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THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH
School of History, Classics and Archaeology

Welcome to the newest edition of Retrospect!

I can't say I expected myself to be writing this from home, away from university and my team but so it goes. When it dawned on me that the semester was going to become entirely remote, I wanted to ensure that this issue still made it out; we have some excellent articles and the writers deserve for you to read them. So, this is the first time that (fingers crossed) we are launching our issue online before distributing it to you, our readers, at the beginning of next year, alongside our new editorial team.

'Margins' aims to focus on the more liminal areas of the past and the stories which are often overlooked. There is often a need to re-examine the pre-conceptions we possess when we approach the past and the individuals and groups who have been marginalised in history and by history. The theme resonates not only with how the practice of researching and writing history, classics and archaeology is changing but how academia and decolonising methodologies are evolving as a whole. I am proud to share with you the vast array of topics that our writers came up with in response to this theme. From Justin Biggi's engaging piece focusing on the disabled body in ancient Athenian landscapes, to Jack Bennett's detailed look at the use of cinema as a tool against authoritarianism in late-twentieth century Brazil. I hope some of these will inspire you to look for other marginal histories and maybe even write about some yourself!

I am also proud of the success that our society has seen this year: raising money for our print issues at jam-packed pub quizzes, connecting writers through writing afternoons, and organising an informative talk with Adela Rauchova, Managing Editor at the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Retrospect also managed to engage with the UCU strikes, producing reviews on Teach-outs for History Society and writing an oral history of the experiences of striking lecturers - both of which are at our website and absolutely worth a read. On top of that we've managed to publish online and in print two wonderful print journals and over fifty articles online!

This edition feels particularly special to me, as it is the last issue of my tenure as Editor in Chief. This year has been the most rewarding experience, working with an incredible team of illustrators, columnists and copy editors. Their dedication to the society has been outstanding and I could not have asked for a better team to lead. I have to say a special thank you to Toby Gay, our social secretary and fundraising officer, whose enthusiasm for Retrospect has made our team feel even more welcome this year and has helped us to expand our society. Natasha Bucheit and Hannah Purdom have gone above and beyond with their illustrations and design: Natasha's covers have brilliantly made the journal vibrant and unique to our year while Hannah's illustrations have perfectly and delicately captured the essence of each article. Martha Stutchbury and Max Leslie have been wonderful deputy editors, their reassurance has grounded me throughout this year and their dedication to good writing has permeated what we have produced as a journal. I have every faith that this commitment will be similarly replicated by Alice Goodwin and Tristan Craig next year and I can't wait to see where Retrospect goes under the leadership of Jamie Gemmell.

So, we're signing off for the year and we hope to see many of you in September!

Happy Reading!

Anna Nicol
Editor in Chief

A Note from your Societies...

History Society

Suffice to say that this academic year did not end as the History Society, nor anyone else, would have anticipated. As I expect my fellow Presidents will be detailing either side of me, we had our fair share of exciting events cancelled due to Covid-19. So, in the government-enforced spirit of Keep Calm and Carry On, I thought I would round-off the History Society's year celebrating the many successes we enjoyed this semester, as well as some 'what-ifs' (i.e. all the events we had planned to do).

We started the semester with a personal favourite of mine, Burns Night Supper, with our resident Scot and Academic Secretary, Jack, serving up his homemade haggis, neaps, and tatties. January also saw the History Girls Netball Club win Intramural Team of the Year at the Sports Union Ball, for which we are immensely proud! In February, we collaborated with Persian Society through our Social Sec, Scarlett, to learn about Iran's historic relationship with the West, which was fascinating. In preparation for our trip to Prague, we hosted a film screening of Anthropoid and were treated by Dr Tereza Valny, who lectured us on Jewish Landscapes of Bohemia. We also hosted a lecture on the history of disability with Dr Iain Hutchison from the University of Glasgow, and a teach-out on trans history from a Medieval perspective with Dr Cordelia Beattie and Moss Pepe. Our most successful academic event of the year was undoubtedly our panel event, 'How Slavery Changed a City: Edinburgh's Slave History Teach Out', in collaboration with African Caribbean Society. Our speakers were the esteemed Sir Geoff Palmer OBE, Professor Diana Paton, and Lisa Williams. The event gave insight into Edinburgh University's connections to the transatlantic slave trade, and how we should go about dealing with this legacy today. With a waiting list of over 200 people, we also received coverage from That's TV Scotland, Retrospect, The Student, and The Broad. A shout-out to our Academic Sec, Jess, for organising this fantastic event!

Now onto those events that never flew the nest. Sadly, our Postgrad Rep, Michael, was unable to host the follow-up 'Unbelievable Edinburgh' event where we would have explored Edinburgh's New Town and weeded our way through the true and false facts of the city's past. In addition, we had to cancel our event with HC Peer support and HCA staff, discussing the issues of Equality and Diversity within the School. Our End-of-Year Ceilidh had to be cancelled to the disappointment of many, robbing us of our final blow-out in the History Soc calendar. Nevertheless, we were able to host an online AGM to elect a new committee (this proved more challenging than I had hoped!). Let me take this opportunity to congratulate our new committee members, many of whom you will all recognise from this year. I know they will do an incredible job! Finally, as many know, the Students' Association were forced to cancel the Student Awards this year, hosting it online instead (yes, I miss the buffet too). I would like to take a moment to thank the Students' Association for all their hard work this year, particularly during this crisis. Ending our year on an albeit virtual high, we were thrilled to have won the Outstanding Contribution to the Student Experience Award. This was a wonderful moment for me, sat on my bed in my pyjamas watching the livestream, and a highlight of my 4 years at Edinburgh. Though I wasn't able to celebrate with my committee, I want to pay tribute to them here; this award was a direct result of their diligence, creativity, and passion, and I am so very grateful to them.

The History Society wishes you all the best for the summer, and we look forward to seeing you again in September when all of this has hopefully blown over. Stay safe and stay in touch.

Rachel Irwin, President 2019/20

Classics Society

Salvete!

This year has been really incredible for the Classics Society. We've made a lot of great memories meeting new people at the Toga Pub Crawl, testing our skills at the pub quiz and scavenger hunts, showing off our artistic talents at fresco and pottery painting, and dancing the night away at Hadrian's Ball. We also had the privilege of spending time getting to know our professors during the society's 'Evening With' lecture series, and we chowed down on some interesting treats at the 'Classical Potluck'. The society trip to Crete was a major success; not only were we able to learn about the Knossos and the ancient Minoans, we were also able to experience Cretan culture firsthand while dancing the night away with some very friendly chickens.

Our outreach project, Literacy Through Latin, experienced its' greatest year yet. Led by Kishan Mistry, LTL placed fourteen dedicated volunteers in seven P6 classrooms throughout three different primary schools in Edinburgh. The scheme successfully taught 237 pupils basic Latin and Roman History on a weekly basis. We were only able to host one workshop at the university due to COVID cancellations; where the children had lessons in some of the disciplines that come under the wide branching study of Classics, those of Ancient Greek, Ancient History and Archaeology.

The Classics Society has brought me so much joy over the past four years, and I will be sad to leave it. However, I know that I am leaving it in the capable hands of Frances Butland, next year's president, and the rest of the incoming committee. Thank you to everyone who made the last four years in the Classics Society so amazing. From the wine bottle and flip flop debacle during the society trip to Berlin in my first year, to being berated by 12 year old skate boarders whilst we made a sacrifice to Dionysus in Bristo Square this past September, I will never forget all the memories we have made.

Vale et bonam fortunam!

Mickey Ferguson
President

Archaeology Society

This semester has obviously had a difficult end for everyone including the Archaeology Society however I am proud of what our fantastic committee was able to achieve throughout it. I would like the thank our wonderful speakers for our lecture series; Manuel Fernández-Götz, Guilliaume Robin, Robert Leighton and Luke Dale.

We ran a number of successful events throughout the semester and though we were not able to run all the events we wished to I hope everyone found these events as enjoyable as I did.
Our dig chief Elizabeth Greenberg organised a 'Women in Heritage' conference which aimed to celebrate the accomplishments of women in the heritage and archaeological sectors. Lectures from prominent women in these sectors such as Cara Jones and a panel discussion that raised interesting and sometimes poignant talking points all made for an excellent event.

In collaboration with Joanne Rowland we organised tours of the National Museum of Scotland's new Egyptian exhibition as these events were successful last semester drawing in many people from outside the university as well as those within. These tours were again successful thanks to Dr Rowland's enthusiasm and extensive knowledge.

Another reoccurring event from our first semester was our Death Café with Dr Lindsey Büster which once again proved to be popular showing the value of such events. The event allowed attendees to have an open discussion about death and bereavement in a safe space which is often not a topic widely discussed in western society. Dr Büster was kind enough to help out with the event again and her contributions were greatly valued and appreciated.

Finally, we ran a Photogrammetry and 3D printing workshop with help from the lovely staff at the UCreate studio where lessons and practical demonstrations were given on some of the technological devices archaeologists use to record and perform outreach.

The society also organised a trip to this year's SSASC (Scottish Student Archaeology Society Conference) in Glasgow. I would like the thank Glasgow University Archaeology Society for organising an insightful and enjoyable event. The conference only seems to grow each year and I for one will be keeping my eye out for next years conference.

I would like to extend my congratulations to the new committee for the society; Sam Land (President), Natalie Bryan (Secretary), Danny Proven (Treasurer), Kellian Coste (Publicity Officer), Patrícia Hromadová (Academic Events Officer), Darcey Spenner (Social Secretary), Becky Underwood (Dig Chief) and Grayson Thomas (Ordinary Officer), as well as all of the candidates that ran for positions. The new committee are all wonderful and I am glad to be handing over the society to such a fantastic group. I am excited to see the society continue to have success in the coming year.

I would also like to add a personal note of thanks to everyone who has come to any of the society's events over the last year, the society wouldn't exist without all of you making our events so worthwhile and enjoyable.

Keep up to date with the new committee on Facebook (Edinburgh University Archaeology Society), Twitter (@EdinArchSoc), and Instagram (@EdinArch) pages as well as the mailing list (edin.archsoc@gmail.com).

Thank you to Retrospect for the opportunity to share our semester with you all and once again thank you to our committee for their hard work throughout the whole year.

Ben Carrick
ArchSoc President

Man's Punishment: The Creation of Women and Comparing Pandora to Eve

By Tessa Rodrigues

Throughout history, creation myths permeate various cultures and civilisations, often as proof of autochthony. Whether formed from the earth by deities or hatched from an egg, the human race has always been concerned with the beginning of their story. The formation of man is often followed by the formation of woman, who in dominantly patriarchal religions and cultures was created in subservience. Pandora and Eve are two such female figures who bring about implications of Western patriarchal culture and its subsequent use of the figures to justify the placement of women in the margins of society.

First came the myth of Pandora. The poet Hesiod spends time in both his works, Theogany and Work and Days, to detail her birth and purpose. According to the Theogany, Pandora was commissioned by Zeus to Hephaestus as a punishment for man after Iapetus cunningly 'outwitted him and and stole the far-seen gleam of unwearying fire.' (l. 565) When she was placed on earth, all the men of the earth and even some of the chthonic gods were enamoured, unaware that she was actually their punishment for defying Zeus:

For from her is the race of women and female kind: of her is the deadly race and tribe of women who live amongst mortal men to their great trouble, no helpmeets in hateful poverty, but only in wealth. (l.590-593)

Clearly Hesiod had some unresolved issues with women, but this tale also indicates a wider perception of female evil. Even when confined in the institution of marriage, women are inherently a 'beautiful evil' that weigh down on the male race, 'for the man who chooses the lot of marriage and takes a good wife ... evil [the woman] continually contends with good [the man] ... always with unceasing grief in his spirit and heart within him; and this evil cannot be healed. (l. 605-610) Throughout the narrative, there is an inescapable emphasis on women as the curse of men. This kind of rhetoric serves as evidence for the wiliness of women and provides a platform for masculine hegemony to implant itself further in Ancient Greek society.

Hesiod's subsequent Work and Days takes the original story and expands further. Hephaestus creates the woman in a 'maiden-like' shape who is 'like to the immortal goddess in face'; Athena taught her the crafts of needlework and weaving which points to women's domestic purpose; Aphrodite places grace and a 'weary longing' in her head; Hermes gifts her with a 'shameful mind and a deceitful nature' and gives her a name: Pandora, meaning 'all-gifted'. (l. 60-80) In this narrative, she is again deemed an 'evil thing' and her role in the struggles of man is developed further. Gifted with a pithos upon marrying Epimetheus, Pandora is told to guard it and to never, under any circumstance, open it. Unfortunately, as women are weak

to their curiosity, Pandora opens the lid for a moment and the evils placed within the pithos are released, as the gods knew they would. Hence, Pandora not only serves as a creation myth for women, she substantiates their subservience to men within Greek society. Due to their weakness to evil and their inherent deceitful nature, there was a need to marginalise them in order to control them. The exclusion of women became the norm in Greek life, even in Athens as citizens with democratic powers were limited to Athenian-born males.

The figure of Eve offers up a comparative and contrasting example of a female creation myth. This myth may have preceded that of Pandora, but as both stories were most likely fashioned in a time of oral tradition, it is hard to place them in a chronological order. In the case of this discussion, the comparison between the two figures will be seen from a post-Christ point of view, as many begin to draw parallels between Pandora and Eve in the early church and in the age of Neoclassicism. In the second chapter of Genesis, Eve was formed from the rib of Adam when he requests for a companion who was more than the animals that served him. They are the climax of the Bible's creation narrative, settling in the Garden of Eden, unaware of the difference between good and evil, clean of sin and shame. Woman is 'taken out of man' (Genesis 2:23), and hence a sexual hierarchy begins to form. Their blissful habitation of Eden does not last long as Eve is subsequently tempted by the serpent, who is often interpreted to be Satan, to eat the forbidden fruit, resulting in joint disobedience and exile.

William Phipps argues, however, that the language of the original tale is often misunderstood, and that Adam was in fact present when she was tempted but remained passive as Eve reacted reflectively. Additionally, regardless of the action or inaction of Adam, both male and female are present and equally punished by God because they both act equally in disobedience. Eve merely serves as the mouthpiece of the couple, conversing with the serpent directly to provide a theological argument. It is her subsequent punishments of the pain of childbirth and the subjugation to her husband's dominance following her disobedience which establishes the woman's place within the sexual hierarchy. The latter can be interpreted as a new precaution set to ensure no such sin occurs again, as Eve is often perceived as weak-willed to temptation. By placing her under the domination of a man, her curiosity and her inability to remain fortified in the presence of sin are curbed. However, despite the interpretation of equal responsibility of original sin, the passage is often used to understand the role of a man and a woman in the context of marriage, assigning women a subservient role to their husbands. Much like Pandora, Eve's action within the story condemns her to be blamed for centuries as the cause of man's downfall. Furthermore, it is used as evidence to justify the centuries of marginalisation faced by women in Western world.

Both Eve and Pandora begin as examples of divine afterthought, a consequence of man's action within creation myths. Both tales subsequently tell of a feminine evil and the true nature of the woman, utilising a structure set out by Fredrick Teggart: 'First,

a state of bliss; Second, the mischievous activity of the woman; third, a description of evils.' It is understandable that the misogyny perpetuated by the Greeks through mythology and drama (take, for example, the figures of Medea and Clytemnestra) was influential for Judaism as the Near East was Hellenised by Alexander the Great in the 4th century BCE. The theme of women being alluring yet the cause of disaster can also be found in other Christian texts, such as the apocryphal Book of Reuben from the 2nd Century CE: 'Do not devote your attention to the beauty of women... For women are evil' (4:1). There is similar emphasis on traits found in Hesiod, focusing on the figure of the beautiful and alluring woman as inherently evil, poisonous and manipulative. To have such views present in already existing literature makes cultural integration more cohesive in the subsequent Hellenising period of the Near East and in the later Christian period.

As Christianity slowly became the dominant religion in the West, the early church leaders of 7th Century CE began to assimilate Pandora with the figure of Eve, allowing for smoother explanations and transitions from paganism to Catholicism. Additionally, such a comparison can be seen in later Neoclassical art in the Renaissance, in works such as Jean Cousin's 16th Century painting Eva Prima Pandora, which literally translates to 'Eve the First Pandora.' The parallels between the two 'first' women are clear, which allows the combining of the two to be easy. However, their similarity also exhibits the ways in which the patriarchy has sought to justify placing women into the margins of society, limiting their agency and their rights due merely to their sex.

Later Victorian culture in 19th century Britain further played with this figure of the 'fallen woman', condemning liberal and independent women who did not conform to rigid, societal morality. In contrast, the 'Angel of the Household' was modelled as chaste and obedient. This virgin/whore dichotomy played heavily on the sexual and political repression of women through religious morals and beliefs, once again limiting the agency of women and banishing the majority to the margins of society. In the 20th century, despite the rise of the feminist movement, there still seemed to be a tendency to use the figures of Eve and Pandora as justification for the subservience of women. An article in an issue of the New York Times in 1914 titled 'Eve the First Feminist, Pandora the Next' uses a comparison between the two (and other female figures of antiquity such as Delilah and Helen of Troy) to emphasise the issues with bestowing women power and agency equal to men. The argument made by a female anti-suffragette leader stated that while these women were granted chances of agency, they offset large and wholly negative consequences. Even in the contemporary world today, institutions such as the Catholic Church are being called to reconsider the placement of women within its structure. Pope Francis stated during his tour of the Middle East that its roots lie in the societal belief that women are second class, roots that can clearly be linked to the role of Eve presented in Genesis. The call now is for society to fully dismantle the understanding of women presented through these figures, clearly presented as man's punishment in both cases, in order for women to truly emerge from the margins.

Imprisoned in the Margins: Prisons in Colonial Africa

By Lewis Twiby

Prison abolitionist Angela Davis once discussed how, 'the prison is considered an inevitable and permanent feature of our social lives', which makes it simultaneously 'present in our lives' and 'absent from our lives'. Those incarcerated become part of the 'margins' of society – a warning about going against society but quietly isolated from society. Michel Foucault discussed in Discipline and Punish how the modern prison emerged as part of the 'carceral system' which emerged during the 1800s; the prison served as one of many institutions which shaped and controlled the human body. Incarceration and isolation became a desired punishment in an increasingly individualised society, where beatings and torture served as a way to create martyrs instead of deterring crime. Davis has further argued that this thinking was driven by Christian Enlightenment thought: isolation served as a way for the incarcerated to reflect on God's judgement and repent. While Davis brings race, class, and gender into the discussion, Foucault has been criticised for ignoring these factors, and in colonial Africa we see his theory largely fall apart despite the arguments otherwise by Africanists like Florence Bernault. Colonial prisons in Africa have to start, not end, with Foucauldian thought; these prisons were built on brutality and arbitrariness.

All prisons involve some form of coercion and violence, but in colonial Africa violence was seen as essential in order to run prisons. Bernault has argued that this was symptomatic of the 'hybridity' of colonial punishment in Africa. Incarceration as a form of punishment was relatively rare in pre-colonial sub-Saharan Africa, the city of Kano in modern Nigeria had incarcerated political opponents for centuries, and punishment ranged widely from rehabilitative justice to executions. Consequently, she argued, colonial officials had to hybridise European punishment and local conditions. Bernault's argument has much merit to it, for example,

Britain's Frederick Lugard, who believed in 'indirect rule', argued that 'native' authority should take precedence unless they were 'repugnant to natural justice and humanity'. Colonial authorities occasionally allowed pre-colonial centralised states to exercise authority in regards to punishment: Sharia courts in Sudan, and the Kabaka's court in Uganda all had the ability to control punishment. However, the true 'hybridity' in colonial Africa was really an attempt to exert colonial rule in the face of weakness and anxiety, and wanting to install 'liberal civilisation'.

Colonial rule was simultaneously all-encompassing and weak. Even though Europe claimed territories, it was a very different matter of ruling these territories, so punishment was often seen as a way to exert authority. Officials viewed the colonised as being children at best and animals at worst, and this view shaped the violence which came with colonial justice. Public hanging, or the 'Kenya System' where individuals were hung in front of witnesses from their village, was done to show colonial power, and to prove that the condemned were killed. In 1932 two men were hanged in Uganda in front of a crowd of 4,000, and in Nairobi in 1912 a 'Mr. Sellwood' actually charged people 75 rupees to see a hanging. While in Europe capital punishment became increasingly questioned, in the colonies it was seen as necessary. Hanging was comparatively tame as a punishment. In settler colonies, white anxiety meant that brutal retribution was often enacted for even allegations of criminality. In 1905 the Dempster family in South Africa found a stain on the bedclothes of their four-year-old daughter and accused their servant, Mtonga ka Notshafula, of rape, and personally castrated him. It was later revealed that the girl had wet the bed, but the Dempsters were never punished for castrating Mtonga.

Furthermore, brutality continued until the

end of colonialism. The largely chaotic nature of imprisonment meant that local officials held great sway on what punishment looked like, something which fostered abuse. During the Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya during the 1950s, the hastily created detainment camps, which Caroline Elkins described as 'Britain's Gulag', saw the lives of those detained within being at the mercy of guards and wardens. While some treated them with humanity, many others were known for their brutality. Josiah Kariuki in his memoir described how one guard became known as 'Beater', and even had part of his thumb shot off for writing letters of complaint. Meanwhile, a camp for young detainees run by the more humane Thomas Askwith had men tearing out or burning off facial hair to appear younger so they could escape the tortures of the adult camps. Torture was often the accepted way to wring out confessions of being Mau Mau, which ranged from beatings to sexual violence.

While this brutality was happening, there was a further desire to create a 'humane' form of punishment. Stacey Hynd has traced the evolution of hanging in British Africa, and how officials tried to move away from overt acts of violence to a more sanitised form of punishment. While imprisoned for political activism in the Gold Coast, modern Ghana, in 1950 future president Kwame Nkrumah reported:

We all knew when the day of execution arrived, for we were made to get up earlier than usual and taken from our cell to an upstairs room where we were locked in before six o'clock.

As an attempt to 'civilise' Africa, punishment was seen as requiring 'civilising'. The Congo Free State, a colony run as a private company by Belgian king Leopold II, wanted to extract the most resources for profit at the expense of the people, and saw any form of resistance as a crime.

Mutilation and beatings were widespread in the colony, and the sjambok, a whip made from rhino or hippo hide, became an informal symbol of Leopold's rule. A reform campaign emerged in response, and punishment used in the colony was highlighted – a famous photo used was of a man called Nsala in 1904 looking at the severed hand and foot of his daughter: punishment for running. A standard for colonial rule, colonialism was never questioned, just Leopold's rule.

Incarceration further fit into this brutal-reform paradox of colonialism. Inspired by Enlightenment ideas of isolation to reflect on their crimes clashed with colonial misrule. Kenya's first prison in Mombasa, Fort Jesus, was a retrofitted fort. Things did not improve – many of the detainment camps used during the Mau Mau Rebellion were former prisoner-of-war camps from the Second World War, and were built last minute in the desert. The concept of isolation was seen as truly destructive to the 'African psyche' which meant that prisoners were often kept together – 'tribal peoples' were seen as being unable to live in isolation. Consequently, overcrowding was a standard. In 1908, Fort Jesus received complaints of poor ventilation, and the detainment camps of 1950s Kenya saw regular outbreaks of disease thanks to unsanitary conditions fostered by overcrowding. One camp, Manyani, was built to hold 6,000 but ended up holding 16,000. However, there was still a Foucauldian desire to create control. Reformer Jeremy Bentham advocated the use of a panopticon, a tower where guards could see into the cells of prisoners at all times just as God watched sinners. These were widely implemented, and structures were created in order to 'discipline' the prison system. As shown in Nkrumah's account, execution was centralised and regularised; prisoners were separated by age, sex, and ethnicity (albeit very poorly); and in Kenya condemned prisoners were literally marked with a 'X' in the 1930s to allow

their identification easier.

However, there was always resistance to colonial authority in prisons. Nelson Mandela's account of his imprisonment shows resistance to Apartheid in the prison system. Africans were forced to wear shorts and given worse food compared to Indian or white prisoners. Mandela and others began go-slows, strikes, and petitions to resist this, and the prison eventually caved. Similarly, Kariuki describes how prisoners regularly undermined efforts to dehumanise them. One guard tried to get them to sing, 'Kenyatta mbya', calling one of the key nationalists 'bad', so they secretly sang 'Kenyatta mba', 'Kenyatta is creator'. Often overlooked in Foucauldian notions of discipline is how subalterns can resist structures which they have been forced into.

As a way to conclude, it is important to question why this needs to be discussed. The main reason why is due to the marginalisation of colonial history from below in public discourses. The rhetoric of a 'benevolent empire' often appearing in British and French memory of empire falls apart when faced with the realities of punishment. Instead of a benevolent rule, we see a chaotic rule characterised by inefficiency and brutality. Furthermore, current debates on prisons in Africa regularly ignore their colonial origins, as accurately described by Bernault. Post-colonial states inherited the structures and institutions of the colonial regimes, and the justice system was no exception. Criticisms of justice in the so-called 'Third World' overlooks how punishment in these regions emerged from European colonialism. Finally, it is important to remember that punishment impacts people, sent to the margins of society they are often forgotten. Looking at how we treat those on the margins tells us more about society than looking at those welcomed into it.

The Marginalisation of Commemoration: the Persecution of the Roma and Sinti under National Socialism

By Rosie Byrne

This year has so far celebrated the liberation of Auschwitz concentration camp 75 years ago on 27 January, 1945. We tend to situate Auschwitz within the context of the Holocaust, rightly remembered as the persecution and mass murder of six-million Jews, as well as homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Catholics, and the Roma and Sinti. German expansionism from 1939 also affected populations across a vast geographical area in varying ways; the people of Poland, the Baltic States, Russia and Ukraine also experienced uncompromising and relentless persecution that severely affected survival, which can be seen within survivors' testimonies. Commemoration is often a highly politicised issue that serves to remember the victims of atrocities and genocides across history; whilst this is most often seen with the commemoration of the Holocaust, it is necessary to recognise that ethnic groups such as the Roma and Sinti that have been marginalised as a result. They will be described in this way from this point onwards in order to indicate the persecution of travelling communities in Europe, yet it must be recognised that not all identify as such. The term 'Roma' or 'Romani' is used to describe an Indo-Aryan ethnic nomadic group that have primarily settled in Central and Eastern Europe, whereas the Sinti are a variant group that are deemed to have originated in Italy. It must also be noted that scholarship has previously described travelling communities using terminology that is now viewed as pejorative, so this study will express this ethnic group as the Roma and Sinti in order to avoid this. Scholarship has appropriately recognised the Jews as the primary victims of Nazi persecution and this is by no means erroneous, however, it is necessary to acknowledge that historians have predominantly focused on this persecution and as such have unconsciously marginalised others.

The Porajmos is the term used to describe Roma persecution and can be translated in some dialects of the Romani language as 'devouring' or 'destruction'. It is commemorated on 2 August every year but, whilst we hear about the liberation of Auschwitz and German surrender, it is relatively unknown as an event. The Roma and Sinti and other travelling communities have been continually persecuted throughout history as a result of their 'outsider' status and nomadic existence. They have also been ascribed stereotypes such as criminality and racial inferiority, for which they have been socially excluded. The idea of eugenics and social hierarchy underpins the ideology of National Socialism, and therefore it is clear that Romani were actively discriminated against in a similar way to the Jews. While their persecution can be derived from this, historians such as Angus Bancroft have also suggested that there is 'naked hostility' to Roma and Sinti that extends to their commemoration. He argues that scholarship has 'forgotten' Roma as victims of national socialism and that the persecution of the Jews has been favoured, which appears accurate. Sybil H. Milton's analysis is concurrent with this, as she recognises the way in which the Roma and Sinti have been marginalised and suggests that is a result of contemporary attitudes that limit both the spread of knowledge about the persecution of the Roma and its commemoration. This therefore complicates the issue of collective memory as the persecution of groups is deemed more significant than others, which undermines the experience of survivors as well as the commemoration of the dead.

It must be noted that the persecution of Roma and Sinti has not been described as a 'genocide' and instead has been recognised by the lesser term of 'crimes against humanity', which further belittles it as an issue.   From 1948, the United Nations has defined genocide as:

Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

This description is interesting in terms of historical analysis as it can both apply to the persecution of the Jews as well as that of the Roma and the Sinti. Milton refers to genocide as being solely reserved for Jews yet indicates that 'Jewish scholars of the Holocaust, however, have readily acknowledged the similarity of the Gypsy experience.' This analysis is striking, and is supported by the Nuremberg Trials that followed liberation. Nevertheless, it was not until 1962 when Adolf Eichmann was tried for crimes against Roma and Sinti that they were recognised as victims of persecution.

The way in which we can equate the treatment of Roma and Sinti with that of the Jews is a complicated issue; evidently the Jews were the primary victims of Nazi persecution and we can see this statistically, regardless of debatable figures that are produced. It is clear that the number of Jews persecuted under the regime of National Socialism vastly outweighs that of any other social or ethnic group. Michael Zimmermann suggests that the Roma and Sinti were often seen as 'fifth-column informers in the service of "Jewish Bolshevism"; they were often seen as the agents of Jewish conspiracy and therefore deemed secondary in their apparent 'threat' to national socialism. Yet,

ROMA SINTI MEMORIAL

insurmountable evidence ranging from documentation from central administration to the commemoration process following German surrender indicates that the Roma and Sinti and the disabled were placed in the same 'category' of those to be exterminated along with the Jews. While there was no 'Final Solution' for Romani victims, it is clear that the ideology of racial superiority meant that tactics such as Zyklon B and mass shooting campaigns were 'experimented' on the disabled and Roma before they were implemented on the European Jews. The most famous of these in relation to experimentation were the torturous methods of Josef Mengele, who was known to experiment on Roma children and women. This can also be seen with the forced sterilisation that was tested on both the handicapped and the Roma and Sinti, as well as the way in which they were forced to wear a black triangle with a 'Z' for Zigeuner, meaning 'gypsy'. They were also subject to mass shooting campaigns and retributive actions in which executions were dispensed in the event of a German casualty; the intent to destroy 'lives not worthy of life' (Lebensunwertesleben) was very much enacted in regard to Roma and therefore their treatment did not differ in this way to that of the Jews.

In conclusion, this article has sought to provide a brief insight into the way in which Roma and Sinti were persecuted at the hands of the Nazis, and how this treatment was enacted on a similar level to that of the Jews. While this cannot be equated, this persecution can be recognised to be of a comparable nature, and in this way can aid the commemoration of the Roma and Sinti victims within the Holocaust. The Holocaust has and should be seen as the attempted destruction of the European Jews; however, by calling attention to the collective memory of other groups such as the Roma and Sinti, it enables a more cohesive portrayal of the atrocities of National Socialism and allows the voices of the marginalised to be heard.

Modernity on the Margins: Black Jamaican Ideas in a Post-Emancipation World

By Jamie Gemmell

Scholarship on modernity has often taken a western-centred approach, emphasising the industrial revolution, the public sphere, or the changing power of the state. This piece seeks to reframe modernity by focusing on a marginalised group within a marginalised space – formerly enslaved people in Jamaica. Such an approach emphasises the darker side of modernity as a top-down project that attempted to transform colonised spaces. In post-emancipation societies, modernity was often an elitist and gendered project of male citizenship. By reframing modernity in this way, this piece seeks to unpack the dynamism of black Jamaican ideas. Intellectual histories concerned with these ideas have often sacrificed nuance and complexity in favour of a false dichotomy of repression into white norms or radical programmes of emancipation. Instead, this piece suggests that the black Jamaican population accepted, appropriated, or rejected the modern project of male citizenship. Analysing these three responses to modernity, which never had concrete boundaries, fully embraces the nuance of black Jamaican ideas in post-emancipation society.

Exploring this dynamism is difficult because the overwhelming majority of the source material was produced by the white population. Unpacking black Jamaican ideas requires stretching the source material through a process, outlined by Hartman, of "critical fabulation." Such an approach reads "with and against the archive" in an attempt to imagine the unverifiable. This method seeks to push against the empirical boundaries of the archive in order to speculate about black Jamaican ideas unobservable through traditional historical methods.

Refracting the concept of modernity through a gendered lens exposes the depth of black Jamaican ideas. Often, the scholarship has been centred on the individuals of the African diaspora by conceptualising modernity as a set of ideas. Dubois has proposed a history of the 'enslaved Enlightenment,' that would cement the role of the African diaspora in the emergence of modern ideas. In a similar vein, Gilroy has constructed the 'black Atlantic,' to reframe modernity as a 'rhizomorphic, fractal structure.' For Gilroy, modernity is inherently pluralistic. Whilst such approaches are admirable, they risk constructing a false ideology by integrating ideas unrelated to the European Enlightenment. Gilroy's emphasis on pluralism may sidestep this issue to a degree, but it is analytically weak to link all of these threads together on the basis that each thread is distinct. Instead, it is more appropriate to conceive of modernity as an elite-driven project that 'mask[s]' the underlying pluralism among the population, as suggested by García Canclini. This fully historicises modernity and allows a full exploration of ideas, without the construction of a larger ideological structure.

The elite-led project of modernity was in flux in Jamaica during the first half of the nineteenth century. During this period the white elite in Jamaica remained dominant but were divided. The planters administered a system of slavery that degendered the enslaved population by rendering genetic reproduction 'an extension of the boundaries of proliferating properties.' In the words

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of James Williams, a black Jamaican apprentice, the boatswain of the workhouse 'flog[ged] the people as hard as he can lay it on – man and woman alike,' implying that colonial violence never considered gender. In contrast, state officials and missionaries pushed a gendered conception of modern citizenship. The Governor of Jamaica, Sir Lionel Smith, in a speech directed at black Jamaican men in July 1838, described citizenship as 'depend-[ing] on your own exertions… to maintain and bring up your families.' For Smith, citizenship was inherently gendered – it was granted only to men, whose role was to look after their female dependents. These divisions among the white population left the project of modernity in flux – it was not yet a fully formed 'mask.' Until the repression of the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865, which drew missionaries and planters together, the disunity of modernity provided spaces, albeit severely restricted spaces, for black Jamaicans. They responded by accepting the modern project, appropriating it for their own ends, or rejecting it altogether.

In post-emancipation society, some black Jamaicans accepted modernity, subscribing to the gendered notion of male citizenship. Black Jamaican men frequently accepted rent as an obligation of the male citizen. At meetings in Baptist chapels men objected to dependents 'residing in one house' paying rent. They proscribed to a modern gendered citizenship, that required men to care for dependents by providing a home. The way these ideas were organised was, itself, an implicit acceptance of the role of the male citizen. In 1842, the Morning Journal published an article by a man proposing a 'mechanic's society' that would provide a space for 'mutual sociality and communication of sentiment' among workers. This set up the public sphere as a male-dominated space for the discussion of political and labour-related problems. Black Jamaican men accepted a modernity that prescribed they operate as political agents and as protectors of the family.

As well as accepting modernity, some black Jamaicans appropriated modern discourses for their own ends. Appropria-tion was especially common among black women trying to seek justice in sexual assault cases. These women understood that they could be held responsible for these 'improper intimac[ies],' as possibly occurred in the case of Maria Henderson in 1837. Thus, they appropriated the gendered discourse of modernity and framed sexual assaults by white men as slights on their status as married women. The apprentice, Amelia Lawrence, referred to herself as 'a married woman' when testifying that one of the drivers had attempted to sexually assault her. Here, Lawrence utilised a gendered discourse on marriage to defend herself. Under slavery, women appropriated similar discourses. Two women complained to planter Matthew Lewis about an overseer for harsh punishment against 'Delia' who was 'just recovering from a miscarriage.' The fact that these women thought it pertinent to seeking justice suggests that they understood how a modernity that conceived of women as dependents could be appropriated to protect them.

A third group of black Jamaicans rejected modernity by refusing to operate within the gendered notion of citizenship. It is possible to speculate that some black Jamaicans rejected modernity through same-sex relations. Such sexual relations were antithetical to the modern notion of the male citizen. A case from August 1833 involved black Jamaican men testifying that Alexander Grant, a planter, had 'took out my privates, and handled them.' In this case of sexual assault, the men framed it as a slight on their status as men, claiming that these were 'not a Gentleman's actions.' This reflected a broader discourse around non-heteronormative relations that conceptualised them as 'unnatural crime[s]' because they overturned a modernity based on the male citizen and the female dependent. In Grant's case, these black Jamaican men used this discourse to defend themselves and seek redress.

The fact that such a discourse around non-heteronormative relations existed is suggestive that some black Jamaicans may have been involved in queer relations. Tinsley, for instance, has proposed that queer relations developed in the segregated holds of slave ships. She has claimed that the Suriname word mati, a term used by black women to refer to their female lovers, originated in the word for 'shipmate.' Such an interpretation could be applied to the workhouses where, in the words of James Williams, at night '[a]ll the woman put into one room, and all the man in another.' John Daughtrey, general inspector of prisons from 1840, did choose 'men of the best class' to 'guard upon order and decency during the night,' implying sexual activity outside heteronormativity occurred. Whilst these ideas remain highly speculative, and it is crucial to maintain that same-sex relations were not always consensual, it is possible to suggest that queer relations formed between black Jamaicans. Such relations rejected a modern discourse that framed marriage as a patriarchal relation between a male citizen and a female dependent. In speculating about the possibility of same-sex relations between black Jamaicans it is demonstrable that refracting modernity through a gendered analysis allows for a deeper interpretation of formerly enslaved people's ideas.

Modernity was an elite project in flux in Jamaica during the first half of the nineteenth century. Abolitionist missionaries attempted to produce a society based on the notion of the free male citizen, a society anathema to the planters. Amidst this elite-driven conflict, formerly enslaved people accepted, appropriated, and rejected this gendered vision of modernity. The boundary between these approaches was flexible, with some individuals using all three to carve out a degree of autonomy. By using these three approaches, the complexities and ambiguities of black Jamaican thought are fully exposed. This rejects a false dichotomy that stipulates black Jamaican ideas were repressed into white norms or radical programmes of emancipation. Modernity, in this light, was not always a European-centred process, but a project that had major ramifications in often marginalised spaces, such as colonised Jamaica. This re-centring unpacks the ambiguities of the project of modernisation and reframes intellectual histories of black Jamaican thought.

The Matrona and the Meretrix: How Tacitus Created a Dichotomy between Octavia and Poppaea

By Joshua Al-Najar
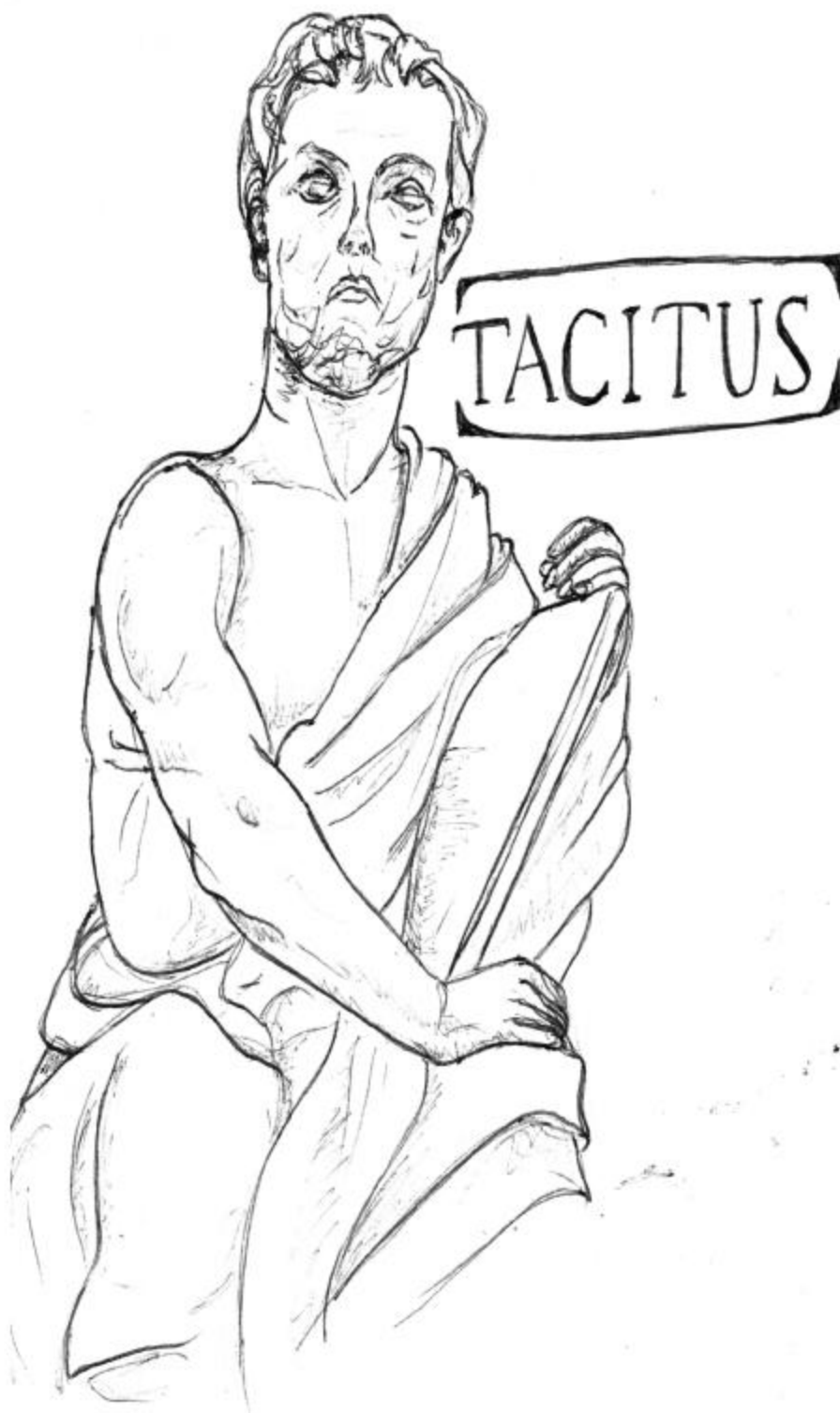
This article will compare the characters of Claudia Octavia and Poppaea Sabina, the first and second wives of the Emperor Nero. In doing so, it will confront and attempt to deconstruct the literary personas that have been handed to posterity by the ancient sources. Though several authors contribute to the discourse surrounding these women, it is the Annals of Tacitus which will form the primary focal point for this piece. Tacitus curates a deep dichotomy between the characteristics of these women; Octavia emulates Lucretia in her virtue whilst Poppaea is the excessive, devious harpy. By comparing and contrasting his portrayal of these women, it can be ascertained how the historians of antiquity utilised women as a means of reflection, and critique, on their male associates. In doing so, they marginalised these women and removed their autonomy from the literary landscape.

From the offset, Tacitus's depiction of Octavia has an agenda. At one of her earliest mentions in the Annals, Octavia is presented as an unwitting pawn in a political game, controlled by Agrippina Minor:

For once certain of her marriage, she began to amplify her schemes and to intrigue for a match between Domitius, and the emperor's daughter Octavia. That result was not achieved without a crime.
(Tacitus, Annals, 12.2.1).

Octavia falls prey to the ambition of Agrippina. Hitherto, she had been engaged to Lucius Silanus, though this was altered 'not without a crime' according to Tacitus. The onus of this crime is clearly intended to fall on Agrippina, thus preserving the moral fibre of the young Octavia and damning the former. Octavia's personality, thoughts and traits are indiscernible. Her position as Claudius' daughter is used to augment Nero's status - she is but a symbol.

Contrasting this is the introduction of Poppaea Sabina. Her introduction is accompanied by an accusation of immorality and extravagance. Tacitus describes her as a 'woman possessed of all advantages but a character' (Annals 13.45.1). This scathing early summary sets the tone for the rest of her role within the Annals. Tacitus expands upon this appraisal with lengthy concessions to her 'fame and looks' (Annals 13.45.1). These seemingly positive qualities are manipulated against her and demonstrate a diversion from the traditional matrona. He notes how her beauty inspired vanity, which prompted her decision to wear her face only half-veiled in public – this allowed her to imitate modesty whilst still satiating the beholder. Tacitus confirms this, claiming she 'paraded modesty and practiced wantonness' (Annals 13.45.7). Even before he has begun relaying her role as the

paramour and wife of Nero, Tacitus has already explicitly established Poppaea's 'type' as the flagrant break from the idealised notion of femininity. Poppaea's traits damn her, whilst Octavia's lack thereof free her from judgement.

Octavia's character is expanded upon - when narratively convenient – as her victimhood exemplifies Nero's depravity. The ancient authors juxtapose her unassuming nobility against the deplorable antics of her husband. This is shown during Tacitus' interpretation of Britannicus' murder, to which Octavia paid witness (Annals 13.16.1). Octavia's reaction epitomises her decency:

Octavia, too, youth and inexperience notwithstanding, had learned to hide her griefs, her affections, her every emotion (Annals 13.16.1).

Tacitus curates Octavia to be a sympathetic figure. He presumes to know the extent to which she concealed her feelings, though the reality is less crucial to his purpose; Octavia's desperate isolation amongst such deplorable machinations serves to remind the reader just how morally corrupt such events were. The mention of her 'youth and inexperience' reinforce how pathetic this woman's situation is and evoke admiration for her tact.

Our sense of sympathy is exacerbated by Nero's direct mistreatment of Octavia. Tacitus refers to her as the being of 'the highest descent with proved honour' (Annals 13.12.1) Octavia's virtuous nature is met with disdain from Nero, who is purported to have 'abhorred his wife' (Annals 13.12.1), and to have intermittently throttled her (Suetonius Nero 35). Whilst Suetonius's somewhat salacious version may be fictitious as it is unique to his account, the intent is clear. The sources use the abuse of Octavia as a lens through which criticism of Nero can be viewed. That he regards a woman behest with such admirable qualities so poorly is symptomatic of his warped mentality and ill-suit to power.

Where Octavia was honourable and passive, Poppaea is dissolute and conniving in her relations with Nero. Tacitus identifies her primary motivations as being materialistic, and her ambition warranting the use of her sexuality (Annals 13.45.1). Tacitus informs us that Poppaea was married to Otho in the hopes of seducing Nero and raising her station. She is viewed as the driving force behind the subsequent affair, with Tacitus remarking on her ability to manipulate the emperor:

By cajolery and artifice, feigning that she was too weak to resist her passion and had been captured by Nero's beauty; then – as emperor's love grew fervent – changing to haughtiness
(Annals 13.46.1)

Her deceitful tactics are evident as she uses emotional displays to influence Nero's desires – a strategy which recurs in Tacitus' depiction of politically-inclined women. Nero emerges as a weakened figure who is vulnerable to the whims of a morally devoid woman. The version offered by Tacitus is somewhat contested by Plutarch, who merely displays Poppaea enjoying the love triangle, rather than instigating it (Plutarch, Galba, 42). However, Tacitus' purpose requires that Poppaea appear dominant.

Against Poppaea's machinations, Tacitus' Octavia inspires loyalty and popularity. This is evident after Nero seeks to divorce her, on the grounds of her sterility and adultery committed with her slave, Eucaerus (Annals 14.60). Octavia's 'popularity with the Romans' required corroboration from her maidservants, sought through torture. In a testament to Octavia's morality, Tacitus recounts that most 'steadfastly maintained the honour of their mistress' (Tacitus, Annals, 14.60). Dio confirms this, with the somewhat salacious detail that one slighted the praetorian prefect, Tigellinus, by stating 'Octavia's body is chaster than your own tongue' (Cassius Dio 62.13.4). This display of fealty endears the reader further to Octavia's cause and reaffirms the injustice of the situation.

Octavia's position deteriorates following the death of his advisors, Seneca and Burrus. She is banished to Campania, following Poppaea's hasty marriage to Nero and subsequent pregnancy – for this, she would later be rewarded with the title of Augusta (Annals 15.23.1). Octavia's reputation is evident in the popular protests that her removal inspired in Rome. Suetonius summarises the situation by claiming the 'people took ill and openly reproached him' in referral to Nero (Suetonius, Nero, 35.2). Tacitus relays that 'they carried the statues of Octavia shoulder-high, strewed them with flowers, upraised them in the forum and the temples' (Annals 14.61.1).

The response to Poppaea is presented quite differently. Tacitus reports that the crowd 'hurled down effigies of Poppaea' (Annals 14.61.1). Tacitus utilises the Roman mob as a parallel to feelings the reader holds for the two women – though it is likely some form of protest occurred, the extent to which they were directed towards Poppaea may be overstated by Tacitus. Regardless, these events are purported to have shaken Poppaea's resolve, which causes her to yet again corrupt Nero's actions, now in direct opposition to Octavia.

Tacitus' literary acumen is evident, as he depicts a rousing speech from Poppaea to Nero. She augments his fears about instability by suggesting Octavia's slaves are rallying against him. Nero concedes to the domineering' Poppaea's 'intense hatred', betraying his weakness (Annals 14.62.1). Fabricated charges of adultery and an aborted pregnancy – despite her aforementioned sterility – arise. Underpinning this deception is the constant attack levelled upon Octavia's innocence by the unscrupulous Poppaea; that her machinations are successful is reflective of the cataclysmic nature of Nero's rule.

Tacitus builds a sense of momentum in the conflict between Octavia and Poppaea as the situation becomes increasingly dire for the former. This culminates in her banishment and murder, which is outlined in graphic detail (Dio 62.16). Tacitus amplifies the horror by reinforcing Octavia's misfortune and isolation. He claims 'no woman in exile ever presented a more pitiful spectacle' before declaring that her tender age made her exile more tragic than previous women's (Annals 14.63). She vainly attempts to plead with her killers, by assuring them she is simply Nero's sister - following their divorce - and by recalling their shared ancestry in the Germanici (Annals 14.64.1); this certainly is a literary creation, set to emphasise Octavia's naivety. Her cries are directed to Nero, who would have been far from the scene. Besides Tacitus could hardly have been expected to know what was said. There is a sense of inevitability in the events, as Tacitus recalls the horrors of Octavia's life, damningly concluding with her death at Poppaea's hand, 'who

turned bride only to destroy a wife' (Annals 14.63.1). The pinnacle of her villainy comes when Octavia's severed head is sent to Rome in an attempt to satiate Poppaea's vindictiveness (Annals 14.63.1).

With regards to Poppaea's death, the sources are less sympathetic. Dio records that Nero 'either accidentally or intentionally leaped upon her with his feet whilst she was pregnant' (Dio 62.27.4). Suetonius presents a similar account, whilst Tacitus infers it was Nero's 'chance outburst of anger' that incited her death (Annals, 16.6.1). His description is notably succinct in comparison to Octavia's, likely to minimise reader's sympathy; he states openly that her death was 'outwardly regretted, but welcome to all' (Annals, 16.7.1). Though there is a sense that

Poppaea received her comeuppance, her death ultimately fulfils the same purpose as Octavia's: a critical reflection on the dissolute actions of Nero.

Tacitus portrays Octavia and Poppaea in a polarised way. Where Octavia is silent, Poppaea is vocal; Octavia's passivity is set against Poppaea's virility; Octavia's virtue is the eventual loser to Poppaea's menace. This exaggerated dichotomy allows Tacitus to criticise Nero. His cruelty towards the wholly innocent Octavia demonstrates his monstrosity, whilst his concessions to Poppaea's depravities illustrate his incapacity for rule. Thus, a comparison of these women sheds insight on how ancient authors regarded the rule of Nero, rather than on them as individual women.

Holodomor

By Kvitka Perehinets

CW: This article deals with topics of genocide and features a photo of corpses

Predominantly affecting the eastern and southern regions of modern-day Ukraine, the Great Famine of 1932-1933, or Holodomor ("holod" – hunger, "mor" – extermination), came in the aftermath of strict collectivization policies put in place by Joseph Stalin in the early years of the Soviet Union. The policy of collectivization forced peasants to transform their individual landholdings into collective state farms known as kolkhozes, and to fulfil the unrealistic grain procurement quotas set by the Soviet government as part of the first Five Year Plan.

The first and most prominent element of collectivization was dekulakization, defined as a campaign designed to 'liquidate the kulaks as a social class.' Those classified as kulaks, or the wealthier amongst peasants who were opposed to collectivization and defied the Communist ideal economically and politically, were branded as "saboteurs" and were subject to deportation or execution, while their livestock and wealth were confiscated.

While tonnes of grain were forcefully collected and moved from the breadbasket regions, brutal migration flow controls were employed by the government. In 1933, under Stalin's orders, migration from territories of Ukrainian SSR and Kuban to neighbouring member-republics of the Union was banned: those who had left the country were to be found, arrested, and brought back. In the first one and a half months of the order being in place, it is estimated that 220,000 peasants were arrested, of which 186,000 were forcefully relocated back to their villages, where slow death awaited. In order to prevent Ukrainian farmers from leaving their villages to find salvation in the cities, a system of passports was established by the Soviet government that made travel without government permission impossible. Politicians of Ukrainian descent in the government were replaced with non-Ukrainians to minimize any sympathy for the suffering of the local population.

In addition to dekulakization and control of migration, the 'blackboards' policy, exclusive to Ukrainian SSR and Kuban, was introduced in 1932. The 'villages whose residents were deemed as enemies of the people and placed on 'black boards'' were 'surrounded by military troops, all their goods and seeds stores were seized, and trade and procurement of any goods was forbidden.' Consequently, collective farms in 82 regions of the Ukrainian SSR were placed on the black boards, leaving the total population of 5 million people facing starvation. The implementation of the policy solely in the Ukrainian SSR and Kuban, where 75% of the population was Ukrainian as of 1926, demonstrates Ukrainians being deliberately targeted by Soviet collectivization policies.

To understand the significance of the famine within the context of the Soviet Union, it is imperative to understand the role of peasants in the regime's economy. In 1926, 80.8% of the total population of the Ukrainian SSR was comprised of peasants. Henceforth, the policies of collectivization and dekulakization effectively blurred the lines between peasant and kulak, through the ambiguity of the terms. Members of either group could be targeted by the policies, meaning that the regime wore out its biggest workforce and targeted a specific group within the USSR.

An independent Ukrainian state, Robert Conquest writes, was 'never able to establish itself ... in the world's consciousness.' He goes on to describe Ukrainians as 'an ancient nation which has never ... survived through terrible calamities.' Indeed, over the centuries, the region had experienced numerous attempts at conquest: with Kyiv falling to the Mongols in 1240, then uniting with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later falling to Polish control. By the end of the 16th century the Ukrainian Cossacks 'set up their own forts and became a military factor in their own right', leading peasant revolts against their nominal lords, the Poles. Wars and agreements that followed eventually led to the founding of a Ukrainian state by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, which was overthrown by Tsarist Russia. It would take two centuries before another attempt to establish sovereignty was made in 1918, when the Central Rada (Council) went on to inaugurate the Ukrainian People's Republic in response to the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd, only to be taken over by the Bolsheviks and eventually become a member of the USSR. Herein, a pattern can be observed: the history of ancient Ukraine is one of political instability and short-lived independence, yet it is also one of continuous resistance to foreign authority. When the UPR was established, the feelings of Ukrainian nationalism and statehood were at its peak, only for them to be challenged by the establishment of the USSR, naturally prompting resistance to what seemed like a modern take on conquest.

In the late 1920s, the new Soviet government's greatest problem lay in the public consciousness, led by free thinking, generated by the political pluralism that prevailed in Ukrainian society between 1917 and 1921, and the clear influence of legally-banned, but not yet deprived of their moral authority, political organisations.

Out of the 13,794 village uprisings in 1930, registered by the Joint State Political Directorate, 4,908 were in Ukraine and involved nearly one million people. The uprisings were of a political nature, featuring slogans like "Long live independent Ukraine!" and "Down with the Soviet regime!" further highlighting the general sentiment felt by the Ukrainian peasants towards the Soviet government. Anne Applebaum claims that these were 'the biggest peasant uprisings in Europe.'

The extremity of the revolts in Ukraine is documented in local documents of the secret police, such as that by Vsevolod Balytskyi, an NKVD officer. With the secret police allegedly focusing on anyone who appeared to be a 'Ukrainian-chauvinist', Balytskyi's men arrested 11,865 people in the months of January and February 1930.

In addition to peasant revolts, the Ukrainian party central committee plenum of July 1932 forced political pressure from above. Timothy Snyder writes that 'Ukrainian speakers complaining of the impossibility of meeting the annual targets for grain requisitions were silenced by Stalin's emissaries, Lazar Kaganovich

and Vyacheslav Molotov, after Stalin instructed them to defeat the 'Ukrainian destabilizers". In June of the same year, the party leadership in Ukraine, prompted by members of collective farms, requested that Stalin call in the Red Cross for food aid - he refused to grant this request, despite privately admitting that there was a famine in Soviet Ukraine the next day. As public defiance grew, Stalin 'expressed his fear that "we could lose Ukraine"' in a letter to Kaganovich before agreeing that "the only reasonable approach [to containing resistance] was to hold tight to a policy of requisitions, and to export the grain as quickly as possible." Herein, the General Secretary of the ruling Communist Party was admitting to grain requisition being the prime solution to contain resistance to the party's rule.

By 1933, collectivization and dekulakization in Ukraine were in full swing. Exact numbers of victims differ from one source to another, ranging from three to as much as ten million. As many documents detailing the events were destroyed from 1932, the Soviet officials stopped keeping track of the losses. Applebaum notes that, even after the Khrushchev Thaw, 'the truth of the famine was missing from official Soviet narratives'.

Repressed from public consciousness, then brought into the light after Ukraine regained independence in 1991, Holodomor remains a largely unrecognized event in European history. Despite the plethora of evidence providing gruesome accounts of the conditions the Ukrainian peasants were subjected to, including resorting to eating 'soup' made of pinecones or even cannibalism, the recognition of Holodomor as an act of genocide is not universally accepted – only sixteen countries in the world currently recognize the famine as such. But for the millions of Ukrainians lighting a candle every third Saturday of November, it is not just a famine: it is a reminder of a regime whose policies were designed to kill, a wound left unhealed through the decades, and a requiem for those who dared to defy and dared to dream of a free, sovereign Ukraine.

Corpses of people in the middle of the street in Kharkiv, Ukraine. Photo by A. Wienerberger, 1933.

On the Margins of the Spartan World: The Lives of the Helots

By Tristan Craig

At its peak, the city-state of Sparta was the largest of the Greek poleis, commanding some 3000 square miles of territory across Laconia and Messenia; by comparison, Athens' territory spanned a mere 900 square miles. Despite the extent of their territorial control, full Spartan citizens constituted a relatively small portion of the population, with the rest of Lacedaemon comprised of non-citizens who were free, known as perioeci, and non-citizens who were enslaved, known as helots. Whilst slave ownership was an established practice throughout the Hellenic world, the helots differed from chattel slaves in that they were not considered private property of any individual- able to be bought and sold at will -but of the Spartan state.

Contemporary literary sources on the Lacedaemonian serf populace are sparse and unsurprisingly pejorative, with conflicting testimonies presented regarding their origins, both etymologically and as a people. According to the historian Antiochus of Syracuse, the helots were Laconian natives who refused to fight on the side of Sparta in the Messenian Wars, whilst Thucydides asserts that they were 'mostly the descendants of the Messenians who had been enslaved long ago' (Thuc 1.101). Regardless of their precise origins, what distinguished helots from the slaves purchased in other states is that they were not foreign individuals ripped from barbaric enemy lands taken captive in times of warfare, but were fellow Greeks. In order to establish their segregation from the elite citizens, Spartans would dress helots in the hides of animals as a physical denotation of their status, making them more akin to beasts than fellow Lacedaemonians. At best, they were routinely publicly humiliated; at worst, they were murdered for sport. The krypteia was one component of Spartan military training in which young men, having completed their initial education at the agōgē, were sent on patrol to torture and brutalise the subservient helots to prove their capacity as trained killers.

However, despite their abhorrent treatment, the helots were notably indispensable to the militaristic Spartans. Serving as the agrarian workforce, they were vital to the economy, whilst living in family units enabled them to sustain their own numbers without the need for financial expense on the part of Sparta. Helots would also accompany the Spartiates into battle, with several references made by Herodotus regarding their presence at the Battle of Thermopylae in 480 BCE. When considering the legacy of the Spartans, one may be inclined to consider their unyield-

ing nature on the battlefield, immortalised in numerous retellings of the 300 – or rather, 298 – hoplites who remained steadfast alongside Leonidas against Xerxes I's far larger Persian army. In his seminal Histories, Herodotus accounts for 3100 Peloponnesians (Hdt. 7.202) but later attests to an epitaph honouring the 4000 men from the Peloponnese who died fighting against the 3,000,000 Persians (Hdt. 7.228). Whilst the exact figures are likely somewhat less than those he proposes, a discrepancy of 900 men exists between the two. A later remark regarding the bodies of helots put on display by Xerxes following their slaughter indicates they may well have constituted a larger portion of the Spartan army than the Leonidas' elite hoplites.

Herodotus gives another estimation of the number of helots relative to Spartans in the lead up to the Battle of Plataea; under the command of Pausanias, 'they dispatched five thousand Spartiates, together with a retinue of helots, seven per man' (Hdt. 9.10). According to further literary sources, the relationship between Pausanias and the helots would extend beyond the battlefield. Following the battle, Pausanias was accused of conspiring with the Persians and amongst the charges brought forth was his intention to free the helots, 'promising them emancipation and citizenship' (Thuc. 1.132). This accusation was corroborated by a group of helots themselves, but it follows that the Spartans were not inclined to believe the words of lesser people over one of their own. Incidentally, Pausanias would later be betrayed by his messenger – and, according to Thucydides, former lover – who was delivering correspondence to the Persian king.

According to both Aristotle and Thucydides, the helot population were a constant threat to Spartan rule due to their capacity to overwhelm the Spartans, at least in numbers, at any given moment; 'For the Thessalian serfs often attacked the Thessalians, just as the helots – always lying in wait, as it were, for their masters' misfortunes – attacked the Spartans' (Aris. Pol. 2.1269a36-38). In order to combat any potential for insurgency, the Spartans would routinely massacre helots they perceived to be a potential threat, including one such instance where, believing that they were to be given their freedom, 2000 young helots were killed. The Spartans went as far as to have a formal agreement with Athens decreeing that, should the helot population revolt against them, the Athenians would come to their aid. These fears would be realised in c.465 BCE when a catastrophic earthquake along the Sparta fault line killed an unprecedented number of Spartans, allowing the helots to rise against their subjugators. This resulted in a nine-year siege at Ithome – and rising conflict between Sparta and Athens – before the insurgents were forced to surrender.

Aside from the supposed conspiracy of Pausanias, there were certain instances where helots could be given their freedom. The neodamodeis – that is, the 'new citizens' – were freed men having spent time serving in the Spartan military. Likewise, the distinguished Spartan officer, Brasidas, is recorded as having emancipated some 700 helots in 424 BCE after embarking on a military campaign with him; this particular roster of free men would come to be known as 'Brasidians'. It was also possible in certain circumstances for the helot to purchase their freedom, as discussed by Plutarch. However, even with their newly acquired freedom, their status was unlikely any greater than that of perioikoi, for freedom did not equate to Spartan citizenship. Attempts to offer greater rights to the servile classes, such as the Conspiracy of Cinadon in the fourth century, were most often met with unfortunate ends for their conspirators.

Whilst the Spartans were certainly both feared and admired for their capacity in battle, their military prowess came at an overwhelmingly large cost for the natives living on the periphery of the state. Strikingly, it is such ritualistic debasement of an entire populace, for the sole purpose of serving the ruling class, that would serve as a model for slavery in the Western world into the twentieth century – and is one important reason why the helots of Lacedaemon deserve a greater narrative in modern scholarship.

From Outside the Graveyard: A Look at Those Not Permitted Christian Burials

By Alice Goodwin

The act of burying a loved one inside a churchyard has been a pivotal part of death and grieving in British Christian culture for over a thousand years. It remains an important family tradition for many, and the overcrowding of graveyards has caused much discussion on alternate methods for disposing of human remains. Despite the number of people buried in church graveyards across the country, there are significant numbers who have, throughout history, been denied the most fundamental social practice surrounding death. Typical features of a Christian burial include burial on consecrated ground, the head of the deceased facing west, and the body being arranged in an extended position (legs out straight and arms by the side). Any deviation from this is significant, and most likely meaningful to those who choose to bury someone a different way. Within a medieval and early modern Christian context, the most common reason someone would be buried differently would be because they deviated from the socially acceptable 'Christian life'. These people include the ill, the deformed, the deviant and the infant, all groups that could be denied a burial within graveyard walls and thereby be marked as different in death as well as life.

Within medieval Britain, it was believed that diseases were caused by the dissatisfaction of God toward the sufferer, accepted most viciously in the case of leprosy. Many believed that leprosy was a punishment for sexual deviancy, bringing shame upon sufferers and leading to the separation of lepers from society. Lepers were confined to 'hospitals', which were more like what we would consider to be monasteries with a hospice aspect. Lepers spent their days praying in the hopes that God would forgive them and free them from their disease. They were tended to by priests and monks, living the rest of their lives in the leprosaria (the above-mentioned quarantine houses) and when they died, would be buried within the grounds of the hospital rather than being sent home to be buried by their families. If there was no leper hospital for a person to be sent away to, they would be buried outside the consecrated ground of the churchyard, without a marked grave, separated in death from those who lived a godly life. In less extreme cases, other measures would be taken to ensure difference was known without expelling a person from the comfort of consecrated ground. On the site of an earlier cathedral at North Elmham in Norfolk, there is an example of remains buried with the head facing east from the eleventh-twelfth century, due to a 'chronically distorted left knee'. The deformity of this person marked them apart from the rest of their community, and yet not to the extent of being denied burial within sanctified grounds. Many medieval graveyards were organised with the purpose of marking the deserving from the undeserving – people were separated by class, age, sex and physical oddities.

In this way, bodies within a graveyard can almost be seen in ranking order, organised by how worthy of heaven people were deemed by their community and society on the whole.

Joining the lepers outside the walls of the graveyard were the contagious and infants. Infant burials have always been difficult to detect, as the preservation of infant bone is far worse than that of adult bone, but there are a number of written sources as well as archaeological evidence to suggest that infants who were not baptised were buried outside graveyard walls. While not on consecrated grounds, these burials were treated with great respect. In cases of maternal and infant deaths, the mother and child were often buried together, and when the health of the infant was in danger at the time of birth, a priest would be summoned to ensure that the infant was baptised before its death. Those infants outside of the graveyard then were those who died without being baptised, or those conceived out of wedlock. In both cases, the infant died in sin and thus could not be buried on consecrated grounds. When there was concern about infectious diseases it was not uncommon for the remains of those who had died of disease to be buried outside of the graveyard, for fear of exposing the living when new plots were being dug and new remains being buried. It is probable that this was born of practicality rather than religious belief, as plague pits were still blessed by a priest, despite being separate from town graveyards. However, the separation from the rest of the community through being buried outside of churchyard walls remains culturally significant, identifying the individuals as different and deviant.

The buried, whether within or outside the graveyard walls, arguably got lucky when compared to disfigured or deformed individuals who were placed on display. With the increasing interest in anatomy following the enlightenment, the trend of collecting pathological oddities also increased in popularity. Collectors sought out examples of disfigurement, illness and deformity that left significant evidence on the remains of a person, studying them to learn about the responses of human bodies to trauma and illness, as well as to display them. While it is undeniable that studying the human body in such a way allows for growth in understanding and thus growth in the field of medicine, there was very rarely consent from those whose bodies were being dissected and displayed. In one famous case, Charles Byrne (also known as the Irish Giant), who stood at over eight feet tall, specified that he wanted his body to be cremated to prevent being displayed for all time as an oddity to be gawked at, and yet his body was bought for £500 by John Hunter and remains on display at the Royal College of Surgeons. A quick visit to Surgeon's Hall Museums in Edinburgh displays the vast nature of this practice,

showing the sheer volume of people this phenomenon affected and who were denied a traditional burial in favour of becoming a collectable item, dissected for their most valuable parts and dehumanised in the process.

The history of not burying people within churchyard walls is intrinsically linked to societal attitudes towards the ill, the disfigured and the deformed. Graveyards were a reflection of societal hierarchies – separating people based on their position in life and the circumstance of their death. For all of the people discussed here, the denial of a traditional Christian burial marked them apart from family and friends within the community, highlighting the importance of physical wellness to people in the past as well as the drive for the normal, homogenous life. To understand reasons behind the separation of human remains allows for an insight into attitudes on physical differences in the past and how these may have defined life for sufferers, as well as defining their position in death.

The Disabled Body in Athenian Space

By Justin Biggi

What role does the disabled body have in the larger ancient Athenian landscape? A city which, through an expansive urban building program, became the living, breathing representation of its founding ideology, Athens found itself steeped in its own patriotic imagery. A 'topography of autochthony' had formed, from the Akropolis to the Agora, reflected in inscriptions, votive figures, funerary monuments and sculptural groups which celebrated the exclusivity of being Athenian, literally "born from the earth" the very city was built on.

Nowhere was this more evident than in the Akropolis, where much of the mythology surrounding autochthony found its cultic centres, from Erechthonios (The King born from the earth) to Athena, patron goddess of the city. If one looks to the Akropolis, one can find a space teeming with what we can consider the idealised Athenian body – and nowhere is it more on display than the busy procession represented on the Parthenon frieze.

On the east side, where the procession ends, the Olympian gods sit, gathered to (supposedly) watch the busy human activity sculpted on the remaining three sides of the building. The gods gathered are easily recognisable through their attributes. Hermes, for example, carries his wayfarer's hat and wears his winged sandals. Athena holds her snake-patterned aegis. Dem-

eter mourns the loss of her daughter, Persephone, and holds the torch she used to search for her.

Present amongst them is also Hephaistos, the divine smith. He sits beside Athena, the goddess with whom he shares the patronage of artisans, and he is turned towards her. Hephaistos is traditionally a disabled god: a child of Hera, wife of the ever-unfaithful Zeus, he was thrown from Olympus by his mother due to his disability and only later, in adulthood, returns to Olympus to take his rightful place amongst the gods. While rejected by his biological mother, he was still raised by goddesses Thetis and Eurynome, therefore never truly abandoning the sphere of the divine, despite his disability. In adulthood, once a fully-fledged member of the Olympian gods, he is often portrayed as performing great feats of ingenuity, making, amongst other notable objects, the armour Achilles uses once he returns to battle in the Iliad.

The only one amongst the gods to be physically disabled, Hephaistos is often (but not always) represented with his disability prominent and iconographically clear. It is in the representation of his return to Olympus that we see his disability portrayed most prominently. Maura Brennan identifies a specific iconography relating to Hephaistos' disability: most often, a 'zigzag foot'
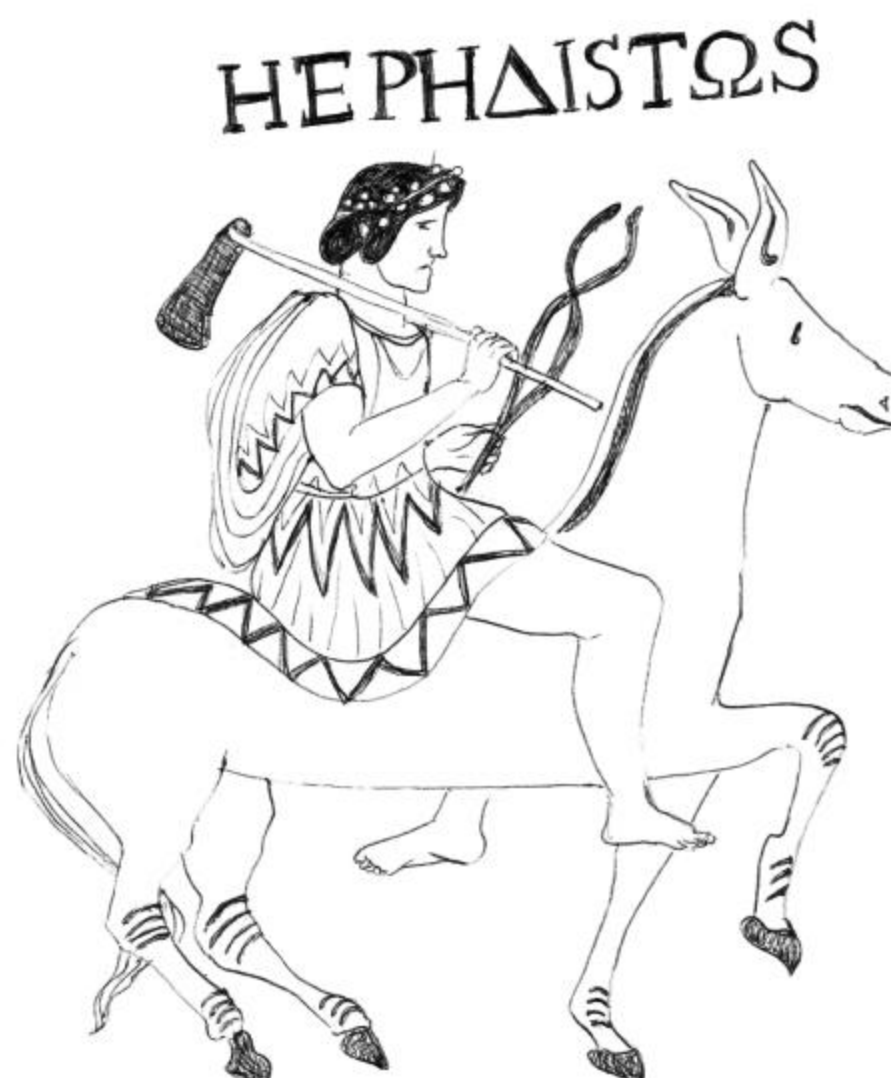
HEPHAISTOS

which is prominently displayed against the side of the donkey Hephaistos is riding, or various other ways of showing that Hephaistos' foot is deformed (Brennan 2016:165–70). On the Parthenon, his disability is presented much more subtly: the god holds a crutch, tucked underneath his right arm.

Unfortunately, Hephaistos, an explicitly disabled god, is still seen in many circles as an exception to the rule, a disabled body somehow 'fixed' or 'made better' by its divine nature. The idea that disability was automatically a death sentence in the ancient world is still widespread, and a non-medicalised exploration of disability in the ancient world is still in its infancy. In her PhD thesis, The Life-cycle of Disability in Ancient Greece (2018), Deborah Sneed analyses disability in the ancient Greek world through a lens which allows for nuance beyond Robert Garland's (amongst others') deeply limited vision of ancient disabled people being 'divested of their intrinsic human identity and worth' (Garland 1995:179) and follows more closely Rose's interpretation that 'physical deformity did not necessarily evoke a negative visceral reaction, an assumption of ill health, religious horror, or the expectation of economic dependence' (Rose 2003:47). She shows this reality through a careful analysis of the archaeological and literary record, in addition to architectural evidence, acknowledging the many ways in which a disabled identity impacted a person's life in antiquity, and the ways in which community, and the state, played an important part in disabled people's day-to-day lives.

Unsurprisingly, in the final section of her work Sneed identifies Hephaistos as the figure most emblematic of the ancients' ever-evolving definition of the disabled body. She argues that, much like the concept of disability and accessibility, Hephaistos' representation as a disabled god was 'not static' (Sneed 2018:267). Rather, the definition of disability shifted over time and, through it, so did the ways in which the Greeks chose to represent the god. By the time the Parthenon was completely finished, in 432 BC, Garland argues that Hephaistos was 'almost never depicted with a disability' and that, when shown, the god's disability was 'never totalizing' but rather subtly referenced, if at all shown (Sneed 2018:266).

Far from the only representation of Hephaistos in an Athenian civic context, the Ionic frieze is supposed by many to represent an idealised view of both the city of Athens and the human body in general – Hephaistos' mobility aid is, much in line with Sneed's interpretation of later depictions, nothing more than an easy, visually-immediate way of identifying the god. However, there were two further representations of Hephaistos (that we know of) in an explicitly Athenian and civic context: one on the Akropolis, and the other in the Agora. In the Erechtheion, across from the Parthenon, one could find an altar dedicated to Hephaistos. In the Agora, one could find the Hephaestion, or temple of Hephaistos (previously thought of as a temple to Theseus). It is on the latter that I would now like to focus.

While the Akropolis was the religious heart of Athens, the Agora was the political heart of the city. Completed a few years after the Parthenon (430 BC ca.) the Hephaestion and its sculptural groups have been the subject of much speculation. While most of the metopes are intact, the temple's pediments are unfortunately greatly damaged. Based both on finds which were attributed to the temple, and the empty cuttings still present in the pediments themselves, Andrew Stewart interprets the western pediment of the temple as a monumental representation of Hephaistos' return to Olympus (Stewart 2018:691). As mentioned above, vase paintings featuring the Return often included a visible representation of Hephaistos' disability. If Stewart's reconstruction is correct, one would be inclined to expect a similar visualisation of Hephaistos' disability also on the Hephaestion's western pediment. However, as both Sneed and Brennan remind us, by the 5th century BC, most, if not all, references to the god's physical disability were removed in favour of symbols representing said disability. Attic red-figure vases of the same period still depict Hephaistos' return to Olympus, but neither of his legs is visibly deformed. He remains, however, still seated upon his donkey. Similarly, the representation of Hephaistos on the Parthenon shows him as not (at least visibly) physically disabled, save for his crutch – and even then, the crutch is mostly hidden by his and Athena's bodies. Yet, it is included, which is important: by the 5th century, vase paintings of Hephaistos sitting down (like he is on the Parthenon

frieze) frequently omitted both his disability and his mobility aids.

On both the Akropolis and in the Agora, Hephaistos was an undeniable presence, not only as a god but as a disabled god. His iconography, more or less subtle, was a reference to the everyday lived experiences of disabled people in Athens. In Lysias 24, a disabled man is accused of faking his disability to cash in on social security. Throughout his speech, the man addresses the two things his accusers have brought forward as proof of this: that he makes use of a horse, and that he makes enough money to help his friends, therefore doesn't need social security.

In his discussion of his use of horses, which the accuser has branded as a hubristic act (a horse was an expensive animal to keep), he not only addresses his choice of animal, but also his use of other mobility aids. He argues that: 'if he saw me riding on a mule, he would shut up – what else could he say?' and that he makes use of horses and two canes "for the same reason", that is, to 'aid in the travel of long distances' (Lys. 24 10, 12).

The mule and the canes (or crutch) are both part of Hephaistos' iconography. While, rightly so, Sneed is quick to remind us that Hephaistos is the god of crafts first, and the 'Lame' god second, the speaker's use of both these symbols – the mule as a typical mobility aid, as opposed to his extraordinary need to 'ride other men's horses' (Lys. 24 11), and the crutches – are normalised in representations of disabled bodies in two spaces, the Agora and the Akropolis, which were viewed as the centres of Athenian daily life.

While certainly subdued due to the aesthetics of the time, the iconographic elements through which Hephaistos was identifiable not only as himself, but, in particular, as disabled were based on the day-to-day life of disabled Athenians – a population which, contrary to the belief of many, were considered as valuable members of the community (Sneed 2018:166). Nowhere is it more evident than if we take a closer look at his crutch on the Parthenon frieze: like everything else on the Parthenon, it is exquisitely detailed. In particular, its sculptor has had the craft and care to include padding on the top of the crutch, so that, when putting his weight on it, Hephaistos is not too uncomfortable.

Auteurship and Authoritarianism: The Brazilian Cinema Novo Movement, 1960-72

By Jack Bennett

Cinema Novo emerged as a marginal, revolutionary film movement under the military dictatorship of Brazil during the 1960s and 1970s. It became a participatory culture for marginalised groups within society, expressing social injustices and hardships. The movement was launched from 1960 by a young generation of filmmakers influenced by Italian Neorealism, and is associated with the Latin America-wide Third Cinema movement, to which Brazilian filmmaker Glauber Rocha contributed a 1965 manifesto, "The aesthetics of hunger." The cinematic object was to present, through often allegorical representations of national history and contemporary society, a progressive but critical portrayal of Brazil, and at the same time to offer a stylistic alternative to Hollywood and also to Brazilian commercial cinema. Cinema Novo drew on national cultural traditions, often mixing marginal folk and avant-garde forms with "tropicalism," blending the cultural forms of Latin American Catholicism with those of the African religions transplanted to the continent by slavery. The evolution of Cinema Novo during this period can be divided into three distinct phases: 1960 to 1964, 1964 to 1968, and, 1968 to 1972. Shaped by shifting political regimes, screen and society became enmeshed in acts of marginal subversion. From its inception in 1960, Cinema Novo became increasingly politicised. Cinema Novo was rooted in the Popular Centre of Culture and the National Students' Union - a major component of marginal resistance to the military dictatorship, associated with both armed struggle and political solutions to human rights abuses. This contributed to the cinematic movement beyond the established cinematic traditions of 1950s Brazil, which were dominated by commercialised, Hollywood-inspired large budget productions, divorced from the public and marginalised groups across the nation. This resulted in the production of Cinco Vezes Favela in 1961, uniting the marginalised groups under repressive authoritarianism through a political visual culture. The

leftist political orientation and activism of the cinematic and cultural movement was influenced by European New Wave movements and neorealism, which focused on marginalised groups, in particular working class populations experiencing alienation and social and economic hardship. This concept of peripheral class struggle directly informed the cinematic experimentalism and textual playfulness which exposed inequalities and suffering under repressive politics. Directorial freedom, along with the tumultuous social and political climate in Brazil, caused Cinema Novo to experience remarkably dramatic shifts in form and content.

With its focus on violence, religious alienation, and economic exploitation, Cinema Novo constituted a "political optimism" according to Johnson and Stam; a source of potential revolutionary subversion of the political order. By uncovering and presenting the "dark corners" of Brazil, such as the favelas and its sertao, it illuminated the socio-political contradictions, which enmeshed the nation during these pivotally transformative years. The harshness of life and the struggle in the margins of society were reflected in the aesthetics of the films themselves, through hand-held camera techniques and stark scenery, as well as monochrome colour palettes. Diegues argues that Cinema Novo engaged in a proletariat philosophy, uncovering the lives and experiences of the marginalised groups under repressive government policies; sowing the seeds of cultural resistance, by addressing issues of class and racial unrest. This is most clearly conveyed through the film Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol (Black God, White Devil) by Glauber Rocha in 1964, described as a "frenzied parable of desperation" instilling in the marginalised and oppressed a violent, revolutionary potential. In addition, films such as Nelson Pereira dos Santos's Barren Lives in 1963, and Ruy Guerra's The Guns in 1964, focused on the oppressive landowners and destitute peasants of north-eastern

Brazil. All three productions foreground the agrarian hardship and marginalisation within Brazil during this period.

A coup in 1964 against Democratic President Joao Goulart, led to the totalitarian, oppressive military dictatorship of Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco. During this time Cinema Novo experienced a disconnection from the public. What Cinema Novo demonstrated was a marginal pursuit of social and political reform and revolution in the face of threatened annihilation. In this political climate of upheaval Barren Lives was banned, and Rocha arrested, though his film Black God, White Devil received critical acclaim at Cannes Film Festival. In the midst of dictatorial repression, Cinema Novo increased its engagement with urban issues in Brazil. For example, Carlos Diegues's The Big City (1966) revealed the plight of marginalised rural migrants. Rocha made Land in Anguish, which revealed the ambiguous role of middle-class intellectuals in the regime and transformation of Brazil during this period. Dos Santos produced Hunger for Love, (1968) communicating the failure of the Brazilian revolution. The films became increasingly concerned with analysing the failure of democratic populism in Brazil, and also marked a shift away from realism towards a self-reflexive anti-illusionism that proved less popular with filmgoers. John King argues that the films of Cinema Novo were characterised by "carnivalesque subversion [and] represented history against the grain of the nationalist, triumphantalist desire of the government" through the focus on marginalised groups, individuals, perspectives and voices. Simultaneously, there developed a transition within the Cinema Novo movement itself, from the margins of Brazilian culture towards more popular centres, in order to illicit broader political engagement. This engagement by Cinema Novo, which underwent a process of professionalisation during this period, undermined the political message conveyed through earlier aesthetics of form

and content, contradicting the ideals professed by the movement in its first phase. In response, Cinema Marginal emerged, which refocused Cinema Novo on the figures of marginalisation in Brazil under oppressive authoritarian dictatorial politics.

With a second military coup in 1968, which saw the rise of General Medici, Cinema Novo transitioned into its third phase until 1972, described alternatively as "the cannibal-tropicalist phase" or the "tropicalist." Tropicalism focused on the interaction between popular cinema and the avant-garde, Brazilian tradition and external cultural influences. Cinema Novo became a movement of vitality, evolution, and negotiation in line with the transformations taking place socially and internationally regarding cinematic tastes, and with shifts in the repressive military regime. However, there are contradictions and ironies at the heart of the Cinema Novo movement. With the military regime creating the National Film Institute and Embrafilme in 1966, which provided state funding to cinematic projects, Carlos Diegues became a beneficiary, involved in the military government's desire to commemorate Brazil's 150th anniversary. Nevertheless, circumnavigating strict censorship laws contributed to an engagement with metaphor, allegory, and myth that represented marginalised voices and perspectives. Cannibalism

was used both literally and metaphorically within film. In particular, the 1971 production Como Era Gostoso o Meu Frances (How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman), depicts both the abduction and consumption of the protagonist by cannibals, while also implicitly delivering the idea that Brazil should "cannibalise" external forces in order to overcome domination, providing an allegory for both dictatorial domination of marginal indigenous populations, and the geo-political marginalisation of Brazil. This reinforced the notion that revolutionary violence from marginalised, internal, neo-colonised groups and cultures was needed in order to bring about political and social change.

Ultimately, under the military junta during this period, through the actions of marginalised creative individuals, groups and cultures, cinema can be understood as a flourishing, national cultural space rather than one simply censored, controlled and restricted. Cinema Novo reveals the impact of economic and political power on cultural representations, pursuits and outlets, providing an alternative perspective on traditional top-down dispensations of state policies upon national film production. Cinema Novo, rather, became a powerful, politically motivated and socially conscious film movement, positioning the marginal at the centre of Brazilian cinematic transformations during the 1960s and 1970s.
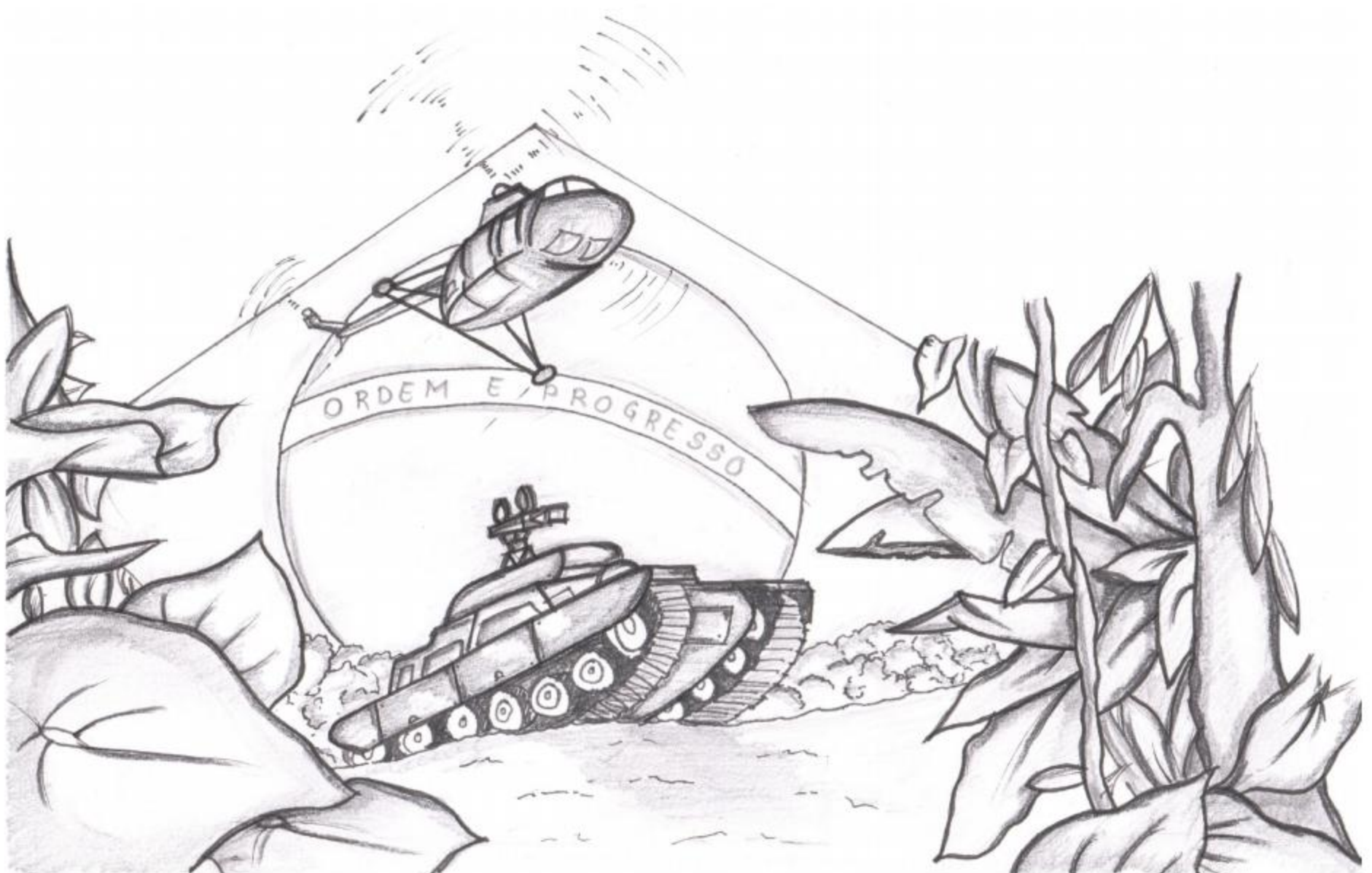

Illustration by Author

Tracing Twentieth-century Historiography of the Highland Clearances

By Mhairi Ferrier

The Highland Clearances are an extremely significant event in Scottish history. The Clearances were a mass removal of the local people from the land to make way for sheep farming, which would make the landlords large sums of money. The evictions took place in two periods. The first was from the mid-1780s to the 1820s, with the focus being on moving tenants to the coast to take part in the kelp and fishing industries. These industries were largely a failure, leading to the second phase of Clearances from 1840 until the mid-1850s which focused on moving people to the Lowlands or abroad to places like Canada and Australia. However, despite their significance, there was a lack of academic interest in the Clearances, going unchanged until the latter half of the twentieth century. Almost as fascinating to learn about as the events themselves, the development of historiography in this field is truly intriguing. As with many aspects of Highlands and Isles' history, initially little attention or thought was given to the impacts of the events on the people, culture and language of the region. This work aims to present three key historiographical works of the twentieth century, two of which changed the direction and focus of research into the Highland Clearances. The majority of the early twentieth century works were written using an economic framework, with a lack of emphasis on the people, and this would remain the dominating narrative until the 1980s. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that the social impacts of the Clearances would begin to be examined.

The Making of the Crofting Community (1976) by James Hunter marked a critical moment in changing the historiography of the Highland Clearances. Hunter's would be the first account to be appreciated by both academics and the general public. This work shows disregard to landlords and is almost Marxist in its analysis of the events. However we may view Marxism, the methods of Marxist theory have

much to offer the Highland Clearances. By placing the landlord and crofter into the proletariat and bourgeoisie hierarchies, we are able to see the Clearances from a Highlander's point of view, something that previous academic works failed to account for. What is key to Hunter's account (and many of his subsequent works) is the concept of land – something that is vital to the Highland history and their lifestyle as crofters. Hunter wanted his work to be part of the campaign for land reform which was starting to be active in the 1970s. Despite Hunter's ground-breaking account, many works published into the 1980s continued to follow the economic framework. However, some did adopt a more sympathetic attitude to the horrors that Highland people had been forced to endure and included more of these human aspects in their own works. Overall, Hunter wanted to take the highly emotive non-academic accounts such as those by John Prebble (to be discussed) and Ian Grimble and use them in an academic way while rejecting the economic model of previous studies. Hunter's motivations were simple, he wanted to show that the Highland view of Highland history was the correct one.

Despite the work of Hunter being the first accessible to both the general public and academics alike, there are some texts published in the 1960s that are key to both the memory and legacy of the Highland Clearances. The most important of these is John Prebble's *The Highland Clearances* (1963), which remains the bestselling account of the Clearances. In this work, Prebble (like Hunter writing subsequently) is very critical of the landlords who enacted the removal of people from the land. This idea is key to Prebble's work and he highlights the fact that those in charge of evictions were often not the English (as popularly believed) but rather were the old clan chiefs who had become landlords. Public belief is that this conflict was a Scotland vs. England dispute, but

to a large extent the landlords were fellow Scots, with some being Highlanders themselves. John Prebble was a thorough researcher and his work detailed many aspects of the Clearances for the first time.

However, despite the success with the public, Prebble's work was publicly criticised by academics of the time. The late Professor Gordon Donaldson, at the time of the University of Edinburgh branded Prebble's work as utter rubbish and also made comments describing the Highland Clearances as insignificant to Scottish history. These academic attitudes can probably be understood more clearly by looking at attitudes to the Highlands and Islands region more generally at the time. In the nineteenth century the outside view of the Highlands and Islands was largely a paradox. While the Highland culture and way of life was seen as an obstacle to modernity by those in the rest of Scotland and the rest of the UK – the wildness and remoteness of the region was looked on positively by onlookers. Outsiders were attracted to the region to escape their urban lives, while completely ignoring the struggles of the ordinary Highlander. These ideas of a Romantic Highland landscape were carried into the twentieth century and help us to understand academic attitudes to the Highland Clearances.

A work examining the twentieth-century historiography would not be complete without a discussion on Malcolm Gray's *The Highland Economy 1750-1850* (1957). Using the economic approach which dominated this field, the book attempts to answer to what extent the Clearances were to blame for the Highland destitution of the nineteenth century. Gray's work has a large focus on the industries which developed as a result of the Clearances such as fishing and kelp. While noting that the Clearances were more violent than they needed to be, Gray only dedicates a very small amount of his work to discuss the actual events which

affected the Highland people. Obviously as this work is about the economy it should dedicate most discussion to it, nevertheless the Highland economy goes hand in hand with the effects of the Clearances and it would do the region justice to have more discussion within this book. Eric Richards called Gray's the most crucial contribution to understanding the Clearances and the Highland dilemma. This type of study does the Highland people a disservice and links back to Hunter's motivation of writing the way he does – to demonstrate that the Highland view of history is correct. Richards was also very critical of the work of John Prebble; of Prebble's work Richards notes, 'Prebble's histories are literary and allusive.' This just highlights the disconnect between academic historians and public historians, as while writers such as Prebble were attempting to give the individual a voice to tell their story, academics were disregarding this as a pointless endeavour. The exception to this was, of course, James Hunter, whom we have established was attempting to bridge the gap between these two types of history.

The discussed works provide a useful overview for the development of the events' historiography in the twentieth century. Malcolm Gray's work illustrates the type of research which dominated this field for the first half of the century; and remained popular despite the new social approach which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. The works of John Prebble and James Hunter have done more than any other to give the Highlander a voice in the accounts of their story of the Clearances. These works were some of the first which provided an in-depth ac-

count of the effects these events had on the people and communities – something which had been previously overlooked. Since these accounts were written, writing and research into the Highland Clearances has been much more empathetic to the plights of the ordinary Highlander. Two great twenty-first century examples are Iain Mackinnon's article *Colonialism and the Highland Clearances* (2017) and Robert Mathieson's *The Survival of the Unfittest: The Highland Clearances and the End of Isolation* (2000). The view of Prebble's significance among academics is something that has improved greatly in the twenty-first century, with his pioneering approaches finally being recognised. Catriona MacDonald of the University of Glasgow noted, 'While academics in Scotland celebrated new approaches to social history that emerged in the 1960s, heralded by E. P. Thompson […] many failed to see that under their noses a Canadian had been doing the same in Scotland – rescuing the Highlander from the 'condescension of prosperity'.'

While this work has examined the marginalisation of the Highland community in the depiction of the Highland Clearances, this is not unique to this aspect of Highland history. In the twentieth century a lack of academic research and general interest in the Highlands and Islands, left many stereotypes and misunderstandings of the communities unchallenged. Thankfully this has changed for the better due to improved attitudes of the region; and in the current century, study and appreciation of the Highlands and Islands is booming, largely thanks to the influence of the University of the Highlands and Islands.

A discussion of Elizabeth Cohen's argument that recent gender history about Italian Renaissance women has painted a picture of women caught between 'subordination and agency'

By Alice Wright

Cohen claims that feminist historians have homogenised Renaissance women into a single category under either the basic model of subordination or of agency. Cohen believes we need to break up the "universal woman" and consider factors such as class and geographical location. Cohen defines the subordination model as that which claims women existed in a perpetual state of disempowerment and marginalisation; and the agency model as that which emphasises women's activity despite restriction. By categorising ' recent gender history' as incorporating history from the 1970's to the contemporary, this article will argue that Cohen is unduly critical of recent gender history.

In the revolutionary essay 'Did Women have a Renaissance?' Kelly argues that the advent of capitalism led to a regression of women's agency and a resurgence of the ideals of female chastity and passivity, forcing women further back into the domestic sphere. Kelly focuses her analysis on upper-class women, justifying this by claiming that they felt the regression most acutely. By acknowledging the reasoning behind her thesis' privileging of the upper-classes, (that their experience of socio-economic regression was the most pronounced) Kelly does not succumb to the kind of elitism suggested in Cohen's subordination model. Kelly's thesis is therefore still relevant, and has arguably been unfairly criticised by Cohen.

Cohen counters Kelly with varied and sometimes conflicting arguments; arguing first that the institutional enclosure during this period was not simply experienced by class elites, but also by women of the lowest orders such as beggars, orphans and the diseased who were frequently sequestered into asylums. She then counters that working class women did have greater freedom, as necessity often compelled them to work externally to support themselves and their families, facilitating social circulation and even economic migration. This demonstrates gender history that incorporates both models of subordination and agency, yet despite wanting to 'reclaim the renaissance' from Kelly, Cohen acknowledges some agreement with her colleague.

Cohen claims that the legal and economic restrictions placed on less privileged women ought to his-

torically de-prioritise the restrictions placed on the privileged. This, however, promotes competitive victimisation in women's historiography that draws attention away from the fact that any restriction based on gender is an injustice and worth analysing. It is also difficult to quantitatively compare different categories of restrictions. Cohen claims that feminist historians who "embrace equality for themselves" overlook the impact that hierarchy had on Renaissance women. This seems unduly critical, as it is arguably fantastical to claim that such a hierarchy has even been completely undermined in the present, and this would have been even more questionable for female historians publishing in the 1970s.

Although focusing her study on Isotta Nogarola, Jardine acknowledges Nogarola's elite status and unrepresentative privilege, using this as a prism through which to understand broad feminine restrictions with regard to humanist education and intellectual application. In doing this, she demonstrates that placing emphasis on extraordinary achievement does not mean the agents of that achievement were not subject to societal subordination, nor does it have to mean neglecting the study of women of the lower orders. The manner in which the historiography treats these "women worthies" is equally important. Boccaccio lauded praiseworthy women in his Concerning Famous Women, because they had overcome the apparent limitations of being physically female. Cohen argues that the notion of gender as a social construct, beginning in the 1980s, led a new wave of celebrating women for their achievements. This, however, overlooks that many Renaissance women, such as Christine de Pizan (1401-1471), protested against the social construction of gender and the misleading notions of sex it portrayed. In fact, Caferro argues that one of the most important developments for women in the Renaissance was an increased awareness and discussion of gender issues. Unfortunately, analysis of this carries with it an inevitable elitism, as surviving primary sources are restricted to the literate and those which have been deemed worthy of saving by generations of patriarchal domination of the field. Despite these limitations, sources such as Nogarola's Dialogue on the Equal and Unequal Sin of Eve and Adam, do demonstrate that gender was a topic of discussion amongst elite intellectuals, and as Jardine has shown, can reveal the scope and limitations of female education.

Caferro analyses the way that religion provided both agency and subordination, combining both models to create a rich under-standing of how religion influenced women eclectically. Caferro argues that restrictive gender roles and misogyny were grounded in scripture. For example, Eve as the original temptress compared to the sinless virgin Mary, the idealised chaste and passive woman. Caferro argues that Christianity had the means of physically sequestering women in convents, ensuring the cultural obsession with chastity and providing honourable solutions to fathers who did not want to provide dowries. However, Caferro also acknowledges that convents could provide education to women that may have otherwise been denied to them. Convents also owned significant amounts of land that placed nuns and abbesses in positions of great local authority at the centre of social and economic networks. Similarly, Medioli synthesises both models by describing how some women who had been subordinated into taking vows involuntarily, used the agency provided by the convents to petition for their release. Both Caferro and Medioli reject basic models, instead providing a recent gender history that demonstrates that both subordination and agency existed for women even under the same institution, such as the Church.

Comparing examples of the application of either the subordination or agency model in isolation upon the same topic expresses the limitations of doing so. For example, Klapisch-Zuber emphasises the dowry, and its increased importance in the fifteenth century, as pivotal in reducing women to a quantifiable commodity. By contrast, Chojnacki argues that dowries allowed women to enter marriages with significant respect and power. The contradictory nature of the arguments expresses the limitations of taking one model in isolation of the other. Chojnacki's argument particularly suffers by doing so. By determining agency as wealth, Chojnacki neglects the fact that commodification is subordination, and he automatically creates a hierarchy of quantifiable agency among women. As expressed by Kelly, wealth was often a means of coercive control and exclusion not a means of power.

Whilst recent gender historians have used models of subordination and agency, as defined by Cohen, it is unfair to suggest that they have painted a picture of Renaissance women caught in either one or the other. Individual historians tend to lean more towards one over the other, but largely integrate both to create a nuanced argument that uses gender as a means of revealing the restrictions and activities of elite women and lower class women in early modern Italy.

Korean-Chinese People at the Margins

By Shinwoo Kim

Korean-Chinese people are an ethnically Korean group who have been a long-term diaspora in China, especially in the Northeast. They are a multilingual population who can speak both Chinese and Korean, and they have been fighting for rights to Korean identity in the midst of assimilation pressures. Since emigrating to South Korea and Japan, they have had mixed experiences due to their differences in transnational identity, and disparities in their associations and connections compared with their host populations. This article will examine the history of the Korean-Chinese diaspora (joseonjok in Korean) and how they are perceived and treated by the majority population in China, South Korea and Japan.

Formation of Korean-Chinese diaspora

Early examples of Koreans who lived in China can be identified before and during the early Qing dynasty, when Koreans were transported to China as war prisoners. However, these Koreans assimilated into the population and have lost their Korean heritage. Most early Korean-Chinese diaspora (or joseonjok) who have retained their Korean language and customs, are actually descendants of Koreans who migrated to Northeast China in the later Qing dynasty. Northeast China at the time was governed by Manchurian administrators of the Dynasty, who wanted to separate the Northeast both politically and ethnographically into 'Manchuria,' somewhere they could retreat if an ethnically Han Chinese Dynasty took over. The Manchu people had sealed the area north of the Korean-Chinese border, lined by Mt. Baekdu, Yalu and Tumen River, as a 'birthplace of their ancestors'. They prohibited non-Manchu people, including Koreans, from entering this area in an attempt to keep it untouched by human settlement. The Qing Government thus forced Joseon (a past name for Korea) rulers to implement a ban known as 'Wol Gwang Jwe' (Crime of River-Crossing) in 1677, which meant that Koreans found entering this area were heavily punished.

Despite this ban, Koreans living on the Korean-Chinese border risked entry into this area to gather essential food and medicine. They were primarily living around Mt. Baekdu, the setting of Korea's founding myth, in which Korea's forefather, Dangun, found Joseon (Korea). Due to peasant revolts in the south of Korea spreading further into the northern Korean peninsula, and an increased number of natural disasters in this region, more and more Koreans migrated to the north (Chinese) side of the Yalu and Tumen River, whilst the ban was still in place. After the Russian Empire seized this area and the Qing government was forced to sign the Convention of Peking, the ban was lifted in 1881.

In the same year, the Qing government designated a 700 x 45 km^2 area north of the Tumen River for the Korean farmers, wanting Korean immigrants who had already settled in the area to be responsible for cultivating its land. Since then, irrigation systems and paddy fields have flourished across Northeast China, and the earliest irrigation system in Yanbian, Northeast China, was developed by Korean farmers in 1906. Yanbian was eventually designated as a Korean autonomous prefecture due to the number of ethnic Koreans in the region.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, more Koreans migrated from Korea to Northeast China. These were Korean independence activists who had fled from the Japanese colonial rule of Korea, which had started in 1910. Japanese agricultural reforms had resulted in Korean farmers being stripped of their land, and the lack of urban industry to which to transfer the newly redundant rural population resulted in Japan relocating Korean farmers to China instead. The newly established Republic of China issued a land development decree in 1914, which saw Northeast China's Korean farmers prove themselves 'model minorities' in their role as land cultivators, and led to the Republic of China expanding migration opportunities in order to gather more farmers,

making it easier for the Japanese to relocate Koreans to China. The population of Koreans in Northeast China reached 2 million during this period. However, in the mid-1980s, this number decreased as Korean-Chinese people migrated from rural to urban areas of China, to Japan or to their 'ethnic homeland', South Korea.

Korean-Chinese people in China

In 1881, when the Qing Dynasty gave farming rights to Korean-Chinese people, they also granted Korean-Chinese people land ownership, under the condition that they adopted the dress codes of the Manchu people. Korean-Chinese people refused, seeing this as an assimilation policy. When Koreans migrated in the early 1900s, such refusals were viewed by the Chinese as evidence of the migrants being 'anti-Japanese independence activists,' partly because some of them did in fact, participate in anti-Japanese movements. For example, the Korean-dense region of Yanbian had a grassroots anti-Japanese demonstration on March 13, 1919.

Koreans who were relocated under Japanese authority to Northeast China were suspected of being a Japanese tool of Chinese infiltration. This was because the Japanese used Korean emigrants as an excuse to expand their influence and economic power over China. For example, the Japanese would hire or assume control over Korean farmers in Northeast China, whose paddy fields provided the Japanese with rice, a commodity more expensive in Japan. After Japan invaded Northeast China and established the puppet state of Manchuria or 'Manchukuo' in 1934, Korean farmers were sent to occupy the region. The Chinese government and its citizens viewed Koreans as the agents of Japanese invasion into China, especially after events such as the Tanaka and Wanpaoshun Incidents.

The tense political foundation of this relationship meant that Korean-Chinese people did not trust the Chinese government. When the Fengtian clique tried to

gain control of Korean-Chinese people by persuading them to become naturalised citizens of China, most refused because they saw it as the government's attempt to assimilate them into Han Chinese. In order to gain the trust of Korean-Chinese people and to prevent Japanese influence of the Korean-Chinese people, the Chinese government set up Joseonjok ethnic schools, while still encouraging them to naturalise.
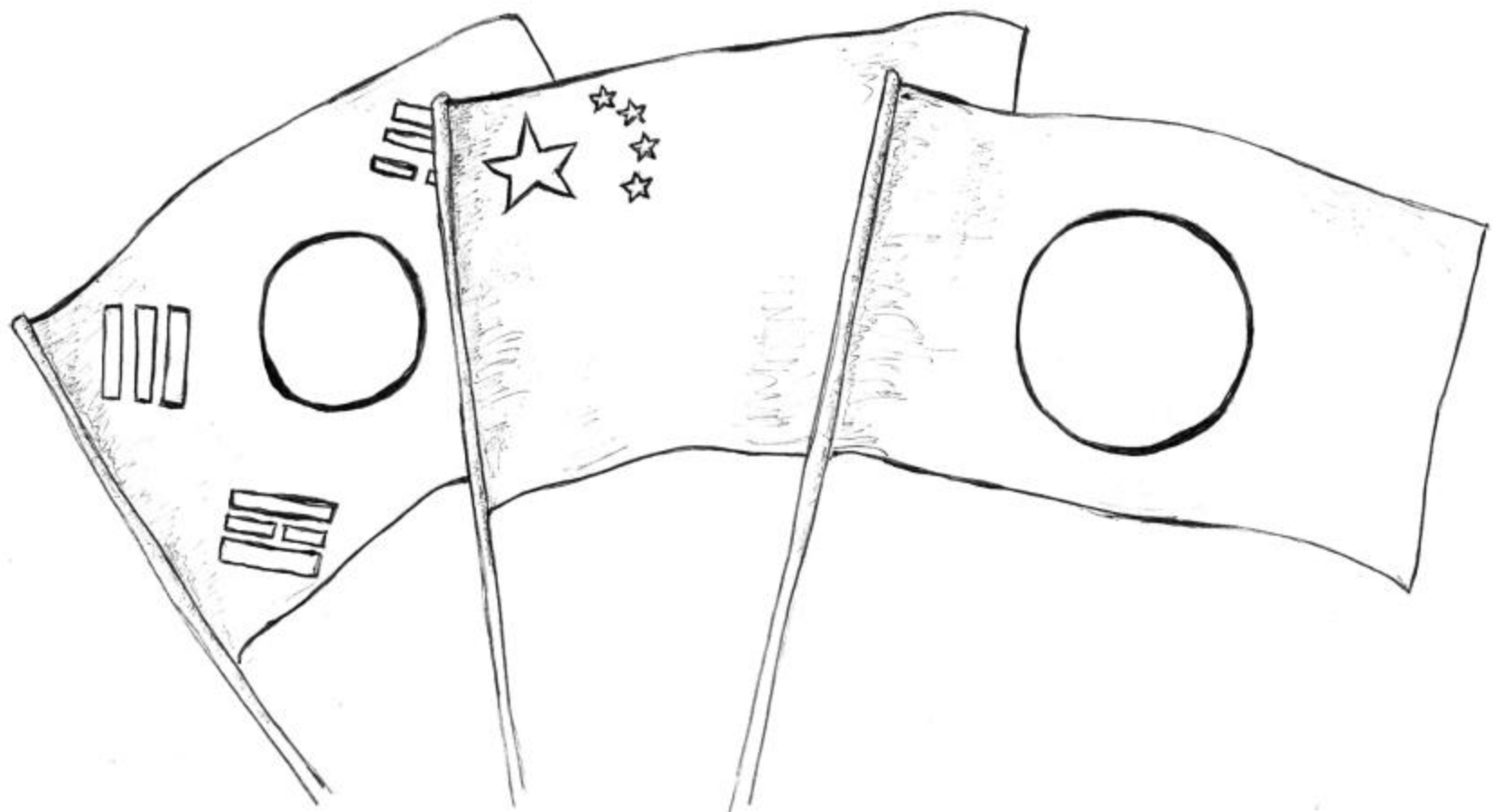
After signing a treaty with Japan in 1925 to remove Korean independence activists from Northeast China, the Fengtian clique used the refusal of some Korean-Chinese people to be naturalised as an excuse to persecute the immigrants and strip them of their land. Thus, Korean-Chinese people were incentivised to become naturalised, and many became Chinese citizens, but were not really successful in gaining autonomy.

After the Chinese Civil War, relationships with China became drastically better. Chinese-Korean people participated in the uprisings and projects of the Chinese Community Party, and gained favour with them. During the War of Liberation, Korean-Chinese people also joined the People's Liberation Army, and after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, Korean-Chinese people became an official member of the Zhonghua minzu. On 3 March 1952, Yanbian was designated a Korean Autonomous Region, later renamed Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. Although during the Cultural Revolution, Korean-Chinese people were prosecuted as capitalist counterrevolutionaries and local nationalists, it can be argued their relationship with China returned to normal in the Cultural Revolution's aftermath.

Joseonjok ethnic schools, including those in Yanbian, allowed Korean-Chinese people to continue their education in Korean. As most Korean-Chinese people can trace their ancestry back to the Hamgyong region of North Korea, they have this dialect, but with the increasing popularity of South Korean shows in Chinese media, they have started to adopt the Seoul dialect. This increasing positive portrayal of South Korea has positively affected the treatment of Chinese people by Korean-Chinese people.

Korean-Chinese people in South Korea

When Korean-Chinese peoples' move to South Korea was made possible by the diplomatic normalisation between China and South Korea in 1992, they immigrated to Korea to pursue the 'Korean Dream,' which they had derived from a positive media portrayal of South Korea as an economically booming place of opportunity. They also thought they'd be accepted into society, as they had the same ethnicity as the South Koreans. However, they soon realised significant differences in identity, and these differences led to the systemic discrimination of Korean-Chinese immigrants. Korean-Chinese people in South Korean media are portrayed overwhelmingly as evil criminals who are associated with scam and fraud, and the South Korean government often does not provide Korean-Chinese people with work visas, enough training for new roles, consistent wages, nor an easy transition into wider South Korean society. Many Korean-Chinese businesses are forced to restrict themselves to Chinese and Korean-Chinese customers, and live mainly in Seoul's China-

town in Daerim-dong. The negative perception of Korean-Chinese people in South Korea may be linked to the anti-communist sentiments towards Chinese people in South Korea, adopted from the 'Red Scare' narrative of America that occupies and influences South Korea, but negative perceptions are also fuelled by anti-Japanese sentiments from Japanese colonial rule, that viewed Korean-Chinese people as collaborators of the Japanese.

Due to discrimination, Korean-Chinese people can often consider themselves temporary visitors to Korea, rather than permanent settlers. It is now common for Korean-Chinese children in China to have at least one parent work in South Korea for an indeterminate amount of time, and studies show that this adversely affects the academic performance of Korean-Chinese children in China.

Korean-Chinese people in Japan

Since the 1980s, Korean-Chinese students have been able to migrate to Japan with other Chinese students under the Japanese government's '100,100 International Students Plan.' To seek out better life chances, many have moved to Japan as students, and subsequently stayed on as employees.

As Korean-Chinese people in Japan are registered as Chinese citizens in Japan, they cannot gain independent minority status, and they are perceived as a subgroup of the mainstream Chinese migrant population by Japanese government. However, their 'double diaspora,' transnational status, as those who travelled from Korea to China, and then from China to Japan, means that although they tend to follow the same trajectory as other Chinese migrants in Japan, they have social contacts in Korea as well as China. This, and their multilingualism (they speak Korean, Chinese and Japanese, albeit to varying degrees of fluency) gives Korean-Chinese immigrants in Japan the flexibility with which to achieve a positive perception and identity in their host country, unlike what they might experience in South Korea.

In conclusion, it is evident that Korean-Chinese people have rich histories in Japan, South Korea and China. In China, they have had a notably changing relationship with their host government, depending on how much they helped or complied with the Chinese or Japanese authorities. Although they are viewed as Chinese citizens in China and elsewhere, Korean-Chinese people have, throughout their time in China, identified as having a unique identity, distinct to that of the Han Chinese, and have mostly rejected policies of assimilation. In South Korea, discrimination has led Korean-Chinese people to form a close-knit group with other Chinese people, including other Korean-Chinese people. Finally, in Japan, the population of Korean-Chinese immigrants isn't as geographically dense as it is in South Korea, but it can be argued that Korean-Chinese people are viewed with some degree of admiration, and feel a sense of superiority and pride in their identity that is facilitated by their multilingualism and transnational connections.

Palestine at the Margins of History

By Inge Erdal

The accounts of Palestinians of their own history have been effectively marginalized in Western political discourse and public knowledge of the country. This is despite recent breakthroughs in Western academia about Palestine and its ancient past, revealing a very different picture than the one still taught during Sunday service and even most school curricula. This perhaps puzzling situation is the result of the continuous marginalization of indigenous perspectives, as well as the entrenched positions of the cultural hegemony of Christianity, and to a lesser extent Islam. As a result, Zionism has succeeded in making itself the only legitimate narrative, by elevating the officially sanctioned memory found in the Bible into accepted history- a history with very real political consequences.

In his 1996 book, The invention of Ancient Israel: The silencing of Palestinian History, Keith Whitlam argues that modern biblical scholarship has a decidedly political slant, by employing terms like "Land of Israel," Eretz Israel, for the region, an invented term that has no record in the period itself. From this, in part, he argues that Palestinian history has been marginalized by the quest for ancient Israel, as a quasi-nation state, effectively silencing Palestinian history.

Whitlam's claims seem well-founded. Recent study of the region, including critical study of the Bible and ancient texts, as well as critical post-structuralist archaeology less connected to colonialism or Zionism, has established quite different interpretations of the past. Significant among these are essential myths used to justify the continued settler-colonialism of Israel. That

of the origins of the Jewish groups vis-à-vis others in Palestine, their primordial monotheism, as well as the expulsion of the Jewish population from the country in late antiquity.

According to the Bible, the Israelites came to Palestine from Egypt, with an essentially fully-formed monotheistic religion, around 1300BC, during the Exodus. However, despite over two centuries of excavations in Egypt, arguably the most excavated country on the planet, no archaeological proof of that old Jewish presence or such large-scale population movement has surfaced. Lack of evidence does not strictly mean it did not occur, however, in addition to that, there is not any archaeological evidence of the existence of the United Kingdom of David and Solomon, supposedly active around the turn of the first millennium BC. Despite Western and Israeli archaeologists' active pursuit of such evidence for over seventy years.

Zeev Herzog, Professor of Archeology at Tel Aviv University, commented on the situation in the weekly magazine Haaretz in 1996:

"Following 70 years of intensive excavations in the Land of Israel, archaeologists have found out: The patriarchs' acts are legendary, the Israelites did not sojourn in Egypt or make an exodus, they did not conquer the land. Neither is there any mention of the empire of David and Solomon, nor of the source of belief in the God of Israel. These facts have been known for years, but Israel is a stubborn people and nobody wants to hear about it."

Instead, the currently accepted theory holds the two ancient Jewish kingdoms of Judah and Israel as distinct Canaanite entities who shared similar religious cults and practices. The varying terms of Israelite and Jew derived from each. These developed together and were then synthesised along with other impulses from Babylonian and Zoroastrian practice during the Babylonian exile and the following Persian period of reconstruction. This is derived from knowledge that the Old Testament was put together during the exile. Furthermore, Herodotus, the ancient Greek historian and ethnographer, travelled to Palestine in the fifth century BC and described it as land of highly diverse and varied polytheism, meaning that the creation of Judaism as a monotheistic religion had to develop from the seventh century BC. From this century onwards Judaism moved from Mono-polytheism to monotheism, as a gradual and incredibly complicated process of cultural trauma, changing political orders, and migration. From this it has been argued that the idea of the theocratic monarchy of Saul, David, and Solomon in the ancient past, was likely based on old cultural memory of old ruling clans in Judah. This was used as means to justify the theocratic nature of the Persian kingship- Cyrus the Great was after all a messiah, "anointed one," of the Jewish people. Bearing this in mind, Jews could not have been foreign conquerors of Palestine in the ancient past, but merely a distinct religious community among others that developed in the region - one that lived alongside distinct Aramaic, Phoenician, and Greek-speaking communities. The Bible is therefore not a reliable account of history, but better understood as a form of officially sanctioned cultural memory.

This leads into the third point of mythology about the Jewish expulsion from Palestine. The Roman response to rebellion was certainly incredibly brutal. Modern estimates suggest that around 350,000 died as a result of the first and third Jewish wars, with the ancient Jewish historian Josephus claiming that 97,000 were taken as slaves. This was an enormous loss of population, but it was not enough to destroy it. That would be difficult to argue in any case, since it is well documented that Rabbinic Judaism developed in Palestine during the first and second centuries AD, meaning a substantial population would have survived. The logical conclusion of this is that a clear majority of Jewish population were never expelled from Palestine, but gradually accultured and converted to Christianity, and later Islam, over the millennia, while large parts of the diaspora, especially in Europe, were converts at some point. Zionism, like many na-

tionalisms, has the clear need to identify the nation in terms of an unbroken bloodline, seeing Jews as a singular people with a shared history and destiny. This conception of Jews as a singular race or ethnicity is no older than the Enlightenment, tying Jewishness to a degraded state of being instead of religion. Instead, a more historically conscious view would be to recognize Jews as a diverse group of peoples that have lived on various continents, speaking different languages, and often of different ethnicities, but all belonging to a religious community with a powerful sense of antiquity and tradition. Indeed, an officially sanctioned memory that has proved strong enough to marginalize attempts at a new history to truly enter into public consciousness.

In fact, it took until the 1990s and 2000s for more indigenous history from below on Palestine, not based around the orientalist methodology of trying to confirm what one already believed was true, to gain a presence in Anglophone academic history. That said, regardless of what has become academic consensus, even in Israel itself, this has hardly affected the state or politics. As Herzog himself puts quite clearly.

"It turns out that part of Israeli society is ready to recognize the injustice that was done to the Arab inhabitants of the country and is willing to accept the principle of equal rights for women - but is not up to adopting the archaeological facts that shatter the biblical myth. The blow to the mythical foundations of the Israeli identity is apparently too threatening, and it is more convenient to turn a blind eye."

This implicitly colonialist, orientalist, and Biblicist view of Palestine, and the Middle East in general, is not just about Israel or Zionism but, more prominently the enduring presence of colonialism and Christianity in the sphere of cultural hegemony, education systems, and systems of socialization. Such implications of support are also present in Islamic practice, where Biblicist accounts have also been taken for granted, since the credibility of ancient Judaism in turn gives credibility to Islam and its pretensions to be the culmination of a long and storied religious tradition. In the end, the continued marginalization of Palestinian voices, and the high-degree of isolation of academic history from public knowledge, continues to reproduce and justify the conflict plaguing the country and its region. As such, Palestine is left forever at the margins of history, in the shadow of a lost kingdom that never existed.

The Margins of Enfranchisement: Black Life in the American South

By Martha Stutchbury

The end of the Civil War in 1865 signaled a new age for the American South's former Confederate states. The conflict, principally induced by abolitionist opposition to America's system of slavery, was concluded with the passage of Fourteenth (1868) and Fifteenth (1870) amendments to the Constitution. The latter of these awarded US citizens the vote, regardless of 'race, color, or previous condition of servitude', and both alterations were seen to symbolise an end to America's system of slave exploitation. In *The Crucible of Race*, Joel Williamson explores the facets of such emancipation, claiming scepticism about the extent to which such legislation really enfranchised the African American population. Indeed, Williamson argues that where emancipation did exist, and was not circumvented by escape clauses such as forced labour for the (disproportionately black) criminal population, it was coupled with a feudalisation of black life - a new kind of societal serfdom. This piece will briefly explore, with particular focus on Williamson's perspective, attempts made by the South, almost immediately after emancipation, to marginalise and restrict America's new freedmen.

Williamson acknowledges a partial enfranchisement afforded to black communities, in select dimensions of life, after the war. For example, the historian draws attention to the South's increase in African American land ownership. However, he claims that, when it came to incorporating freedmen into Southern American society, even these relative "successes" were inextricably correlated with white conceptions of the American Dream, and that - on a large scale, Southern blacks utilised their freedom from plantations to pursue predetermined and traditionally white markers of success. Williamson argues that it was only through the pursuit of these culturally pre-established aims that the entry of the freedman into Southern society was deemed socially acceptable.

Land ownership and acquisition was significant amongst these material goalposts, with economically able freedmen aiming to secure themselves 'approximately 40 acres' on the southern plains - where almost 90% of America's black population lived until the First World War, on which they could work autonomously to support their families. For those black families that reunited on this newly purchased land, Williamson's text observes a return to traditional structures of patriarchy, with newly enfranchised black men moving to keep their wives 'out of the fields' and into domestic spheres on a large scale. The percentage of black women working in the agricultural sector declined significantly in this era. It is interesting to consider this land acquisition, and the subsequent adherence to patriarchal familial structures in the post-emancipation period - when women had previously laboured so abundantly under slavery, as an attempted 'reclaiming' of the soil and earth upon which black communities had been dehumanised and exploited under Confederate rule. It can be interpreted that black landowners had a view to 'permitting' their wives a new life without manual labour - a lifestyle of domesticity exclusively associated with the wives of plantation owners. We can, therefore, move to consider the entry of freedman into Southern society after emancipation - even in areas of perceived integration and 'progress' such as the purchase of land, as remaining chiefly characterised by white restriction and marginalisation.

The establishment of Reconstruction governments in the South after emancipation was deemed important for the protection of new civil and political rights for Southern blacks. In his text, Williamson claims that such governments offered black citizens an 'invitation to whiteness', as opposed to consequential racial integration, tending to 'filter out' blackness as an 'acceptable' facet of African-American existence. Williamson summarises when he

claims that: 'The freedman was the black man that the slave South wittingly and unwittingly had made, and in freedom he seemed to be getting whiter every year'. This is a wider claim from the historian, relating to the psychological consequences of white attempts to restrict or marginalise African American identities during this period.

The historian ultimately claims that the attempted emancipation of African Americans at the close of the Civil War was the preface for a level of race segregation that would have been unprecedented even in the antebellum era. According to Williamson, the antebellum system of slavery - whilst innately exploitative, had required a physical, whilst not emotional or psychological, intimacy between the races, whereas emancipation 'precipitated an immediate and revolutionary separation' as white Southerners fostered a renewed enthusiasm for codifying racial segregation in the South. Here, the author refers to the impracticality of race separation under slavery, where constant supervision, medical care, and the establishment of 'personal relationships' between many slaves and masters made systemic segregation, of the kind that Southern America would come to witness at the turn of the twentieth century, impossible. Enfranchisement in the South, therefore, rather than advance the cause of socio-cultural integration between African Americans and whites, can be interpreted to have 'given credence' to white supremacist fears of encroaching racial 'equality' - or even attempted black supremacy, and paved the way for more codified racial segregation and marginalisation than America had previously witnessed.

There are countless records of white Southerners self-organising during this period, with the aim of intimidating and forcibly marginalising the newly emancipated African American population. In one symbolic example, Carole Emberton

draws attention to the significance of gun ownership. She claims that self-arming was considered to represent enfranchisement and masculinity for African Americans after their liberation from slavery, and Emberton explains the gun's consequential adoption as a symbol or opportunity for black 'emasculation' by white supremacist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, in their marginalisation efforts. Indeed, she claims that the legalisation of black arms ownership incited 'vague and terrible fears of black insurrection' amongst white Southerners, and that white militant organisations would therefore incorporate arms destruction when they assembled to perform acts of violence and intimidation. When the KKK attacked Charles Smith in his home in Georgia, they smashed his gun into several pieces and set it alight, rather than electing to acquire the weapon for their own violent means. This event, and its contextual roots in the controversy of African American gun ownership, highlights the symbolic importance of 'the gun' in the American conception of manhood and citizenship - outlining the extent to which white America would not permit African-Americans to participate in enfranchisement on par with their white neighbours. Sure enough, legislation that outlawed the 'possession of firearms by any person of colour' followed shortly after 1865, as part of post-Reconstruction attempts to re-exclude African-Americans from the franchise, and push them to the margins of white society.

Williamson claims that the feudalisation, or even re-exclusion, of blacks from the enclaves of white society after Reconstruction led to the creation of a new black 'nobility'. Instead of moving to climb the socio-political rungs of white America after emancipation, when it was becoming increasingly clear, through the growth of white militancy and increased racially motivated violence, that meaningful cohabitation was deemed impossible by many Southern whites, this newly emergent black nobility was dominated by 'domestic concerns'. Its members included bishops and school ministers. Members of the 'nobility' were - according to Williamson, looking to carve out new positions of dominance or success for themselves, after concluding that the pursuit of national concerns, in such forms as 'democracy' or 'equality', had been less than fruitful. This period saw the 'shelving' and reduced significance of previous narratives of equality, such as that purported by Frederick Douglass, which had received more widespread affirmation prior to 1865. If we accept Williamson's evidence of such a nobility, it can be interpreted as a mass African American adaptation, in light of the consistent marginalisation and exclusion of Southern blacks from mainstream (white) political narratives.

Even during Reconstruction, steps were taken to anticipate and preliminarily establish the codified segregation of the Southern black community, highlighting the extent to which narratives of white supremacy - and desires for black marginalisation, were ingrained in the psychological and cultural tapestry of the white South. Southern American churches during the Reconstruction period were built to separate races, to a much larger degree than they had been under slavery, where a lack of codified racial segregation had witnessed a degree of racial integration in places of

worship. The ways in which African Americans could practice religion therefore also became an increasingly regulated facet of public life, from which blacks could be marginalised on a large scale. We can also witness attempts to segregate the Southern population - as early as childhood, through governmental delays in establishing mixed race schools during the Reconstruction period. Such delays dealt a significant blow to the concept of black integration into Southern society post-slavery - a blow that was subsequently maximised by an 'erosion' in the provisions made for black schools, with the amount spent per capita on black school children declining significantly compared with expenditure on white children during this period.

Williamson argues that the 'feudalisation' and marginalisation of African Americans after emancipation meant that the black population gradually 'lost the power to relate to an accepted human universe', as they were pushed to the fringes of public life by white prejudice and contempt. Indeed, the historian claims that it was only 'when the weave (of discrimination) was made tight again', with Williamson referring here to the imminent establishment of codified racial segregation in the south - the infamous Jim Crow laws that largely were in place by the end of the twentieth century, that 'the cloth (of African American resistance) would again be unique, and the uniqueness would be distinctly black.' In other words, Williamson claims that it was only when a more formalised system of segregation emerged from the post-Reconstruction period, that Southern America's black communities would re-organise to reject white-standardised concepts of success and equality, and come together in a triumphant, 'distinctly black' fight for comprehensive enfranchisement, in the form of the civil rights movement.

Confronting the Whitewashed History of Women's Suffrage

By Ella Raphael

SOJOURNER TRUTH

18 August 2020 marks one hundred years since the ratification of the 19th Amendment, finally giving women in the United States the right to vote after decades of protest. The New York State Commission announced in 2019 that a statue depicting Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, two prominent white suffragists, would be erected as an ode to the victory of female enfranchisement. However, after experiencing vast criticism and accusations of excluding African American women, Sojourner Truth, a prominent abolitionist, feminist and former slave has been added to the statue. This alteration will certainly help foster a more inclusive feminist dialogue in America; yet, it has ultimately been perceived as an afterthought. This unfortunate oversight is a perfect metaphor for the marginalisation of African American voices not only in the fight for female suffrage, but also in the histories written since.

Having an African American activist as part of the commemoration is paramount; it urges us to remember complex racial and class dynamics within the movement. Generally, amongst the white female population, the vote acted as a powerful emblem of equality with women's male counterparts. For black women, suffrage was a chance to uplift the marginalised communities living in a period of racial discrimination and terror under the Jim Crow laws. Brent Staples argues that the fight for suffrage was far more nuanced than what the statue depicts. The late addition of Truth makes us reflect upon which stories slip through the cracks of the historical record and also what is deemed worthy of being remembered.

Born Isabella Bomfree in 1797, Sojourner Truth is best remembered for her powerful speech 'Ain't I a Woman?' at the Ohio Women's Convention in 1851. She asserted that black women who had worked their whole lives were entitled to the same respect and rights as privileged white women. She demanded that feminist thought, in which the discourse was dominated by middle class white women, included African Americans. As Nell Painter says, she is 'the embodiment of the need to reconstruct American history that is sensitive to race, class and gender'. Nevertheless, her remarks were often excluded from newspaper summaries or mentioned very briefly. She is also absent from records of the official proceedings from the Ohio Women's Convention in which she expressed her most well-known words. This is an enduring example of how African American voices have been silenced.

On the one hand, the statue, which depicts Anthony, Truth and Stanton in the midst of debate and discussion,

has been seen as misleading, especially by Staples. More often than not, African American women were commonly excluded from white suffragist discussions of female enfranchisement, and were often given inadequate credit for their involvement. Despite the passing of the 19th amendment, there was a strong sense amongst African American women of abandonment and alienation from the political process. They were excluded from debates regarding the Equal Rights Amendment, and their economic statuses remained largely unchanged. Southern election officers frequently hassled female African American voters in polling stations, meaning that more often than not they couldn't vote. This led to growing disillusionment with the predominantly white feminist agenda from which they were being repeatedly excluded. African American women have remained at the intersection of two politically and socially marginalised groups and this has unfortunately meant that their histories and achievements have been sorely underrepresented.

Furthermore, it is important to remember while looking at this monument that Stanton and Anthony were vocal opponents to the 15th Amendment of 1870, which gave African American men the right to vote; they argued it was insulting to white women to give black men the right to vote before them. During the final decades of the suffrage movement white activists furthered their cause with the argument that allowing white women the right to vote would neutralise black voting power, insinuating

this was something to be tamed and controlled. White activists became increasingly involved in racist attacks, creating a long lasting chasm between black and white suffragists.

Nevertheless, others see the commemoration as a powerful and optimistic way of equalising black and white members of the movement, finally placing African American women on the same pedestal where they deserve to be heard. In this sense, it tackles the misconception that black activists were peripheral members of the movement. Despite extensive obstacles to their political freedom, African American women continued to be indispensable and key agents of the cause. Because of constant institutional and social marginalisation, black women often had leading roles in communitarian participation and in fostering grassroots political mobilisation.

The Central Park commemoration of the three leading suffragists is certainly an encouraging step towards remembering the diversity and the intersectionality of the movement, yet it highlights the dire need to confront the whitewashed narratives we are told. The thousands of unheard African American activists who fought for suffrage deserve to be more than merely an afterthought. It is up to our generation to make sure that the emerging legacies of other silenced women like Truth are not marginalised or forgotten.

'Freaks' and Racial Ideas in Victorian Britain

By Marlena Nowakowska

Human oddities have always been intriguing to people throughout the centuries. Displays of monstrosity were not that great of a novelty in Victorian Britain as they had appeared in taverns, marketplaces and circuses as a common form of entertainment since Elizabethan times. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that in the second half of the nineteenth century freak shows reached the peak of their popularity. They attracted everyone's attention, regardless of sex, social class and profession. In 1847, a cartoon entitled 'The Deformito-Mania', published in the popular magazine Punch, mocked the public's 'prevailing taste for deformity', suggesting that this sort of attitude was an anomaly in itself. In fact, it says a good deal about Victorian society and its preoccupations with its position in the world and growing interest in racial differences as well as evolutionary theory.

Such presentations of human wonders fostered a dissemination of Victorian mindsets and ideas regarding the empire. Gazing at extraordinary bodies, whose promoters were trying to link them to scientific discourse, made Victorians see themselves as proud representatives of a modern and progressive nation. However, it is important to note that freakish actors also served as a warning that was not to be underestimated. After all, the world had already seen the collapse of more than one progressive civilization. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a pair of performers named Maximo and Bartola, who were believed to be the last Aztecs in existence, were exhibited in London from the mid-1850s to the early 1890s at the Westminster Aquarium and even at the royal court. The main cause of the fall of this mighty society lay in the supposition that at a certain point it had stopped developing, and as a result of this, it simply degenerated and died out. The last remaining representatives of this ancient civilization were characterized by their Lilliput-like height and abnormally small heads, but also their inability to speak any language. According to many phrenologists and scientists, such as Robert Knox, this signified degeneracy and mental retardation. It had also commonly been assumed that since Aztec people did not expand their territory, they did not manage to spread their greatness around the globe and 'help' other 'primitives' to become like them, a failing which had contributed to their final decline. This exhibition of Maximo and Bartola had a clear message addressed to British society: it must continue its civilizing mission, constant expansion and construction of a cosmopolitan empire, otherwise it would collapse just like the Aztecs' one.

Often, exhibitions of human marvels were held to reinforce the cultural differences between the civilized British and 'primitive' others. As a result of extensive colonization, more and more indigenous people started to perform on stage. In 1883, a seven-year-old girl Karo from Laos made her public debut at the Westminster Aquarium in London. Her swarthy complexion and

FREAK SHOW

bushy hair, which covered her apelike body, made her the living embodiment of the savage. She soon became one of the most recognizable freakish performers in the United Kingdom. She was used as a figure in a grand narrative which relayed British triumph. She acted as a well-behaved girl who dressed as if she was a part of the middle classes and spoke good English. This is why the famous impresario Guillermo Antonio Farini, who organized exhibitions of Karo, presented her as a product of the successful civilizing mission of the British empire. It could be argued that this was an attempt to justify the conquest of other countries. The general public was made to think that the capture of Karo and other indigenous people was for their own sakes. It was to save them from where they used to live, which were often depicted in the press and in various pamphlets as savage jungles, home to barbarous and corrupted local tribes.

The publication of Darwin's groundbreaking books *Origins of Species* in 1859 and *The Descent of Man* in 1871 sparked a heated debate over human ancestry. Although evolutionary theory received a lot of criticism and was even ridiculed by many at the time, it nevertheless continued to fascinate contemporaries. The display of Karo, entitled 'A Living Proof of Darwin's Theory of the Descent of Man', received much acclaim within the pub-lic sphere. To some extent, it could be said that this exhibition shaped a popular understanding of human origins as the hairy, apelike girl appeared to embody Darwinian theses. For the rest of her career, Karo was associated with 'the original missing link.' This demonstrates how Darwin's ideas genuinely preoccupied Victorian society. Moreover, his view on natural selection, which dictated that the weakest would die out and the strongest would take control over their territories, served as another good excuse for expanding the borders of the empire.

Thus, the role of freak shows significantly changed in the second half of the nineteenth century. They became something more than just a place for pleasure seekers. People who flocked to see the exhibitions of human marvels were now exposed to a great amount of information and ideas about empires, human evolution, and theories of race. These displays had a huge impact on the way in which the citizens of metropolitan Britain perceived themselves. Gaping at freakish performers strengthened Victorians' belief in the superiority of their nation and empire over 'primitive' others. This idea of being 'more civilized' led them to think that there was a completely legitimate reason for their conquest of overseas territories.

Cast Out the Demons: Re-claiming the Identity of Mary Magdalene

By Megan Kenyon

It is a tale as old as time. The token woman in a story dominated by men will often be squeezed into one of two categories: she is either a love interest or a fallen woman. Left to occupy this liminal space, her narrative is pushed to the sidelines. It is reduced, misunderstood and invariably used to prop up the male narratives that have historically dominated our bookshelves and cinemas.

The life and experience of Mary Magdalene is one such narrative. Not much is known historically about the woman who was so close to Jesus and, like many of those in The Bible, not much is written about her in scripture. But what has followed since is a wealth of interpretation about her life. A number of depictions of Magdalene have formed the foundations of the woman so many of us think of when we hear that name. From Cecil B. DeMille's epic four-hour silent film, King of Kings, to the acclaimed musical Jesus Christ Superstar, Magdalene's life has been unpicked, embellished, and explicitly fabricated. But a return to the scriptural evidence for her life and character sees much of these misconceptions deconstructed.

Directed by the acclaimed Cecil B. DeMille, King of Kings was first released in 1927. A film of epic proportions, it has been characterised by some scholars as setting the tone for Hollywood depictions of the life of Christ. But it is its portrayal of Mary Magdalene which provides a real point of contention. DeMille's film opens with an introduction to Magdalene who is explicitly described as a courtesan in an initial caption. Dressed in a stereotypically oriental fashion, Magdalene is immediately signposted as an immoral and fallen woman, surrounded by men who are fawning over her. Indeed, the myth surrounding Magdalene's status as a prostitute developed prior to the film's release. However, DeMille's characterisation of her as a courtesan had lasting consequences for future representations of Mary Magdalene.

Still, the inaccurate depiction of one of Jesus's closest female followers did not stop there. Roll forward to the scene in which Magdalene and Jesus first meet. Now in black and white, rather than the technicolour of the earlier, bawdier scenes, the piety of Christ is shown in sharp contrast to Magdalene's transgression. Upon their meeting, DeMille has the seven deadly sins seep out of Magdalene as a result of her interaction with Christ's message. The truth of her former digressions is made unequivocal in its cinematic depiction.

DeMille's interpretation was to be a benchmark for later interpretations of Mary Magdalene, such as that seen in films such as *Jesus Christ Superstar*. But take it back to the source and its aggrandizement is fully exposed. Take a look at the Gospel of Luke 8:1-2: "The Twelve were with him, and also

some women who had been cured of evil spirits and diseases: Mary (called Magdalene) from whom seven demons had come out." The interpretation carved into DeMille's depiction in King of Kings was again, nothing new. Pope Gregory I, Pope between 590-604AD wrote that the demons expelled from Magdalene were in fact the seven deadly sins.

It is the ambiguity of the verse that has made such an interpretation tenuous. Scholars have since argued that demons were often used as a metaphor for illness, both psychological and physical. Others have suggested that the number seven was merely a number symbolic of completion in early Jewish traditions. The suggestion of Magdalene's sinful depravity appears a likely and easier foil for the very possible reality of mental or physical illness. Still, to paint her as a figure of moral deprivation was far more appealing.

This motif of Mary Magdalene as a sexually promiscuous, fallen woman in need of forgiveness and unsuitable to be numbered among the ranks of Jesus' disciples has steadfastly endured. The Magdalene of *Jesus Christ Superstar* fulfils such criteria. Sneered at by Judas, Magdalene is reprimanded for offering Christ ointment and characterised as a fallen woman, not worthy of her status as a follower of Jesus. Her identity is pushed into the margins, she serves to provide a mode of questioning Christ's character rather than bringing her own agency to the fore. She is typically two-dimensional, once again feeding misconceptions of her character and role.

The presence of the ointment in this instance is symbolic of a well-known scene in The Bible, which has, over time, often been misinterpreted. Written about in all four gospels, the scene tells of a woman washing Jesus' feet, in some cases with her tears, then anointing them and drying them with her hair. Indeed, it is this tale in the Gospels which provides the foundations for the portrayal of Magdalene in *Jesus Christ Superstar*, particularly regarding her clash with Judas. Except, an examination of the biblical verses will uncover that in this instance, the woman referred to is not Mary Magdalene and neither is she explicitly referred to as a prostitute or sexually depraved. It is only in the gospel of Luke that the woman is referred to as a "sinner." Such an ambiguous term could refer to a number of things. But of course, historically, it has come to be understood as exclusively sexual sin. Indeed, one thing is clear - all four versions of this tale in the gospel leave out any identification of the woman as Magdalene. It is only in Christian tradition and popular culture that this understanding has inevitably emerged.

The misrepresentation of the identity of Mary Magdalene should not be surprising. Her tale is an archetypal example of a woman's story being moulded to the male gaze. Yet, as biblical exegesis has shown, going back to the sources proves that in reality, there is not sufficient evidence written of her character or provenance to make such assumptions. She is neither a prostitute nor possessed by sin but rather one of the closest women to Christ. Her narrative deserves to be represented properly.

"Ali, Bomaye!"

By Max Leslie

On 3 June 2016, it was announced that Muhammad Ali - one of the titans of boxing, had passed away. The message he advocated both inside and outside the ring, a fighter for marginalised peoples throughout the world, will be echoed throughout the globes for decades to come. This piece examines the personal history of Muhammad Ali - exploring the life of a champion and likening him to the 'classically flawed hero' figure, originally moulded by the mighty Hercules.

The young Cassius Clay grew up in the American town of Louisville, Kentucky. Here was a society barely reconciled to the abolition of slavery, where the colour of your skin dictated your class of citizenship. Blacks were not permitted to use a public toilet designated for white men, and forbidden from dining in a white restaurant, or riding on the white seats of a bus. Woe betide a black man falling foul of the law - justice for a black man in a white world was no justice at all. Into this unfair and brutal world was born probably the greatest and proudest black athlete ever seen. A man of supreme talent, unbending will, and a determination to win.

Imagine for a moment, a twelve-year-old Cassius Clay, who had saved what little money he could gather to buy himself a bicycle, only to have it stolen on its very first day of use when the young boy turned his back, momentarily, to buy himself an ice cream with the rest of his savings. Angered and enraged, the young Clay demanded that a "state-wide bike hunt" be implemented to catch the thief. Instead, he was directed to seek the advice of Joe E. Martin, a police officer who spent time training young boxers when he was off duty. When Clay finally entered the gym, it seemed as if he had discovered his destiny. Intoxicated by the smell of perspiration and the sound of leather on leather, Cassius was to be an instant hit in the sport of boxing.

It was six years before Clay got a taste of his first international tournament. Nevertheless, by that time, with six Kentucky Golden Glove titles, two National Golden Gloves, and two Amateur Athletic Union championships, the eighteen-year-old was no stranger to competition. Clay stole the show in the Light-Heavyweight Division of the Olympic Games held in Rome, 196, pummeling his Polish opponent, Zbigniew Pietryskowsky, in the final to claim the gold medal. This brought him international acclaim for the first time.

Returning to the United States, however, the adulation awarded to an Olympic champion did not stretch to allowing Clay - a black man, access to the privileges awarded to his undecorated white neighbours, such as dining in a white restaurant. He was turned away by his supposed fellow citizens time and time again, even whilst he proudly wore the gold medal that he had achieved for his country. To the young Cassius Clay, this would be a bitter pill he just could not swallow, and in his frustration

and anger, he threw his hard-earned medal into the depths of the Ohio River, never to be seen again. This deeply prejudiced world was more than Clay could bear.

Determined to make it in the professional sphere, he embarked on a devastating run of 19 fights, all of which he won - 15 by knockout. This sporting journey acquainted him with Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad, and Sam Cooke, all leading lights in the growing black empowerment movement that was determined to eradicate the last vestiges of slavery in the United States. The concept of being free meant more than no longer being a slave. The young man from Louisville became increasingly vocal about his political views, and the notoriety he earned for tackling uncomfortable public issues earned him the nickname, "The Louisville Lip".

Clay was on his way to one of the most defining moments in boxing history, when he fought the invincible Sonny Liston for the World Heavyweight Title in Miami Beach, Florida, on 25th February 1964, at the age of just 22. What unfolded that night truly shook the boxing establishment. Sonny Liston was the heir to the legendary Joe Louis and seen as an unbeatable and truly great heavyweight champion. This was not the way the young Cassius Clay saw him. Rather, to Cassius Clay, he represented the subservient black man, still willing to follow his white master's orders and unwilling to speak out against the establishment that subjugated him and his people.

The night was electric. The whole world was tuning in on the radio, expecting an epic battle between this young upstart and the vastly more experienced and powerful champion. This was the night that the "Louisville Lip" would eat his words. However, Clay's subsequent, shocking victory meant that his claim to be 'the greatest' was substantiated and heard all around the world. By the end of the fight, Cassius Clay stood over the reigning champion, screaming for him to get up and fight. In the end, Liston refused to emerge from his corner and Cassius Clay became world champion at the age of 22.

Not long after this, Muhammad Ali took his Islamic name and began to defy not only the boxing establishment, but also the US government. At a time in America when the Vietnam War was seemingly justified, he refused to be drafted and sent to fight abroad. As he so succinctly put it: "I ain't got no quarrel with them Viet Cong ... They never called me n*****." Ali's grounds for standing as a conscious objector were denied and the government fined and threw him in jail. The boxing establishment stripped him of his title. They were trying not only to silence this outspoken, young African American, they were trying to crush his spirit to continue.

No matter how hard his opposition tried, whether it was inside

or outside the ring, all it did was strengthen his resolve and make him more determined to overcome injustice. He was never broken and came back to defy the odds, going on to become the first three-time world heavyweight champion. This was achieved in the midst of a context of truly tremendous heavyweights. Ali was the undisputed champion, perfecting the sport of boxing itself into an artform.

Ali's truly heroic achievement, however, is to have never bowed to the constant racial abuse he was subjected to, both inside and out of the ring. He charmed the entire world with his wit and kindness, and his poetic lyricism earned him a following unlike any boxer since. Ali fought for all those who are oppressed by their societies. Since he had put his body on the line for millions of people he did not know, in countries he had never visited, and who spoke languages he did not understand, his global audience felt they had a share in his success. His stance of conscience was one that translated across all boundaries and across all cultural barriers. No one can emulate what Ali did in the ring, nor his style outside it, but his acts of solidarity, coupled with his sacrifices and unbending resistance to the pressure of power are something we can all draw strength from. A true hero is one who is knocked back by defeats, marred by flaws, and doesn't always make the correct decision, but who can be relied upon to strive to uphold their principles and key beliefs.

Muhammed Ali
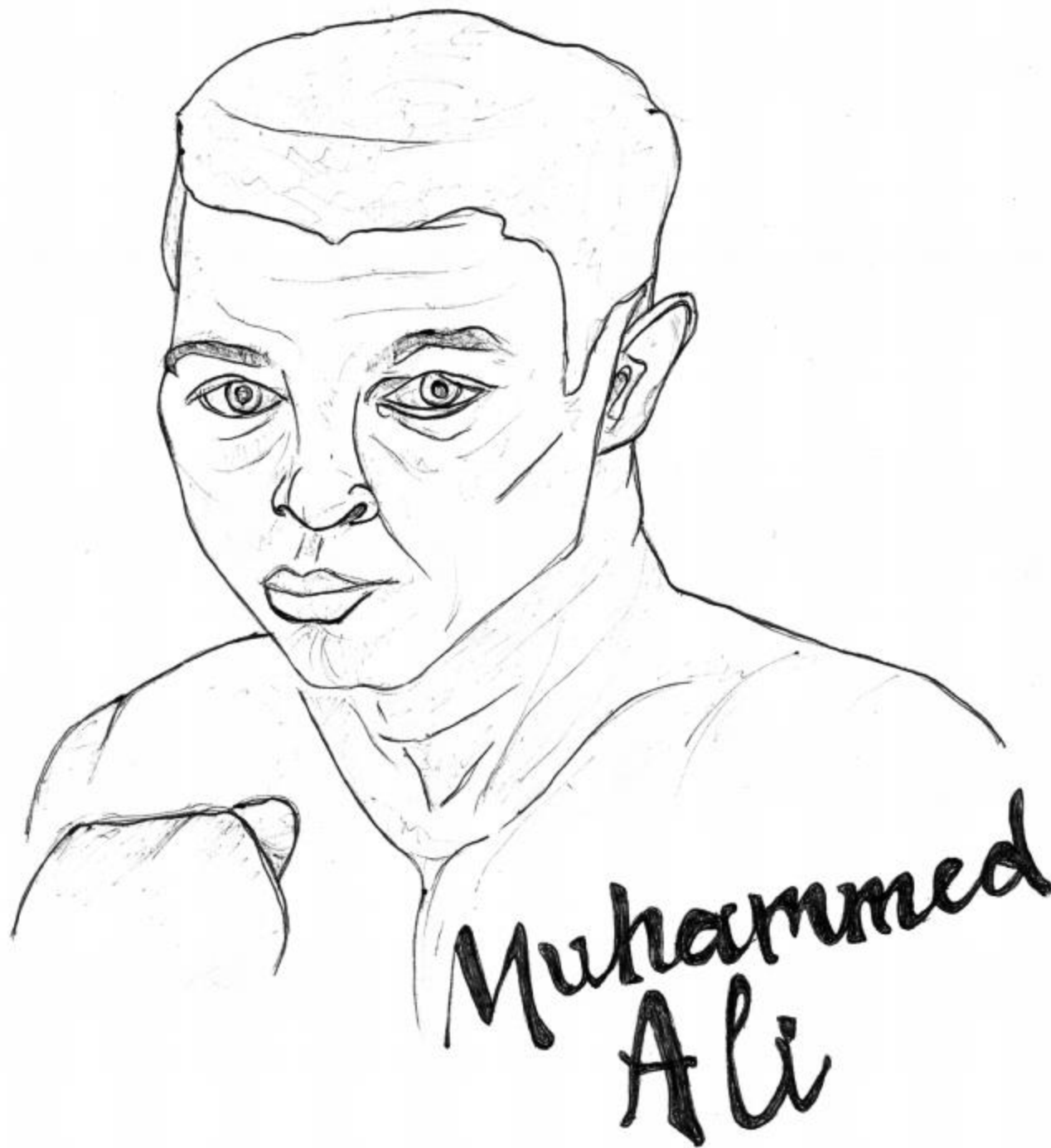
Review: Through, From, and For the Margins: National Theatre Live's The Lehman Trilogy

By Jelena Sofronijevic

In three hours, three acts, and three generations of Lehmans, Stefano Massini's American-Homeric epic jostles through 164 years of American capitalism – from 1844 to the moment of the financial crash of 2007-2008. First performed as an Italian-language radio play, Ben Powers' deft English adaptation was directed by Sam Mendes for South Bank's Royal National Theatre in 2018. *The Lehman Trilogy* is a socioeconomic historical narrative through, from, and for the socioeconomic margins.

Family and financial histories intertwine, as the Lehmans are both a microcosm of, and fundamental logic within, the expansion of American capitalism. In the opening monologue, the solitary Henry Lehman (Simon Russell Beale), clutching a suitcase, recounts the boat journey from Bavaria to Ellis Island, New York. Beale skilfully captures the complex range of emotions concerning migration to the "free world," and dreams to open a shop in Alabama – Lehman's Fabrics and Suits. Joined by his brothers Mayer (Adam Godley), and Emanuel (Ben Miles), the trio transition between generations from the outsiders to the establishment, as the business mutates into Lehman Brothers

Holdings Inc. – all to the live vaudevillian jaunts of pianist Candida Caldicot.

The obsession with financial margins – and aggressive, imperialistic strategies employed for their maximisation – burgeons with successive generations. Beale's strategic Philip, and later Godley's flamboyant Bobby internationalise the business. Humorous scenes thinly veil Philip's neurotic desire for control. During a street performer's trick, Philip's unwavering eye follows the trump card exactly; his focus never distracts, he always wins. Every detail of his existence is planned in his journal – in his amusing search for the ideal wife, he awards candidates numerically-assessed criteria on a 0-100 scale. Of greatest import is Philip's obsession with zeros – and adding them to offers, accounts, and cheques. Despite its theoretical numeric value, zeros here mean everything. Artistic dandy Bobby dances the twist through financial deregulation in the 1980s, to his death in the early twenty-first century, exploiting the benefits of his forbearers' toils. If Godley's warped physicality is haunting, so too is his character's approach towards economic expansion – some-

thing perpetually accelerating, unfettered by the forces of nature.

Deeper than trust, belief and confidence are central to the Lehmans' financial ascendancy. From Mayer's charming personality, this faith transforms from something to be earned, to something to be enforced. Philip and Bobby adopt an increasingly Hobbesian approach to consumption, that "he who buys survives." Bobby buys into the technological revolution only because computers offer a "universal language," through which his marketers can reach wider audiences. These successive Lehmans might be accused of distorting Henry's dream for a better life with their greed. This ignores avaricious tendencies present earlier in the narrative. The three founding Lehmans – affectionately described as the "head, neck, and potato" – constantly bicker over how, and whether, their business should expand. On hearing of the outbreak of civil conflict from New York, Emanuel's first thoughts lay not with his brother and young family in Alabama, but on the effect on his buyers.

Moreover, *The Lehman Trilogy* is a history of marginalised communities. As an immigrant Jewish family settling in Alabama, the production highlights the economic and cultural plight of assimilation in America's rapturous nineteenth century. Traditional Jewish customs are gradually marginalised for the sake of business, symbolic of the family's (and nation's) collapsing faith. Religiously observed by the founding Lehmans', the tradition of sitting shiva (a week-long mourning period) fades, the shop closing for fewer days with each family death. As the level of Germanic blood decreases, implicit descriptions in Powers' adaptation echo the sense of intergenerational detachment. During bereavement, many Jewish men remain unshaven. Perceiving his aged grandfather's funeral beard, a young Bobby imagines his German Jewish ancestors – drawing a family, and dog, all

with beards reaching the floor. Assimilation and preservation are thus constantly negotiated.

Certain behaviours - Emanuel's early visits to New York, his dealings with predominantly Jewish financial elites – might suggest financial avarice as an inherent quality within Jewish communities. To accuse this production of antisemitism, however, would be to ignore the nuanced manner in which it deals with faith. Avarice is explored across religions and ethnicities, identifiers which are central, though increasingly marginalised, in various family histories. By the early-twenty first century, the melting pot of gold at the end of the Lehman rainbow is funded by Greek and Hungarian boardmen and traders.

Ben Powers faced no mean feat in interpretation and adaptation. Massini's original text is more a poem, providing neither characters nor stage directions. Though I cannot attest to the linguistic accuracy of Powers' adaptation, the scope of Massini's vision and humour persists. Sumptuous language and repetition is at times rich, at others sparse; its presence and absence is purposeful. In Beale's most striking scene, Philip declares money as an ingredient, a commodity to make more money. The detachment from his father's generation is clear; now a middleman, money is no longer procured from the production and trade of cotton, seeds, tools, and fabrics. Making the allusion between bread to fiscal dough, Powers' poetry is not overworked.

Exposing the opaque financial industry, transparency motivates Es Devlin's striking staging. The set is a rotating glass box, stocked only with a few boardroom chairs, tables, and cardboard boxes. Glass panels and empty shelves stock the family's changing history. Written directly upon the glass, the Lehmans' store sign morphs from a modestly written Lehman Fabrics and Suits, to the huge scrawl of Lehman

Bank and finally, Lehman Brothers Holdings Inc. It is credit to both the actors and script that the audience perceives this yellow sign with black lettering as though it stands before them, despite being painted only in black flipchart marker. Cardboard boxes allude to the infamous photographs of Lehman employees vacating the 7th Avenue offices in September 2008. These same boxes become computers in the 1980s, and tumbling towers of poor credit in later years. Every document used is a sheet from the New York Times, taken from the week of the collapse. The cast and set remain constant. Only the backdrop – of industrialised New York – is drastically different by the end.

In this recording for National Theatre Live, Luke Halls' videography does well to illuminate all aspects of the staging and performance. Beyond merely capturing performances, this initiative can extend access to theatre to traditionally marginalised audiences. Over the last ten years, National Theatre Live screenings of British (predominantly London-performed) productions have reached over nine million people in 2500 cinemas worldwide. For those of us who are not London-based, or cannot afford high ticket and transport costs, this is certainly the next best alternative. Including low cost concession tickets, National Theatre Live thus bypasses – if not fully breaks – boundaries in access to theatre.

It is testament to the faultless script and production that this familiar, harsh history is so compassionately illuminated. I am still desperate to get my hands on the translated playscript, and watch the live production. This is our story as much as it is the Lehmans' – financially, at least.

Homeric in length and scriptural in form, *The Lehman Trilogy* is a truly modern historical epic through, from, and for the margins.

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