & Boutall)

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, imperial ideals were still present in Canadian fancy dress costumes; however, post-Confederation, Canada began building a separate national identity, displayed through historical and allegorical fancy dress. In the events immediately following Confederation, Canadian nationalism was not strong enough that it found itself properly represented in fancy dress.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the imperial connection to Britain continued to play a role in Canadian historical dress many years past Confederation. This is evidenced by some of the costumes worn to fancy dress balls in the late nineteenth century that were held by the Governor General, a British government representative holding a position in Canada to encourage “national unity and identity,” in alignment with Britain’s priorities.⁴¹ For instance, at the Earl of Dufferin’s Ball in 1876, Mrs. Horace Wickstead donned the Britannia iconography.⁴² Additionally, five men donned the scarlet uniforms of the King’s Royal Artillery in Québec in 1775.⁴³ Both these costumes represent vestiges of British dominion over Canada. Britannia as a symbol of imperial unity and the infantry as an imperial power that blocked an American attack on Québec.⁴⁴ Over time Canada began to cultivate its own national identity. This occurred in a more allegorical fashion as much of the Canadian settler history of the time was an amalgamated history of those nations from whence settlers had emigrated. Material culture historians, Cynthia Cooper and Linda Welters assess that, in moving away from confederation, “the symbolic allusions [to Canada] had become increasingly refined and pointed,” by the 1897 Governor General’s Victorian Era Ball (Figure 3).⁴⁵ The Victorian Era Ball was one of a few in the 1890s that “coincided with a period of rising Canadian nationalism.”⁴⁶ This is reflected in the planning of the ball: it was documented that the gathering was intended to give “the social life of Canada the same honour and distinctive stamp to Her Majesty’s Diamond Jubilee Year.”⁴⁷ This displays a joint loyalty to Empire and newly burgeoning Canadian national pride and identity.⁴⁸ Through historical fancy dress Canada was able to continue its relationship with Imperial Britain and build Canadian nationalism through allegorical costume, furthering the cultural display of Canada’s political sovereignty.

⁴⁰ Cooper and Welters, “Canada’s Fancy Dress Balls,” 5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴² “The Fancy Dress Ball at Ottawa: A LARGE AND FASHIONABLE GATHERING AT RIDEAU HALL their Excellencies’ Hospitality THE BALL-ROOM ORDER OF PROCESSION.” *The Globe* (24 Feb 1876): 3.

⁴³ Cooper and Welters, “Canada’s Fancy Dress Balls,” 5.

⁴⁴ Cynthia Cooper and Canadian Museum of Civilization. *Magnificent Entertainments Fancy Dress Balls of Canada’s Governors General, 1876-1898*. (Goose Lane Editions, 1997), 58.

⁴⁵ Cooper and Welters, “Canada’s Fancy Dress Balls,” 16.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁷ Montreal, McCord Stewart Museum [MSM], M984.313.1 (‘Book of the Victorian Era Ball: given at Toronto on the twenty eighth of December MDCCCXCVII’, 1897, from Toronto, Ontario)
<https://collections.musee-mccord-stewart.ca/internal/media/dispatcher/300633/preview>

⁴⁸ Cooper and Welters, “Canada’s Fancy Dress Balls,” 17.

'Cod,' 'The Forests of Canada,' and 'Our Lady of the Snows'



Montreal, MSM, M984.313.1 ('Book of the Victorian Era Ball: given at Toronto on the twenty eighth of December MDCCCXCVII', 1897, from Toronto, Ontario)

Historical costume in fancy dress illuminates the ideals of Victorian national identity and the politicised population, rather than the historical accuracy of the period being “revived.” Queen Victoria would have been one of those most able to create a historical replica, and yet her costumes were historically inaccurate. For instance, at her Plantagenet Ball, Queen Victoria dressed as the medieval Queen Philippa of Hainault, however, “Victoria's silhouette betrays her unwillingness to relinquish her tightly laced corset and to assume the more supple lineaments of the medieval woman. The stiff, rounded shape of her skirt suggests that the costume was not cut to hang from the shoulders in the medieval manner, but from the waist as was common in the nineteenth century.”⁴⁹ As well, Holt's guide to fancy dress disclaims its authority in realistic historical dress.⁵⁰ This illuminates, even more clearly, the purpose of historical revivalism in Victorian fancy dress, not as a reproduction of attire borne of simple historical curiosity but, rather, as driver of political identity based in nationalism and imperialism.

The historical fancy dress of the nineteenth-century displays historical figures through Victorian ideals demonstrative of cultural pride and worries. The industrialization of British society lent itself to the development of a nostalgic nationalism that encouraged historical revivalism. Queen Victoria utilized this nostalgia to softly assert her reach, power, and wealth at the Stuart Ball. Her Diamond Jubilee and the Duchess of Devonshire's fancy dress ball make clearer imperial dominance through explicit engagement with identity of Britain as a military power. Canada similarly engaged with historical fancy dress to confirm its alliance and ties to the empire. However, Canada also used allegorical fancy dress to assert its own growing nationalism. As such, the fancy dress historical revival does not endeavor to create meticulous reconstructions of historical figures, rather to address burgeoning cultural and identity.

⁴⁹ Roberts, “Victorian Medievalism: Revival or Masquerade,” 28.

⁵⁰ Holt, *Fancy Dresses*, 1.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Windsor, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 74860 (*Dressing for the Queen's costume at the Stuart Ball, 13 June 1851*, 1851, Pencil, watercolour and bodycolour, by Eugene-Louis Lami) Accessed online at <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/919903/design-for-the-queens-costume-at-the-stuart-ball-13-june-1851>>
- Holt, Arden. *Fancy Dresses Described, or, What to Wear at Fancy Balls*. 2nd ed. Debenham & Freebody, 1880.
- Holt, Arden. *Gentlemen's Fancy Dress: How to Choose it*. Debenham & Freebody, 1882.
- "The Fancy Dress Ball at Ottawa: A LARGE AND FASHIONABLE GATHERING AT RIDEAU HALL their Excellencies' Hospitality THE BALL-ROOM ORDER OF PROCESSION." *The Globe* (24 February 1876). Accessed online at <<https://www.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1523967411/B0FBCDADBEAF4ECBPQ/26?accountid=14369&sourcetype=Newspapers>>
- The Illustrated London News* 1, no. 1 (1842): 1-16. Accessed online at <https://archive.org/details/sim_illustrated-london-news_1842-05-14_1_1/page/9/mode/1up>
- London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG Ax41044 (*Edith Amelia (née Ward), Lady Wolverton as Britannia*, 1897, by Lafayette, photogravure by Walker & Boutall). Accessed online at <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw80458/Edith-Amelia-ne-Ward-Lady-Wolverton-as-Britannia>>
- London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG Ax41009 (*Prince Arthur, 1st Duke of Cannaught and Strathearn as Effingham*, 1897, by Lafayette, photogravure by Walker & Boutall). Accessed online at <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw158364/Prince-Arthur-1st-Duke-of-Connaught-and-Strathearn-as-Effingham>>
- "ROYALTY AT A FANCY BALL. Duke and Duchess of Devonshire Organize a Superb Social Function in London." *The New York Times* (3 July 1897): 7. Accessed online at <<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1897/07/03/102402962.pdf>>

Secondary Sources

- Bell, Duncan. "The Idea of a patriot queen? The monarchy, the constitution, and the iconographic order of greater Britain, 1860-1900." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 3-22.
- Bryden, Inga. "All Dressed Up: Revivalism and the Fashion for Arthur in Victorian Culture." *Arthuriana* 21, no. 2 (2011): 28-41.
- Cain, P. J. and A. G. Hopkins. "The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914." *The Economic History Review* 33, no. 4 (1980): 463-490.
- Cannadine, David. "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition,' c. 1820-1977." In *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm, 101-164. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Cannon, J. A. "Howard, Charles, 2nd Baron Howard of Effingham and 1st Earl of Nottingham." In *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft. Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Cooper, Cynthia, and Canadian Museum of Civilization. *Magnificent Entertainments Fancy Dress Balls of Canada's Governors General, 1876-1898*. Goose Lane Editions, 1997.

- Cooper, Cynthia and Linda Welters. "Brilliant and Instructive Spectacles: Canada's Fancy Dress Balls, 1876-1898." *Dress* 22, no. 1 (1995): 3-21.
- Hodge, Sarah J. "Queen Victoria's Banarasi Brocade: A Transcultural Approach to Royal Fashion." *Fashion Theory* 29, no. 1 (2025): 51-73.
- Mitchell, Rebecca N. "The Victorian Fancy Dress Ball, 1870-1900." *Fashion Theory* 21, no. 3 (2016): 291-315.
- Roberts, Helene E. "Victorian Medievalism: Revival or Masquerade." *Browning Institute Studies* 8 (1980): 11-44.
- Wilson, Verity. *Dressing Up: A History of Fancy Dress in Britain*. 1st ed. Reaktion Books, Limited, 2022