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Cultural Rites

Editor's Letter

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Bittersweetly, I write this at the end of the penultimate semester of my undergraduate degree, and with an encroaching awareness of the ephemerality of the time I have left at Edinburgh. With the closing of one chapter comes a discomfiting blend of uncertainty, heartache and, at times, existential dread. But alongside this – and I apologise if this is saccharine – come new realms of discovery, potentiality, and opportunity.

This edition takes its title from anthropologist Arnold van Gennep's seminal work Les rites de passage. We move through human life in stages, as we pass into the next, we perform ceremony, ritual, and celebration and/or mourning. These transitions are what we have come to know as Rites of Passage. Birth, marriage, parenthood, death, and everything in between – this edition takes us from the first tiny steps of an infant to the solemn final days of a life. Where previous journals have taken a chronological approach, here we have grouped articles based on the life stage focused on, to illuminate the multiplicity of experiences even within these organisational categories of existence. Spanning epochs, continents, and identities, Rites of Passage exhibits the plurality of ways in which different cultures and individuals, at different times, have experienced the journey of life.

More radically, I hope that, if our organisational strategy at times feels muddled, and if some of the articles defy easy categorisation, or even seem to traverse multiple areas, then this will serve to destabilise van Gennep's model. Analytically, it can be useful to conceptualise human life as a series of broad life stages, but the reality is complex and asymmetrical. Take as an example a young medieval widow – she has already passed through the rite of marriage, but she may do so again, perhaps multiple times more. And the spinster who never marries – in circumventing this ritual, does she fail to reach maturity? Even these two examples, within my narrow medieval Western-European scope, demonstrate a diversity of experiences, and the impossibility of applying the rites of passage framework uniformly. The idiosyncrasies of each life make it impossible to fit everyone into a mould of linear progress.

I would like to thank all the Contributors to this edition for their thoughtful and varied interpretations of the theme. Additionally, I am grateful to the Copyeditors for their rigorous efforts, and the Illustrators for their beautiful work. Thank you, once again, to the School of History, Classics, and Archaeology, who see the value of our publication and continue to support us amid rising printing costs. I also extend my thanks to the British Online Archives for sponsoring Retrospect this year. There are more exciting things to come from this partnership yet – in the meantime I encourage everyone to make use of their wonderful primary source collections, for essays, articles for Retrospect, or recreationally.

My greatest thank you goes to our wonderful committee: Hannah Austin, Tristan Craig, Harry Fry, Flora Gilchrist, Dalma Roman. My Deputy Editors and good friends, Sam Marks and Georgia Smith – thank you for keeping me sane.

Finally, I express my gratitude to everyone who reads and supports Retrospect, both on our online platform and through print journals like this one. I hope that Rites of Passage inspires you to think about history, or in fact your own stage of life, with new perspectives.

Naomi Wallace
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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IN WHICH KING MINOS AND QUEEN PASIPHAË OF CRETE DISCUSS THE DEPARTURE OF THEIR SON ARESTIUS

CATHERINE MARGARET HODGE

"Minos resolved to remove this shame, the Minotaur, from his house, and hid it away in a labyrinth with blind passageways." VIII:152-182

She could still hear his cries. Her baby, being heralded down the halls of the palace to wherever in the deep caves below Minos had deemed appropriate for her bastard son. She had begged, screamed and pleaded with her husband to not hurt him which she knew had fallen on deaf ears. She couldn't understand how it had come to this, if she traced the past ten, twenty, a thousand years of history with her finger, she couldn't find the exact moment that her husband had changed, had become so bitter and overwhelmingly cruel.

"He will be fine", but he did not mean it, because he did not care. In fact, Pasiphaë was sure that the only being in the entire universe that cared about her son was his mother.

"He will not be fine, he needs me."

"Acacallis, Ariadne, Androgeus, Glaucus, Deucalion, Xenodice, Catreus need you," had come the hot reply followed by the sneering, "if you still remember you have other children, Phaedra is still a babe herself. *She* needs her mother. The bull needs no woman to care for it." The mention of her other children did not leave her cold. They were princes and princesses of one of Greece's mightiest kingdoms. Revered for their beauty and strength, her other children had never been looked at with fear in the eye of the beholder, they had never been jeered at, they had never been called monsters and they certainly had never been ripped from their mother's arms.

"I just need to be able to see him."

This was a lie. She did not *just* need to see Asterion, if she did not see Asterion again she knew in her soul that her heart would stop beating.

"Really Pasiphaë?" So rarely did he use her name, so often she was 'my *darling*' or 'my *Queen*' or 'my *heart*', all indicators that she belonged to Crete, not the deep-sea banks from which she hailed. The deep-sea banks where 'monsters' were not flinched at.

"Please, be honest with me." he continued, rubbing his calloused hands against his bearded face. "Do you really still care for the beast?"

"I care for Asterion."

"Even though he is not my son?"

"He is my son."

"He is my *shame*."

Asterion may be her husband's shame, she conceded, but she was his mother. It should be that simple. The day of his departure should have been twenty years from now, perhaps never to marry as there would never be another like him, but to see the world the Gods presided over, to feel more on his skin than the hot suffocating climes of Crete. She had now watched her child leave Crete in search of glory, many times. It was her right, as a mother, to see her children leave her home. She had wept every time before now and prayed to every God she could recall, but she had never felt fear quite like this. She had never left her child alone and in the dark before.

He had still been feeding from her breast when they took him. Minos had gagged when she first attempted to show him that she could in fact feed her ninth child like a normal babe. But it had felt so natural, for he was hers by blood, and she loved him accordingly.

"It is not his fault that he is the way he is." Her response had been met with rolling eyes filled with condescension. Of course, *he* thought it was, he would never conceive that the great Cretan King Minos could have faltered. No, the only explanation was that Pasiphaë had schemed to humiliate him, that his strongest son who would have been the envy of all Cretan men *chose* to be horned and hoofed.

They had this argument perhaps a thousand times. Previously it had ended with her fleeing to Asterion's keep (he had not been allowed a single night in the cradle Pasiphaë still kept by her bedside) and holding him as close to her body as his horns allowed. He was not a monster. He was her baby.

She knew it was strange how much she stared at the water surrounding her home and lamented Asterion never having swam in it. But he hadn't seen the sea. He had never felt the surf on his skin or ducked his head under the water. The thought made Pasiphaë's heart clench so tightly she could feel it stutter in her chest.

She had come from the depths denied to her son, sent off to shore to marry Minos like an offering. He had at least been attractive then; tall and tan, with a well-groomed beard. He had smiled when she departed the ship, taking her hand (his hand had been calloused accordingly, this was a man who did not let others fight his battles) and showing her off to those who had gathered, she was *his* now. Sent by the Gods, a direct sign that he was different, he was better. It had never really occurred to him that Pasiphaë perhaps did not agree with the previous assessment. The rocks in which Asterion was now hidden under was the first sight she had seen when she arrived, trussed up and gifted to Minos like a prize cow. Oh, the cruel, bitter irony.

Nevertheless, all those years ago she had allowed him to take her hand and show her off on the sharp-edged rocks. She would be a Queen of Crete and her children, like herself and her husband, would be legends. Oh, the bitter, cruel irony.

"Go and tend to Ariadne, she is scared her mother is ill." She had never been ordered around like this, never treated like the little girl she had not been for far longer than Minos had walked the earth. "Have you told Ariadne that her mother is perfectly fine?" She was not perfectly fine, her son had been hidden from her. "I have assured her that soon her mother will pull herself together and stop weeping over an *animal*!"

Her hands went to her face and she moaned, a harsh and cruel sound that had not left her lips for some time. He was no animal, he was her *boy*, what kind of mother would she be to leave him now? When he needed her most? There was silence.

"Say something! Or have you lost yourself entirely?" She couldn't. She hated him. She hated him so much it burned her from the inside out. In all their years, she had never for a

ILLUSTRATION BY CERYS JONES

second thought him capable of inflicting such pain, of being so careless with her heart. And yet he had orchestrated this entire endeavour, Minos had ripped her baby out of her arms and buried him underground, where he was alone and could not see the stars.

Beyond this, she knew Ariadne would cope. She had her dancing, she had her father and she had endless adoring courtiers, as did the rest of her children (many of whom were grown anyway). Asterion had no one. No father, no friends, and now it appeared even his mother had abandoned him. At her silence he scoffed one last time and cursed her viciously. But she paid him no mind and turned to face her window.

Until Asterion, she had given birth to all her children in the daytime, with the sun beating down on her skin. Asterion had arrived screaming in the tiny hours of the morning, when the cloudless sky above glistened with stars so bright she swore it was the Gods looking down on her. Whether they were laughing with glee at the fate which now awaited her disgraced husband, it hadn't mattered to Pasiphaë, not when she had her baby in her arms. He had her eyes, and those eyes had glared up at the twinkling stars in defiance. He screamed louder than the nursemaids until they fled the room in horror before he settled, cradled in the arms of his mother. For those blissful few moments, before the terrified nursemaids found Minos and everything changed, Pasiphaë had sat with her son and the stars in peaceful silence.

And now, months later, her son had been banished beneath the rocks, entombed in an early grave, and Pasiphaë would most likely never see him again. This was his departure from home, this was all she would have of him. She stayed by that window until one of the nursemaids found her and put her to bed, alone and next to the empty cradle she refused to relinquish.

Now, it is no wonder [...] that Pasiphaë preferred that bull to you, you have more savagery in you than he had.

MARGARET BEAUFORT'S ORDEAL: THE LABOUR THAT BIRTHED A DYNASTY

MARNIE CAMPING-HARRIS

On 28 January 1457, a king was born at Pembroke Castle. This king would become the founder of one of England's most famous ruling dynasties: the Tudors. However, what was of great concern on that day was not the future of the baby, but the life of his mother. At just thirteen years old, Margaret Beaufort had endured a harrowing and traumatising labour that resulted in the delivery of her only child, Henry Tudor. This ordeal acted as a rite of passage for young Margaret, and was to shape her entire life and destiny, not only as the mother of a future king but as one of the most influential figures in English history.

Margaret Beaufort was born on 31 May 1443, into the powerful Beaufort family. The Beauforts were a branch of the English royal family, descended from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and his mistress-turned-wife, Katherine

Swynford. Though legitimised by Richard II, the Beauforts carried the stigma of their origins, which would forever shape their standing in the nobility. Nonetheless, they remained influential and ambitious, with deep ties to the Lancastrian cause during the Wars of the Roses. This political turbulence plagued the Margaret's childhood. Her father, John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, died when she was just one year old, leaving her a desirable heiress. Margaret's vast inheritance made her an extremely valuable ward. Her custody became a prize fought over by ambitious nobles who sought control over her fortune and influence. Under the guardianship of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, she was raised to understand her role as a political pawn, her life defined by duty, lineage, and the ambitions of others. Despite her noble birth, Margaret's early years were marked by instability and the constant threat of conflict. The Wars of the Roses would soon engulf England, and Margaret's position as a Lancastrian heiress meant that her future would be dictated by political alliances and dynastic struggles.

In late medieval England, noble girls were often married young to secure alliances, produce heirs and consolidate wealth. Marriage was a political tool, and girls like Margaret were expected to fulfil their roles as dutiful wives and mothers. It was not unusual for marriages to be contracted when the bride was a child, however consummation typically waited until she had reached physical maturity. Regardless, these expectations often played young women in situations of physical and emotional vulnerability. At just twelve, Margaret was no stranger to this harsh reality. Despite the norms of the time, her young age caused quite the stir among the nobility with many disagreeing with such an arrangement.

Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was half-brother to Henry VI and a prominent Lancastrian loyalist, making him the ideal match for Margaret, even with the significant age difference between twelve and twenty-five. Edmund and Margaret were married in 1455 – the year that marked the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses. As tensions between the Lancastrians and Yorkists escalated, Edmund's position became increasingly dangerous. In November 1456, just a year after their marriage, Edmund was captured by Yorkist forces and died of plague while imprisoned at Carmarthen Castle. His death left Margaret a pregnant widow at the tender age of thirteen.

Margaret sought refuge at Pembroke Castle, where she eventually gave birth to her son, Henry Tudor. The labour was excruciating, made all the more dangerous by Margaret's youth and small stature. Accounts from the time suggest the experience nearly killed her, and she never fully recovered from the physical and emotional trauma. It is believed that this ordeal left her unable to have any more children. The survival of both mother and son was nothing short of miraculous. While Henry was destined for greatness, the birth marked a turning point in Margaret's life. Widowed, vulnerable and burdened with an infant son, she was forced to navigate the treacherous political landscape of the Wars of the Roses alone.

After his birth, Henry's custody was entrusted to his uncle, Jasper Tudor, and then to the Yorkist supporter William Herbert, as part of a political agreement upon the accession of Edward IV to the throne. Margaret was separated from her son for much of his childhood, as she married twice more and his guardianship changed alongside the politics of the time, though she remained deeply involved in securing his safety and future. As a Lancastrian heir, Henry's position was precarious. Margaret worked tirelessly to ensure his survival, leveraging her network of alliances and political acumen. She maintained contact with Henry, even when he fled to Brittany to escape Yorkist threats. Margaret's letters reveal

her enduring love and concern for her son, as well as her determination to see him restored to his rightful place. Her unwavering belief in Henry's destiny was a driving force in her life. She endured years of uncertainty and danger, always working to promote her son's claim to the throne. Margaret's faith in his potential was vindicated in 1485, when Henry defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth and was crowned King Henry VII.

As the mother of the king, Margaret assumed a position of unparalleled influence. She adopted the title "My Lady, the King's Mother" and wielded significant power in Henry VII's court. Margaret was not merely a figurehead; she played an active role in the governance of the realm, advising her son on matters of state and helping to establish the Tudor dynasty. Ultimately, her political acumen and experience made her a trusted confidante to Henry, and she was instrumental in negotiating key marriages which united the warring houses of Lancaster and York, that of Henry himself to the eldest daughter of Edward IV, Elizabeth of York. Margaret also oversaw the education of her grandchildren, ensuring that the next generation of Tudors was well-prepared to rule.

Margaret's traumatic experience in childbirth had a profound impact on her religious beliefs. Throughout her life, she maintained a deep and personal devotion to God, viewing her survival and Henry's birth as a divine miracle. This sense of providence shaped her piety and inspired her lifelong commitment to the church. Margaret's faith became a cornerstone of her identity. She took vows of chastity following her final marriage to Thomas Stanley, dedicating herself fully to God and to her role as the king's mother. Margaret's religious convictions were not merely personal; they influenced the Tudor court and contributed to the spiritual and moral foundation of the new dynasty.

To conclude, Margaret Beaufort's ordeal was a defining moment that shaped her life and legacy – a rite of passage. From her childhood, as a political pawn, to her role as a matriarch of the Tudor dynasty, Margaret's resilience, ambition and piety were remarkable. The harrowing labour that nearly cost her life gave England a king and forged a dynasty that would change the course of history. Her unwavering faith, political skill and devotion to her son ensured that Margaret Beaufort's legacy would endure for generations.

TRADITION IN TRANSITION: HOW COLONIAL SCHOOLS IN KENYA DISMANTLED INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

JAKE BEECROFT

The imposition of colonial rule in Kenya during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked a profound transformation in the country's cultural and social fabric. Among the traditional tools of imperial domination, the introduction of Western-style education sought to replace indigenous systems of knowledge with European values and norms. Colonial schools, often established by missionaries and supported by the British administration, became sites of systematic cultural erosion. These institutions promoted Western ideologies while deliberately suppressing traditional practices, creating a disconnect between generations as well as undermining communal structures.

Before the colonial occupation, education in Kenya was largely decentralised around the various communities that made up the region. Education was largely centred around moral, spiritual, and practical knowledge that prepared individuals for their roles within the community. A great deal of a person's education was centred around intergenerational teachings that encouraged the elders of Kenyan society to pass on community knowledge and practices that had carried across generations. Education was also largely grounded in initiation ceremonies, providing younger generations with the necessary skills and connections to live within society. For the Kikuyu peoples, major ceremonies included male circumcision as an official form of transition to adulthood and the Irua dance ceremonies to mark the transition of a boy into a warrior. Initiation ceremonies formed a major backbone in the native Kenyan communities, particularly to the Maasai and the Kikuyu peoples. The ceremonies

promoted communal responsibility and oral traditions through the elders acting as custodians of cultural wisdom. They ensured continuity and cultural survival within the region that had withstood change for generations. Practices of initial education were deeply rooted in local traditions, spiritual beliefs, and languages and also provided the younger generations with a connection to the environment, fostering both resilience and unity.

With the arrival of direct British rule in 1895 under the East Africa Protectorate, the cultural framework that had organically developed over centuries was met with a wave of missionaries from Britain, who would go on to establish some of the earliest schools within Kenya, with the first school being established by church missionaries in 1846 in Mombasa. Missionaries laid the foundations for early formal education with a particular focus on driving 'Christian and European values.' These schools formed part of an empire-wide effort to assimilate African societies within the growing frameworks of colonial states. Missionary schools in Kenya, using Christian doctrine, began to gradually undermine traditional belief systems across Kenya.

With missionary groups from Britain having established schools across Kenya, the colony became increasingly attractive to white settlers who established themselves in the central Kenyan highlands. These settlers, who had secured the highlands exclusively for white Europeans only, were eager to make lucrative profits through farming coffee and tea to sell on the international market. As they sprawled across occupied Kenyan (particularly native Kiyuku) lands, the demand for a cheap labour force to support the colonial economy took a central role in influencing the government's ideas of education. White settlement then drove the government to take a more central role in providing education that would exploit the native population in exchange for providing a cheap but skilled workforce to the settler community. The education department was formally established in 1911 for this reason, and to provide a centralised strategy for colonial-wide education to the native communities. The formation of the education department in 1911 formed an institutionalised framework that separated education based on race, with White Europeans at the highest level of the hierarchy, followed by Asian communities and then native Africans at the lowest level.

Education systems were highly controlled by the Education Department and selective across Kenya, as to which communities received education. The government particularly utilised 'divide and rule' strategies across the empire; in Kenya, the use of education served the same use to divide communities and form new educated classes. On the native reserves, segregated education was provided to individual communities such as the Maasai peoples in an attempt to minimise contact with other communities. As part of divide and rule strategies, the government advocated for education that would provide loyal inhabitants who could support the colonial state's operations with the focus on not only creating a skilled workforce for agriculture, but also providing a western-educated elite that could serve in roles such as teaching, bank clerks, and government intermediaries that would maintain British and European supremacy in top colonial office positions.

Through the racialised structures in education, imposing foreign values on the native population, the colonial schools and missionary groups severely damaged traditional structures of power that existed in the pre-colonial region both within and between communities. The new classes of Western-educated workers specifically began to drive a wedge between the educated and more wealthy minority and the rest of the Kenyan population, driving inequality within the colony. Traditionally, structures of power were based around communal governance, an unofficial system that had existed in groups such as Kiyuku for centuries, providing stability to communities. Leadership roles were often set around an individual's age, wisdom, and contributions to society. Colonial education disrupted these processes, with the newly educated class being favoured in the colonial hierarchy instead of communal leaders, who experienced alienation from community elders. Disruptions within the communities were particularly visible in land ownership and resource management, with white settlers favoured for the more arable land, while native Bantu peoples were pushed toward native reserves. The rise of a new Western-educated class that was privileged over the vast majority of the populations introduced forms of inequality and resentment through colonial power imbalances between native communities that had once coexisted.

Resistance within the colony gradually escalated towards

the increasingly invasive colonial authorities who thought to resist the cultural erosion quickly taking hold. In particular, nationalist movements that would go on to lead the cause for independence in later decades were at the forefront in promoting cultural protection. The Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) emerged as an alternative space for education. Not driven by imperialist policies, the KCA provided a mixed curriculum of Western knowledge combined with indigenous values, building a new community of leaders who would go on to lead the struggle against the British in the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952. With nationalist movements, women who were typically excluded from access to education in an equal manner played a pivotal role in resistance for the preservation of indigenous knowledge and oral traditions. Women relied particularly on storytelling, songs, and other means of community engagement to ensure cultural survival under the oppressive colonial regime.

With the bloody Mau Mau rebellion in 1952 and an end to British rule in 1963, imperial occupation ended; however, the legacies of colonial education persisted as a complex and divisive issue. Education did provide communities with literacy skills and new opportunities within the administration, at the cost of deep cultural and generational divides that persist into present-day Kenya. Many of those who experienced the colonial schools have since sought to reclaim and revive their traditional practices. One popular program is the Rites of Passage Experiences (ROPES), which aims to reintroduce cultural teachings within the context of contemporary challenges such as mental health and youth unemployment. Grassroots movements such as ROPES have helped bridge the inequality gaps in education left by the colonial state; however, these efforts reflect the enduring spirits of the various communities to rebuild the legacies of colonialism. Ideas of African cultural inferiority compared with European supremacy still haunt the education frameworks in Kenya, which carry legacies of colonialism five decades after independence. Imperialist values, with a focus on driving 'development and modernity' are still seen by some older generations as important to continue to share with the younger generation. This process has had the adverse effect of creating a modern education system that relies on the scars of a colonial occupation, lacking a true cultural connection, and only furthering a generational feeling of cultural alienation and exclusion.

Colonial schools in Kenya were far more than educational spaces to better the population; they served as tools of imperialism, first in spreading Christian doctrine through missionaries to communities considered to be pagan by Europeans, and then being subjugated directly by the state to provide a labour force for the colonial state that could be easily managed. Through the suppression of traditional knowledge and disrupting established hierarchies through the creation of a new educated class within a racialised framework, Kenyan society was fundamentally fractured. Grassroots initiatives and a re-examination of the colonial period have provided some relief and aid in reclaiming cultural identity; however, issues of inequality and exclusion continue. Colonial schools offer a story of tradition in transition that is not merely one of loss but also of resilience, adaptation, and renewal into the present.

"AS IF BY MAGIC": THE HISTORY OF BRITISH CHILDREN'S TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

SAM MARKS

Content Note: Spoilers

On an ordinary day in the United Kingdom, (Saturday, March 15, 1937, at 3.00pm GMT to be exact) a groundbreaking television show aired. The BBC's *For the Children* became the first broadcast in the world specifically for a children's audience. For the hour it was on, viewers were introduced to nursery rhymes, stories, and educational content never seen on the increasingly popular medium. Since *For the Children's* initial broadcast, children's programming has become extremely popular worldwide and a cultural rite of passage for many while growing up. British television pioneered many of the tropes and genres that have inspired some of the most long-standing and nostalgia-inducing series ever aired.

Let us begin.

In 1946, *Muffin the Mule,* a show based on a menagerie of animal puppets, debuted after the namesake character appeared on *For the Children*. The show was presented by Annette Mills, with puppets designed by Ann Hogarth. The narrative elements of *Muffin the Mule* saw an entire world created around children's imagination that went beyond presenter-based content. Puppetry would continue to be a popular style of children's programming.

As children were tuning in during the 1950s, they had a variety of shows to choose from. The most popular introduction in this decade was *Blue Peter*, which remains the longest-running children's show worldwide since its start in 1958. *Blue Peter* has been a steady ship of British culture for generations, with over five thousand episodes produced. Hosts and children who appear on the show engage in various challenges and produce "makes" (arts and crafts) that viewers themselves can craft at home. *Blue Peter* continues to be celebrated throughout the UK and remains the most prominent example of children's television produced in the country. But not all impactful children's shows have enjoyed *Blue Peter's* longevity.

In the late 1950s, producer Oliver Postgate established Smallfilms, a studio focused on stop-motion animation. Postgate created several shows that displayed the diversity of Britain's national origins. *Ivor the Engine*, set in "the top left-hand corner of Wales," told the story of various rail workers and integrated Welsh folklore with a red dragon character in the style of the Welsh flag. It went on to inspire the internationally acclaimed *Thomas & Friends* series in the 1980s. *Noggin the Nog* was set in a fictional Viking kingdom in the North of England and saw many books and even a stage play written about the various adventures. In the late 1960s, Smallfilms produced *Clangers*, which takes place on a moon-like planet and follows a clan of mouse-like creatures who communicate by whistling. Though not airing for long, the Smallfilms series were very successful at the time and showed how cost-effective producing a children's show could be.

In the 1960s, science fiction became a dominating TV genre with the 1962 introduction of *Doctor Who*, which remains the longest-running sci-fi show in history. Engaging both children and adults, the time-travelling titular protagonist, The Doctor, and his companions would journey to other parts of the world and eras to save oppressed peoples from monsters and intergalactic peril. The series quickly rose to popularity among children but gained controversy for its horror and violent elements. The show was so impactful that

the phrase "hiding behind the sofa" entered British vernacular to refer to when children would cower at the sight of the show's notable monsters such as the Daleks, Cybermen, or Ice Warriors.

Less frightening but still violent shows captured the attention of children by the late 1960s as programming shifted largely to colour. Gerry and Sylvia Anderson's "Supermarionation" (a portmanteau of "super", "marionette", and "animation") reintroduced puppetry to produce a variety of futuristic action series related to espionage and spy craft. The Andersons released several successful sci-fi shows like *Supercar*, *Stingray*, *Thunderbirds*, *Joe 90*, and *Captain Scarlet*, all relying on puppeteering and model sets that spawned a lucrative line of toys and games. But now for something completely different. By the early 1970s, children's TV shows began to interact more with books. Two popular children's book series, *Mr. Benn* and the *Mr. Men*, saw their stories retold on the television with narration and them tunes added. *Mr. Benn* continued the theme of time travel where the titular protagonist would change into various costumes like Medieval armour or an explorer outfit that would transport him to the time period of the costume. The *Mr. Men* (and later *Little Miss*) were a series of characters based on a single persona like Mr. Happy or Mr. Forgetful. Both proved popular as laidback and cost-effective shows to air.

By 1981, there was more action on screen with the introduction of *Danger Mouse*, a James Bond-style adventure series, where the titular protagonist was a secret agent who fought off criminals. The memorable adventures to outer space, fighting robots, and defeating experimental monsters continued to introduce children to outlandish and spectacular adventures that were break from the realities they faced in day-to-day life. However, children's shows still managed to successfully discuss mature themes that related to their everyday lives as they grew up.

Grange Hill, airing from 1978 to 2008, focused on life at the namesake comprehensive school in North London. Episodes discussed mature and real concepts like bullying, racism, mental health issues, homelessness, and HIV/AIDS, grounding children in real-world events as they were happening. *Grange Hill* treated its viewership with tremendous amounts of maturity and played a direct role in making children aware of things they would encounter throughout life and how to approach them with respect.
Far from being the only show where children carried their lessons into maturity, a 2009 ongoing series still remains an inspiration to many who study history as an academic discipline. *Horrible Histories*, based on a series of books of the same name, further entranced children with a love of history. Its satirical plotlines from Medieval Europe to women's suffrage brought different periods to life with various songs still committed to memory by the now-adults who watched the initial broadcast. The show was reformatted in 2015 and remains the only children's show to win a British Comedy Award. Its airtime may have even inspired this very history-based article to be written (though hopefully, it isn't too horrible).

Even now in the present, British children's television continues to make an impact on family structures. The recently debuted *Wallace and Gromit: A Vengeance Most Fowl* has brought many adults who watched the original Claymation film in 1989 back to the cinema, potentially with children of their own. The initial film was only twenty-three minutes but has since made a highly successful series based on it and cemented the title characters as icons in British pop culture. The legacy of such adventures of a good-natured man and his dog passes on between generations in a cultural rite of passage.

Many have seen TV shows as kids that were aired when their parents were children. While much of the technology and narrative elements of children's TV have evolved, the same enjoyment that kids in the 1980s and kids in the 2020s have over *Wallace and Gromit* continues. Television introduced many British children to history, science, and other lessons they would carry into maturity. Eventually, these shows would help introduce children to each other, as various references and plotlines would serve as vital points for conversation sparking friendships. Perhaps as children consume television internationally, it will encourage greater connectivity not just within Britain, but with children across the world as the medium of television grows internationally and intergenerationally. But, as the famous sign-off goes: that's all for now!

"FLESHLY DESIRES AND YOUTHFUL FOLLY": QUEER ADOLESCENCE IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

NAOMI WALLACE

In *The Formation of Anchoresses* (1163-5?), Aelred of Rievaulx wrote "the young never obtain or keep chastity without great contrition of heart and bodily affliction." This comment articulates a typical view of adolescents as prurient and libidinous; the medieval mind conceived of adolescence as "a period of lust." However, scant attention has been given to same-sex sexuality and medieval adolescence. This speaks to the paucity of primary material on queer adolescent experiences. Some sources from late eleventh and twelfth-century England, however, intimate a relationship between male youth and same-sex sexuality, which can be fruitfully compared across courtly and monastic environments. The court's emphasis on masculinity led to a stigmatisation of young men who, through their sexual behaviour, did not conform. Monasteries, despite prohibiting physical sex, normalised affection between men, and thus may have provided solace to those exploring queer sensibilities. For the medieval adolescent, I argue, same-sex desire was a formative and fraught experience that shaped his search for belonging and community.

The deficiency of scholarship on queer adolescence inflects the challenges of constructing medieval histories of sexuality, primarily the ahistoricism of applying modern sexual identities to past individuals. The differentiation between pre-modern sexual acts and modern sexual identities in post-Foucauldian discourses on sex denies the applicability of any notion of identity to medieval sexuality. But as Halperin argues, there is value in exploring "sexual preference without sexual orientation," while avoiding homosexuality as an identity category. As Schultz demonstrates, heterosexuality is equally as problematic as homosexuality: "cultural heteronormativity presumes heterosexual identity, which is understood to generate heterosexual behaviour."

Detaching the behaviours and desires of medieval adolescents from these synchronic categories is crucial for recognising the alterity of sexuality in the past. Hence why Boswell has received such staunch criticism for claiming that "there can be little question that Aelred [of Rievaulx] was gay," when this ascribes to him an identity of which he had no conception. This also means Aelred cannot be presumed heterosexual, and Boswell's work is nonetheless seminal in demonstrating how Aelred's sexual preferences may have moulded his

identity. Though methodologically contentious, it represents the necessity of integrating same-sex sexuality into historical narratives, an unfulfilled task in the historiography of medieval adolescence.

At court, sexual preference and masculinity were inextricably linked. In his *Ecclesiastical History* (c. twelfth century) Orderic Vitalis describes William Rufus' reign as a time when "foul catamites, doomed to eternal fire … gave themselves up to the filth of sodomy." It is revealing that he refers to these men as catamites (*catamitæ*), emphasising their passivity and youth. As Halperin argues, Orderic's description "seem[s] to glance back at the long tradition of stigmatised male passivity, effeminacy, and gender deviance." Lochrie substantiates this view that sodomy represented "an insurrection of gender categories and hierarchies." Young men engaging in same-sex sex subverted constructions of masculinity centred upon dominance. Not only were their desires experienced amid increasing hostility towards sodomy, such as Archbishop Anselm's anathematisation of sodomites in 1102, but these erotic sensibilities bled into their masculine identity formation.

Constructions of masculinity and sexuality coalesced in this environment of pervasive heteronormativity. Fenton and Yarrow both argue that polemics on effeminacy and sodomy were manifestations of concerns about the disruption of masculinity and prevailing gender roles. In his *Historia Novella* (c. twelfth century), William of Malmesbury accuses young men at Henry I's court with long hair of "[vying] with women." Superficially, this notion of gender deviance stems from clerical disdain for faddish court fashions that undermined the masculine norm. But William's reference to the Pauline Epistles ("If a man have long hair it is a shame unto him,") invokes a wider textual context that explicitly condemns same-sex sex between men, so here is a blurring of same-sex activity and masculinity. Mazo Karras, drawing upon literary works, convincingly argues that earning the love of women consolidated masculine identity by allowing young men to prove themselves to others. As she notes, "the love of ladies was a necessary part of aristocratic masculinity." Therefore, adolescents who did not conform to this model risked not just the shame of sodomy but ostracization from the masculine community the court cultivated.

It is foolish to suggest that, unlike the court, monasteries constituted a utopian setting in which young men could love freely; they patently did not. Yet, same-sex desires were not stigmatised drastically above other sexual preferences. Aelred of Rievaulx discusses the contrition surrounding adolescent sexuality within monasteries, in his writings that contain "striking yet often oblique personal revelations." This is illustrated in *The Formation of Anchoresses*, in which he uses his own experiences of temptation to advise a female recluse. He recalls how "a cloud of passion exhaled from the murky depths of [his] fleshly desires and youthful folly." Importantly, he does not reveal the sex of his partner; the relevant detail is the youthful lust which compromised his faith and led him "down the precipice of vice."

Any manifestation of sexuality, within monasteries, could cause distress; Aelred's hagiographer Walter Daniel describes his observance of strict ascetic practices to resist his urges, such as taking ice-baths. Brian McGuire aptly suggests that he saw sexual desire as "a barrier to total integration in the life of the cloister." While Aelred condemned same-sex genital contact as "more damnable than all other crimes," this arose from a perspective in which any sexual activity was forbidden. The threat of youthful sexuality to the monastic community was universally problematic, unlike the court which encouraged heterosexual activity whilst condemning same-sex sex. Nevertheless, repressing these desires during one's noviciate could be straining on both the body and the mind.

Aelred's experiences at the Scottish court suggest that sexuality impeded belonging for adolescents. Aelred looked back nostalgically: recalling time spent with Prince Henry and David I, he writes that "[he] left them bodily, but never in [his] mind or [his] heart" (c.1153). Aelred's fond memories concern individuals, not the environment. Walter Daniel's *Vita* expresses disdain towards the court; his spurious claims that Aelred observed ascetic practices prior to his conversion purport to distance him from this world of "elaborate confections" and sexual excess. For all its dubious veracity, Walter's account of one hostile encounter between Aelred and a young knight who insulted and "spit his venom" upon him is striking. Within the community at Rievaulx, Walter likely heard this story from Aelred, or someone who knew him personally. Befitting his hagiographical task, he demonstrates Aelred's benevolence when met with the bully, although perhaps reveals more about Aelred than intended.

Pages from an illuminated mansucript of Vita S. Eduardi, regis et confessoris (*Life of Edward the Confessor*) by Aelred of Rievaulx. British Library, Stowe 104.

Walter does not reveal the specific insult levied against Aelred. As McGuire notes, however, the Latin text suggests it was sexual – the knight's words "stank of wantonness" (*luxuriam redoleret*). By withholding such details, Walter avoids incriminating his hero, Aelred, in whatever insidious accusation was made. Conversely, the unsaid element, as Townsend argues, "encourages our prurient interest." McGuire places this moment in dialogue with Aelred's own writings about his affection for men, more importantly the absence of any reference to temptation for sex with women. Aelred recalled his closeness to other boys when he was a schoolboy, notably blaming his youthfulness for his untrammelled passions: "among the foibles and failings with which that age is fraught, my mind surrendered itself completely to emotion and devoted itself to love." It seems within reason to suggest that "amid the intrigues of court life," Aelred's attraction to men made him the target of verbal abuse by other youth. Demonstrably, the court offered no sense of belonging to adolescents experiencing same-sex desire.

Monasteries lacked the competitive courtly model of masculinity to which conformation was required for inclusion in the community; adolescents cultivated spiritual friendship with peers and mentors. Some men likely engaged in sex with other men. Predominantly, the monastic setting, due to its rejection of sex, facilitated emotional relationships between men. Aelred was twenty-four when he entered the Cistercians as a novice – he embodied adolescence in age and liminality before becoming a monk. He forged a particularly close friendship with another youth, Simon, taking example from the intimate biblical friendship between David and Jonathan in his *Mirror of Chastity* (c.1160). As McGuire argues, he found in the monastery "a possibility for loving other men without guilt and with great joy." In place of the heteropatriarchal masculinity of court, monasteries fostered fraternity and male community. While adolescents experiencing same-sex desire did not find in them freedom of expression, they may have found belonging in a single-sex community that encouraged the translation of these desires into spiritual friendships, rather than outright repression.

The search for a queer medieval adolescence is nearly as challenging as the young person's own search for a community that accepted him. This should not discourage scholars from attempting the redemptive task of integrating expressions of same-sex desire into the historiography of adolescence. Demonstrably, adolescents in the Middle Ages experienced same-sex desire. At court, this brought the risk of ostracization from the masculine community; in the cloister, it meant relinquishing physical intimacy, but with the propensity for fulfilling emotional friendships. In the absence of an environment in which he could freely love other men, the medieval adolescent was forced to find belonging through conforming, repressing, or translating his sexuality into a socially acceptable form.

IN THE WOODS SOMEWHERE: THE FOREST AS A LIMINAL SPACE OF ADOLESCENCE IN CHIVALRIC LITERATURE

ABI VAREY

"An awful noise
Filled the air
I heard a scream in the woods somewhere"

Hozier's *In the Woods Somewhere* depicts an eerie, otherworldly setting in which the rules we are accustomed to no longer apply. The listener is transported into a liminal space as Hozier narrates the journey through the misty woodland, hunted by monstrous creatures with sharp teeth and how upon breaking through the trees, he is changed by this experience. Hozier is not the first, nor the last, to use the woods as a liminal space in which monsters lurk to provide a challenge to a brave young hero. Chivalric literature frequently employs the forest as a Bildungsroman – a liminal space in which a hero undergoes emotional and physical development. In both literature and Hozier's lyrics, the forest serves as a space in which the protagonist undergoes a transformation through a series of trials that test the hero's physical, mental and emotional capabilities. In chivalric literature, this can be seen primarily from a transition from youth to adulthood, and the process of adolescence plays out between the trees of a world which does not conform to the rules and conventions of society. This journey is best exemplified in the case of both Gawain (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*) and Perceval (*The Story of the Grail*). Gawain and Perceval enter the forest as boys but leave as young men.

As a genre, identity and transformation lay at the heart of twelfth to fourteenth-century chivalric literature. In the Middle Ages, life stages were less dictated by notions of biological development and were negotiated through the completion of various rites of passage. Georges Duby argues

ILLUSTRATION BY ROSE CURNYN

that amongst the militarised elite, the primary audience of these chivalric tales, male adolescence can be defined as "the part of the man's life between the ceremony of knighting and fatherhood." It would have been understood by these audiences that those heroes, such as Gawain and Perceval, were on the precipice of adulthood.

The forest itself was seen, in both literature and the medieval world, as the frontier of civilisation due to a lack of domestication of the environment, infrastructure and an absence of law codes. Due to this, it is seen as a liminal space in which an individual can undergo a maturation process when facing challenges which draw upon the chivalric traits valued by a noble audience. Janet Poindexter-Sholty points out that the wilderness of the forest illuminates certain aspects of the character as the forest becomes a landscape of personal crisis and represents the interior experience of the hero. By leaving the *locus amoneus* of the aristocratic court and entering the liminal space of the forest, the audience would be aware that the protagonist was about to undergo a process that would transform them from a youth without title, land and reputation into a mature, well-respected, masculine knight who was rich from both experience and spoils of his military prowess.

The differentiation between child and adult in the Middle Ages was determined with possession of property and title, explaining why many of the heroes in chivalric literature end their journey with such in their possession. The establishment of primogeniture in the eleventh century, ending the practice of partible inheritance, resulted in the eldest sons coming into their maturation by leaving the custody of their mother to inherit their father's property and title. The exclusion of the younger sons of noble families from any such inheritance meant that to gain fame and fortune they had to find it for themselves. Perceval leaves his mother's care to enter deeper into the woods in search of a successful military career as a knight, seeking tutelage under those more experienced. When Gawain sets out on his quest to find the Green Knight, he leaves the rules and expectations of court life and enters an unknown, which does not play by the rules of elite society he is accustomed to. Both Perceval and Gawain seek out for the glory and renown that belongs to King Arthur, an exemplary figure of militarism and chivalry. Younger sons of noble families would also leave the comfortable surroundings of home to wander the forests as bands of youths travelling from tournament to tournament, collecting victories and reputations as champions of court-approved violence.

However, the journey to gain such acclaim is not easy. Upon entering the forest, a young hero may be affronted by savage wolves, wild men and giants – a severe welcome into the world that lay beyond the safety and comfort of the home. The forest and its inhabitant were the epitome of a lack of control and social order. The forest's refusal to comply with the rules and regulations of courtly life means that it can act as a setting in which the individual can act outside of the paradigm of 'good' courtly behaviour.

A lack of rules and regulations in the forest is experienced in both the courtly romances and the medieval reality. Romantic love is depicted as an ideal, in which a young man was to worship his lover from afar, but to never approach the object of his affection. Love was the medium in which a young knight was able to demonstrate his prowess, and his behaviour around young women earned himself further social capital amongst his peers and social superiors. However, outside of the strictly controlled court environment, young men no longer had to restrict their behaviour to what would be considered chivalrous. Whilst roaming the forests in search of tournaments to compete in, the members of the bands of noble youths gained social capital amongst their peers not by refraining to act upon any sexual urges, but by partaking in acts of sexual promiscuity and adopting concubines. This was justified by these young men through the setting of these acts within the forest – as there were no laws here, they were not bound by the limits of acceptable behaviour established in their elite households. Perceval, having grown up in the forest (and therefore ignorant of the expected behaviours towards women) breaks these conventions by forcefully kissing and taken the ring of a maiden he encounters in the forest on the way to Camelot, "regardless if she liked it or not". Whilst this behaviour may have occurred in the forest, it would have been recognised amongst the youth that, through their knightly training, knightly prowess should be measured by their appeal and desirability to women, rather than taking it by force. The forest is therefore further deemed as a setting in which young nobles can act upon their sexual urges, marking it as a setting of physical development. Whilst this behaviour would have resulted in a noble being cast out of society if

it occurred within the courtly setting, both Perceval and the youths who partook in this behaviour would have been excused due to taking place within the wilderness.

While in the forest the protagonist may temporarily stray from the code of chivalry, but upon emerging from the trees and re-entering civilisation, the hero has completed both a social and psychological transformation. Perceval transforms from one of the forests' many beasts but quickly embraces the values of chivalry to become a respected knight who gains both a lover and the king's respect. Gawain, despite flipping conventions of the romance motif, also fulfils the maturation cycle to progress from adolescence into adulthood. Despite his feelings of failure by showing cowardice when facing the Green Knight, he is venerated by both audiences and the Knights of Camelot as an exemplar of knightly conduct. Whilst in the forest, Gawain may not have acted as the perfect knight, but his experiences instilled within him a value system which allowed for a more mature self-knowledge, making him a better knight in the eyes of the audience.

The setting of the forest therefore represents the reality of many of the second and later born sons of noble families following the establishment of primogeniture who would, like the heroes in the stories they grew up hearing in the halls of their fathers, leave their familial home in search of adventure themselves. By viewing the forest in medieval literature as a liminal space, it gives further insight into the physiological and psychological transformations undergone by an elite male, expressed in a form of mass media. An understanding of the forest in this way allows us to understand how the audience would have received, and internalised, the motifs that reflected prevalent attitudes towards the maturation of young men within an aristocratic and knightly setting. Both the knight and Hozier's protagonist emerge from the woods transformed and changed by their experience – making the forest itself the medium of metamorphosis from one life stage to the next.

"I clutched my life
And wished it kept
My dearest love, I'm not done yet
How many years
I know I'll bear
I found something in the woods somewhere"

"MY CHILD IS YET A STRANGER IN THE WORLD": COMING OF AGE IN SHAKESPEARE'S *ROMEO AND JULIET*

SOMMER BIANCHI

Romeo and Juliet by William Shakespeare is one of the most famous romances of all time. The tragic love story has been retold in many ways since its publication in 1597, both through reenactments of the original story and retellings, such as *West Side Story* by Jerome Robins (Mowat and Werstine 2011, liii). *Romeo and Juliet* is traditionally introduced to teenage readers because of the 'coming of age' aspect of the play: Romeo and Juliet are too old to be children but not quite adults, putting them in a suspended social identity. Contemporary readers of Shakespeare would not have considered this when reading his work, as the concept of teenagerhood was not popularised until the 20th century (Baxter 2008. chap.1). Shakespeare's 'teenager' then demonstrates the transition between childhood and adulthood. However, Romeo and Juliet, while both 'coming of age', do not become adults in the same way. This close reading of *Romeo and Juliet* will examine how Romeo and Juliet mature, looking at impulsivity, the role of gender expectations, and individual discrepancies in what defines someone as an 'adult,' not in age but in societal distinction.

Romeo and Juliet's impulsiveness creates the gap between their child and adult identities. Romeo, while having already experienced infatuation with Rosaline, believes he has found true love with Juliet just from seeing her (Shakespeare 2011, 1.11.173, 1.5.59-60). He is so besotted by her that he risks his

life to see her and confess his love to her (Shakespeare 2011, 2.2.67-8). Their discussion of marriage even though they barely know each other is essential in understanding their characters and further plot developments (Shakespeare 2011, 2.1.149-55). The fast pace of Romeo and Juliet's love story works to further complicate their social ages: the urgency in which they wish to get married shows their rush to grow up to match their adult feelings, but the lack of foresight or planning shows their immaturity and is ultimately the cause of their tragic deaths. Shakespeare uses Friar Lawrence as a thematic symbol; the Friar's warning to Romeo to slow down with the progression of their relationship is not just a piece of advice but a way to foreshadow future events (Shakespeare 2011, 2.4.101). However, the theme of impulsiveness is continuous and reflected later in Romeo's rash decision of suicide upon hearing of Juliet's death (Shakespeare 2011, 5.1.25-32). Even though Romeo and Juliet are experiencing adult feelings, they are still seen as young because of their series of unplanned and quick decisions, separating them from social adulthood. By combining adult desires with youthful spontaneity, Romeo and Juliet are placed in a social identity that is neither 'child' nor 'adult', creating the process of 'coming of age' within the play.

From there, gender roles greatly define how Romeo and Juliet become adults. Juliet is introduced as an obedient child, with her thoughts of romance dependent on her parent's consent and approval (Shakespeare 2011, 1.4.71, 103-5). Her subsequent attraction and kiss with Romeo initiates her newfound sexuality, marking the symbolic end to her childhood and the creation of a new identity as a woman. While Juliet's newly discovered desire begins her transition to adulthood, her feelings towards Romeo are not public knowledge; to the viewer, she has become an adult, but to the Nurse and her family, she remains a child. Her later soliloquy while she waits for Romeo on their wedding night seals this adult transition to the audience; her open admission that she longs for the night so Romeo may take her virginity, a symbol of her innocence, further demonstrates this development (Shakespeare 2011, 3.2.1-33). Her virginity as her innocence is reiterated when her father sees her dead and declares death as his in law, as he has deflowered Juliet (Shakespeare 2011, 4.5.40-6). Juliet was seen to be a woman when Capulet gave her hand to Paris, so the narrative of her death has transformed from the death of a child to the death of a bride. This is how Juliet's discovery of her romantic and sexual desires makes her a woman to the audience, while her

ILLUSTRATION BY LYDIA KEMPTON

eligibility to be married is what makes her a woman within the context of the play. Marriage and sexuality are then key to Juliet's private and social age.

However, masculine identities and 'manliness' have an inverse relationship in Romeo's journey into adulthood. Romeo's expression of his sexuality does not increase his social age as it does Juliet's. Mercutio and Benvolio make sexual jokes in conversation with Romeo on multiple occasions, but this jesting, as demonstrated in their meeting with the Nurse, only makes Romeo seem more immature (Shakespeare 2011, 2.4.111-48). In turn, Mercutio and Benvolio's teasing, specifically the notion that Romeo just needed to have sex to overcome his melancholy, further distinguishes feminine and masculine ideas of sex. Sex for Juliet is a romantic connection, but the male ideal of sex is represented as emotional suppression. Romeo, by being in love with Juliet, becomes less of a man, and therefore less of an adult. He is introduced as being too lovesick and depressed to participate in any of the Montague and Capulet brawls (Shakespeare 2011, 1.1.139-45). Brawls are expressions of anger and are a way to release one's temper in a somewhat socially acceptable, masculine outlet. By not participating in these brawls, Romeo's masculinity is called into question. Romeo himself questions his masculinity before he kills Tybalt to avenge Mercutio, saying that his love for Juliet has made him effeminate (Shakespeare 2011, 3.1.119-20). Romeo's killing of Tybalt then makes him a man and an adult: he has acted on an emotion that is seen as inherently masculine, and because of this, is able to be punished accordingly. However, his exile instead of execution still points to his youth, as his behaviour can still be excused as a fit of passion instead of an act of planned malice. Gender roles and expectations become essential to the aging of Romeo and Juliet, as what makes Juliet an adult woman makes Romeo less of a man, and his adulthood depends on more masculine outlets of emotion.

Individual circumstances are also essential to understanding Romeo and Juliet's 'coming of age.' Both Romeo and Juliet do not fit exactly into gendered societal categories, but these categories also hold some flexibility. When Juliet is first mentioned, her father states she is too young to marry at fourteen, but Paris replies that women younger than Juliet are already wives and mothers, as he wishes to marry her (Shakespeare 2011, 1.2.9-12). But Capulet responds that while that is true, he still believes that Juliet is too young to be married (Shakespeare 2011, 1.2.13-15). Here, Juliet's age is not about the number of years she has lived but her social image; because she is interpreted to be too young for marriage, her official transition into womanhood, she remains a child despite her physical age. A similar process happens for Romeo: Paris is known to be older than Romeo and therefore able to marry Juliet. Romeo's physical age is never disclosed, but by not actively looking for a wife, Romeo is still a youth. Even though marriage would not have made Romeo a man in the same way Juliet is made a woman, it would have deemed him more responsible, and therefore more of an adult. Similarly, his emotional sensitivity, which is seen as unmanly, further decreases his social age. Thus, while general assumptions can be made about gender roles within the Shakespearean society of *Romeo and Juliet,* individuality is essential in understanding the specifics of how Romeo and Juliet transition from children to adults.

Romeo and Juliet in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* are classic examples of what 'coming of age' is in literature. This essay discussed how Romeo and Juliet's social ages were contextually demonstrated throughout the play with emotional themes, gender expectations, and the importance of individuality. Romeo and Juliet's impulsivity that stems from their feelings for each other is a key driving force for the plot that distinguishes both their search for maturity with their youthfulness. It creates a limbo of a social age identity, which is how Romeo and Juliet are able to mature throughout the play. Juliet's discovery of her sexuality and desire for marriage makes her an adult, first through her private expression of these feeling and then through her social distinction as an eligible bride. Romeo's manliness and adulthood come from his brawling, as his expression of sexuality and romance are inverse to Juliet's, making him less mature. But while Romeo and Juliet do follow social rules and distinctions, their individuality needs to be considered, as their social age is not dependant on their physical age, only their youth. By looking at these elements, how Romeo and Juliet 'come of age' can be examined, giving further insight into how Shakespeare develops and categorises an individual as an adult.

THE HIDDEN POLITICS OF TINY FEET IN CHINESE CULTURE

KIRSTIN HAINES

"*My cousin told me that no one wanted to marry a woman with big feet.*"

These words, spoken by an elderly Taiwanese woman during a 1960 interview, encapsulate the deep cultural significance of foot binding in Chinese society. While the practice has since disappeared and seems unthinkable in today's world, it was nonetheless an integral part of Chinese culture for over one thousand years until the mid-twentieth century. Foot binding, a process involving the curling of toes beneath the sole and breaking the arch to create a tiny, contorted shape, was not only the pinnacle of feminine beauty but also an essential rite of passage for young Chinese girls to endure. To achieve the ideal three-inch foot, girls as young as five endured the painful process of having their feet tightly bound in bandages. This process often spanned ten to fifteen years, leaving lasting physical damage and permanently disabling them. Given the immense suffering associated with foot binding, some critical questions are raised: what made this practice so deeply entrenched in Chinese society? Was it merely a pursuit of beauty, or did it serve broader cultural and societal purposes? This article will explore these questions by examining the various interpretations of foot binding and the forces that sustained it. It will investigate the cultural, philosophical, and economic dimensions of foot binding, ultimately revealing a practice far more complex than a simple aesthetic pursuit.

While the exact origins of foot binding remain unclear, most scholars have traced the custom back to the tenth century, during the Tang and Song dynasties, when it began among the aristocracy. Literature, songs and poetry written during the period would frequently glorify the bound foot as a symbol of beauty and love fetish, referring to the feet as "golden lilies". The practice gradually spread from the elite to the public, eventually becoming a widespread custom across different classes and regions in China. The optimal age to begin foot binding was between five and seven years old when the bones in the foot were still flexible and easy to mould. Chinese tradition also held the belief that girls at this age had reached the stage of understanding (*dongshi*), making them capable of realising why they had to endure extreme pain. The process often led to infection, permanent disability, or even death, with some estimates suggesting that one in ten girls did not survive having their feet bound. Accounts written by foot-bound women often described the unbearable pain, including oozing sores, throbbing feet, and bandages stiff with blood. Yet mothers continued to impose the practice on their daughters, who in turn imposed it on future generations, allowing the practice to persist. The ambivalence that mothers felt when binding their daughters' feet is captured by the Chinese word *teng*—while they recognised the pain the custom inflicted, they believed it was an act of love and a necessary preparation for their daughters' futures in a society that demanded it. This generational legacy speaks to the profound social pressures and cultural values that sustained the practice for centuries.

While critics have long characterised foot binding as a fetish object rooted in male sexual desire, this perspective oversimplifies the practice and ignores other critical factors at play. Sigmund Freud's 1927 theory, for instance, described the bound foot as a fetish symbol of eroticised submission and castration, highlighting the perceived power imbalance between genders. However, this interpretation fails to account for the longevity of the custom and the role women played in perpetuating the practice across the generations. Similarly, earlier Western perspectives frequently dismissed foot binding as a barbaric custom without attempting to understand its deeper cultural context. These critics, including anthropologist Francis Hsu, argued that foot binding endured due to an inherent reluctance within Chinese society to challenge the social order or initiate reform. Such interpretations framed the practice as evidence of cultural stagnation or a "flaw" in Chinese civilisation, reinforcing a narrative of Western superiority and modernity. However, this perspective has been widely criticised for projecting Western biases onto another culture and failing to account for the complex, multifaceted nature of foot binding. Instead, to gain a better understanding, it is necessary to situate the

practice within its historical and cultural context to fully comprehend the reasons behind its longevity, rather than reducing it to simplistic or culturally biased explanations.

A more nuanced explanation of foot binding lies in the role of Confucian philosophy, particularly Neo-Confucian ideals that emerged during the Song dynasty. In this context, foot binding became a way for women to embody the moral and cultural values expected of them. A central concept in Confucian thought was *xiushen*, or the "cultivation of the body," which emphasised that moral and spiritual growth began with discipline and self-control over the body. Neo-Confucian thought demanded for women to be virtuous, hardworking, and submissive to male authority, however, it did not provide clear guidelines on how women should embody these ideals. Thus, foot binding emerged as a physical manifestation of these values. By reshaping a girl's feet and restricting her movement, the practice symbolised her discipline, submission, and moral development, rendering her more desirable as a potential wife. The pain inflicted through foot binding was also seen as a way to prepare women for the hardships of marriage, such as the physical challenges and pain caused by childbirth, sex, and pregnancy. In this sense, foot binding was viewed as a process of cultivating and refining women for their roles as wives. Since families wanted their daughters to marry into a good family, having a bound foot was seen as the best criterion with the size and shape of a woman's feet becoming a more significant indicator of her character than her face or physique. Furthermore, foot binding helped to assert and strengthen the traditional Confucian family. Since she was required to submit to the family she married into, having her feet bound restricted her movement and so it prevented the bride from becoming disruptive. The wife would not be able to wander far, especially under the surveillance of the mother-in-law, and so foot binding supported the Confucian family system with its elevation of not just male over female but also old over young. The practice was therefore deeply rooted in Confucian ideals, reflecting the belief that a woman's value was in her cultivation, making her the best possible wife according to these cultural norms.

Other explanations for the endurance of foot binding have also been proposed, including its economic underpinnings. The physical deformity caused by bound feet limited women's

mobility, steering them toward tasks that required manual dexterity, such as spinning and weaving. In pre-industrial China, handiwork was central to domestic production, involving the transformation of fibres into yarn, thread, cloth, shoes, and nets. By restricting young girls from running and playing, foot binding effectively channelled their efforts into these labour-intensive crafts. This economic dynamic may also explain the decline of foot binding in the 1930s, as industrialisation and the rise of factories reduced the demand for girls' labour in traditional handicrafts. Women were now required to take on more mobile roles in factories, making foot binding no longer economically advantageous and contributing to its decline. While historians adopting this perspective do not claim that foot binding originated solely from an attempt at labour control, it highlights the importance of not overemphasising its aesthetic reasons or reducing foot binding to mere fashion.

Today, the practice of foot binding has disappeared and is widely stigmatised in China. The economic shifts brought about by industrialisation, which required women to play more mobile roles in the workforce, coupled with the

communist government's anti-foot binding stance, led to the practice's decline in the first half of the twentieth century. By 1957, the last officially recorded case of foot binding occurred. Despite its fall from fashion, foot binding continues to be understood and debated, with historians approaching it from various angles—some focusing on its economic implications, others viewing it as an expression of male dominance. Regardless of these differing viewpoints, foot binding serves as a prominent example of how culture, economics, and patriarchy intersect. As the debate surrounding foot binding continues, it is crucial to avoid imposing modern or Western perspectives on the practice. Instead, we must strive to understand it within its own cultural and historical context, recognising the deeply rooted values and social structures that sustained the practice for over a thousand years.

A RITE OF PRIVILEGE: PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL EXCLUSIVITY IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN

YAEL FRANKE

Content Warning: Physical Abuse

In the nineteenth century public schools, what we now call private schools, were the domain of Britain's elite. The schools were both successful in educating the children of the upper class and creating the future upper class, as many schoolboys went on to dominate successful careers in politics and the military. To many, receiving this education was a significant rite of passage which shaped them, their worldview and their futures. Although public schools were reserved for the upper class in the nineteenth century, this was far from the original aim of many. Eton, for example, was established by King Henry VI to provide free education for seventy underprivileged boys. Alongside them, boys who were willing to pay were allowed to study and by the nineteenth century they were the dominant group. The question arises if despite this, foundations still existed which allowed lower- and middle-class boys to access these schools, which is what I set out to answer when researching this article.

The Right of Passage

Victorian public schools were more concerned with installing a particular character than with providing an education. While students received a classics-focused education and concerned themselves with religion, this was not academically rigorous as we would expect of these schools today. Instead, sports like football and rowing became central to the boys' education, especially by the end of the nineteenth century. These games were seen as tools to instill discipline, teamwork and resilience - qualities of the 'Christian Gentleman', the ideal type which these schools wanted to shape their students into. The 'Christian Gentleman' embodied the virtues of strength, self-reliance, and endurance, fitting perfectly into Victorian ideals of 'survival of the fittest' and self-help. Parents thus often regarded athletic success as more important than academic achievement as these were seen as more critical to their sons' futures. The emphasis on physical toughness was reflected in the grueling nature of school sports. As Winchester student George Rodney Scott notes *'legs are sometimes broken at football, but arms … are the most frequent'*.

Anything perceived as weak was not tolerated by the other boys or schoolmasters. Bullying then was especially bad for those who were not athletically gifted or perceived as tough. The bullying, most extremely, included having a boy pull up the skin on the back of his hand only to cut the skin off as well as tying a boy up in blankets and precariously dangling him from high places, a situation where one wrongly tied knot could lead to a boy crashing to his death. Older students, like prefects, especially misused their power to bully younger students. Nevison, a student at Uppingham, noted the harsh bullying which made his life 'hell on earth'. He wrote, '*An apathy settled on me. I withered. I learned nothing: I did nothing. I was kicked, hounded, caned, flogged, hairbrushed, morning, noon and night. The more I suffered, the less I cared. The longer I stayed, the harder I grew*', highlighting the lack of focus on education and his effective formation into a tough 'Christian Gentleman'.

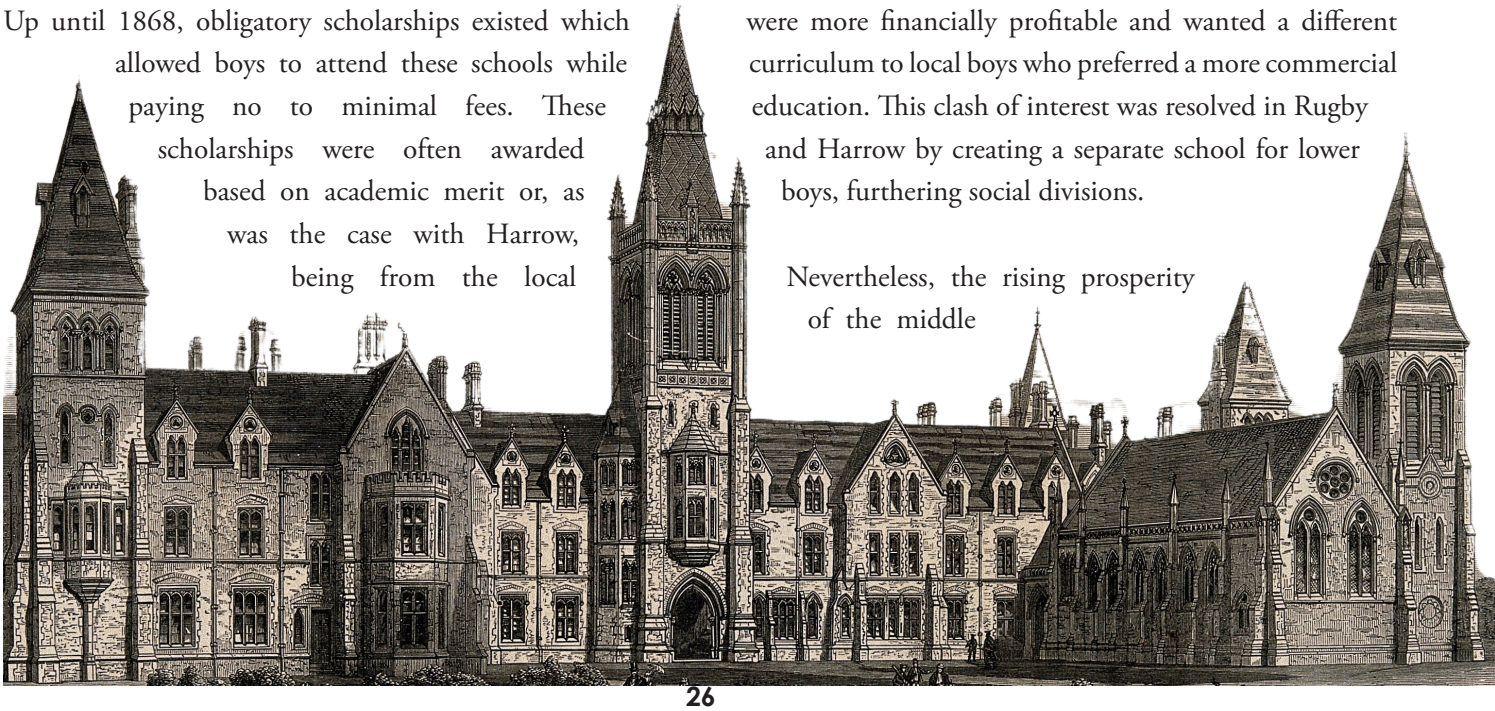
Schoolmasters, too, aided in forming the boys into 'Christian Gentleman' through harsh punishments, which often included flogging. Crying or showing emotion during punishment usually resulted in harsher treatment. A Marlborough College student wrote: '*The knoutings which I received from my master's reverend arm, turned my back all the colours of the rainbow; and when I screamed from the fearful torture they produced, the headmaster would send a prefect down to say, that if I made such a horrid noise, he also would have a go-in at me, when my master had done his worst.*'.. Furthermore, the harsh environment extended beyond physical discipline. Living standards at these schools were bleak. Boys endured freezing dormitories, with their fingers numb from the cold when buttoning their shirts or meager meals consisting sometimes of no more than a slice of bread. Yet, despite the hardships, schoolboys often reflected with nostalgia. Through shared adversary they made enduring friendships and created a network of elite support that managed a society. Not only their own but also the ones of the countries Britain had colonised throughout the globe. This 'Christian Gentleman' ideal produced men who saw themselves as natural rulers, especially of those too weak to manage themselves. This interconnectedness between imperialism and elite secondary education is evident in the fact that over 1300 former Eton schoolboys and nearly 600 Harrow schoolboys fought in the first South African War (1899-1902).

Access for Lower and Middle-Class Boys

Up until 1868, obligatory scholarships existed which allowed boys to attend these schools while paying no to minimal fees. These scholarships were often awarded based on academic merit or, as was the case with Harrow, being from the local area. It is difficult to assess the exact number of boys who came from modest backgrounds, as the financial status of the parents was rarely noted in admission registers. However, the popularity of these scholarships is evident as Winchester records show that at least seventy boys participated in the scholarship exam each year between 1856 and 1868. Importantly though, to participate in one of these exams a boy would have had to have had significant knowledge of reading, writing, maths and classics, which were difficult to achieve without a primary education. At the time, access to quality primary schooling was limited for the lower classes, thus making these scholarships more accessible to middle-class families.

This system changed drastically with the Public Schools Act of 1868, prompted by the Clarendon Commission's review of seven elite schools (Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury, and Rugby) and two prominent London day schools. The Commission criticized poor financial management and low academic standards. In response, the Public Schools Act was introduced to improve financial self-management within these schools, eliminating government interference and thus also scrapping the obligation of fee-free scholarships. As a result, while scholarships remained, schools began charging tuition for all students. At Winchester, scholarship recipients were required to pay annual fees ranging from £21 (around £3,200 today) to £50 (£7,600 today), significantly reducing accessibility for lower- and middle-class boys. Moreover, efforts were made to separate the local boys from the boarders as the latter were more financially profitable and wanted a different curriculum to local boys who preferred a more commercial education. This clash of interest was resolved in Rugby and Harrow by creating a separate school for lower boys, furthering social divisions.

Nevertheless, the rising prosperity of the middle



class during the Industrial Revolution allowed some families outside the traditional social elite to attend public schools. Wealth generated from industries such as steel manufacturing allowed these families to afford the fees. However, such examples were rare, as the majority of social mobility occurred within the working class, while the upper class largely remained exclusive. The lower and middle classes did receive more opportunity to advance in the social rankings through similar education reforms, like the Education Act of 1870 which required education to be provided as a national service, although not for free. A monetary barrier which yet again prevented any truly poor boy from entering education.

These reforms of the 1860s and 1870s fit in well with the general *Zeitgeist* of the Victorian age which emphasized self-help and survival of the fittest. Poverty was often viewed as a moral failing, and opportunities like scholarships were framed as rewards for merit rather than entitlements. Only if a child was able to prove its ability through achieving a scholarship then they were able to benefit significantly from the opportunity.

A Legacy of Exclusivity

These public schools did engage with the poor to some extent, though more to develop their students than to help disadvantaged communities. Programs sent boys into working-class neighborhoods to deliver Christian teachings and set-up welfare agencies. While teachers, parents and students alike complained of these programs, calling them useless, it shows some commitment to breaking down social barriers. Although it speaks to the remaining division between the students and the poor, this was an effort characterized by entering disadvantaged communities without allowing the disadvantaged to enter elite communities through scholarships and financial aid. In fact, although not explicitly stated in written sources, it seems fee-free scholarships were abolished around the exact time that lower middle class boys had an actual chance of entering these schools through rising standards of general education, thus purposefully keeping these schools elite institutions.

Many of the scholarships initially intended to help poor boys still exist today although they rarely cover the significant costs of attending, with annual fees often exceeding £30,000. However, schools have begun to offer bursaries to help financially struggling students. Last year at Winchester twenty-nine boys received full financial aid and the Orwell scholarship at Eton allows fourteen boys from public schools to finish the last years of education at Eton free of charge. These initiatives reflect a more inclusive ethos than in the Victorian era, but the legacy of exclusivity remains.

LA QUINCEAÑERA: ANCIENT AZTEC OR ROMAN CATHOLIC?

ANNIKA RASMUSSEN

The *Quinceañera* is an important Latin American ceremony which marks the transition from girlhood to womanhood on the girl of honor's fifteenth birthday. Symbolically, family (and by extension society) recognize the growing maturity of girls during the celebration while also strengthening family ties and reinforcing the Latino identity. The modern *Quinceañera* has become a staple in Latin American society and culture, steadily evolving in response to modern values and trends. But its historical origins remain highly debated. While today's *Quinceañera* is largely connected to the Catholic church, many scholars have questioned if it began solely as a Catholic tradition, or if it in fact stemmed from Ancient Mesoamerican rituals. Despite prominent voices in the church asserting the ceremony's religious origins, some have conceded that Ancient Mesoamerican ceremonies likely mixed with Catholic traditions during colonisation to produce the *Quinceañera*. Debate is inevitable and it is certain no absolute conclusion will ever be reached, but it is nonetheless interesting to trace the possible roots of the *Quinceañera.* Looking back at the multiple influences that have shaped this ceremony, one may glimpse into the wider story of how a Latin American identity has formed throughout history.

Chicago Journalist David Beard argued in 1980 that the *Quinceañera* evolved from an Aztec coming of age ceremony that was integrated with Catholic traditions when the Spanish colonised South America. His reasoning being that since the life expectancy for people in the Aztec Empire was about thirty-years, fifteen would be the midway point of a girl's life and when she would therefore marry. By 1990, some journalists and Church scholars concluded there was evidence of early *Quinceañera*-like ceremonies in Ancient Aztec and Mayan cultures. However, others, such as Valentina Napolitano, look to a rite of passage ceremony celebrated by Toltecs and Aztecs where young women were chosen by men for propagation. Thus, there are several theories of which ancient society played the largest role in inspiring the *Quinceañera.* Despite sources rarely explicitly naming a single ceremony as "the original *Quinceañera*" some have speculated the Izcalli ritual may have resembled a contemporary *Quinceañera* despite being a unisex rite of passage for all Aztec children. Rosemary A. Joyce describes how every four years, in the month of Izcalli, a feast was held as children celebrated a new milestone in their journey to adulthood. The ceremony began at midnight where children's ears were pierced in the local temple, beginning the perforation process which would expand throughout the individual's life until large enough for adult ear ornaments. The feast began at dawn when eating, drinking, dancing, and singing would begin and continue for the rest of the day. Participants would also gain their first body markings, specific piercings, and haircuts which signified the kind of life the individual would follow once an adult. While Joyce does not specify what age children became adults, she cites a change in hairstyles beginning for girls at the age of twelve, signifying this was around the age a girl became considered a woman. Once children had fully become adults it was natural for them to find partners but there is minimal evidence that the formation of a marriage bond was important in the Izcalli ritual. Instead, the ritual focused on the coming-of-age aspects throughout a child's life, therefore its connections to the *Quinceañera* are questioned since most early *Quinceañeras* centered on the marriage of the girl of honor.

Interestingly, Choi Myoung-Ho and Ha Sang-Sub posit even with the contested origins of the ceremony. Ancient Mesoamerican history is popular today as it represents preservation of culture through celebration and creates ethnic communities among immigrant diasporas. Nevertheless, due in part to this stark divergence from the modern *Quinceañera,* many have instead looked to the influence of the Catholic church as the creator of the *Quinceañera*.

Due to the Catholic nature of the *Quinceañera* today, many safely assume the ceremony originated from the church. The fact that the modern ceremony begins with a mass wherein the girl of honor renews her baptismal vows, gives thanks to God, often presents a statue of the Virgin Mary with a bouquet of flowers, and is gifted a bible and rosary, all exemplify the ceremony's religious connections. Moreover, a girl may only have a *Quinceañera* if she has gone through

ILLUSTRATION BY CERYS JONES

Holy Communion, and her Godparents play a significant role during the church aspect of the ceremony. Reverend Peter Rodriguez has been the most vocal advocate of the *Quinceañera's* sole Catholic origins, publishing a newspaper column which claimed the *Quinceañera* had European origins stemming from the presentation of girls once they reached an age where they could participate in society. The *Quinceañera* does in fact still somewhat resemble a debutant ball, a ball created in the sixteenth-century by Queen Elizabeth I of England to formally introduce young women to the court. By the nineteenth-century Queen Victoria had begun the tradition of wearing white dresses to symbolise their preparedness for entering the world, a tradition some *Quinceañeras* emulate. This presentation was often followed by a father-daughter waltz, an important tradition maintained by modern *Quinceañeras.* Nevertheless, Jessica Renee Lantz suggests that the *Quinceañera* did not evolve from a debutant ball, instead illustrating the ceremonies similarities for comparative effect. There are two predominate Catholic theories of who created the *Quinceañera*. Some credit the Duchess of Alba with creating the *Quinceañera* in eighteenth-century Spain when she invited young girls to her palace and dressed them as women, although details on this tradition are scarce. Others look to Empress Carlotta of Belgium who traveled to Mexico after her husband, Maximillian I became the Emperor of Mexico in the nineteenth century. She would ceremoniously present daughters in the court as candidates for marriage, thus creating the tradition of a *Quinceañera*. Carlotta is further credited with substantial influence over Mexican culture during her time as Empress although much is disputed, therefore calling into question her role as the creator of the *Quinceañera*. Some even claim the *Quinceañera* is only argued to be a historical tradition to convince Catholic priests to allow the celebration by legitimising popular religiosity through history. Consequently, this theory ignores Catholic influence in the creation of the *Quinceañera* by suggesting the ceremony later adopted Catholic traditions, possibly as a justification for recognition by the church.

As a compromise between these origin theories, in 1990 Reverend William Conway focused on the synthetism of Catholicism and Mayan theology and emphasised the role of Spanish missionaries in influencing the development of the *Quinceañera.* Conway claims missionaries relied on respect of local culture and traditions to evangelise to the indigenous population, although there is also a history of repression during colonisation that largely negates this point. He argues colonisation in the sixteenth-century saw Spanish traditions of an eighteenth birthday would mix with indigenous coming-of-age traditions thus leading to the creation of the *Quinceañera*. He further exemplifies how a similar occurrence of cultural blending is demonstrated in Day of the Dead celebrations to support his argument. It is also possible Latin American *Quinceañera* practices became more European under Porfirio Díaz as his work suggests that *Quinceañera* celebrations increasingly looked to emulate European high society, although the reasoning for this is unclear. This combination of indigenous and Catholic origin theories is popular as a sort of middle ground that appeases absolutists on both sides of the argument.

The first official reports of the *Quinceañera* appear in a 1940 Guadalajara newspaper and despite it originally being closely related to marriage, today the celebration reflects the values of the community in which it is celebrated. While the origins of the *Quinceañera* remain obscure, Karen Mary Dávalos emphasises how many of the people who celebrate *Quinceañeras* are indifferent to the celebration's origins. The importance of the ceremony for them does not stem from its creation but rather through the community-building aspect within families and the larger community, in addition to the significance of a girl's transition into womanhood. Moreover, the celebration plays a significant role in preserving the Latin American identity in immigrant communities outside of South and Central America. Despite having a history seeped in mystery and ambiguity, the *Quinceañera* continues to play a vital role in the lives of girls celebrating their first introduction to adulthood.

CENSORED CONTENT: BOOK BANNING AND ITS DETRIMENTAL EFFECT ON QUEER RITES OF PASSAGE

DAISY CARTER

With the Trump victory in the 2024 United States Presidential Election, fears have grown over a rise in the number and range of books that may be banned from schools and places of education. Novels, while fictitious, act as an ideological zeitgeist, providing a snapshot of contemporary beliefs and ideals. While often associated with dictatorial regimes, literary censorship is equally widespread in modern democratic states. There are rumours circulating that Donald Trump is hoping to ban a plethora of books that discuss queer identity- a practice that has been historically enacted by other conservative governments. This presents a dangerous message to young queer people struggling to find acceptance in today's world as they embark on their journey to adulthood.

The coming-of-age novel, or *bildungsroman* (as it is known within a literary framework,) is a vital part of many young people's adolescent journey; a crutch they can rely on to accompany them through the struggles of growing up. While tackling high school and hysterical siblings, friendships and first loves, a teenager's favourite characters can guide them through uncertain territories and provide a mirror in which they can discover another version of themselves. Thus, for queer adolescents, who may experience more pronounced feelings of ostracization and loneliness, literature with recognisable characters, posited in a hopeful context, is imperative in fostering a sense of belonging. There is a Western historical trend of censoring novels that depict sexual and gender identities that are deemed 'non-normative'. This has normalised and fostered sentiments of hatred and condemnation.

Since ancient times, the publication of literature and other forms of informative material was overseen by religious bodies; indeed, Pope Innocent I had a list of prohibited books. Censorship fell under the realms of ecclesiastical control. This changed, however, when the rapid and easy production of literary material was made available by the invention of the Gutenberg printing press in approximately 1450. From then onwards, the proliferation, albeit gradual, of increasingly cheap and mass-produced print culture made the spread of ideas harder to limit. Henceforth it fell under the remit of national and regional governments to determine what was appropriate for a public readership to consume. The Catholic Church attempted to maintain some control, by means of the Index Librorum Prohibitorum (Index of Forbidden Books) dictating from 1559-1966 which books were deemed inappropriate to be in circulation. However, generally, the legal trying and prosecution of authors who produced obscene material was left up to bureaucratic state systems of control.

Nineteenth-century Europe witnessed a turn towards the protection of its most impressionable citizens: women and children. As both groups were largely considered to lack the cognitive ability to recognise that novels, in the most part, were fictitious, they were most at risk of corruption due to obscene content. Modern democratic states tended to base their ground for censorship on immoral content, although heresy and sedition were still tried in some cases. Generally, authors would self-censor, restricting themselves from committing to paper that they knew would not adhere to contemporary moral attitudes. However, in some instances, writers attempted to transgress this level of acceptance and were put on trial. The 1857 Obscene Publications Act permitted the seizure and prohibiting of books that were not considered appropriate for public consumption in England. During the same year in France, Charles Baudelaire, the prolific French poet, faced trial for the supposed explicit content of *Fleurs du Mal*, a collection of poetry that briefly depicts lesbian love. He was permitted to continue with publication, but only after six of these 'obscene' poems were cut from the final edition. Continuing with this tradition of suppression, in 1884 the French court tried Marguerite Eymery's *Monsieur Vénus*, published under the pseudonym Rachilde, for "offences against decency" because of its dealing with themes of gender and sexual nonconformity.

Thus, the French state explicitly reinforced what was considered acceptable in society and condemned that which was not.

Similar conditions reigned across the Channel, with the details and repercussions of Oscar Wilde's trial and prosecution for charges of sodomy and gross indecency becoming literary legend. He was found guilty in 1895 in violation of the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, which had for the first time, legally condemned sexual acts between men in the United Kingdom. Thus, in charging and imprisoning of one the great writers of late-nineteenth century Britain and Ireland for his sexual identity, the British Government were, in effect, censoring the discussions of such topics for years to come. While the notion of female homosexuality was not included in the legislation, and therefore could not be prosecuted, it was virtually denied existence. Queen Victoria refused to agree to and sign the bill until any reference to women had been omitted, claiming that no such practice between women occurred, thereby setting the precedent for the maltreatment, if not criminalisation, of queer women in late-nineteenth century Britain.

A transatlantic vein of censorship also occurred in the United States. Anthony Comstock, the founder of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, successfully convinced the US Congress to pass the 'Act for the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use' on 3 March 1873. This prohibited both the possession and distribution of visual or literary material considered to be obscene. The grounds on which this was dictated had arisen from the Regina v. Hicklin (1868) case in England, which defined obscene material to be that which could "deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall."

The twentieth century saw cases in which censorship of certain literature echoed those which had occurred in the previous hundred years. However, it also was adopted by fascist and dictatorial regimes as a means of control, and by states determined to enforce a particular political ideology. In the United Kingdom, Radclyffe Hall's seminal lesbian *bildungsroman*, *The Well of Loneliness,* was banned on grounds on obscenity in 1928. Judge Biron settled on this verdict, as the novel does not present a criminalised or immoral account of homosexual characters. Contemporaries believed that the book had the potential to corrupt young people. These same beliefs led to the self-censorship of E.M. Forster's queer coming-of-age novel, *Maurice*. Originally written in 1914, Forster had been so affected by witnessing the fate of Oscar Wilde, that he ensured that his work would not be published until after his death, which came in 1970, to avoid the same treatment.

ILLUSTRATION BY CERYS JONES

Book banning was a technique frequently used in totalitarian states. Illustrated by Francoist Spain in an attempt to reinstate the prevalence of devout Catholic tradition, books that were not in accordance with this (including those depicting homosexuality) were forbidden. Similarly, in the Soviet Union, swathes of literature deemed inappropriate were inaccessible in order to encourage compliance with the regime.

In the United States during the Cold War era the heterosexual nuclear family was a weaponised force in the fight against Communism, and that which did not adhere to this paradigm was demonised. In posing queer people as enemies of the state, the US Government pushed to have positive literary depictions of them wiped from public access. Indeed, Charles Henri Ford and Parker Tyler's *The Young and the Evil* (1933), which depicted homosexual life in New York's Greenwich Village, was seized by US customs on grounds of obscenity. Furthermore, there was an influx of homophobic literature during this time, in accord with the government's ideological aims, further influencing public mistreatment of queer individuals.

Whether on the grounds of morality, as a means of control, or for political motivation, the censorship of literary material depicting homosexuality has long been a tool utilised by European and American nations, democratic or otherwise, for centuries. Through prohibiting the possession and distribution of specific novels, and therefore instilling beliefs that have led to further self-censorship, young queer people have been forbidden access to literature in which they otherwise may have found comfort and solidarity. As established, the *bildungsroman* is a crucial tool in adolescent development and in journeys of self-discovery. Modern day threats to remove LGBTQ+ literature from schools and young people's spaces would be a return to past eras of government mandated censorship, and thus further alienate an already-marginalised group of people.

SCAR TISSUE THAT I WISH YOU SAW: MENSUR DUELLING IN IMPERIAL GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

HECTOR LE LUEL

In his seminal 1909 study *The Rites of Passage*, Arnold van Gennep provides an insight into the codes that govern initiation rites. Among these rituals, he describes the practice of scarification, which he exemplifies through a wide-ranging survey of the behaviours of 'primitive societies.' For Gennep, writing during the zenith of colonial ethnography, scarification can be understood as 'a rite of separation which automatically incorporates the mutilated individual into a defined group; since the operation leaves ineradicable traces, the incorporation is permanent.' Far from a practice steeped in understandings of civilisational development, it was equally prevalent in Europe during Gennep's time, underscoring the universal aspect of rites of passage that are repeated in various forms throughout time and space. In Germany, scarification was commonplace, a feature proudly displayed on the faces of upper-class members of the imperial elite in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Young male students, incorporated in student fraternities, would practice fencing, or *Mensur*, sometimes with the explicit goal of obtaining the revered scar, or *Schmiss*, across their cheek, and join a defined group through ritual incorporation.

The practice of *Mensur* in student circles must firstly be understood within the wider cultural context agitating Germany after its unification in the early 1870s. Sword duelling had been a cornerstone of student and military activities since the Early Modern period but had suffered notable drawbacks at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Described as an offense against the sacrality of life and a threat to public order, the duel was gradually outlawed in several regions. With the creation of the new German state in 1871, the country incorporated the Prussian code into its judiciary, which had a laxer attitude to duelling: offenders would only receive a short, and highly commutable sentence ranging from three months to five years for fatal encounters. Such light sentences were entrenched in a highly stratified

society dominated by the old Prussian aristocracy. The duel, a gentlemanly affair seen as a necessity to correct attacks on one's honour, was viewed as a practice rooted in Germanic pride that was a bulwark against the rapid changes that were sweeping the industrialising nation. Championed by Otto Von Bismarck and the Kaiser himself, the duel thus saw a resurgence in the later parts of the nineteenth century in Germany, popularised by students in *Mensur* clubs across the country. This academic form of duelling was a codified practice that involved rounds of sword fighting, considerably less lethal than its military and honour-based counterparts yet leaving highly visible marks. Foreign visitors, such as Jerome Klapka Jerome, noticed the striking prevalence of duelling scars in the country, forever etched onto juvenile faces from Heidelberg to Berlin. He remarked that 'every third gentleman you meet in the street still bears, and will bear to his grave, marks of twenty to a hundred duels he has fought in his student days.'

Why did these students fight? Practically all hailing from middle and upper-class families, the male members of the various student corps – *Burschenschaften, Landsmannschaften, Corpsstudenten* – had no need to fight for self-preservation. The *Mensur* duel was rather a true rite of initiation that, as worded by Gennep, allowed incorporation into a privileged 'defined group.' To bear a scar was a signifier to the rest of the population that one was indeed well born. After graduation, the duelling scars were an unspoken stamp of worldly approval – alumni of student duelling fraternities dominated the political and cultural landscape of Germany well into the twentieth century. In 1903, twenty-one of the thirty-five chairmen of Prussian regional governing councils were ex-*Corpstudenten*. Such was the appeal of the *Schmiss* scar's clout that some bypassed the duel altogether by self-administering facial wounds with razors, foregoing safety concerns for the respect of their peers. More than a marker of inclusion, the duelling scar was also a marker of exclusion: most of the fraternities defended a certain idea of Germany that was patriotic, Protestant, and pan-German. Catholics formed a minority of duellers and were explicitly forbidden to partake in *Mensur* by Pope Leo XIII in 1891. Jews were likewise discouraged from seeking membership and regularly faced antisemitism, with noted incidents of students refusing to accept a duel with a Jewish comrade who supposedly lacked the prerequired honour. These attitudes were officialised through the 1896 Waidhofen Resolutions, which banned Jewish students from joining the pan-German *Burschenschaften* fraternities in universities across Germany and Austria, in direct violation with the Austro-Hungarian policy of multiethnic tolerance that was enforced in state institutions such as the army.

Most duelling corporations were thus defining themselves as the defenders of a mythologised, Protestant and antisemitic pan-Germanism that is hard to not conflate with the later ideas of National Socialism. While some historians have firmly defended the idea of a German *Sonderweg*, a special historical path linking Imperial cultural attitudes with Nazism, others have nuanced the widespread nature of such sentiments. Lisa Zwicker's study of German student life in the late nineteenth century questions the hegemonic nature of these ideas, highlighting the growth of liberal voices on campuses that outnumbered the comparatively small fraternities (2,000 members out of 60,000 students). Views that questioned aristocratic privilege, anti-Catholicism and championed democratic reform were increasingly platformed, both in student and national newspapers, during a time of major politicisation of the population. Liberals were also explicitly attacking *Mensur* and its masculine environment, with groups such as the German Women's Association denouncing the egotistical underpinnings of the 'defence of male honour' that degraded women to objects without any 'personal responsibility' in duels fought over them. Such critiques highlight the fact that the ideology constructed within fraternities was also deeply reactive and sensitive to societal developments; to duel, and harbour a scar, was to proudly demonstrate one's acceptance of a masculine, belligerent definition of Germanness, and of an opposition to the increasing liberalisation of German society (even if some more liberal-leaning duelling organisations, such as the *Freiestudentenschaft*, would gain popularity at the turn of the century).

Mensur was therefore a mirror of masculinity and the ways it was understood in Wilhelmine Germany. Steeped in the chivalric ideals of medieval duelling, it conjured in its practitioners a romantic understanding of virility that had played a key role in the imagery of German unification. *Mensur* was often articulated as a continuation of the warrior practices that had created the nation through successive

conflicts in the 1860s; to practice duelling was thus to stay perpetually ready for the defence of the *Vaterland*. The masculinity present within *Mensur* societies was also part of other ritualised and shared experiences. The members of societies lived together, fought together, and drank (a lot) together, creating a shared culture and hierarchical group ethos. The duel was thus a stage for a new member to prove his worth and possibly earn a scar that would cement his place within the microcosm of the fraternity. Masculine competition was equally articulated in terms of female conquest, with heavily scarred members flaunted as true heartthrobs and some duels explicitly fought for the winner to gain the favours of a female student. The dynamics at play within student duels must thus also be understood in the complex real-world dynamics of feeling and experience that are akin to religious rituals, creating group dynamics that foster certain behaviours through mutual impetus.

The *Mensur*, studied through the scope of initiation rites, must therefore also be evaluated as a ceremonial process. A highly codified affair, the student duel draws many similarities with religious proceedings. The two duelling students were brought out with great pomp, clad in protective silk and metal goggles. As they took their marks, an umpire, whose respected voice as master of ceremony structured the event, commanded all onlooking students to take off their caps, markers of their belonging to a specific fraternity. With all at attention, the duellists touched blades and commenced a gruelling bout that could last for more than half an hour, with the fighters standing still, slashing and parrying until first blood was drawn. Far from the romantic ideal of artful fencing, *Mensur* was uneventful, glorifying an idealised conception of masculine endurance and stoic mental strength. Once the fight was over, the true work began, with student doctors patching up the wounded and scrupulously noting down all the cuts inflicted, and the exact number of stitches required. The wounds were tended to with the sole objective of highly visible scarring – if the cut was too shallow, carers would fill it with horsehair and douse it in irritant substances to amplify both its appearance and the pride of its bearer. The event thus sacralised the *sign* of incorporation over the *act* itself, confirming *Mensur* as a rite of passage that used scarification as a marker of initiation. Duelling was reduced to an almost absurd and static formality that was nevertheless meticulously codified, reflecting class, gender and religious norms at play behind this rite of passage that provided the long-lasting scar with a clear socio-cultural meaning within the public sphere of Imperial Germany.

WHAT COMING OF AGE UNDER THE NUCLEAR UMBRELLA CAN TELL US ABOUT COMING OF AGE DURING A CLIMATE CRISIS

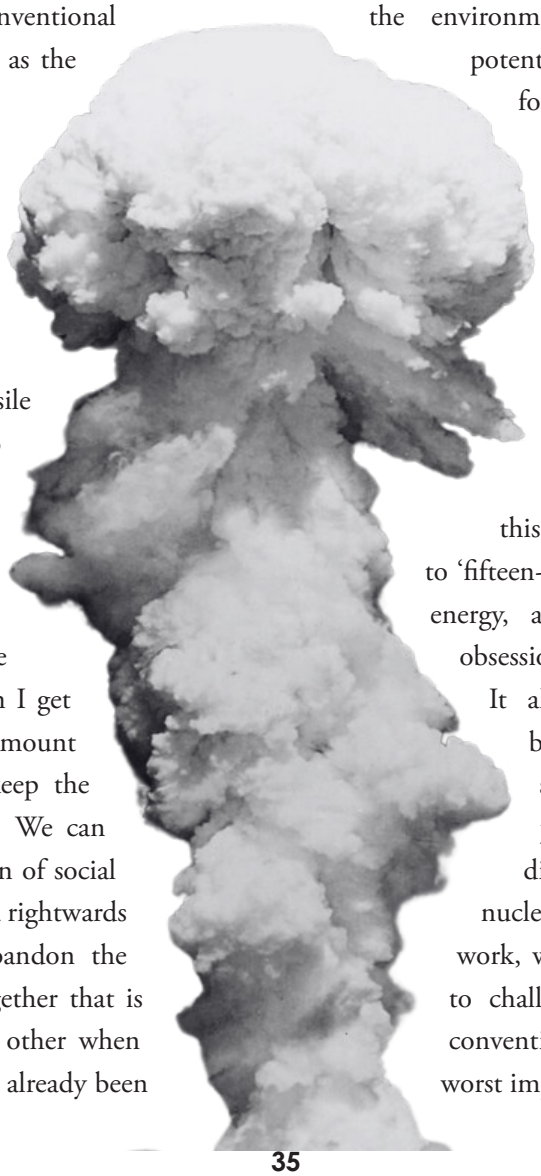
JAMIE MCDONALD

Nearly everyone currently alive came of age under the nuclea umbrella, in an age where, for the first time in human histor the entire human race could be wiped out within a matte of minutes. The conventional response - at least in America the only country to ever have used the atomic bomb to kil - was a strange anxiety-apathy. "The very worst probabl won't happen in my lifetime", responded citizens to survey about nuclear attitudes, "but if it does, I don't want to surviv it". Most Americans did not see it as productive to thin or worry about an event which was relatively unlikely, an which, if it did come to pass, was so cataclysmic that it was waste of time to prepare for. Mutually Assured Destructio as a philosophy was only possible in a political sense if it inevitable end goal - that is, extreme mutual suffering - would never really be experienced (at least, not for more than a micro-second). It could only be experienced in theory.

The youth of the late 1960s, however, shocked into adulthood by the Cuban Missile Crisis, began to question conventional nuclear wisdom, and in the same stroke, question the wisdom of convention itself. They used the same logic - 'what's the point in worrying about it?' - and inverted it, asking instead, 'if death might come tomorrow, why should we accept the conventions of today?' They realised this through a sharp increase in what their parents' generation considered to be 'risky' or 'immoral' behaviour.

The late 1960s saw an explosion in radical political activity with new groups publicly supporting feminism, queer rights decolonisation, and so on. Drug use became part of youth culture, too, as did 'risky' promiscuous sexual activity. They could no longer wait for a perfect revolutionary moment because there was no guarantee that moment would come *after* nuclear annihilation.

Psychologist Milton Schwebel argues the nuclear age shortened time and as such, the 'abbreviated future' became a core part of an individuals' set of values. For the first time since the widespread availability of a reliable food supply fresh water, and adequate shelter for the majority of the human race, the youth of the cold war were again forced to consider that their lives were no longer guaranteed to continue into old age. They absolutely recognised that they faced an abbreviated future, constructed for them by the looming atomic threat, but unlike many others, they allowed their certain deaths to free them from the social constraints of the day. They reversed the conventional wisdom, using nuclear annihilation as the ultimate catalyst for action.



Their parents' generation responded rather differently. Ambivalence manifests itself in unusual forms. Weeks after Kennedy accused Khrushchev of 'nuclear blackmail', and only a year before the Cuban Missile Crisis brought the superpowers to the brink of war, *TIME* magazine ran an article entitled 'Gun Thy Neighbour'. In it, they revealed the growing individualist attitude among American homeowners. One Chicago resident was quoted "when I get my shelter finished, I'm going to mount a machine gun at the hatch to keep the neighbours out if the bomb falls". We can see how easily the atomic dissolution of social norms can push ordinary people in a rightwards direction. It is much easier to abandon the moral lynchpin holding society together that is our general reluctance to kill each other when hundreds of millions of people have already been vaporised.

The children of today are very similar to the children of the Cold War, coming of age at a time where their futures are far from certain. Not replacing the nuclear threat, but raising its head alongside it, is the looming Climate Crisis. Comparing the two threats reveals why the constant warnings about climate catastrophe have not yet mobilised a mass movement towards action. Much like with nuclear armageddon, many people have already 'priced in' an increase in extreme weather and the destruction of the environment into their future.

But yet again, it seems The Kids Are All Right, at least to the extent that there is a contingent of young people who are determined to challenge the way we see the crisis itself. Greta Thunberg, the loudest and youngest icon of the climate movement, has explicitly linked environmental collapse with the overproduction necessary to sustain the capitalist system. This is far from a conventional position, even among the environmental movement. Its revolutionary potential is that, like the nuclear threat did for the radicals of the late 1960s, it might allow today's generation to recognise their abbreviated future as a form of liberation from the constraints of the present.

The alternative is frightening and perfectly possible, as proven by the Chicago resident with a bomb shelter and his machine gun. We can see this attitude repeat itself in the backlash to 'fifteen-minute cities', in attacks on renewable energy, and especially in the US' renewed obsession with coal under their new president. It also manifests in billionaires' escape bunkers, and in their race to space. If social norms collapse, we will need to be prepared to ensure they collapse in our direction. What the Cold War and the nuclear threat should teach us is that, with work, we can use the potential for cataclysm to challenge structural norms and question conventional wisdom - and if we don't, our worst impulses will do it for us.

TRADITIONS IN TRANSITION: THE CHANGING FACES OF ZOE PORPHYROGENITA'S HUSBANDS IN THE HAGIA SOPHIA

ANJALEEN HUSSAIN

The mosaics within the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul have created some of the most recognisable images and icons associated with Byzantine visual culture. In particular, the depictions of the imperial families on mosaic panels found in the South Gallery have become representative of their monarchical legacies. The 'Zoe' mosaic panel is an interesting case when considering how moments of transition influenced the visual and material culture in Constantinople – and what this can tell us about the role of imperial women.

The 'Zoe' mosaic panel, located in the South Gallery of the Hagia Sophia depicts Empress Zoe Porphyrogenita, the daughter of Emperor Constantine VIII, and her third husband, Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos. The imperial couple ruled together from 1042 until 1050 CE; the panel, however, is thought to have been set before 1042. Found in situ, the panel is large and domineering, measuring 2.44 meters in height and 2.40 meters in width.

The various hues and striking colours of the tesserae meticulously set into the panel produce an image set against a striking gold background, in which Zoe and Constantine are depicted offering gifts to Christ in the centre, a figure who takes up most of the space on the panel. The raised hand defines this depiction of Christ as *'pantokrator,'* (the all-powerful), indicating the authority and omnipotence of Christ in relation to his divine nature. The spatial proximity of the imperial family to Christ can be understood as a way for them to legitimise their role as the rulers of the Eastern Roman Empire, a typical convention which can also be seen in the Komnenian mosaic panel located across from the 'Zoe' panel. The money bag held in Constantine's hands further indicates imperial generosity and religious devotion, the money presumably going towards activities of the Church.

What is unique about the 'Zoe' panel is how contemporary conflict regarding the changing Emperors and rulers is made apparent. Upon closer inspection of the panel by the Byzantine Institute Conservators, it was discovered that the faces of Constantine, Christ and Zoe are all replacements and had been altered, with prominent ruptures in the tesserae around the faces. The inscriptions naming Constantine, above his head and on the imperial scroll held by Zoe also show evidence of deliberate and intentional changes made to

the tesserae. Due to the changes in the faces and the fragmented inscriptions, it can be assumed that the mosaic was created before 1042, when Zoe married her third and final husband, Constantine, who is depicted in the panel.

Zoe's surname, '*Porphyrogenita,*' meaning 'born into the purple' or the 'royal home,' defines her role as the primary source from who the Emperor derived his power. As the heiress to the Eastern Roman Empire ruled by the Macedonian Dynasty, Zoe's marriages made new Emperors, relating to the inscription above Constantine's head which gives him the title of '*Basileus Romaion*' (Emperor of the Romans).

Zoe's first marriage to Romanos III Argyros in 1028, when she was fifty, was arranged by her father Emperor Constantine VIII, Romanos inheriting the throne to the Empire three days after Constantine's death. His death six years later was a source of much controversy, with Zoe and her lover Michael VI marrying on the same day in 1034. Michael and Zoe were accused of murdering Romanos, who was found dead in his bath. Michael VI eventually died, and Zoe married her third husband, Constantine IX who was another former lover, in 1042.

At the age of 64, she had married thrice, and created three different Emperors, with three different imperial legacies. A closer examination of the mosaic indicates how the name on the scroll which Zoe holds in her hands had been altered, suggesting the systematic erasure of her previous husband within art. The scroll being held by Zoe could also be symbolic of her significance in creating the new Emperor, acting as the key-holder to imperial authority over the Empire and the '*oikoumene*,' or the universal Christian community. Whether the changing names can be seen as evidence of *'damnatio memoriae'* is difficult to determine but based on the material evidence from the mosaics it is evident that deliberate modifications were made in parts of the mosaic which would have identified previous Emperors.

The changes made in the face of Constantine and the attempts to rework the tesserae in the inscriptions which named the contemporary Emperor, suggests how marriage as an institution held great importance to the collective memory and legacy of the ruling imperial family. Academics have questioned whether Zoe and Constantine's marriage was viewed as legitimate in the eyes of the Patriarch, further necessitating the erasure of figural images and the names of the previous Emperors in order to quell rumours and affirm the legitimacy of the new affair. The modifications made to the mosaic can thus be viewed as a way for the new imperial family to assert themselves, acting as a 'rite of passage.'

When contextualising the mosaic within its position at the

Hagia Sophia, the primary spiritual centre of the Eastern Church and its activities, it is clear there was a necessity for Zoe to represent her marriage in a way which fit conventional tropes of ruling imperial families. The political uprising before her marriage to Constantine, saw the deposition of Michael V, the Constantinopolitan population demanding her return to the throne, to co-rule with her sister Theodora. The union thereafter removed the power of co-Empress from her sister Theodora, transforming her and her new husband into the de-facto Emperor and Empress of the Eastern Roman Empire. Considering the controversy which clouded her marriage it is evident that a portrait which depicted Zoe and Constantine in the presence of Christ, located in the spiritual centre of the Empire, perhaps worked to affirm the validity of her new marriage while communicating their roles as the new ruling family of the *oikoumene*.

The political narratives which can be inferred from the mosaic panel also indicate the reasons behind the alterations of her face. Michael Psellos, an eleventh-century courtier who was associated with the official imperial court, provides descriptions of Zoe which heavily emphasise her young looks and beauty, correlating to her occupation as a manufacturer of cosmetic essences. While the descriptions sometimes read as denigrating and defaming, it is evident that she is presented as youthful in the panel, her white face and rosy cheeks reflecting contemporary tropes and conventions of feminine beauty. Considering the age gaps between Zoe and her younger husbands, the Zoe panel can thus be seen as a tangible expression of her attempts to control the reception to rites of passage in her life, whether those are her physical features in aging or her marriages by unconventional means. By controlling how her life was visualised, Zoe can be understood as attempting to influence the contemporaneous narratives about her, which could have posed a threat to her authority. Considering the re-installation of Zoe as co-empress with Theodora after her exile, affirms her already-existing popularity amongst the population of Constantinople, raising questions about the conditions with which she was able to rule.

Patricia Skinner contemplates how the complexity of multiple marriages as repeated life-stages for medieval women allowed them to collect fragments of memories, which were more nuanced than memories collected by their menfolk who lived linear lives. The notion of memory here is interesting to consider in relation to Zoe Porphyrogenita's marriages, which did not necessarily follow the patriarchal conceptions of linear time. Rather, her life was marked by progression and 'regression' through her marriages, which took place at an 'older' age, and the deaths of her husbands.

While disputes arose with the Patriarch of Constantinople regarding Zoe's final marriage, her role as the heiress to the Macedonian rule over the Eastern Roman Empire and her positionality in its governance, remained a central concern. This leads to questions regarding the extent to which a Western model of sequential life stages is often anachronistically applied to the lives of women in history, particularly in terms of marriages and childbearing. Zoe's later life defies the linear progression typically applied to women, with the marriages and deaths of her husbands marking significant cyclical shifts in her life rather than following a clear and patriarchal trajectory.

The changing faces of Zoe's husbands symbolise her desires to present a unified imperial family, ruling over the *oikoumene* and taking care of its affairs, while reinforcing the legitimacy and continuity of her reign. Her image in the mosaic reflects how her personal and political life was bound to the Empire's future, the visual image of the Empress relating to how she maintained her imperial authority.

Zoe's life offers a complex understanding of how power, memory, and authority worked for imperial women in the Eastern Roman Empire. Her life can be seen as an evolving narrative, crucial to the future of the Empire in terms of political and dynastic stability.

FROM A WIFE TO A WIFE: THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF IBAQA'S MARRIAGES

LISHAN ZOU

In anthropology, the concept of marriage has been prominently discussed within two theoretical frameworks: the concept of 'rites of passage,' and the alliance theory proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his book *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. The theory of 'rites of passage' conceptualises marriage as a ritual that marks the transition to a specific life stage of an individual, focusing on the individual's relationship with the external world. In contrast, the alliance theory is more structural in nature, explaining marriage based on the principle of social contracts and reciprocity. This theory posits that male tribal members consensually give female family members to join other families, thereby forming a social network system. Direct marital exchange is also known as restricted exchange, involving the mutual giving of female members between two kin groups. Indirect marital exchange is also known as generalised exchange, where multiple groups intermarry in a complex relationship. Levi-Strauss unreservedly states that "women are the most precious possessions" and "the supreme gift" of male-centred groups, reflecting the objectification of women and their "total characters" composed of sexuality, fertility, economic and social values. Whether intended by Levi-Strauss or not, this portrayal of objectified women as a cross-cultural phenomenon was used by Simone de Beauvoir as a basis to develop her feminist philosophy. De Beauvoir's discussion of the "Otherness" of women is drawn from Levi-Strauss's concept of "mytheme," whereby the entity of the female gender is constructed by men in order to find their subjectivity. While the 'rites of passage' perspective highlights changes of status and environment one might experience, the alliance theory and the feminist critique developed based upon it, shed light on the agency and its absence experienced by women in the history of marriage. The following article will tell the story of Ibaqa, a Mongolian princess who married Temujin and remarried Jurchedei in the early-thirteenth century. This will illustrate the complexity of sourcing women's agency in the patriarchal history of marriage and lead us to consider how marriage has been viewed considering gender history, and how it may be useful to the study of political history.

The story begins at the end of the twelfth century, when the Nestorian Christian Kereits were a wealthy and powerful tribe in central Mongolia, ruled by Ong Qan and his brother Jaqa Gambu. The relationship between Temujin's tribe and the Kereit was initially a mutually supportive alliance. In the late 1170s, Ong Qan's military aided Temujin when his ailing wife Borte was captured by the Merkits, and in 1196, Temujin aided Jaqa Gambu in his return to the Kereit. Underlying this alliance, however, was the fear and jealousy of the sub-tribes ruled by the royal Kereits at Temujin's rapidly growing power, especially after 1202 when Temujin defeated the Tatar tribe without the Kereits' help. The alliance finally collapsed in 1202, oddly enough over a seemingly minor incident involving a marriage proposal from Temujin. Temujin proposed that his daughter Qojin marry Ong Qan's grandson Tusaqa, and his son Jochi marry Ong Qan's daughter Cha'ur. This proposal seems appropriate from a marriage exchange perspective, as it implies a balanced reciprocal network between the two tribes, or 'Equal Bridewealth' principle in the alliance theory. However, the Kereits were precisely concerned about the power of marriage, fearing that the relationship would become too close, paving the way for Temujin to seize power. It is unclear whether Temujin proposed this marriage to ensure Ong Qan's loyalty to the Alliance, or to test Ong Qan's attitude towards his political ambitions. Either way, the refusal of this reciprocal marriage led to an immediate deterioration in relations, culminating in military clashes between the two tribes in 1203.

Ong Qan was defeated, while Jaqa Gambu proposed a peaceful submission to Temujin on the condition that three of his daughters would be married to Temujin's family. As a result, the eldest daughter, Ibaqa, was married to Temujin as one of his secondary wives in 1204. The marriage of his daughters was in fact a sacrifice for politics, as Jaqa Gambu turned against Temujin shortly after the marriages in the same year. In other words, Ibaqa's marriage was arranged by her father only to confuse an enemy for a few months, and her father's betrayal of Temujin was done in consideration of the

risk that she and her sisters might be used as hostages or for revenge. The proposal, rejection, and acceptance of marriage identified here are all determined by the expectations of one male leader for his relationship with the other male leader. These sacrificial marriages of female family members dominate the history of diplomacy. Yet rarely have stories been told from the perspective of these women, as a story of exploitation and disempowerment.

Even more dramatic for Ibaqa was her second marriage in 1206, when her husband married her to another man, Jurchedei, who had killed Jaqa Gambu in the service of Temujin. *The Secret History of the Mongols* is a chronological genealogy of Temujin written by an anonymous author after Temujin's death and is the most comprehensive record of the Mongolian royals in the thirteenth century. In this source, Temujin married Ibaqa to Jurchedei as a reward for his efforts in eliminating several key Kereit opponents, including Jaqa Gambu, and the reward was accompanied by a military leadership attributed to Jurchedei. This second marriage leaves Ibaqa with the disturbing fact that her husband treated her as a possession to be given away, and that neither her connection to the Kereit royal family nor her willingness were taken into account in this decision. From Jurchedei's point of view, this is a "gift" from his Khan that he could not refuse, which is to be accepted with gratitude and reciprocated with a lifelong loyalty to Temujin's military. By making his wife transferable, Temujin not only demonstrated absolute power over her in decision-making but also challenged the social norms of marital relations.

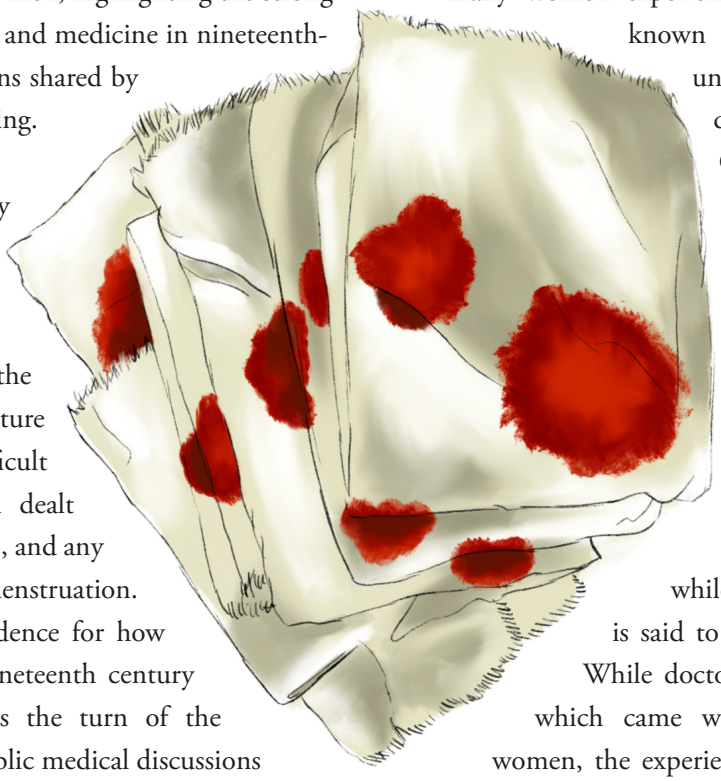
To understand this bizarreness, one must first look to the political history of the time, or more specifically, to the political situation and intentions of Temujin, who was the decision-maker behind Ibaqa's second marriage. The battle against the Kereit in 1206 after the death of Jaqa Gambu was particularly crucial to Temujin's rise, as it symbolised his unified rule over Mongolia. It marked the end of an era in which Mongolia was ruled by horizontal, reciprocal tribes, and the beginning of a new era of vertical hierarchy ruling under Chinggis Khan. Fearing that the old tribal kinships would unite against him, Chinggis Khan divided and dispersed the defeated population into many units, and the influential aristocrats were also placed at a distance from the power centre. Thus, 1206 was a time when Chinggis Khan urgently needed to establish authority and solidarity with the military, and the gifting of his wife to a prominent warrior would remarkably demonstrate his care and valuing for soldiers in a masculine, sacrificial way. Furthermore, Ibaqa was also a princess of the Kereit tribe, which was his last opposing force, and removing her from the power centre was probably also an attempt to prevent a Kereit rebellion. Therefore, the remarrying of Ibaqa to Jurchedei was made in deliberate disregard of Ibaqa's willingness, objectifying her as a sacrifice for military solidarity. Meanwhile, we can infer that Temujin was also aware of and concerned about her potential agency as a Kereit princess, and the gifting of her may have been driven by a fear that she might threaten his rule.

Ibaqa's two marriages provide a method for studying political history. It sheds light on Mongolian tribal relations, which were always dynamic and based on a system of exogamy to adapt tribal relations to the preferences of the leaders. This cultural giving of women, initiated by various male conquerors, is in their self-interest, but they must also consider the potential agency of women for the strategy to work. It is worth noting that if we zoom out from these two years of Ibaqa's experience, most of her life as a Kereit princess and as a woman living in the military camp in northern China with Jurchedei has much more agency and significance beyond these passive moments of marital gift-giving. In fact, she did manage to return to Mongolia occasionally after 1206 to keep in touch with her Kereit family. Therefore, an analysis of the meaning of marriage for women should emphasise both the contractionary nature of marriage as a non-voluntary arrangement with a purpose, and the limitations of this ritualised institution in terms of affecting her agency. Ibaqa's story demonstrates how marriage can be studied beyond the individual level but creatively incorporates a micro-perspective of thirteenth-century Mongolian politics.

ATTITUDES TO MENSTRUATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH MEDICAL PUBLICATIONS

LAUREN HOOD

During the nineteenth century, menstruation became an increasingly common issue discussed within British medical publications, with doctors documenting their fears over the impact menstruation had on both the physical and mental health of women. Menstruation was viewed by many medical professionals as a symbol of female inferiority and weakness, believing that it hindered the mental capacity of women and their ability to carry out expected domestic duties. Fears held within the medical field over possible impacts of menstruation led to women and girls being advised within medical publications to limit their leisure and exercise. The opinions that doctors held over menstruation and shared through medical publications were strongly influenced by beliefs of female inferiority to men, highlighting the strong connection between morality and medicine in nineteenth-century Britain as the opinions shared by doctors lacked scientific backing.



Menstruation was not openly discussed by women during nineteenth-century Britain and was treated as a taboo private issue, reflected by the omission of the topic in literature and records. This makes it difficult to understand how women dealt with their "menses" or "turns", and any opinions they had towards menstruation. While there is a lack of evidence for how British women across the nineteenth century understood menstruation, as the turn of the twentieth century neared, public medical discussions of menstruation increased. This discussion of menstruation, carried out by male doctors, tended to be held in either their own publications or in dialogue with another doctor's work, and involved doctors sharing their beliefs about both the cause of and process of menstruation.

This increase of male doctors publishing their opinions about menstruation can be seen in the work of Edinburgh Doctor Thomas Clouston, the lead physician of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, Scotland's biggest asylum. Clouston, also a lecturer of medicine at the University of Edinburgh, believed that menstruation was dangerous to the health of women, rendering them temporarily insane. Clouston believed that the reproductive system and the role of menstruation within it could have detrimental impacts on physical health. In his 1883 publication *Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases*, he argued that menstruation, ovulation and pregnancy could damage the tissue of the brain, alongside causing other health problems such as hearing loss and a decline in appetite. This publication linked menstruation to pain and ill health, suggesting that the physical discomfort many women experienced while menstruating was known to doctors but that their understanding of the causes of discomfort was inaccurate. Clouston was not alone in his belief that menstruation could harm women, with Doctor Charles Knowlton sharing concerns over the impact of menstruation on women. In his 1890 book *Fruits of Philosophy: A Treatise on the Population Question* he declared that while menstruating, "the women is said to be unwell, or out of order". While doctors recognised the discomfort which came with menstruation for many women, the experiences of women were not the central concern of medical publications, meaning that the lived experiences of British women remained private and excluded from medical discussions.

Discussions about the physical impacts of menstruation in medical publications extended to investigating how everyday activities carried out by women were impacted. John Elliotson was one such doctor involved in discussing how

ILLUSTRATION BY AILSA FRASER

menstruation changed the ability of women to fulfill domestic expectations. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, the University of Cambridge and in hospitals across London, Elliotson became a medical lecturer at University College London. Elliotson questioned if menstruating women could contaminate through touch, thus affecting them from cooking properly: "meat will not take salt if the process is conducted by a menstruating woman". In questioning this, Elliotson shows that his interest in exploring menstruation was primarily concerned with how women could carry out their domestic duties, and not with the health or experiences of women and girls. The focus from medical publications on possible impacts of menstruation on domestic expectations of women highlights the role that existing attitudes of female inferiority in Britain played. Doctors and publications concerned with developing understandings of medicine continuously reduced the experiences of women and girls during menstruation to their domestic duties, showing that the way doctors discussed menstruation in medical publications was strongly shaped by British gender roles.

The focus of medical publications on how menstruation would impact the ability of women to carry out domestic duties and familial roles solidified existing ideas about the inferiority of women. While menstruation was being increasingly discussed as the nineteenth century progressed, this discussion was carried out by male doctors unconcerned with understanding the experiences of women and girls, but with investigating how the domestic duties of women were influenced by menstruation. The limitation of discussions about menstruation and domesticity, and the negative beliefs about menstruation shared by medical professionals, were used to validate existing beliefs in the inferiority of women. Patricia A. Vertinsky argued that medical professionals used the pretense of science to control what behaviour became publicly acceptable for women, with the opinions of doctors shaped by the perceived weakness of the role of women in British society in comparison to men. A publication by Charles Knowlton advised menstruating women to avoid certain foods, dancing and adverse weather. As no scientific evidence was provided by Knowlton to support these suggestions, it is likely that such advice stemmed from belief of female inferiority and weakness, as personal opinions and bias motivated much of the scientific and medical discussions of menstruation. Clouston also argued that the behaviour of women and girls should be shaped by menstruation, arguing in his 1884 publication *Female Education from a Medical Point of View* that physical education and activity for young girls had detrimental impacts on their bodies. The lack of scientific evidence to support the advice from Knowlton and Clouston validates Vertinsky's assertion that medical advice to menstruating women was strongly informed by bias and discriminatory views of women and girls.

While increasing discussion of menstruation occurred in Britain as the nineteenth-century progressed, the limitation of this discussion to medical publications left the challenges faced by many British women during menstruation taboo and private. The opinions about menstruation shared by doctors in medical publications were strongly influenced by pre-existing views of female inferiority and weakness, leading to a focus from doctors on how menstruation influenced the domestic duties of women. The lack of consideration within medical publications for the experiences of menstruating women and girls, despite doctors understanding that menstruation could cause pain and discomfort, emphasises the extent of the focus placed on the domestic duties of women within medical publications.

LIFE IN PLASTIC – IT'S FANTASTIC!: BARBIE AND THE ETHIC OF SEXUAL INDEPENDENCE

GEORGIA SMITH

What is the relationship between Barbie and early-twentieth century Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci? I'll give you a clue: it's slightly more pertinent than her on-again, off-again relationship with Ken (although he does come into it). American toy giant Mattel introduced Barbie on March 9, 1959, selling 300,000 units in the first year of her production. By 1991, they were selling $870 million worth of Barbie related products annually – a figure which

was set to reach $1 billion by 1993. Barbie is, then, a quite literally *perfect* illustration of Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony. In his *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci theorised the concept of hegemony as the dominance of one group over another (it being much more elaborately expressed there than we have space for here). In the case of cultural hegemony, this dominance is facilitated by, and maintained through, cultural norms and practices. A study of the history of Barbie is then a study of the role of material culture, in this specific instance children's toys, in promoting and normalising certain abstract cultural values. In this case, an emergent ethic of social and sexual emancipation for mid-century American girls. Barbie was, and to a certain extent remains, instrumental in defining rites of passage in an age where consumerised sexuality is ascendant. Barbie functions to glamorise the passage to independent womanhood, her sexuality – and spending capacity – implicit.

When Mattel first released Barbie, she was striking precisely for the fact that she was a young *woman* – the fictional persona of Barbara Millicent Roberts. There is some speculation as to Barbie's age; certain sources report she was nineteen years old when she first graced the market, but Mattel have intentionally neglected to comment on the matter – ascribing an age to Barbie would fix part of her meaning, reducing her capacity to stand as a site of projection for girls, and boys, of all ages. The fashion dolls svelte figure: miniscule waist, perky breasts, full hips, marked a dramatic departure from the kinds of dolls, specifically paper dolls, which had been popular in the early-twentieth century. These dolls were primarily babies or toddlers, although until the nineteenth century porcelain dolls did tend to imitate women, intent on preparing girls for the most important rite of passage they were to face: motherhood.

The multiple and contradicting Barbie origin stories contribute to the understanding of how she fused late adolescence and sex to bring to childhood play new meanings of life stages. Was she, as Greta Gerwig's sentimental narrative portends, the brainchild of Mattel co-founder Ruth Handler? Or, indeed, was she based on the German adult novelty doll Bild Lilli? It is most likely that Handler wanted to create an adult doll for her daughter, and that this doll happened to take the form of the Bild Lilli doll, who Handler had come into contact with while on a trip to Europe. Regardless of the inspirations, and motivations, behind her creation Barbie's message has been strikingly persistent since her inception: as the chime of her very first TV advert suggests, "someday I'm gonna be, exactly like you… till then… I'll make believe I'm you." As the narrator of Greta Gerwig's 2023 *Barbie* feature, voiced by Helen Mirren, simply puts it: "since the first little girl ever existed there have been dolls, but the dolls were always and forever baby dolls, the girls who played with them could only ever play at being mothers, which can be fun, at least for a while anyway" going on to jubilantly acknowledge that, yes, "barbie changed everything, then she changed everything all again" concluding that while "she might have started out as just a lady in a bathing suit,…she became so much more". Barbie moved into her fist home in 1962, became an astronaut in 1965, a CEO in 1985, and has run for President in every United States Presidential election since 1992. To date she has had over 250 different occupations. The Barbie ethic is, then, a call to independence. As Mattel made undeniably clear in their 1985 Barbie campaign, the message of Barbie is this: "we girls can do anything". The imaginative potential of Barbie is located in the fact that you can simulate

a much broader range of experiences through her body than you can with a baby doll – not only can you imagine Barbie working a nine to five, tanning by the pool, hosting a dinner party, debating politics; you can also imagine her in distinctly adult contexts. On March 11, 1961, Mattel introduced the Ken doll. Barbie now has a boyfriend; her ethic is then an implicitly *sexualised* independence. And the range of potential simulations has reached new erotic heights.

This relates directly to the most contentious consistency in the Barbie typology, her appearance. The very first Barbie wore only a monochrome striped one-piece bathing suit, her signature blonde ponytail, and white cat-eye sunglasses. This edition of Barbie is brought to life in stunning detail by Margot Robbie at the very beginning of Gerwig's feature, and the perfection of her body is perhaps the most potent signifier of the less explicit message of Barbie. As Erica Rand contends in the conclusion to *Barbie's Queer Accessories*, with Barbie "sex was the big message". Francis Rosin elaborates on this theme in *A Cultural History of Sexuality*, writing that "Barbie is but one particularly eloquent example of the explosion of the body within the sphere of commerce". As much as Barbie represents opportunity, she also represents a certain kind of restriction. This is where her ethic of independence should be placed into context, allowing a reading of the hegemonic values her plastic body is entrusted with, to appear. Barbie is driven, her independence compensated for by her impossible standard of beauty and made sense of through her position as a consumer. Barbie is a kind of neoliberal, and that is exactly how she should be.

Rand's monograph is useful in a double sense. Not only does it chart Barbie's journey to a near complete cultural monopoly, but its organising principle fully integrates anecdotes about the *meaning* of Barbie to several generations of women. As she reflects: "many people remember positioning themselves in relation to Barbie", she continues "my friends told me about how they had loved or hated Barbie and about what they had done with and to her-how they had turned her punk, set her on fire, made her fuck Midge or Ken or G.I. Joe." Barbie's history, then, is not just about how ideas about the importance of certain life stages have been communicated to girls, but how these girls have felt about these ideas and subsequently both accepted and contested them in play. It is the affective element of Barbie play which makes her such a powerful cultural instrument. Mattel introduced 'curvy', 'petite', and 'tall' Barbies in 2016. That Mattel produces inclusive Barbies, is not necessarily about inclusive principles, but about a corporation's ability to *sell* a certain kind of late adolescence to *all* girls.

MOTHERS AND FEMININITY IN THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

CONNIE GREATRIX

For women, marriage and childbirth have been integral aspects of femininity throughout human history and across cultures. In this essay, I will explore how these ideals change after the collective trauma of genocide. Genocide itself is inherently gendered, and this does not end upon the halting of active killing. Both men and women are affected by genocide in different ways. For men they are often killed and emasculated precisely because of their gender and the perceived threat this brings while the women and children left behind were subject to sexual violence and forced conversion to eliminate the ethnicity as whole. Women become the carriers of the burden of nationalism within this system, holding the weight of the future of their country. In the case of the Armenian genocide, these traditional rites of passage were changed from centuries of traditions for the sake of patriotism and the nation.

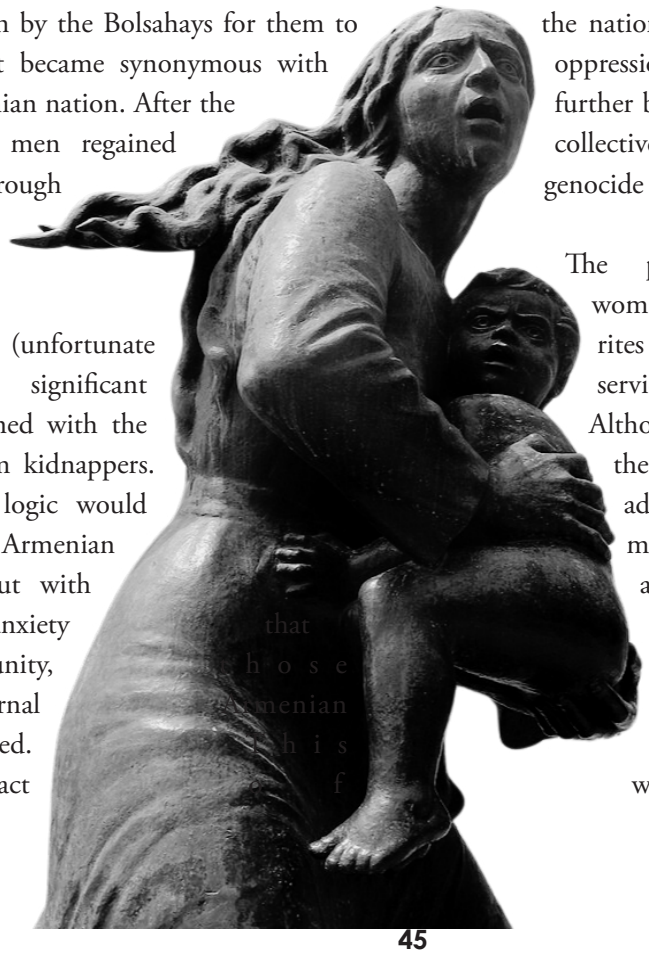
After the killing of around one million Armenians between 1915–1916, those dispersed to the Levant and Mesopotamia began to return to Constantinople with thirty-five thousand deportees (mainly women and children) joining one hundred and twenty thousand Armenian residents in the city. Constantinople had not experienced the scale of destruction evident in the rest of the empire, meaning that Armenian infrastructure had been retained and was ready to be used for the needy. The Bolsahays (Armenian elites from Constantinople) opened relief centres, shelters for orphans, and refugee stations. Due to the Millet System and previous

responses to massacres, they understood how to organise and began to facilitate emigration for some, self-sufficiency, and the reconnecting of family members. This soon became centralised under the reconstructed Patriarchate.

As the Paris Peace Conference convened and self-determination was pushed by the international community, Armenians began to see a possibility for the nation state of Greater Armenia. The delegation understood this to be a numbers game, having to prove an Armenian majority where Kemalists forces were trying to prove the presence of a Muslim majority. This, in turn, encouraged natalist ideas, as demographics came to the fore. This laid the groundwork for change within the perception of marriage and childbirth.

The Bolsahays saw revenge as existence and reproduction. Through the creation of the Armenian state and the next generation of Armenian-ness, they would prove the failure of the genocide. This required a mass recuperation in numbers, with those that had been kidnapped needing to be returned to fulfil these statistics. Women and children had been taken by the Ottomans and put in Muslim households with the goal of islamicising them to weaken the threats of homogeneity. In retaliation, the *vorpahavek* was created to retrieve them from this forced conversion. By 1922, three thousand out of the five thousand kidnapped were reclaimed. Once returned, there was a big campaign by the Bolsahays for them to be married, an act that became synonymous with patriotism for the Armenian nation. After the emasculating genocide, men regained their masculinity through saving these women within marriage.

The *darapakhd kuyrer* (unfortunate sisters) experienced significant trauma and often returned with the children of their Muslim kidnappers. Traditionally, paternity logic would only see the children of an Armenian father as Armenian, but with the demographic anxiety that those Armenian this can be seen as an act of



feminism, with power now also resting with the mother. This was a tremendous change, with many women happily able to embrace their children in a way that would previously have them exiled.

Although for some this was an inclusive action, for others this felt oppressive. Feminists began to ignore previous calls for the modernising of marriage practises and instead put their Armenian-ness over their womanhood. These clashed harshly on the topic of abortion. Many women did not see their pregnancies as a celebration of the nation, but instead a reminder of their trauma and rape. Instead of trying to rehabilitate these trauma victims, women were forced to give birth. In one case described in the *Hay Gin* newspaper, a woman was locked away until she gave birth to prevent her from harming her baby – a triumph of the Armenian nation. Shortly after giving birth, she killed herself. This reinforces the gendered nature of the acts of genocide, with women often remaining to bear the burden of a recovering nation. Men are killed en masse for their masculinity; women remain solely because of their femininity which remained abused even by their community after the fact.

Motherhood also extended beyond just reproduction with mothers expected to be transmitters of Armenian-ness. They were encouraged to pass on tales of the genocide and the nation to their children, even in the face of oppression by the new Turkish state. This put a further burden onto the female body, to pass on collective memory of national restoration and genocide to the next generation.

The prioritisation of community over womanhood changed how these traditional rites were perceived. They became an act of service for the nation, and an act of revenge. Although Greater Armenia was never realised, the concept was reproduced through these adapted rites. Through children and marriage, they confirmed their existence, and that of the nation. Collective trauma changes a community and its view on the traditions and rites that set it apart. The nation became the focus, and everything about Armenian life changed with it.

GENDERING THE PASSAGE TO IRISH MARTYRDOM? REMEMBERING THE REPUBLICAN WOMEN ON HUNGER STRIKE

ALANA LAVERY

On 1 March 1981, on the outskirts of Belfast in the infamous Long Kesh prison, ten republican men were martyred. The images of these men are embedded in the Catholic/nationalist/republican community, who are recognised as titans in the nationalist struggle and as some of the most poignant republican emblems of the Northern Irish 'Troubles'. After a five-year long protest against the British government in demand for 'Prisoners of War' status, the republican prisoners escalated their protest through a hunger strike. The first was called in October 1980 but was called off due to belief that the government had conceded to their demands. This, however, was short-lived, and a second hunger strike began in March 1981, which eventually led to the death of ten prisoners and their concessions finally being met.

A too often neglected aspect of this watershed moment in the 'Troubles' is the role of three women, Mary Doyle, Mairead Farrell and Mairead Nugent, who joined the first hunger strike on 1 December 1980 until 19 December 1980, when it was called off. The hunger strike in the republican movement exemplifies Arnold van Gennep's ritual 'rite of passage' as the willingness to starve one's body to death attests to the undying commitment to Irish freedom and with it, everlasting martyrdom. However, often forgotten are those who were willing but did not complete the sacrifice; the liminal martyrs. In this regard, the three women are left within a transgressional space as neither martyrs nor men. I consider how these women are caught by a gender paradox as they do not fit within the masculinised memory of hunger striking. While in public memory these women are overlooked, I argue they imagined themselves as equals in their own hunger strike and should be rightfully remembered for their contributions to this agonizing 'rite of passage'.

I will first elaborate on the juxtaposing gender dialogue around hunger striking, from its suffrage origins to its militarised masculinity in the republican movement. The Suffragettes are infamous for using hunger striking as a form of political protest, starting with Wallace Dunlop in 1909. While none of the Suffragettes died, it became a mobilised display of political action against their imprisonment as criminals. Irish republicanism is also famous for its tradition of hunger striking, and a recent exhibition in Kilmainham Gaol traced the history of hunger striking in Irish political culture from 1877 to 1981. Notably, the exhibition credits the Suffragettes for influencing republicans to utilise hunger striking as a mobilised act in the aftermath of the Easter Rising in 1916. The gender identification of hunger striking has been considered from differing perspectives. Patricia Melzer has explored the gendered politics of starving, arguing that "we need to understand hunger strikes as feminist political gestures" placing it within the context of the "politicization of voluntary starvation" which has more female connotations. Alternatively, Fidelma Ashe recognises how a hunger strike is connected to the characterisation of "militarised masculinities", with a commitment to "physical and mental endurance and control over the body". Within the context of the republican movement, hunger striking has gained a distinctly male character in public memory. However, Dolours and Marian Price went on hunger strike in 1973, demanding to be moved to a Northern Irish prison. The strike lasted 208 days, but was prolonged as the women were force-fed, similarly to the Suffragettes. The controversy over the force-feeding led to the *International Medical Council* deeming the practice unethical. It is interesting that the most notorious uses of the practice have been on women, denoting a particular misogynistic protectionism for women who choose to put their bodies through such anguish in the name of the cause they believe in. But for the women in 1980, the issue was not force-feeding, but seemingly their fitness to last long enough on hunger strike.

In turning to oral testimonies from the Prison Memory Archive, the discourse around the memory of the women's hunger strike is complicated with contradicting messages about their feminised character. There is evidence of discussion over the women's ability to stay on hunger strike long enough to gain the desired concessions from the government, with fears that they were "too weak". An infamous feminist of the 1970s, Nell McCafferty, visited Armagh Gaol during the dirty protests and in her oral interview in 2006 she recalls that there were fears in the republican organisation that the

women would die in a couple of weeks and there "wouldn't be time to build momentum" if they could not continue their strikes. This relates to Ashe's observation that hunger striking became a masculinised form of protest, with the men the stronger candidates for the republican ritual. However, when looking to Mary Doyle's interview, she recalls that she and Mairead both put themselves forward for the second strike in 1981, but it was decided there were too few of them in Armagh.

The lack of female prisoners is more related to gendered nature of incarceration and the lack of female paramilitaries in the 'Troubles'. While in one regard they did not have the communal 'strength' in numbers to commit to another strike, in Long Kesh/ Maze there had been over four hundred republican men on dirty protest with only thirty-two women on no-wash protest in Armagh. The male demographic of inmates highlights the gendered quality of incarceration and paramilitarism in Northern Ireland rather than a lack of women's strength or commitment to the cause. In this regard, the memory of republican hunger striking has become distinctly masculinised with these women forgotten as the liminal martyrs despite their willingness to commit to the sacrifice. However, when we turn to source material from the time a different narrative can be found.

The female hunger strikes of 1980 may not be predominant characters in Irish memory, but they were historically mobilised in the republican media campaign. Shortly after the women began their strike a poster was released by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) with the women presented as ambassadors in the IRA's campaign against the British government (Figure 1). The text of the poster is signed by the three strikers and asserts their own demands but also expresses their support for their 'H-block comrades'. The poster's title 'Don't let them die!' could resemble a narrative of gender protectionism to garner sympathy for the women's feminised character. However, this same language was also used in posters of male hunger strikers suggesting it was not intended to have a gendered nuance. Furthermore, the women asserted that they "are prepared to fast to the death, if necessary, but our love for justice and our country will live forever". Here, their mandate is directly aligned to the republican cause for Irish nationalism, asserting their place in the movement and willingness to sacrifice their lives for the cause. In this regard, the dialogue at the time appears to have been gender-neutral and rather depicting the impact of the 'Troubles' on all members of the Catholic community. In this

Figure 1: Poster Reading 'Don't let them die!'

vein, Laura Jacobsen has observed that republican women "aimed to establish themselves as equal within the IRA and proved their commitment through the no-wash protest". I would argue that the women also proved their strength and commitment through their hunger strike. While it was called off and the women did not participate in the second hunger strike, their willingness to the cause is clearly expressed.

The debate in the discourse and memory of the republican women's hunger strike can perpetuate a masculinised narrative around this republican ritual, with the women remembered as either enigmas or insignificant characters in the history of this political protest. However, the IRA chose to depict the women as ambassadors in their campaign, with Mary Doyle's testimony also reinforcing a narrative of equality. Nonetheless, the male martyrs of the 1981 hunger strike take the dominant place in public memory which can produce an inaccurate gendered picture to hunger striking. In this regard, the forgotten female hunger strikers symbolise the continual challenge to barter with the memory and the reality of the past as we struggle to decipher how gender can influence a bias in the historical memory.

MATERIAL FORM OVER CONCEPT: THE DISCURSIVE BOND SYNCHRONISING EARLY EGYPTIAN KINGSHIP AND THEIR FOUNDING DEITIES

HARRY FRY

Baines posits the difficulty of tracing change within specific periods of ancient Egyptian history, suggesting that the themes of 'kingship' and 'religion' can be perceived as consistent or unchanging on a wider scale. This relates to the wider scholarly tradition within Egyptian religion which views deities as predominant in the Early Dynastic period and the Old Kingdom, notwithstanding their frequent later invention. These founding deities were essential to Egyptian religion and the scholarly interpretation of how rulers navigated or even performed religion. While such accounts of later origin depict a comprehensive body of deities, sources from the early periods largely begin centralising Ra and Horus alone but in parallel. I argue, then, that early deities were complexly founded around kingship, yet not through a large number in this early period nor through a fundamental ideological variation.

In the *Instruction of Ptahhotep* (2375 - 2350 BCE), "Ra has placed the king in the land of the living, forever and ever, judging humankind and satisfying the Gods, realising Ma'at." Ra is described in this source as a real being performing a physical action, therefore distinguished as a deity. Whereas Ma'at is conceived of differently as an entity, the ruler is described as "realising" or possessing. This angle of scrutiny is important given that Ma'at became the title of a deity in later Egyptian history. Still, in this text, which dates to the Fifth Dynasty of Egypt in the third-millennium BCE, Ma'at takes on a symbolic role but not as a divine being. Along related lines, Assmann defines Ma'at as a conceived, founding 'idea' that represented order within a religious context, but also as something Ra harnessed for the ruler to govern Egypt. It is at once vital to acknowledge the ruler chose his position as underneath deities, or, more widely, religion. Therefore, Bárta's terming of these rulers as the 'mediator' between deities and human society requires greater carving.

From the temple of Osiris in Abydos, the remains of a vessel depict the earliest usage of a Horus Name and a serekh identifier. Created in the early First Dynasty, the deity Horus was attributed in this fragment to the Early Dynastic King, Horus Aha. The deity is identified by a falcon, which becomes a standard in royal iconography, known as a serekh. Hence, the ruler not only uses and represents himself through a divine being but in the example of Horus Aha - meaning

'Horus the Fighter' - also characterises himself as a dominant authority laterally to this preeminent religious figure, Horus. This construction of Horus as the earliest God awards the deity with iconography. Alternatively, the earliest evidence of Ra does not exist until the Third Dynasty, shown in the *Lexikon der Agyptologie*, which depicts King Djoser's Horus and Personal Name, Horus Netjeri-khet and Hesy-ra; the latter meaning 'the Praised One of Ra.' Similarly to Horus, subsequent rulers title themselves more consistently with Ra, notably Ra-Djedef - meaning "Ra, He Endures" – the third king of the Fourth Dynasty, as his official name. The latter conception and usage of Ra compared to Horus represent discrepancies in scholarly evaluation and inscribe a meaning behind Ra and Horus as having different chronological foundations by rulers.

Quirke suggests religious entities such as deities are treated in modern methodological approaches under a damaging binary framework, whereupon their early conception is perceived as them gaining either full or no agency. In the early iconography ascribed to Horus and Seth, respectively, in the Second Dynasty royal tombs (*Fig*. 1, *Fig.* 2), these deities, conveyed with animal and human forms, could be ascribed as anthropomorphised animals or animalised humans. However, an intrinsic attempt to immediately categorise deities into a societal being, human or animal, can lead to an unsupported assertion. Rather, these early instances of Horus and Seth's visual iconography more definitively portray them as somewhere in between human and animal but not moving towards one over the other. This form of depiction, crafted under a royal fabric, more solidly positions deities as continuously around rulers and society but different to them. While placed above humanity and their ruler, these founding deities take on a physical, bodily form, as in *Fig*. 1 and *Fig.* 2. This relates to Morenz's concept that early Egyptian religion necessitated establishment through tangible markers, which in turn consolidated the growing conception of kingship. Horus and Seth are developed to take on dual symbolism: firstly, as divine entities by 'concept' and secondly, as physical bodies which possessed real, visible 'form.' Moreover, being transplanted onto the royal titulary from the First Dynasty, their distinctive iconography allowed the image of kingship to be recognised as a visible presence. This secured kingship as a concept and a real, tangible entity, legitimising the existence of Egypt's first rulers from the Early Dynastic.

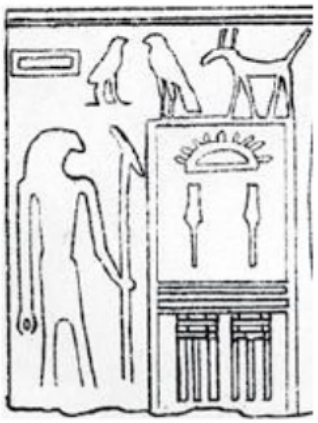


Fig. 1: Falcon-headed being identified as Horus, from mud seal impressions in tombs of late Second Dynasty kings in Abydos (Quirke, 2015, 29).

Fig. 2: Animal and human with the same head identified as Seth, from mud seal impressions in tombs of late Second Dynasty kings in Abydos (Quirke, 2015, 29).

Extending a theological lens to how rulers associated themselves with deities and to the sources which depict such, this investigation can broaden its analyses to the wider nature of rulers and deities as a cult. A key source established during the end of the Old Kingdom is the *Pyramid Texts* (2400 - 2300 BCE), located in the ten tombs of rulers at Memphis, the first *nome* and capital city during the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. At the Saqqara necropolis, offerings and insignia rituals are depicted on the walls inside the pyramid around the tomb of Unis (2353 – 2323 BCE): "Osiris Unis, accept Horus' eye, which you should embrace." That the pyramids ultimately pointed to the sky is contextualised by Favard-Meeks, who notes these rituals ensured the king could live amongst Horus in the sky, alongside Ra in the sun. Following the increased usage of Horus' eye as representing the sun's continuous rising and setting, as he regained his eye after having it torn out by his counterpart Seth, deities must have been represented around the tomb of King Unis for symbolic purposes. References to the sun's visible decline and reappearance could ground Favard-Meeks' notion of Horus marking Unis' regeneration into heaven or the afterlife. In the example of this Fifth Dynasty ruler, what is made visible is this beginning trend of rulers presenting deities with protective capacities, above theirs, to ensure their safe burial and afterlife.

The action of rulers gaining a divine-like status upon death, evidenced in their regeneration amongst Horus and Ra in

the sky, is noteworthy. It relates to scholarly discussion and disagreement on the formation of a cult in early Egypt, wherein deceased rulers and deities amongst the sky in a union can be perceived as a form of cult. The cult itself as a term remains contested in its applicability to such individuals within an early historical context more broadly. Quirke suggests the term cannot be viewed and applied as a far-reaching social belief in early Egypt, instead framing it under the ruler's conception of religious belief. This hinges on a total theorisation of the cult, as viewing it solely through the ruler's creation of the divine, such as deities, loses the social and community-involvement dimensions, viewed traditionally in scholarship as fundamental to a cult. To decide Egypt's early rulers coordinated deities into a form of cult would mean a formalisation and institution of-sorts existed, deepening the magnitude of the ruler and deity's relationship towards the end of the Old Kingdom.

In a similar vein, the lack of public awareness of this early religious activity towards the deities begs the question of whether these actions of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom rulers existed paradoxically over reality. Relating to its existence as a cult, Billing does well to avoid a strawman argument where this term is refused simply due to its modern, social-oriented definition and the resultant fear of anachronism. Instead, his questioning of a cult-based reality constructed by the ruler's visual representation, even if discreet, can be extended by support from Assmann's theory. Assmann avoids phenomenological readings, which essentialises humans and an internal perspective, viewing rulers' foundation of deities externally as a cultural phenomenon. Categorising religion and its components like deities as a 'historical object,' all can be perceived as a culturally formed entity which demonstrates cult behaviour, even if invented and appreciated by solely royalty. While largely paradoxical, there is also a real, conscious nature of deities and their iconicity, used by Egypt's early rulers to make kingship itself appear material.

The founding of deities as cultural and physical products occurs within Egypt's early rulers' self-development, slowly awarding kingship a sense of corporeal power away from a merely conceptual existence. Read using such theorisation of these power relationships and the coordinated action of rulers, the scholars can more precisely evaluate the founding deities, notably Horus and Ra. Not enforcing strict periodisations, these early notions of rulers with deities were not altered but solidified along a continuum, marking Egyptian kingship and religion's course of progression. Greater application of modern frameworks in future inquiries, equally prioritising the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom themselves, can move closer to the grain of the principles of early rulers and how they performed with their deities above them.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND HIS HOPE FOR THE SEVERAN DYNASTY: THE CONFLICT OF GETA AND CARACALLA

POPPY WILLIAMS

After vying extensively for the imperial title, Septimius Severus came out victorious against Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus and was proclaimed sole emperor in 197 CE, reigning until 211 CE. As Emperor, Severus needed to assert the legitimacy of his claim; he was a usurper, in a much similar situation to Vespasian in 69 CE with the 'Year of the Four Emperors.' Severus promoted his legitimacy in various ways, most notably through his familial propaganda (this is, in the ancient sense, refers to the spreading of information). Thus, with his eight-year-old son Caracalla as his *Caesar* (heir), Severus began to promote his own dynasty.

By naming Caracalla as Caesar in 195 CE, and Augustus (Emperor) in 198 CE, Severus' intention was to establish a strong imperial family. By claiming the sole emperorship by defeating Pescinnius Niger and Clodius Albinus, Severus was essentially a usurper. Therefore, he needed to assert his legitimacy, and he most effectively achieved this through his promotion of the imperial family. He pursued this course of action through his sons' imperial titles: he promoted

Caracalla to joint *Augustus* in 198 CE and elevated his youngest son Geta to *Caesar* in the same year. By doing so, Severus presented an image of stability to the Roman population - a dynasty that would control the Empire for many years to come - something previous Emperors of a less stable Roman Empire failed to provide.

This promotion of the imperial family is greatly exemplified through the Severan numismatic archaeology of the period. For example, through the coinage of his wife Julia Domna (*Figure 1*), depicted with a traditional, Severan style wig, and her sons on the reverse of the coin. Additionally on the reverse, the coin has the inscription '*AETERNIT IMPERI,'* (the eternity of empire), *further* promoting the stability of the Severan dynasty. Julia Domna occupied the exact image Severus wanted to project; coming from a wealthy Syrian family whose ancestors were Priest Kings of Elagabalus (an Arab-Roman sun God), raising them to the heights of Roman aristocracy. According to the unreliable *Historia Augusta*, Severus heard a foretelling of a Syrian woman who would marry a King. Perceiving this woman to be Domna, Severus made her his wife. Domna represented the ideal Roman matriarch, most notably through piety due to her family's divine devotion. Domna had significant political, social and religious influence as empress and therefore her promotion by Severus strengthened his position as emperor and the image of stability as her ancestors had remained 'priest kings' for over a century.

Fig. 1: Julia Augusta Coin, 201 CE, depicting Julia Domna as empress on the obverse, and Caracalla (left) and Geta (right), who is smaller as he is only named Caesar, on the reverse.

Furthermore, Severus promoted his family on a much larger scale. This was also seen through the architecture of the period, for example the Arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna (*Figure 2*). On this arch panel, we can observe Septimius Severus presenting himself as a philosopher with his long beard, promoting his wisdom, with his two sons to promote unified imperial rule. Severus had hoped for his more peaceful and family-oriented dynasty to continue long after his death; his last words to his sons reportedly being, 'Get on. Pay the soldiers. Ignore everyone else.' Unfortunately, this was not to be.

Fig. 2: Panel from the Arch of Septimius Severus in Lepcis Magna showing Septimius Severus with his two sons, clasping Caracalla's hand on the left.

Although he intended to promote this image of stability through the family, the conflict of his sons Caracalla and Geta soon undermined this after his death. While the brothers deified their father after his death, seemingly promoting the Severan dynasty as he would have wished, they soon grew distrustful of the other. Geta died in 211 CE, presumed by many to have been murdered on the orders of Caracalla. However, the now sole emperor, presents himself as innocent and lucky to have survived the attackers of Geta. Though he denied his involvement in Geta's death, Caracalla had publicised his hatred for his deceased brother.

Caracalla hence enforced the process of *Damnatio Memoriae.* This meant the erasure of all physical memory of a person: Caracalla erased Geta's face with dung in the Severan/Berlin Tondo (*Figure 3*), carved Geta's name out of inscriptions, and melted down coinage. Cassius Dio recounts this extremely thorough *damnatio* in his histories, writing that "[Caracalla] exhibited his hatred for his dead brother by abolishing the observance of his birthday, and he vented his anger upon the stones that had supported his statues and melted down the coinage that displayed his features." As a result, Caracalla did

not live up to the rite of passage Severus had intended for his dynasty, this being one of familial strength and stability; something which would have been nearly impossible for Caracalla to impose after being believed to have killed his own brother.

Fig. 3: The Severan Tondo, one of the few examples remaining of panel painting from late antiquity. On the left is Geta who has undergone damnatio memoriae, having his face rubbed out with dung.

After years of usurpation and conflict, the Roman Empire was weary and desired stable leadership. The image and stability Septimius Severus wanted to promote was extremely welcomed. His hopes of his dynasty holding tight to these values was quickly decimated by the conflict between his sons, whom he had hoped would work together to continue the legacy he crafted. This was until Caracalla deemed such not to be his rite of passage.

KING CHARLES II'S CORONATION BED: A RITE OF PASSAGE FOR KING AND COUNTRY

HARRY CHILD

Before I begin, my thanks go to Emma Miller, curator of Grimsthorpe Castle. This article would not have been possible without her support, providing information about the bed and kindly providing me with the image of the bed you can see.

On the evening of April 22, 1661, a thirty-year-old man wandered the halls of the great Palace of Whitehall, London, his mind full of fears and excitements for the future. He knew, despite the odds against him, that he was to be anointed and crowned, the next day, King of England, Scotland and Ireland. The last night he would spend as simply a man was in this very bed.

After the coronation, the bed was acquired by Montagu Bertie. Bertie was the Lord Great Chamberlain at Charles II's coronation and claimed the bed as a perquisite. The Lord Great Chamberlain did not get paid for his role but could claim items used by the monarch during the coronation as recompense, so he took the bed. He moved it to his family's seat, Grimsthorpe Castle in Lincolnshire, where it remains to this day.

The night Charles spent in this bed can be considered the last night that Britain spent without a true monarch. Whilst he had been installed in 1660, Charles had yet to be made official by the ceremony of coronation. The events of Interregnum, 1649-1660, were also in immediate memory. With Charles uncrowned, a return to such a rule could plausibly occur – there was a possibility minds could be changed. Hence, the coronation bed witnessed the making of a man into a King; the day he slept, he was a man, and the day he awoke, he became the King. This paved the way for the next nearly four centuries of British history.

Image Credit: King Charles II's Coronation bed at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, courtesy of Emma Miller.

The Demise of the Old King

Our story begins in 1648, when the Second Civil War had broken out in Britain. Oliver Cromwell was attempting to secure control in England, his troops being led into Essex and Kent following the announcement that the counties were supporting King Charles I. James, first Duke of Hamilton, was attempting to form an army to challenge the Parliamentarians, however he lacked success with this. He had particular difficulty with the Scots, who were not very enthusiastic about fighting for a King they saw as 'uncovenanted'. Hamilton's forces met Cromwell's on August 17, 1648, at Preston, whereby the royalists suffered their last major defeat of the English Civil War. The engagement at Preston sent a message clear as day to Parliament. Despite their attempts to work with Charles - as they had been doing for quite a while, '*negotiating*' with him at Carisbrooke Castle in Newport - it was no use. Charles was deceitful and could not be trusted: he had to go. On December 6, the *High Court of Justice* was set up by a significantly diminished Parliament. This was created after certain members who were more sympathetic to the King were barred from entering the Commons in what has gone down in history as 'Pride's Purge'. Here, 135 'commisioners' tried Charles for treason. Seventy, a majority, found the King guilty, the death sentence thus passed against him. Only a month and a half later, on January 30, Charles breathed his last breath. His head was severed on a scaffold outside the palace where his son would spend the night of the eve of his coronation, in the coronation bed: Whitehall. The young Charles II was only nineteen at the time.

Failed Efforts and Frightening Exile

Not all was lost though: the young Charles II, upon learning of his father's death, was welcomed in Scotland as the new monarch (he was not seen as 'uncovenanted' like his father). His coronation took place at Scone in 1651, the ancient site of Scottish coronations. Knowing that, before long, his rule there would be challenged, and with the desire to reclaim his lost inheritance, Charles began mustering a force. It culminated in the Battle of Worcester of September 3, 1651. Charles was defeated, losing 5,000 men to the battle. Reclaiming his inheritance was out of the question - the best chance he had at life was exile, but escape was not going to come easily.

The next six weeks for Charles were frightening, as demonstrated in Antonia Fraser's work. Charles went house to house, being sheltered by supporters of his cause from the Cromwellian army who were intent on capturing and executing him. In one amusing tale, he climbed a tree with his close associate, Captain Carlis (Carlos) in the Boscobel estate, hiding there for most of a day, which must have been rather uncomfortable. Fraser does suggest he had some comfort though, resting his head on a cushion supported by Carlis, allowing him some hours of sleep. He then went to Bentley House, owned by Captain Lane and his wife, Jane. Here he dressed up as Lady Jane's servant, a William Jackson, and did his best to act the part, although he did get a few things wrong, such as offering Lady Jane the wrong hand to help her onto her horse. Eventually, on October 15, he managed

to escape, boarding a ship, the *Surprise*, in Shoreham. He was taken to safety in France, to his mother, Henrietta Maria, where he arrived completely dishevelled, without any money to his name. Charles must have felt incredibly lucky to have been successful in escaping Cromwell's clutches. However, as Fraser points out, he began his exile in a deep sadness, knowing what the situation was back at home, and fearing what might happen to those who had helped him. At this stage, after the shocking events of the previous three years, the likelihood of Britain ever having a monarch again, must have been non-existent.

Change of Fate: A Jubilant Return

Cromwell's regime, however, was not to persist. Oliver Cromwell died in 1658 and was succeeded briefly by his son, Richard. Richard lacked his father's competence, however, and after about a year, he had given his notice, ending the Cromwellian protectorate. Instability ensued, with various forms of governance being introduced in quick succession, but really to no avail. All was brought to a head by the army who, prompted by the problems, pushed for the reintroduction of the 'purged' MPs from 1648 into Parliament. This was a success. These 'purged' men had not wished to overthrow the rule of Charles I and so were favourably disposed to the exiled King: convening in April, they decided to invite Charles II to claim his inheritance, with the exile returning the following month. Remarkably, the tides had turned for Charles.

Against the odds, Charles was King. However, he was yet to be made official by the act of coronation, the act which would truly symbolise the return of Britain to a monarchy. Hence, the night Charles spent in that bed marked a rite of passage for him: Charles' duty was serious now. He now had to ensure that, as a King, he did not let chaos descend in his country as it had under his father. He was no longer playing; he had to be good.

Epilogue: The Legacy of the Coronation Bed

To me, this bed does not just symbolise a rite of passage for Charles, but a rite of passage for something much more significant: Britain. The story outlined in this article ends with the night Charles spent in this bed, and it starts a new chapter in Britain's history, one where a reign of monarchy commenced again. A chapter that still has not closed to this day. The best way I can relay my thoughts about this is through, quite aptly, the analogy of a bed. The transformation Charles underwent when he awoke from the coronation bed is like the frame and slats of the bed. Without them there is no structure: you would fall through and have the most unpleasant night sleep. In essence the coronation bed properly reintroduced the monarch. Subsequent events, for example, the Glorious Revolution, are like the tester and the mattress. They make the bed comfortable, and they tie everything together; you cannot, however, add them without the frame and slats. In essence, events like the Glorious Revolution made the concept of monarchy more "comfortable". Put in this context, the bed assumes a monumental significance. It witnessed, returning to the analogy, the frame and slats being put into place. Consequently, it symbolises one of the major rites of passage in modern British history, a rite of passage that has led, over three hundred years on, to there being another King Charles sitting on the throne of Britain. In a very apt finale, this King Charles, Charles III, when he visited Grimsthorpe Castle as Prince of Wales in the early 2000s, slept in this very bed.

THE DRAFT AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN THE U.S. DURING THE VIETNAM WAR: DEMILITARISING MASCULINITY AND REDEFINING RITES OF PASSAGE FOR YOUNG AMERICAN MEN

ELHAM KHOSRAVIPOUR

Throughout America's history, military institutions have played a key role in shaping and reinforcing traditional ideals of masculinity. The United States (U.S.) military has marketed itself and capitalised on the notion that military

service turns boys into men. However, the Vietnam war challenged this supposed rite of passage for young male Americans. This period, uniquely characterised by growing anti-war sentiment, the rise of counterculture, and social upheaval, witnessed Americans exhibiting a greater concern for morality, reshaping attitudes towards military service and fostering a culture of resistance. These sentiments were particularly prevalent in discussions surrounding the Vietnam war draft and conscientious objection.

This article will argue that the Vietnam-era national draft and the rise of conscientious objection indicated a significant redefinition of the rites of passage for young American men, contributing to the abandonment of military service being considered as a marker of maturity and masculinity. This article will scrutinise the draft itself, contemporary social movements, and American counterculture, examining how each of these aspects worked to redefine traditional rites of passage for American men.

The Draft

The Vietnam war draft was unique in many ways. Prior to the war, the U.S. military draft was highly decentralised, operated under loose federal guidelines, and deferments were very common. As the Vietnam war escalated, however, policies surrounding the draft were changed to compensate for the increasing need for men on the ground in Vietnam. Graduate study deferments, for example, were eliminated in 1967. However, the biggest shift came in 1969 when President Nixon introduced the national draft lottery. In this lottery, draft numbers from 1 to 366 were randomly assigned to the birth dates of draft-eligible men. This system ensured that men's vulnerability to the draft would be determined randomly, rather than by the decisions of local draft boards. Men with low numbers were the first to be called up for service. Additionally, college-educated men who were previously protected by deferments were now particularly vulnerable. Naturally, draft resistance and challenges to the societal expectation of military service became prevalent among male students.

At the same time, conscientious objection was also facing major changes. Prior to the Vietnam era, conscientious objector (CO) exemption was reserved for men who opposed war on religious grounds and in relation to a "Supreme Being", not those objecting to war based on personal ethics. During the Vietnam war, however, the Supreme Court heard two cases what would broaden the interpretation of CO exemption: *United States v. Seeger* (1965) and *United States v. Welsh* (1970). The *Seeger* decision held that the language of a "Supreme Being" was unconstitutional because it favoured monotheistic religions over others, thereby broadening the definition of "religion" to include any strong and sincere belief opposing the notion of war. The succeeding *Welsh* decision effectively rendered this revision meaningless, ruling that deeply held moral or ethical beliefs, even if not explicitly religious, qualified for CO exemption. These Supreme Court decisions coupled with the growing distaste for the Vietnam war put the Selective Service system in turmoil. By 1972 more draftees were classed as conscientious objectors than those who entered the army. This led to the abolition of the draft in 1973.

The end of military conscription in the United States marked the downfall of military service as a rite of passage for young American men. Not only was it no longer an expectation by society's standards but by federal and legal standards as well. The national draft lottery itself, by making more young American men vulnerable, united these men against the draft. Additionally, the two Supreme Court decisions allowed many more men to qualify for CO exemption. Moreover, the increase in conscientious objectors on moral grounds reflects the larger shift in American society towards a newfound moral consciousness. As such, the draft and military service in general were no longer widely deemed as an expectation nor a rite of passage for young American men.

Contemporary Social Movements

By the late 1960s, the Vietnam war had become an increasingly unpopular war. There was a growing anti-war movement, particularly amongst college students. For example, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), based on college campuses, was a key organisation that played a crucial early role in organising opposition, holding teach-ins and marches that galvanised support. The movement employed various strategies and tactics, ranging from traditional peace marches and rallies to more radical actions such as draft card burnings and draft board raids. The movement's impact was felt not only domestically but also internationally, inspiring protests in Europe and around the world. This growing distaste for

the Vietnam war and war in general aided the dismantling of societal expectations surrounding military service and signalled a rise in moral consciousness across the nation. As such, resistance within the military grew in parallel with the civilian anti-war movement.

Beyond the anti-war movement, the 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of several other social movements which challenged deeply ingrained notions of civic duty and masculinity. This era saw a renewed rise of feminist movements, including feminist factions within the larger anti-war movement. For example, the Jeannette Rankin Brigade, a women's peace group, organized a march to petition Congress to withdraw troops from Vietnam. Feminism within the anti-war movement was particularly crucial in challenging the idea that military service was essential for manhood. Feminist activists, therefore, sought to create and promote a new, demilitarised masculinity. The October 1967 March on the Pentagon was a key moment in this effort. The participating male activists challenged militarised masculinity in this symbolic protest – the Pentagon being the headquarters of the U.S. military. Furthermore, many contemporary feminists even went on to argue that true masculinity could be found in opposing war and promoting peace. Overall, feminist critiques of militarism intersected with draft opposition, challenging traditional gender roles and, in doing so, collectively reframed military service as a contested, rather than celebrated, rite of passage for American men.

Counterculture

Intertwined with the rise of these social movements was the rise of American counterculture. Counterculture questioned and rejected mainstream American values associated with conformity, materialism, and consumerism. It advocated alternative lifestyles and belief systems, emphasising peace, personal freedom, and individual expression. Thereby, counterculture inherently rejected military service, perceived civic duties, and all conventional rites of passage. Counterculture was deeply intertwined with political activism and interplay between counterculture and the anti-war movement was extensive. Many counterculture participants embraced nonviolent protests, sit-ins, and marches to advocate for an end to the Vietnam war. Some counterculture groups like the radical Youth International Party, colloquially known as the Yippies, were directly involved in anti-war protests, such as in the aforementioned 1967 March on the Pentagon.

Additionally, art was a key focus of the counterculture movement and artists served as both chroniclers and catalysts for social change, mobilising mass protests, shaping public opinion, and challenging the status quo. Many artists within the counterculture movement and their works objected to the Vietnam War. Bob Dylan often addressed anti-war themes. Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young released the song "Ohio" in 1970 in response to the Kent State massacre where four students protesting the Vietnam War were killed by National Guardsmen. Thereby, counterculture, through both art and activism, celebrated conscientious objection and challenged traditional attitudes towards militarism, war, and individual autonomy. As such, the spread counterculture, demonstrated a broader shift in American society away from convention and tradition. The proliferation of counterculture is closely tied to the Vietnam war. As previously established, the Vietnam war and particularly the national draft led many to question and reject traditional American values associated with militarism. This rejection of mainstream values pushed many towards counterculture, which offered alternative perspectives and pathways. Counterculture, as a lifestyle and ideology, provided young American men with the opportunity to follow a unique, personalised rite of passage and disregard traditional societal expectations.

In conclusion, the Vietnam war era profoundly reshaped the rites of passage for young American men, challenging traditional societal norms that equated military service with maturity and masculinity. The draft, once a symbol of patriotism, became a widely contested institution, spurring a significant rise in conscientious objection as the nation developed a greater moral consciousness. Simultaneously, contemporary social movements, including the anti-war and feminist movements, underscored the broader cultural shifts that shaped resistance to the draft. These movements created important spaces for challenging authority and gender-norms, further destabilising traditional rites of passage. American counterculture amplified these changes by rejecting conformity and offering new pathways rooted in individuality, peace, and morality against established conventions. All these factors worked in tandem to demilitarise masculinity, thereby significantly redefining rites of passage for young American men.

WHERE THERE'S A MAN, THERE'S A MARLBORO: WESTERN MASCULINITY'S LONG LOVE AFFAIR WITH CIGARETTES

AIDAN INCAGNOLI

On a warm summer evening in 2019, my uncle Enio offered me a cigarette. It was whilst I waited nervously for the Middle East Nightclub in Boston to prepare the stage for my first (and only) foray into the world of public musical performance, and I would've taken anything to slow my heartbeat and to quiet the ever-present voices of anxiety which assured me my embarrassment was imminent. The nature of my performance was uniquely significant: it was to be the centerpiece of a memorial gig for my late father.

Amid the evening's drunken storytelling and awkward consolations came the wisdom of my uncle Enio, a quintessentially Italian blue-collar man with an 'old country' worldview. It was Enio who had informed me (where my more progressive relatives had neglected to) that the day my father died was the day that I'd become a man. The symbolism of the cigarette – apparently an offering to the newly initiated – was not lost on me. Here, then, was a metric of an older generation to distinguish men from boys. Men can smoke; in fact, they *ought* to.

As with any icon of popular masculinity, the cigarette's status as a symbol of manhood is far from historically static. Having risen from relative obscurity at the end of the nineteenth century, to dominating popular culture in the middle of the twentieth, it now seems to many that the cigarette may soon disappear from the cultural zeitgeist altogether. Estimations vary, but the prevalence of western tobacco use – which once saw over sixty per cent of the population lighting up daily – has plummeted to historic lows in recent years. In

ILLUSTRATION BY LYDIA KEMPTON

2022, the CDC found less than six per cent of 18-24-year-olds were daily cigarette smokers. What then, considering the cigarette's meteoric rise (and seemingly inevitable fall), has been its ultimate significance in the context of Western masculinity?

In the late 1890s, cigarettes were decidedly countercultural and considered decidedly un-manly. Associated with general criminality, but often more specifically with prostitution and new immigrant communities, 15 U.S. States (overwhelmingly in the mid-West) banned cigarette sales between 1890 and 1927. Even in areas with no legislative barriers and comparatively liberal views of cigarettes - and those who smoked them - their perceived 'effeminacy' in American society largely dissuaded both their mass consumption and mass production. At the turn of the twentieth century, the cigarette's highly controversial social status left it occupying just a two per cent share of the American domestic tobacco market.

None of this is to say that smoking in a general sense was considered effeminate; on the contrary, women's tobacco consumption was an obvious taboo in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. General tobacco consumption for men was extremely normalized, having been popular for several centuries since the European colonization of the Americas. Unlike the cigarette, it was the pipe and the cigar which were widely understood to be symbols of masculinity and sophistication, respectively, and their collective market dominance was relatively unchallenged at the time. Lingering prejudicial attitudes toward the cigarette produced two of the aforementioned fifteen statewide bans as late as 1921.

The First World War changed everything, and any association the cigarette may have had with effeminacy or criminality quickly disappeared. Wartime pragmatism acknowledged smoking was an essential tool for boosting troop morale, and in the context of industrial warfare - unprecedented in its brutality– any opportunity to improve the mental well-being of fighting men would be welcomed by the militaries of participating nations. Pipes and cigars may still have been considered more masculine, but cigarettes were by far the easiest method for nicotine transmission, a key consideration given the conflict's profound logistical requirements. Allied governments temporarily became the world's largest cigarette manufacturers, and their dominance in the tobacco industry was ensured overnight.

America's recent social context had seen the growing popularity of movements which sought to correct great moral injustices, most notably the temperance movement, which would later mobilize enough political capital to ban the sale of alcohol by constitutional amendment. Cigarettes, however, were generally deemed insufficiently immoral to require any such prohibition and many of the organizations attached to these movements deemed them a necessary evil and assisted in their wartime distribution. This sentiment was unsurprisingly reflected by similar European movements and organizations. Produced by governments, distributed by armies, and handed out by philanthropic organizations, the cigarette was suddenly inseparable from wartime military identity (and thus inseparable from the type of masculinity which defined the twentieth century).

The United States and Europe witnessed a steep rise in cigarette consumption through the interwar period, and by 1930, cigarette bans had become a distant memory. Any potential for a reversal of this upward trend was decidedly thwarted by the Second World War, which saw production skyrocket. The United States exported an unfathomable ninety-two billion cigarettes during its participation in the conflict, whilst its domestic market saw a comparably meteoric rise. The tobacco industry had perfected its marketing campaigns, situationally centering on both masculinity and femininity, to sell as many products as possible. Still, military identity remained a foundational element of most advertising campaigns, and cigarette smoking was now undeniably a symbol of patriotic manhood.

In the 1950s, if you turned on the television, listened to the radio, or walked down a street in a major urban area, you would surely be subjected to innumerable cigarette adverts. In the immediate postwar period, the golden age of the American tobacco industry, companies were unburdened by widespread understandings of health risks and subsequent government restrictions which have today rendered cigarette advertising itself a thing of the past (at least, in most Western nations). From 1946, Camel ran the infamous eight-year 'Most doctors smoke camels' campaign. The campaign bragged that Camel cigarettes were consistently observed to be

the most popular brand amongst medical professionals, and whilst not quite the same as its militaristic predecessors, the campaign was nonetheless a clear reflection of the industry's desire to establish a clear connection between cigarettes and dominant masculinities. The physician represented men of peacetime: educated, informed, financially stable, and – of course - healthy.

Yet in 1954, 'Most doctors smoke camels' was discontinued after increasing pressure to move away from medical endorsements of cigarettes (or adverts which implied them). With the end of one era came the beginning of another: Leo Burnett's 1955 invention, the 'Marlboro Man'. The campaign was initially intended to encourage men's purchasing of filtered cigarettes, which had traditionally been considered feminine. A subsequent ultra-masculine icon, 'Marlboro Man' began as a series of adverts which depicted men in various (typically blue-collar) occupations. Soon, it evolved into the iconic cowboy, which would remain a core element of Marlboro's advertising strategy until 1999. Whilst similarities to the physician may initially be unclear, they lie in the continued centering of masculine identities. If cigarette companies could not advertise as healthy, they could instead be advertised as a symbol of toughness, grit, and – arguably – danger. Either way, cigarettes would speak to men.

The end of the Marlboro Man largely coincided with the end of tobacco's advertising age in most of the West. Accompanied by a sharp decline in overall tobacco use and cigarette consumption, it might seem that in the twenty-first century, the cigarette's influence on popular masculinity – and popular culture - is doomed to dwindle. Yet, as I sit writing this, cravings make me acutely aware: a cigarette habit sure is hard to kick. Today, cigarettes may once again be benefiting from the renewal of their countercultural status, and the explosion of smoking alternatives seems destined to create a new generation of nicotine addicts.

Whilst the universal acceptability of cigarettes may rightly be a thing of the past, their controversial appeal remains both statistically evident and anecdotally apparent. It is hard to deny I feel a kinship with smokers, or that cigarettes are in some way significant to my sense of manhood. Perhaps with so much history, it's impossible to avoid such a feeling. For now, at least, cigarettes will retain some ritualistic significance for those who share the senseless habit. It's like the song says: 'When you're a Jet, you're a Jet all the way, from your first cigarette to your last dyin' day'.

CULTURE REBORN: THE LIMINAL SPACE OF RITES

AMI JOHN

Rituals are designed to connect and transform individuals, guiding them through the critical stages of life. In Latin, the term *liminality* is derived from the word *limen*, meaning "threshold," and refers to that transitional phase during a ritual when a person is neither here nor there. This stage, known as the liminal phase, is paradoxical in nature, an ambiguous state where the individual doesn't quite belong anywhere. It is a time of transformation, a "waiting" period that is both uncertain and potentially life changing.

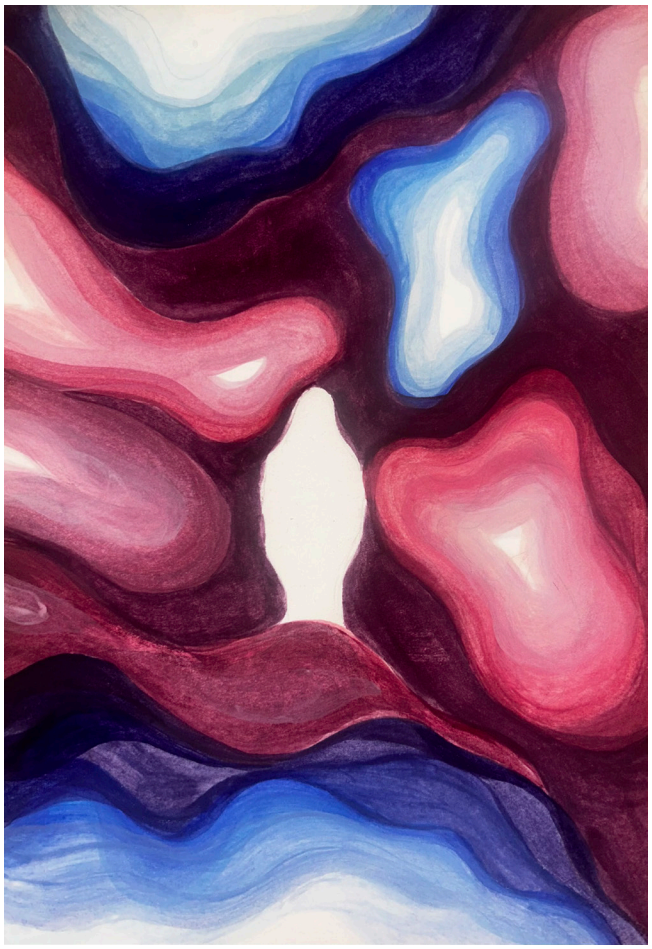
The liminal phase is often considered the most important part of any rite of passage. It is marked by vulnerability and ambiguity, a point where the individual is suspended between two identities or stages of life. For instance, before starting university, an individual is no longer a high school student but has not yet fully adopted the role of a university student. In this liminal stage, they exist in a state of transformation, allowing space for self-reflection and growth. The liminal period can thus be understood as a psychological or physical transition, where a person undergoes significant change before re-entering society in a new role or persona.

A vivid example of this transformative process occurs during weddings. The couple enters a liminal space, having ceased to be single, yet not yet fully embodying their new identities as spouses. The ritual itself, whether taking vows in front of a priest or signing a marriage certificate, marks a transition, but the moments before this act are filled with anticipation and uncertainty. This in-between space, though filled with excitement, symbolises the threshold of a new chapter in life, where they await the unknown together.

Similarly, funerals also feature a liminal stage. The mourner transitions from the physical presence of a loved one to the reality of living without them. Mourning is, in it of itself, a liminal experience, neither fully part of life in terms of state of being, nor entirely removed from it. This melancholic process is symbolic of a larger journey, often one of personal growth and transformation that follows the death of a loved one. It is during this phase of grieving that individuals are most vulnerable, caught between the past and the future, and must navigate this emotional threshold in order to heal.

Mary Douglas, a British anthropologist, has argued that this liminal phase is particularly precarious. Because individuals in this stage do not fit neatly into established categories, they risk becoming "outcasts" in the eyes of society. Take, for example, a couple on the verge of exchanging vows in

a wedding ceremony. If, at the last moment, one partner changes their mind, the ritual collapses, and they regress back to their previous identities as single individuals. In this scenario, the liminal phase, marked by uncertainty and ambiguity, can be seen as a moment of potential danger. While the danger is controlled by the structure of the ritual itself (such as in the wedding process) this period remains a crucial time that holds significant transformative potential.



Liminal spaces are not confined to the realm of the living. In various spiritual traditions, liminality can transcend the boundaries of life and death. In Islam, the *Barzakh* is a cemetery that serves as a liminal space for the souls of the deceased. This space is understood to be an in-between realm, where souls wait for the final judgment from God. This concept also exists in Catholicism, with the idea of purgatory, which acts as a liminal space between life and the Paradise. These spiritual liminal realms represent the transition between our earthly existence and the afterlife, indicating a time of waiting, reflection, and eventual transformation.

Liminal entities, whether in the living or spiritual realm, are often invisible and intangible, much like the moments during a sunrise or sunset when it is neither fully day nor fully night. One instance is neophytes, people new to a society or religious tradition. During their initiation, neophytes may be symbolically stripped of their identity as a way to escape societal norms and expectations. This process of de-identification marks them as "nothing" in the liminal phase, where they exist in a state of passivity, obeying their mentors or superiors. It is only after passing through this threshold that they emerge with a renewed sense of self, having undergone a transformative process that marks their re-entry into society with a new role.

Ultimately, the liminal stage is a space where individuals are stuck between two identities, caught in the transition from one phase of life to another. Whether in the physical world or the spiritual realm, this period of transformation offers the opportunity for profound personal change. It is through rites of passage that this liminality becomes most significant, as it is in this moment of ambiguity and uncertainty that individuals undergo the most meaningful shifts in their lives. The liminal phase, then, is the defining moment in any rite of passage, where the individual is poised for transformation, marking the threshold between what was and what is yet to come.

ARTEFACTS IN COLLECTIONS: HOW REPATRIATION CAN BE A RITE OF PASSAGE

MICHAELA HAMMAN

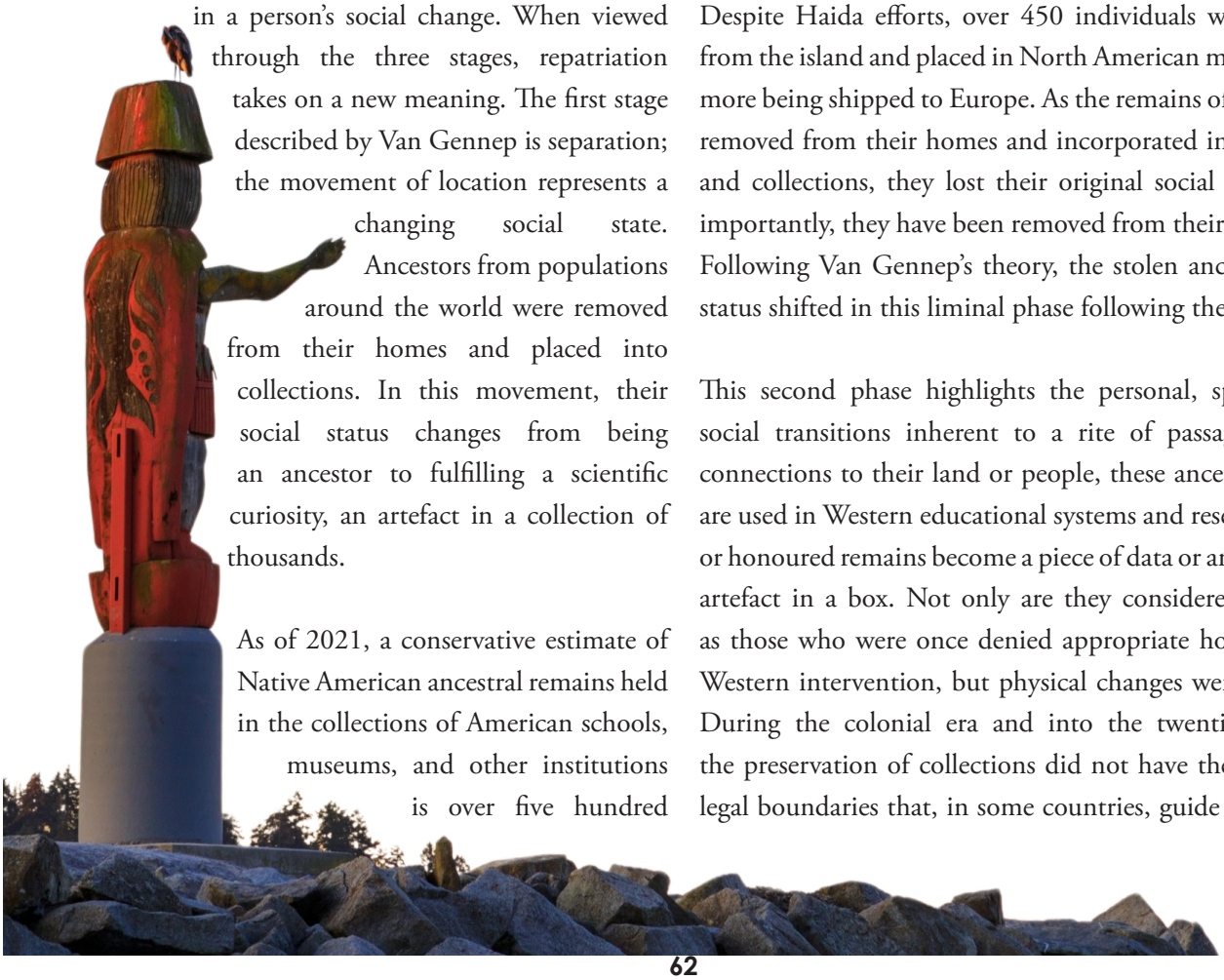
A person's life is full of rites of passage. These rites of passage do not end in death, though death is its own social state. A person can continue to undergo rites of passage, defined as the physical movements that result in social change. Arnold Van Gennep's early-twentieth century theory of rites of passage provides a framework for the points in life

ILLUSTRATION BY ROSE CURNYN

where an individual's social status changes. The three parts of this framework focus on the physical movement between locations. For cultures that attach meaning to the remains of their loved ones, Van Gennep's framework can deepen our understanding in the repatriation of human remains. As such, the physical movement of human remains does not necessarily end in death – a person can continue to undergo rites of passage.

In many museums – anthropological, archaeological, or other collections, the remains of indigenous peoples are kept. These collections were often built through racist means and represent forms of institutional violence against colonized and subordinated people. The remains of individuals were removed, stolen, or simply bought from where they were placed to rest.

Repatriation is defined as the process through which cultural property, including human remains, is returned to the community from which it originated. Cultural and physical trauma can begin to heal through repatriation because the community is whole, with affected individuals properly honoured, once more. As a rite of passage, repatriation results in a person's social change. When viewed through the three stages, repatriation takes on a new meaning. The first stage described by Van Gennep is separation; the movement of location represents a changing social state. Ancestors from populations around the world were removed from their homes and placed into collections. In this movement, their social status changes from being an ancestor to fulfilling a scientific curiosity, an artefact in a collection of thousands.



As of 2021, a conservative estimate of Native American ancestral remains held in the collections of American schools, museums, and other institutions is over five hundred thousand. These are both entire and partial sets of people who have been gathered – often without personal, familial, or tribal permission along with their sacred objects. The United States Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 requires the return of Native American skeletal remains, grave goods, and sacred objects by all institutions that receive federal funding. This required hundreds of museums and universities, some with millions of artefacts, to inventory their collection, an ongoing process. Once the collection is better understood, staff research provenience and establish communication with federally recognized tribes to organise the return of their heritage.

Examples of human remains entering North American collections are plentiful. Here, I focus on the First Nation group in Canada, the Haidas on Haida Gwaii island off the coast of Vancouver, Canada. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Haida people experienced two devastating smallpox epidemics that killed thousands. The remaining population clustered into two villages, leaving a physical distance between them and their ancestors' graves. Believing the native population to be lost in a few years, collectors rushed in to procure human remains and cultural items. Despite Haida efforts, over 450 individuals were removed from the island and placed in North American museums with more being shipped to Europe. As the remains of people were removed from their homes and incorporated into museums and collections, they lost their original social status. Most importantly, they have been removed from their community. Following Van Gennep's theory, the stolen ancestors' social status shifted in this liminal phase following their death.

This second phase highlights the personal, spiritual, and social transitions inherent to a rite of passage. Without connections to their land or people, these ancestral remains are used in Western educational systems and research. Sacred or honoured remains become a piece of data or an accessioned artefact in a box. Not only are they considered differently as those who were once denied appropriate honour due to Western intervention, but physical changes were made too. During the colonial era and into the twentieth century, the preservation of collections did not have the ethical and legal boundaries that, in some countries, guide discernment

around human remains and sacred artefacts today. It was not uncommon for the stolen remains of ancestors to be stored in cigar boxes in a damp room, or to be lacquered with an oxidised varnish. Some remains were even carved into. These conditions permanently change the physical identity.

As recently as 2021, the repositories at the University of California, Berkley and the University of California, Santa Barbara kept the bones of indigenous ancestors in wooden bins sorted by different categories. Many human remains and artefacts were never properly inventoried or identified. As of September 2024, in all the United States, it is estimated that at least 104,000 Native American ancestors are still in institutional collections awaiting return along with their 641,000 funerary objects. They continue to wait in this liminal space.

Along with the treatment of ancestors and sacred artefacts in collections, the Haidas people speak toward the agency of ancestors. Ancestral remains are active and able to communicate through persons or things. Haida who visited museums, prepared remains, or attended burial ceremonies for repatriated members of their community speak of hearing, feeling, or seeing signs from ancestors encouraging the process. In this liminal phase within the rite of passage, ancestors' social status is impacted due to their kidnapping.

The final changed social status is seen in Van Gennep's third stage: reincorporation. After the long processes of filing inventory, deliberation, and communication which is sometimes legally required, ancestors can be repatriated and put to rest. In returning the ancestors to their origin communities, this repatriation rite of passage is completed. Slowly, Native American remains, funerary objects, and sacred objects are being returned to their tribes. In 2024, an estimated 58 per cent of the Native American ancestral remains in the United States have been repatriated by institutions small and large. Ancestral remains are often reburied with their funerary objects. The repatriation process allows for the ancestors to return home and receive the rights and honours they are due, marking their social change.

The Haida have successfully repatriated and received all their ancestors from North American collections. The committee leading the process prioritised *yahgudang*. Translating loosely to "respect," *yahgudang* is a cultural protocol tied in kinship, social perception, and social status. It is because of *yahgudang* that certain decisions were made, such as burying the ancestors in traditional bentwood boxes. This tradition of bentwood boxes was reestablished by the repatriation committee to signify the agency of the deceased. One of the Haida villages, Skidegate, also raised a permanent headstone. This marker ensures that the ancestors who had been returned will be remembered and honoured. With reburial, the ancestors complete their journey and rest before reincarnation. Through the actions of the ancestors and those of the descendant community around repatriation, social status changes become visible.

Van Gennep's rites of passage can inform the repatriation of human remains and artefacts. First, ancestral remains are removed from their community, often violently. The remains and their artefacts are then added to collections, marked for inventory, and held either in repository boxes or on display. Finally, the remains and artefacts are returned to their land and people where, upon arrival, they receive a special status due to their experience.

Arguments for the incorporation of human remains and sacred artefacts in museum collections uphold racist, colonial worldviews. Today, relational and ethical wisdom challenge such beliefs and practices, even when the goal of using human remains is labelled as educational or medicinal. Rather, the repatriation of human remains, and their artefacts, offers the promise of healing, closure, and a strengthened connection between ancestors and indigenous people worldwide. Moreover, their repatriation offers opportunities of justice and restoration to the ancestors of the colonised who were used to build collections. As collections and museums around the world continue to welcome visitors and researchers, Van Gennep's rites of passage can inform our decision-making for creating informed and ethical exhibits.

SANTERÍA: AN INITIATION INTO THE CUBAN RITES OF THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

MIRANDA BARCLAY

Enforced Migration

An infamous phenomenon of modern history, the triangular slave trade that started in the sixteenth century inspires horror, shame and incredulity. Encouraged by Columbus' voyage of 1492 and a hunger for the gold and other riches of the Americas, the Spanish and Portuguese required large workforces for mining and agriculture. Initial attempts to use indigenous labour were short-lived, as diseases introduced by the Europeans decimated the native population. At the suggestion of a bishop (Bartolomé de las Casas, 1474–1566), ironically concerned with Spanish cruelty towards the native Americans, an alternative source of labour was sought: men and women of the African continent.

The transportation of Africans to the Americas was dubbed 'The Triangular Trade,' of which the Atlantic crossing became known as 'The Middle Passage.' Ships left Europe for the African coast carrying trade goods: guns, cloth, knives and other manufactured metal objects. These were exchanged for captured men, women and children, who were packed tightly onto ships (several hundred per vessel) and transported to the Americas. After discharging their human cargo, the ships were loaded with colonial produce (sugar, coffee, tobacco, leather, cacao, etc.) before returning northwards to satisfy an avid European market.

In that narrative, positive novelty was the preserve of Europeans; new fashions enhanced with Colombian emeralds and dishes sweetened with Caribbean sugar gave no indication of the lives and livelihoods involved in their manufacturing. However, the loss of their homes, families, cultures and ways of life was a terrifyingly novel reality that many Africans had to navigate in unfamiliar surroundings. Thus, a tradition of adaptation emerged in the enforced African diaspora of the Americas, resulting in new cultures, languages and religions.

Cuba is one of the most interesting microcosms in which this adaptation occurred; its volatile history since the introduction of slavery to the island has caused adaptions to have continued throughout Cuban life. Most notable amongst these are the religious rites of Santería, an offshoot of the Yoruba Òrìṣà observances that flourished on the Caribbean island, brought over by large numbers of slaves from what is now Nigeria. What follows is a combination of historical context and personal reflection on a belief and culture that continues to play a central part in Cuban society and that of its diaspora.

Spirits and Syncretism

Santería is a vivid and fluid religion that is the most practiced of the three Afro-Cuban sects on the island, the other two being Palo Mayombe/Monte (originating from the Congo) and Abakuá (a secretive sect to which only men may belong.) An important characteristic is its tolerance towards other religions; *santeros* (Santería priests) are obligated to help anyone regardless of belief. In the mid-twentieth century, such services were not charged for. Unfortunately, where hardship grows, so does the necessity to monetise, and nowadays some *santeros* do charge for ceremonies at which sacrifices are required. However, this has not deterred many people from taking part in its celebrations and initiations. In order to discover to which *orisha* one belongs, one takes part in a ceremony overseen by a *babalawo* (a high priest with the ability to foretell and heal), during which animal sacrifices are made and coconut shells are symbolically thrown.

The religion revolves around the *orishas*, spirits who carry out God's will and are firmly rooted in nature. The primary *orishas* are as follows: Obatalá, represented by the colour white and considered both male and female, is the source of all creation and judgement. Changó, the male *orisha* of virility, thunder, fire and passion, is represented by red and white and is particularly popular in the capital city, Havana. Ochún, the charming and beautiful female *orisha* of fresh water, sensuality, femininity and pregnancy, is embodied by the colour yellow and is revered amongst women. Yemayá is the female *orisha* of the sea, who can be as volatile as her maritime element but is known for being intellectually superior to the other

orishas, as the protector of rational thought and judgement; her colours are blue and white. Elegguá, the trickster god of roads and the future, is arguably the most important in the everyday practices of Santería; he is represented by red and black, and many people keep his figurine (a cement half-sphere with cowrie-shells for eyes) behind their front doors to ward off ill-wishers and evil spirits. Finally, Babalú Ayé, is the male *orisha* of illness and disease, who has taken on the biblical associations of flagellation and sack-cloth.

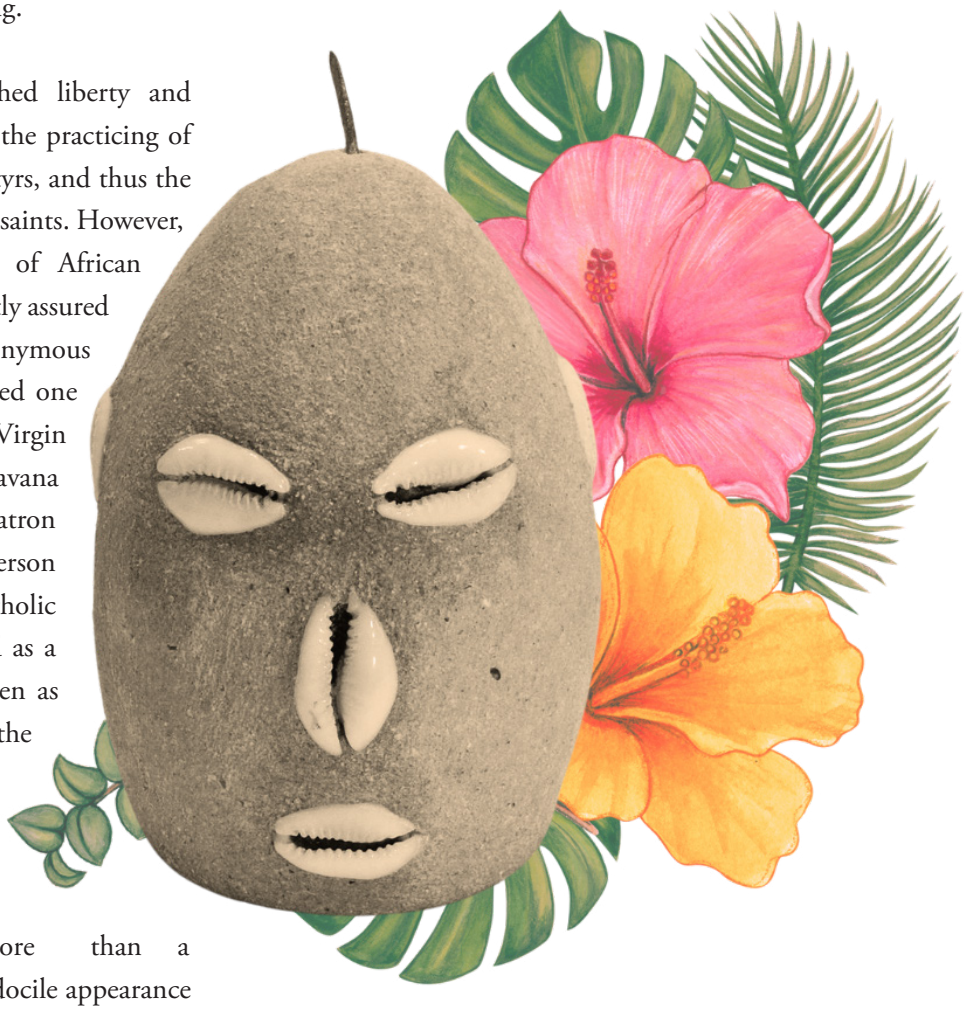
The attributes of this last *orisha* point to a central aspect of Santería: its adoption, through a process of syncretism, of elements of the Catholic faith promoted by the colonisers. Initially, the Spanish permitted the practice of Santería, seeing it as a pressure-valve that would help to release the tension created by slavery. Slaves were allowed to worship on Sundays, and social clubs called *cabildos* were swiftly formed by slaves and freedmen of African descent. The *cabildos* allowed communities to socialise and practice Santería in safe and welcoming spaces, away from the prying eyes of the Spanish. Sundays involved *comparsas* and *congas* during which the *orisha* deities would be paraded through the streets to the accompaniment of music and dancing.

Concerned by such displays of unabashed liberty and identity, the Spanish began to insist upon the practicing of Catholicism and reverence towards its martyrs, and thus the *orishas* were replaced by figurines of various saints. However, far from limit or quash the longevity of African identification in Cuba, that step inadvertently assured its survival. A Catholic saint became synonymous with each *orisha*, thus Changó is considered one and the same as St Barbara, Yemayá as the Virgin of Regla (a fishing village to the East of Havana harbour) and Babalú Ayé as St Lazarus, patron of the sick. Indeed, in many cases today, a person would have to be baptised into the Catholic church before they could become initiated as a *santero*; the God of Catholicism is also seen as that of Santería in Cuba, although many in the Catholic Church would disagree.

Survival

The recognition of Catholicism was more than a façade that gave religious practices a more docile appearance to the Spanish rulers; the integral Yoruba attitude of valuing collectivity over individualism meant that Catholic beliefs became synonymous with, rather than exclusive from, Santería, seen not as a dilution of the integrity of the religion but rather a strengthening of it. So effectively did these intertwined strands raise Santería to a prominent place in Cuban society, that in the late nineteenth century the Spanish, afraid that the autonomy of the *cabildos* would generate sympathy for the cause of Cuban independence, severely repressed both the groups and their events. What the ruling powers had previously mistaken for an expression of acquiescence, was now recognised as a new and defiant strain of expression and national identity.

Throughout the centuries, Santería has continued as an ever-changing, ever-growing entity responsive to its surroundings, rather than a system that demands its surroundings to conform to its rules. As such, its syncretism continues to this day. On my last visit to Cuba, a family friend had set up a large altar to Elegguá on his celebratory day; opposite stood an accompanying figurine of his brother, Changó, in his Catholic form, St Barbara.



There is no doubt that the Santería of today is very different to that of its inception. The socialist government discouraged the practising of all religions until the 1990s. In a country where food and basic necessities are becoming increasingly difficult to find and afford, scant funds are available to purchase items necessary for celebrations and sacrifices. Despite this, Santería remains a crucial part of Cuban identity; there are still those on the island who speak an almost uncorrupted version of Yoruba called Lucumí, and the music and dancing of gatherings at the house of any *santero* provide a strong sense of community and joy. It even serves as a rallying point for Cubans abroad. A popular Cuban group called Orishas, originally formed in France in 2000, has popularised Afro-Cuban rhythms for the sake of Cubans, the Cuban diaspora, and Europeans and North Americans who are becoming more aware of this unique culture. The chorus of one of their most popular songs is a direct indication of how much Santería is not simply a religion, but a vital component of Cuban identity which keeps us connected to the island that we left:

"Sé que me fui de Cuba
Pero sé que Cuba no se fue de mí
Tal vez con mi fe yoruba
Pero mis santos
Mis santos viven ahí
En aquel solar…

I know that I left Cuba
But I know that Cuba did not leave me
Perhaps with my Yoruba faith
But my saints
My saints live there
In that distant neighbourhood…"

PROTEST AS TRADITION: THE INEVITABILITY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

FLORA GILCHRIST

"Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal Wreck, boundless and bare
The lone and level sands stretch far away."

- *Ozymandias*, Percy Bysshe Shelley 1818

Throughout history, great empires rise and fall. Shelley's poem, *Ozymandias*, notes that empires intend to last with their statues, pyramids, and giant colonies, but as time persists, these empires are eventually forgotten as nature remains. It is inevitable that, at some point, empires and constitutions that once served a society, cease to function, and are left behind. This cyclical structure stems as far back as Ancient Rome, with the Roman Empire once including North Africa, parts of Asia and most of Europe. Similarly, Ancient Egypt existed extensively down the River Nile and Northeast Africa but eventually began to decline around 1100 BCE due to political conflict, lack of resources and intervention from other empires. It is therefore a rite of passage for empires, societies, and rulers to rise and fall with the passage of time. This was the case with the French Revolution, whereby King Louis XVI pushed France and his subjects too far, and the model of ruling France no longer served its subjects. As people have coming of age stories; so, do societies and nations. This article will delve into the reasons why French Monarchical rule ended and the role of women in these revolts.

The French Revolution of 1789 was a seminal event in modern European history, symbolising the end of Monarchical rule in favour of a constitution. The French Revolution was part of a global move away from absolutism and empiricism, with the English Civil War, the American Revolution, and the Haitian Revolution. Old monarchies were founded on the medieval theory of 'Divine Right of Kings,' which was the belief that the monarch was God's representative on earth and therefore had a right to rule over his subjects. The 'Divine Right of Kings' also called for the fusion of Church and State, thus tying together religion and political thought. Louis XIV, who ruled France for seventy-two years between 1643-1715, believed in the 'Divine Right of Kings' and absolutism, aiming to centralise power in Paris. Louis XIV created a strong empire which relied on the pacification of

subjects and nobility into supporting his power and lavish lifestyle. Upon ascension to the throne, Louis XVI wished to continue his grandfather's legacy of high taxation to fund colonial missions and centralisation of power to quell nobility.

The inevitability of the French Revolution becomes clear when analysing how Louis XVI's actions exacerbated tensions between royalists and citizens. As well as the continuation of the 'Divine Right of Kings,' Louis XVI sustained the Ancien Regime, which is the old-fashioned social hierarchy which benefitted those at the top of the food chain and weakened those at the bottom. The absolute monarch was at the top of the pyramid, then there was the First Estate made up of the clergy, the Second Estate made up of remaining royalty, leaving the Third Estate at the bottom. The Third Estate made up ninety eight percent of the population and included the bourgeoisie down to eighty-thousand unemployed people. There was no Parliament, and the Estates could only meet in a pre-approved Estates General. Prior to 1789, the last Estates General was in 1614. French citizens had no political power and were victims of continuing economic problems made by Louis XVI's poor spending. Moreover, expensive foreign wars, the lack of development in agriculture and inefficient tax collection meant that money was being spent inefficiently on external matters and not reinvested in political reforms. French citizens begged for an Estates General, where the Third Estate demanded to vote by population size but the First and Second Estates refused. This political and economic dissatisfaction exploded when the price of food peaked on 14 July 1789, spurring French citizens to action in the form of the storming of the Bastille. Following the storming of the Bastille, widespread protests continued, eventually resulting in the formation of a constitution, the arrest of the King on 10 August 1792, and his eventual murder by radicals in January 1793. Essentially, society under King Louis XVI was oppressed, unfair and ready for change. This cycle of political oppression and economic depravity pushed both radical groups such as the Jacobins and citizens alike to protest for constitutional change. In this sense, the French Revolution was an essential and inevitable modernising process, with this radical oppression causing a radical response.

As well as seeming like an inevitable part of French history, the French Revolution also differed from typical civil wars and societal revolutions. The French Revolution allowed for women, mostly upper-class women, to be involved in politics for one of the first times in French history. Women were no longer passive watchers of their history, but rather agents of change involved in the reshaping of their country. In this sense, the universal model of rites of passage is challenged, as those considered inferior to men were able to voice their opinions. On 5 October 1789, a few months after the storming of the Bastille, a group of women marched to the Palace of Versailles to confront the King and Marie Antoinette. This protest was completely spontaneous, with these women beginning their march in a market in Paris when they had become frustrated with the high prices of bread.

These women were not just willing to negotiate a lowering of these prices, they were also armed with pikes, clubs, and cutlasses. This act of defiance remains a phenomenon outside of the typical rite of passage for early modern women, where instead of submissively watching male citizens revolt, women became active protestors. Following the riots, the King was forced to return to Paris and confront the people, rather than remaining hidden at Versailles. His forced return symbolised a shift in power. The King no longer controlled the destiny of his citizens, but rather the citizens, and in this case specifically French women, had the power.

Not only did women take to the streets to protest the authoritarian rule of the King, but the Revolution also encouraged women to reconsider their social standings in an intellectual sense. Women were both concerned with more menial domestic changes like the price of commodities, but they also began to be more involved in politics. The biggest example of increased political awareness in women was the creation of the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women of 1793. This society discussed wider mainstream questions of democracy and equality. Similarly, high society gatherings named salons became centres of knowledge, where women discussed Enlightenment ideas and anticlericalism. These political discussions even manifested themselves in the creation of policies calling for women's rights; namely Sophie de Condorcet's July 1790 document entitled 'The Admission of Women to Civil Rights.' These political discussions and documents reveal that the French Revolution enabled women to become activists and break away from their passive roles in society. Therefore, the Revolution was indeed a time where women felt obliged to speak out against those in power and voice their political opinions.

Overall, the French Revolution can be seen as a necessary and inevitable process due to the continuation of outdated practices like the Ancien Regime and the 'Divine Right of Kings.' Just like people grow out of old habits, the French Revolution is an essential part of France's history, symbolising a wakeup call to citizens to act up against injustices, taxation, and inequality. The French people wished for a parliament, constitutional rights such as voting, and they wished to break free from the Third Estate. A lesser explored path of the Revolution however is the role of women during this time. Through studying pioneering female activists like Sophie de Condorcet, it becomes clear that the French Revolution was not just a mainstream patriarchal upheaval, it also acted as a catalyst for increased political action by women. Therefore, the French Revolution was indeed part of this cyclical structure of birth and rebirth of societies but also signified a wider reconsideration of women's rights and awareness of inequalities.

PILGRIMAGE AND POLITICAL CONTROL: BRITISH COLONIAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE HAJJ

IMAAN SHAMSI

One of the five foundational pillars of Islam, the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, has for centuries been an imperative rite of passage for practicing Muslims worldwide. During the height of the British Empire, tens of thousands of Muslim pilgrims journeyed annually to Saudi Arabia's Hijaz region, where the holy city of Mecca is located. Though many of these pilgrims arrived from British colonial territories, particularly India, the Hijaz was ruled by the Ottoman Empire until World War I, so the British never had direct jurisdiction over the Hajj – and, for that matter, did not particularly care to involve themselves until the 1865 Hajj cholera outbreak. The period from 1865 until 1914, then, is of particular interest to this study. Cholera was Britain's initial reason for concern, but it was the political threat of the Hajj as a potential site for anti-colonial sentiment that retained British interest in and surveillance of, the pilgrimage – a threat that, as I explore below, was largely imagined.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Britain did not have a marked interest in the Hajj and generally tended towards a policy of religious non-interference. Its primary concerns in the region were instead the promotion

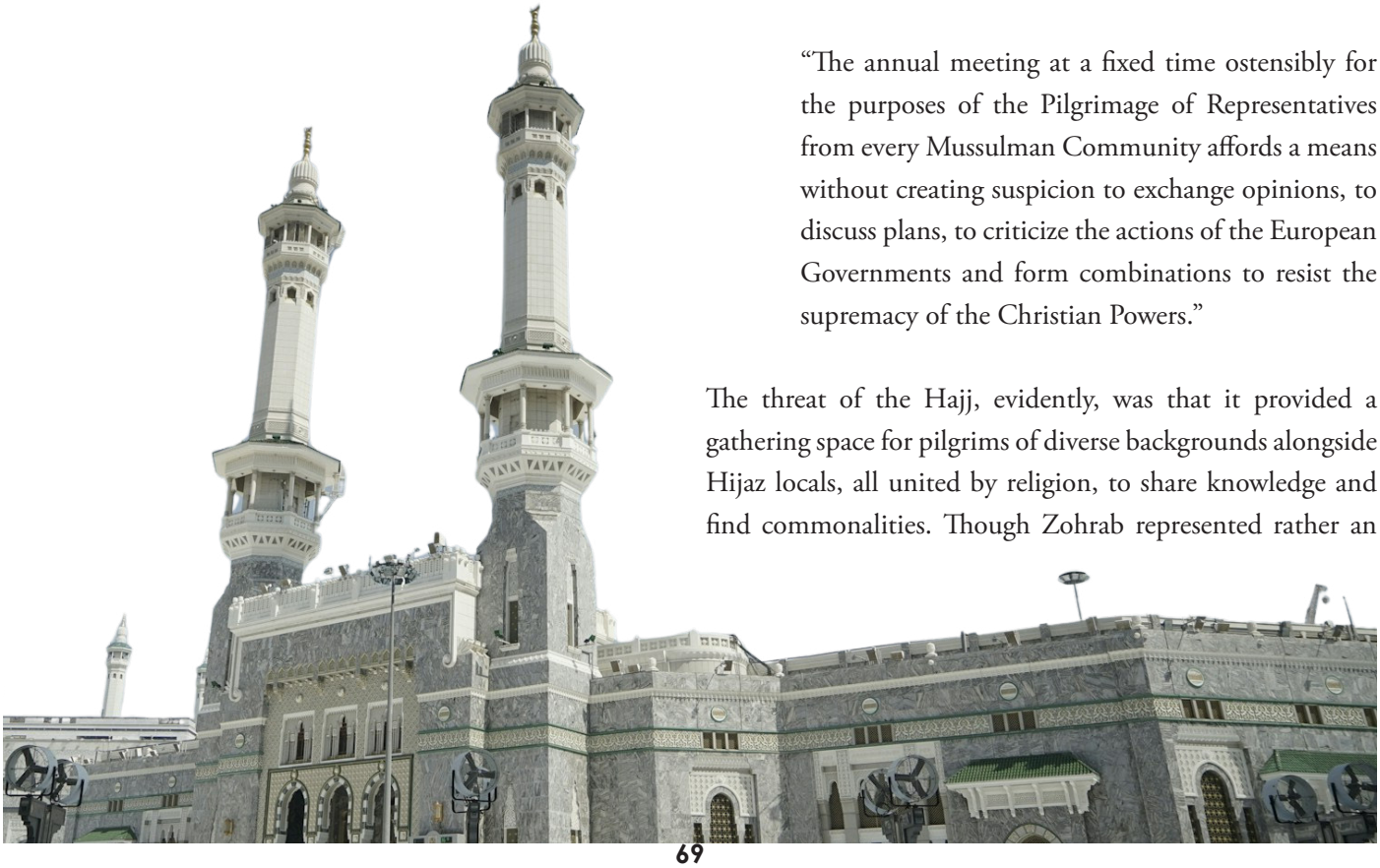
of trade between the Hijaz and India, and the protection of its maritime affairs in the Red Sea. This came to an end with the cholera epidemic of 1865. European powers had already been troubled by the spread of diseases to European colonies and countries following the transnational movement of Hajj pilgrims annually. In the 1865 epidemic, some fifteen thousand out of ninety thousand pilgrims died during the Hajj alone – and the aforementioned movement of pilgrims spread the outbreak to Egypt, Europe, and even the United States by November 1865. By its end, the epidemic had claimed the lives of over two hundred thousand people worldwide. European powers promptly held an International Sanitary Conference (ISC) in Istanbul in 1866, where British cholera commissioners stated that such epidemics originated from India, were spread via pilgrims to the Hijaz, and spread further afield when pilgrims returned home.

The almost simultaneous popularisation of steamships allowed for more regular travel routes, reduced costs, and faster journeys, making Hajj more accessible to Muslims beyond the clerical and wealthy. This, along with the Suez Canal opening in 1869, significantly increased maritime traffic. The British colonial government, apprehensive of the risk of cholera transmission on ships travelling to and from India, began the monitoring and checking of pilgrims arriving in the Hijaz. It was determined at the ISC that quarantine stations would be established to this end – in al-Tur to the north of the Red Sea, and Kamaran Island to the south. For the officials imposing these policies, there was a fear of the Hajj as a unique catalyst for the globalisation of diseases like cholera, and as of 1865, the Hajj became perceived as a public health issue as well as a religious rite of passage.

Perhaps more worrying than the health issue, in the eyes of the colonial government, was the possibility of anti-colonial sentiment developing amongst Hajj pilgrims. For the British, the cities of Mecca and Medina being closed to non-Muslims marked them as uncharted territory, which was a significant threat in itself. So too was the ideology of Pan-Islamism, wherein Muslims identified and built communities with each other on the basis of religious identity, often to the detriment of colonial interests. The 1857 Sepoy Mutiny in India – an uprising against British rule, denounced by some as Muslim fanaticism – had already sparked British wariness of religion-based dissent, which was amplified in the context of the Hajj. It is true that several colonial subjects who played a role in anti-European uprisings had begun their dissent upon their return from Hajj, but the extent to which this narrative pervaded the attitudes of colonial officials had little precedent and was demonstrably Orientalist. James Zohrab, the British consul in Jeddah, wrote in 1879:

> "The annual meeting at a fixed time ostensibly for the purposes of the Pilgrimage of Representatives from every Mussulman Community affords a means without creating suspicion to exchange opinions, to discuss plans, to criticize the actions of the European Governments and form combinations to resist the supremacy of the Christian Powers."

The threat of the Hajj, evidently, was that it provided a gathering space for pilgrims of diverse backgrounds alongside Hijaz locals, all united by religion, to share knowledge and find commonalities. Though Zohrab represented rather an



extreme perspective, his words as a prominent diplomat reflected what British involvement would eventually look like. The British came to view Hajj as something of a 'twin infection', marked by both public health and political affairs, in what F. E. Peters refers to as "concerted *politique sanitaire* whose objective was the regulation of the life of Western Arabia and, no less, of the most sacred ritual of Islam". Whether or not there was any actual dissent, the very possibility subverted the comfortable, constructed hierarchy that existed amongst the British colonies, a hierarchy of knowledge as much as political power, that allowed the empire to retain cultural and intellectual superiority. The risk of disrupting this hierarchy bolstered colonial perception of the Hajj as a potential political rite of passage as well as a religious one.

Despite these concerns, the colonial government was wary of directly preventing Muslims from carrying out the Hajj rites, primarily because their interference in the Hajj could provoke rebellion in India. Maintaining goodwill amongst Muslims would prevent the Ottomans from wielding greater Pan-Islamic influence, and therefore, the British chose to intervene instead through heightened surveillance measures. Ostensibly the impact of quarantine and administrative procedures was positive: Hajj conditions became more sanitary, and pilgrims were given access to medical facilities. The underlying strategy, however, was to monitor and control movement. The Kamaran Island quarantine station allowed surveillance of disease, but also of political motives amongst pilgrims. The British colonial government recorded lists of passengers on pilgrim ships, and all pilgrim ships were checked before passengers disembarked into the Hijaz. Pilgrims largely accepted, or at least tolerated, this increasingly bureaucratic version of Hajj, though some newspapers in India published commentary vilifying these regulations as unwarranted involvement in Muslim rites.

In a further attempt at surveillance, the British consulate in Jeddah served as a space to supervise and assist pilgrims, but also to gather intel on the Hajj rites and the pilgrims. British agents became increasingly important as political tools to follow and report on the Hajj; in 1880, the British proposed that Muslim agents be employed to 'infiltrate' the pilgrimage. The first of these was Indian agent Dr. Abdur Razzack, appointed in 1882 to suggest constructive reforms and engage in surveillance. He, and many other Muslim officials working within imperial structures, were paid for their work but were not lackeys of the empire by any means. Although the colonial power dynamics surrounding their work did not appear to be of particular concern to them, their preserved reports demonstrate that their primary loyalty was to their religion. They typically took a more interventionist stance than the British preferred, but their own understandings of Islamic governance were, on occasion, synthesised and implemented as official policies towards the Hajj, exemplifying the influence and agency they held in their positions. The institutionalisation of British consuls became another imperial change that pilgrims had to contend with – but, simultaneously, it subverted the hierarchy that British involvement in the Hajj was predicated on, because it allowed new perspectives and diversity of thought from individuals that did not prioritise the imperial structure, but were still granted access to it.

Drawing on the above, it is clear that British involvement was not with the administrative or political control of the holy sites, but rather of the process by which pilgrims from British colonies embarked upon the journey. Policies of surveillance and bureaucracy disrupted the spiritual experience for pilgrims and, beyond this, are demonstrative of the British attempt to reinforce the colonial hierarchy of power and knowledge, even when the Hajj and its pilgrims did not truly pose a threat to this hierarchy. Still, the tension between religious autonomy and colonial governance did not escalate to direct conflict, in part because Britain was acutely aware of the large-scale rebellion that could occur if its involvement in the Hajj went too far. Towards the advent of World War I, Britain positioned itself as more outwardly sympathetic to Islam, even funding the Hajj for Indian Muslim soldiers. As ever, there were political objectives behind this – strengthening Britain's own image as the protector of its Muslim subjects, preventing the Ottomans from fulfilling that same position, and restoring any disillusionment that may have stemmed from previous British impositions. Above all, though British intentions were complex and manifested differently throughout the period of study, the aforementioned hierarchy remained the default state of affairs, in a paradigmatic colonial strategy that created an illusion of safeguarding but ultimately reasserted British imperial influence over the Hijaz.

THE YUKAGHIR PEOPLE: RITUALS OF DUALISM, WARNINGS OF TRANSFORMATION

KATE PHILLIPS

Animism as practiced by the Yukaghir people and many other Siberian native groups is most present in rituals surrounding hunting. For example, there are certain rituals hunters follow before embarking on a hunt and after killing culturally significant animals such as the bear. In their animist practice, the Yukaghir people poke fun at the spirits; they do not solemnly worship them. Plentiful rituals and sayings centre around the theme of trickery and luck: after all, luck is essential for a good hunt. For example, a traditional Yukaghir ritual after killing a bear is to make the bear look as if it the animal died as a result of an accident or through the attack of another animal, rather than a human. In the ritual, while preparing the bear to be eaten, the hunter will mimic a raven call or talk to the bear in order to further trick the bear that birds perhaps, not humans, have killed it. This is done to avoid bears or nature at large from enacting their revenge on the hunter, a revenge that would likely take the form of a bear attack, illness, or starvation. This ritual highlights some of the key themes of Siberian animism. The first is the belief that animals and nature both are aware of and able to react to human action. The second is the belief that mimicry can allow the human to act as an animal and evade the revenge of the nonhuman world.

Many other hunting rituals concern mimicry. In the bear-killing ritual, the purpose of the mimicry is to avoid revenge. The human can be said to be the superior, successfully tricking the natural world into providing them with more food and good hunting even as they kill its animals. Animism, however, does not view all animals as equal – animals are unique. The Yukaghir distinguish the predator bear, for example, as separate from animals of prey such as the reindeer. Thus, the rituals surrounding the reindeer hunt are different from that of the bear. Before hunting for reindeer, hunters will wear special skis that mimic elk hooves and walk in certain patterns that imitate the sounds of reindeer walking. Several days before a hunting trip, hunters will visit special saunas to "rid" them of their human smell. Again, there is a ritual of mimicry. This time, the human becomes the animal amidst hunting in order to trick the animal.

The Yukaghir are well aware that these acts of mimicry aren't simply rituals for the sake of ritual but are inherently necessary for survival. Failing to find food on a hunt and being attacked by predators are very real risks. However, mimicry involves other risks that also threaten the human. If animism rituals are so focused on transforming from human to animal, there is also a balance of focus on transitioning back from animal to human. One who is unable to make the return is one who will be forever stuck as an animal. There is a story of a man who, while out hunting for reindeer, became very cold and hungry when he finally came across another man. The man led the hunter back to his cabin, where he cooked lichen for a meal. The hunter noticed that his man spoke not in words but in grunts, as did his wife. After the meal and a bit of sleep, the hunter suddenly felt the urge to leave. When he returned to his village, he learned that he in fact had been gone a month – not a day. He had, in fact, turned into a reindeer.

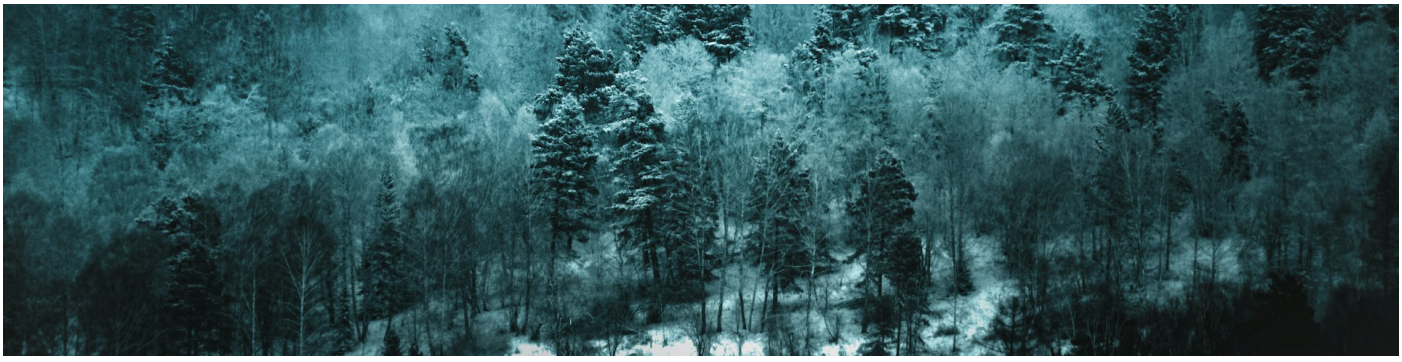
Interestingly, the Yukaghir do not have a definition for a person. They do not define "human" as having a certain language or physiology. Instead, they say that people appear to be people only based on the context in which that they themselves are observing. Each being thinks of itself as a person would, and if that being relates to something else, they will recognise that something else as a person. Thus, the Yukaghir believe that animals such as reindeer see other reindeer as people. This is why the hunter did not recognise that he had turned into and was interacting with reindeer besides the small giveaway that the man and his wife spoke in grunts.

This story comes as a fragment amongst many others that warn humans can not only become animals for the purpose of hunting, but they may stray too deeply into that animal state and risk being stuck as an animal forever. Seeing other animals as people blends the dynamics between the animalistic and human world – bringing the Yukaghir far closer to nature. The fluidity of corporeal bodies is central to Siberian animism. The distinctiveness of each being is recognised, but it is a diversity that undulates in not only a connectedness, but an interchangeability and duality. One does not change into an animal to hunt, but mimics one – thus, these types of instances are ones of duality. But, if one does transform into an animal, interchangeability, not a dual mimicry, is at play.

How do people change into animals? Again, animism points to the specific characteristics of each being. For example, one Yukaghir story speaks of two girls that set out to kill the man that murdered their parents. On their way, they began crawling on their hands and knees to transform into wolves. As wolves they kill the man, then return back to their human state and resume normal lives. While the act of crawling can be seen as symbolic, the aggressive intention certainly played a role in their transformation into wolves. The girls were not ostracized or criticised for their act, for it was understood that when a human changes into an animal, the moral codes of humans are no longer relevant. Again, context is extremely significant. In a wolf's context, killing one that threatens you is normal.

Another example is anthropologist Rane Willerslev's account from working with his friend, a sable trapper. In order to be a successful trapper, Willerslev's friend carefully observed the sable and taught himself to think like one. Where would they hide, where would they sleep? However, Willerslev describes the two of them becoming increasingly obsessed with trapping as many sable as possible. One night, Willerslev's friend says that they must stop – they have become too bloodthirsty, they are walking the dangerous line between mimicking the sable and *becoming* one. The sable is indeed known to be aggressive and 'bloodthirsty,' labelled by the Yukaghir as one of the *chërtevy deti* (children of the devil). *Chërtevy deti* kill with no boundaries. Willerslev's story examines the balance that Yukaghir hunter struck to survive. One must be successful in mimicking an animal but must stop once that mimicry loses its dualism. If one is too human, you will not have a successful hunt. If one is too animal, you risk becoming whatever that animal is – in Willerslev and his friend's case, it was bloodthirsty, not knowing when to stop.

This balance is important for recognising Siberian animism for its complex and pragmatic qualities as opposed to simply labelling it as nature-influenced imagination. If animism really was simply an act of imagination, animism would mean starving. The Yukaghir do not wait for the forest to give them food, they do not wait and hope that animals will stand still in their paths or walk into their traps. The Yukaghir are proactive, observant, skilled in their observation and use trickery all as means to survive. However, just as it is not simply imagination, animism does not simply mean being a good hunter. The Yukaghir practice also emphasises



the spiritual risks of embarking on a hunt, complicating the superiority of humans that would come from an unbroken chain of outwitting and mimicking. Animals, too, can mimic. The story of the reindeer hunter can also be read as the reindeer transforming into humans in order to survive. The Yukaghir indeed often describe hunting as a game of cards. Survival is a game between two forces – the predator and the prey. These definitions are perhaps more important than strict definitions of human versus animal. It is not one's body, but one's context, that makes both you and others appear human. Game, luck, mimicry, appearances – smoke and mirrors, perhaps. The Yukaghir complicate the transformation from human to animal and back again. The way to survive is to be dual – to not stay in the realm of the human, but to not forget that you are one. Yukaghir rituals, then, are not acts of transformation. They are self-aware acts of mimicry. They are aware that this mimicry, this conscious assuming of human and animal, is sacred in that it is the key to survive. Yukaghir rituals can be said to be unique because they are decidedly *not* an act of transformation; instead, they are a celebration of the duality of human and animal as expressed by hunting mimicry and the belief that animals view themselves as human. Transformation is a very real thing in the animist world – but the warning of the Yukaghir is about these very transformations, ones with no return.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE ARAB JEW

LEILA HAJEK

Content Warning: Antisemitism, Anti-Arab racism, Palestinian genocide

Semantically speaking, the term 'Arab-Jew' is inherently provocative. The hyphenation of two ontologically exclusive identities may seem paradoxical – offensive, even – in our contemporary political climate. An Arab-Jew cannot exist, not because it is an impossible identity but because its existence shatters the nationalist-essentialist worldview of Zionism and Arab nationalism. The aim here is not to debate the ethnic legitimacy of an 'Arab' Jew; to do so would involve further discussion of the extent to which Levantines and North Africans can be considered Arab, the answer to which is equally contested. What is not contested is the continuous presence of Jewish people in the Middle East, both within the Arabian Peninsula and in the peripheral Arabized regions. Oftentimes these populations predate the arrival of Islam, which introduced further complexity to their identity. In the Jewish context, Arabness becomes a "cultural-linguistic reality" in which local populations are Arabized via language acquisition and shared cultural practices. Naturally this did not mean that regional customs ceased, and in fact the Arab-Jew was not a homogenous entity. Still, they were active participants in the wider Arab culture, contributing to a pluralistic Middle Eastern identity that would come under attack with the advent of Zionism and Arab nationalism.

Judeo-Arabic, the language of the Arab-Jews, was not known to them as such. The complexity of Arabic is reflected in its vast regional variations; one would not claim the Arabic of Iraq intelligible to the Arabic of Morocco. Modern Standard Arabic (Fusha) functions as a lingua franca of the Arab world, but the lived reality is one of many dialects and sub-dialects. Judeo-Arabic shares this quality – its Judeo prefix does not suggest a universal 'Jewish' form of spoken Arabic. In fact, each dialect had more in common with the local Muslims and Christians than it did the Jewish collective. In Baghdad, the two dominant dialects were known as *haki mal yihud* and *haki mal aslam*, the speech of the Jews and Muslims respectively. Naturally there were recognizable differences – the Baghdadi-Jewish dialect often rejected the grammatical forms prescribed by Fusha, and at times included a unique vocabulary with Hebrew and Aramaic influences. These differences, however, were not sizeable enough to render the two different languages, and their local names reflect this; the "speech" is of a Jewish or Muslim sort, but it is ultimately derived from the same origin.

Indeed, Moroccan Jews referred to their language as *arabiya diyalna*, 'our Arabic'. The Jews were not alienated in this regard, for the 'speech of the Muslims' was as unique a form of Arabic as its Jewish counterpart, varying tremendously from region to region. Regionalized words diverged from Fusha and were oftentimes used by local Jews and Muslims

alike. Yosef Hayyim – a nineteenth-century Baghdadi Jewish rabbi – published the *Qanon al-Nisa* (Law of Women), a book of prayers and religious texts written in an "idiomatic Arabic" that the "Baghdadis speak among themselves". The language, then, is not of the Jews or the Muslims, but of the Baghdadis, whose identity is inherently pluralistic.

Jewish participation in Arab culture was not confined to theological texts. The Arab Enlightenment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a cultural renaissance with contribution from all ends to the realms of literature, poetry, art, and science. It was a period of diverse cultural collaboration – the musical ensemble of Palestinian composer Wasif Jawhariyyeh included Muslim and Jewish instrumentalists; prominent Jewish texts were translated and reinterpreted; Judeo-Arabic periodicals were regularly published and widely circulated. Iraqi Jewish writer and educator Ezra Haddad published an Arabic translation of *The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, a twelfth-century travel narrative. He adapted the text to his Iraqi audience, referencing Muslim scholars and citing the Qur'an and hadith; in effect, he maintained its distinctly Jewish element whilst rendering it accessible to the masses.
Haddad's desire for a broader engagement with the text is reflected in his own knowledge of the Islamic world; the interpenetration of Judaism and Islam thus allowed for a broader Arab literary scene. Indeed, he dedicates the book to "all speakers of Arabic". The distinctly Arab quality of the works produced at this time meant that Jews formed an essential part of the cultural scene, so much so that nineteenth-century Palestinians referred to the local Jewry as 'sons of the land'.

Jews were thus active members of the Arab world, but they did not regard themselves as 'Arab-Jews'. In fact, the term itself is a twentieth-century concept. Its emergence coincided with the interconnected surfacing of Zionism and Arab nationalism, which saw the adoption of the term as a simultaneous expression of Jewish solidarity with the Palestinians and a desire for integration into the Arab nationalist movement. In 1936, Ezra Haddad declared that "we are Arabs before we are Jews", and in 1938, Iraqi Jewish doctors identified themselves as "young Arab Jews" in support of an Arab Palestine. This sentiment was not a rejection of Jewish identity, but of Jewish identity in its Euro-Israeli context; the Zionist project and its emissaries had made clear that it regarded Middle Eastern Jews as insufficiently Jewish.
Their 'Oriental' culture, Arabic language, and unique liturgical tradition meant that their Jewish identity was virtually indistinguishable from that of the Arabs. A declaration of Arab-Jewish identity was effectively a declaration against the settler-colonial fantasies of Zionism.

Following the 1948 founding of the State of Israel, the Arab-Jewish movement took on a different form. The arrival of hundreds of thousands of Arab-Jews – or Mizrahim, as they would come to be known – into Israel was marked with Eurocentric subjugation. Arab-Jews faced racial discrimination, had their native Arabic suppressed in favour of Modern Hebrew, and were forced to engage in an increasingly standardized Ashkenormative culture.
Occasionally, Arab-Jews were mistaken for Palestinians and subsequently abused. At the same time, Israel appropriated aspects of Arab-Jewish (and indeed, Arab more generally) culture in order to distance itself from its European origins. This Israeli cultural inception saw the appropriation of Levantine folk dances such as dabke and the classification of traditionally Arab foods as Israeli. Accusations of appropriation were promptly ricocheted via claims to the Jewish identity of the Mizrahim, with little care for their origins in the Arab world or the fact that Ashkenazim had little to do with hummus or knafeh. Ella Shohat describes the continued presence of Arab culture in the lives of Israeli Mizrahim; the music of Umm Kulthum and Nazem al-Ghazali, the films of Omar Sharif, and the enjoyment of traditional cuisine in the privacy of their own homes all came to form a "forbidden nostalgia" for them. Modern culture reflects this notion; in the musical *The Band's Visit*, the Israeli character Dina reminisces about her childhood spent watching the films of Omar Sharif and listening to Umm Kulthum with her mother. Others choose to distance themselves from Israel entirely, such as the comic book series and film *Le chat du rabbin* ("The Rabbi's Cat"), set in 1920s Algiers and depicting the pluralistic societies of North Africa. Notably, the only Ashkenazi character in the film – a Russian Jew fleeing the Soviet regime – is treated as the comic foreigner, while the Sufi sheikh Mohammed Sfar is a close friend of and regularly advises the eponymous rabbi. This desire to continuously re-engage with the Arab world is a consequence of Israel's inability to understand its own

people. The Zionist state cannot understand the Arab-Jew because to do so would shatter what holds the nation-state together – the 'us' and the 'other'.

Therein lies the tragedy of the Arab-Jew; evidently, attempts to reject Zionism and align themselves with the Arab nationalist movement failed. Arab nationalism deemed them – just as Zionists had – insufficient. The difference was that Zionism needed Arab-Jews to fulfil their project; the former did not. In the years following 1948, the Middle East saw an exodus of nine hundred thousand of its Jews. The circumstances behind their exile varied; often they involved Zionist actors, though it was always the local governments that finalized their expulsion. Ultimately, many – either believing the Zionist fallacy, or believing they had no choice – emigrated to Israel; many likewise became participants in its colonial violence towards Palestinians. Thus, in embracing Arab nationalist-essentialism, the Arab world has abetted the Zionist project. The consequences of this collective loss cannot be underestimated – it is cataclysmic. Academics concern themselves with the semantics of the 'Arab-Jew', but few consider the tragedy of the term. For the Arab-Jew no longer exists as it once did – it is, as Shohat writes, an identity of exile. Emily Gottreich jokes about Morocco's former Jewish quarter: "[it] still exists … today … though not as a Jewish neighbourhood, unless one believes in ghosts". The tragedy lies in the truth of her words – as if they were ghosts, the Arab world is haunted by the absence of its Jews. This chasm is irreplaceable, for it not only represents a Zionist victory and loss of Arab-Jewish culture; it is a collective loss. In the words of Houria Bouteldja:

"We have been dispossessed of you … of our Jewish identity."

"THE CHIEFTAIN OF CLAN MCCRAZY": THE RE-INVENTION OF TRADITIONAL SCOTTISH CULTURE

LOGAN MCKINNON

Scottish culture is often assumed to be much like any culture where kitsch and overexaggerated elements differ only in extremity from *pure Scottishness*, even Tom Nairn notes, "Still, there it was: the one thing which the Scots can never be said to have lacked is identity." The existence of Scottishness *entirely* is however often debated, leaving notions of Scottishness clouded in ambiguity. Central to these debates is tartanry, pejoratively described by Cairns Craig as "the false glamour that Scott had foisted on Scotland which had turned it into Brigadoon," or more usefully by James Porter as "the cult of tartan as a symbol of identity, which is indelibly linked to the Romantic movement in literature and the arts of the late-eighteenth century," additionally noting the interlinked term of Highlandism, "the cult of the Highlands as a visual and poetic metaphor, which is involved not only with that Romantic, Ossian-influenced past but also with cultural patrimony and the vexed question of land-ownership."

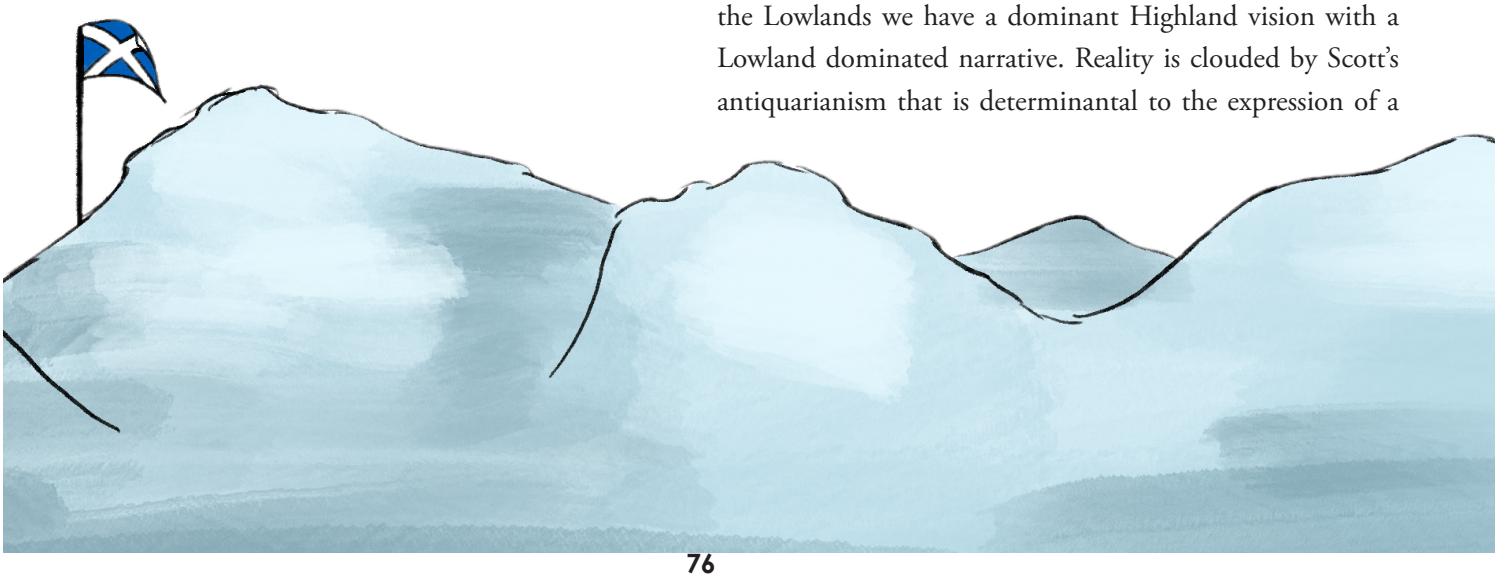
Supposed 'invented Scottishness' stems largely from Hugh Trevor-Roper's contribution to *The Invention of Tradition* where he notes falsities underpinning much of 'Scottishness' going as far as to argue that Scots, were not unique people but rather an Irish people developing culturally alongside the Irish. Professor Trevor-Roper's contribution here can certainly be seen, much like his insistence in referring to the Scottish as 'Scotch', as English arrogance in attempting to explain the complexities of Scottishness in one fell swoop in a manner Ian Brown regards as mildly racist, with Trevor-Roper noting

of Highland tartan, "before the Union, it did indeed exist in vestigial form; but that form was regarded by the large majority of Scotchmen as a sign of barbarism: the badge of roguish, idle, predatory, blackmailing Highlanders who were more of a nuisance than a threat to civilised, historical Scotland." However, reflection in Ian Brown's *From Tartan to Tartanry* prompts embracing the kitsch, contradictions, and complexities in Scottishness and tartan – something appearing generally misplaced and unsatisfying in a country where Nigerian-British Ben Okri notes that "history breathes from the landscapes."

Ideas of Scottishness either being dismissed entirely or 'spoiling' our culture through playing into shortbread-tin notions seem to dismiss any inherent value in authentic culture whatsoever, something particularly unsuitable when notions of the 'Old Scot' can be traced back to the fourteenth-century chronicler John of Fordun. Even in Scott's romanticisation of Scottishness in his novels, as Fetzer emphasises, are still novels *about* Scotland with a pre-established society prescribing a context and assumed value to the novels. Often-cited and a domestic gripe is that "Scotland and Scottishness begin with the novels of Sir Walter Scott," the reality here instead is Scott's Scottishness derived from Scotland – but it is a romanticised Scotland conceptualised not to preserve Scotland for Scots, but for the English and Lowlanders to understand a mysterious land evidenced by stories of Victorian tourists coming to Scotland with a copy of Waverley in hand and Queen Victoria's own identification of the Scottish landscape with Rob Roy.

Scott can thus be considered from a postcolonial perspective, with Fetzer concluding, "Scottishness begins with Scott – but only if we grant that beginning (especially the modern beginning), encourages nonlinear development" it is through this essence we should approach Scott's influence so not as to explain Scotland away through Scott but to appreciate the detailed tapestry of Scottishness where Scott's works alone do not represent Scottishness solely but instead capture the disproportionate influence on our perceptions of Scottishness. We aren't without our culture, but instead our culture much like the Honours of Scotland before Scott's 1818 discovery in Edinburgh Castle, remains hidden.

Scott notes in Ivanhoe's 'Dedicatory Epistle', "If you describe to [the English reader] a set of wild manners, and a state of primitive society existing in the Highlands of Scotland, he was … fully prepared to believe the strangest things that could be told him of a people wild and extravagant enough to be attached to scenery so extraordinary," Highland culture in this sense was easily exploitable through its magical splendour to readers – in other words *it makes a great story!* It is indeed now commonplace to critique Scott's 'primitive' consideration of Highlanders where Rob Roy is littered with language almost seeming to come directly from colonial travelogues. This represents the manner Scott approaches the texts, a Lowlander of 'genteel' society with Fetzer noting, "Scott's Highland descriptions owe less to personal observation than to literary sources, such as Defoe's *Tour of the Whole Island of Great Britain*, Edward Burt's *Letter's from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, and the Revd Patrick Grahame's *Sketches of Perthshire*." Scott, in this sense takes very little from the Highlands' heart and soul but takes an assumed and pre-modern character of the Highlands to build a romanticisation of Scotland of which Scotland itself is not a part – thus in failing to reconcile the Highlands and the Lowlands we have a dominant Highland vision with a Lowland dominated narrative. Reality is clouded by Scott's antiquarianism that is determinantal to the expression of a

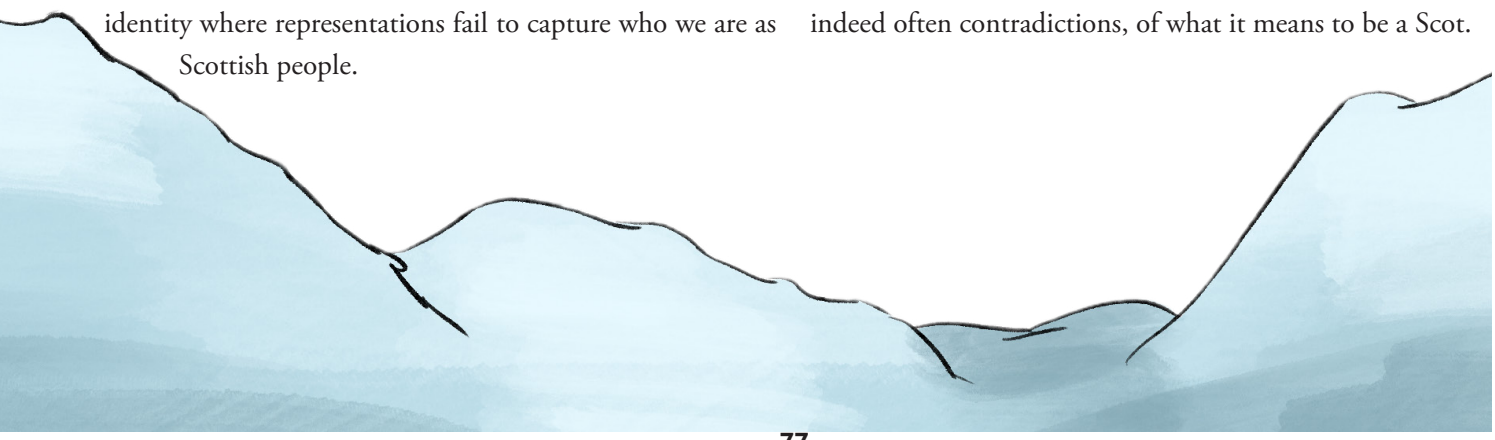


people themselves. The Highland *people* never resonated so much in Scott's vision as *the land*, Waverley after all undercuts the Highland institution in marrying Rose, and Scott's land-based vision has always resonated more particularly. Landseer's *The Monarch of the Glen* always will be a more iconic vision of Scottishness than McTaggart's work showing the realities of Scottish life. Colin McArthur's is particularly poignant here in describing, "the seriously stunting effects of Tartanry and Kailyard [on] the emergence of alternative discourses more adequate to the task of dealing with the reality of Scottish life."

Scottishness in this sense is a political identity. We can once again consider Fetzer's postcolonial perspective here around Rob Roy, "Once more, Frank Osbaldistone reveals himself as a writer and reader simultaneously, an insight which corresponds to the notion of Scotland not only as being read, written, and colonised, but also as itself in charge of colonial power." Scott's works notably reconcile the Act of Union for those lingering dissenting voices across Scotland and serve as recognition of the value of controlling our own colonial destiny – simply Scott's work reframes Scotland to serve as a bastion of tradition in a shifting dynamic nation, thus creating a role for Scotland and civilising what was previously 'barbaric' – the kilt in this period shifted towards softer fabrics not suited for rough and ragged Highland, but to take tea in a drawing room and as a previous symbol of Highland barbarism was politically celebrated in the 1822 Royal Visit of George IV to Holyroodhouse. This self-colonisation fits with Benedict Anderson's idea of the nation as the "imagined community" as this self-colonisation and reimagination of Scotland through literature was politically useful and politically transformative. Today, however, this has transformed Scotland "into a museum of history and culture diluted of the political dynamic that must keep culture alive and developing," where we are effectively left with a brand identity where representations fail to capture who we are as Scottish people.

A ground-up reconnection with our land, even despite it often constituting the most romanticised vision of Scotland, is often seen as an immutable point of Scottishness for reconciliation – rediscovering our land is valuable but an authentic vision of Scotland was left dead too with the nineteenth-century transformation of much of the Highlands into hunting moorland, with entire villages destroyed and crofting communities gradually dismantled with no consideration for the people and their livelihoods on these lands, which saw famine break out across much of these former Highland crofting communities. Fuelling this redevelopment were Scott's romantic conceptualisations of the Highlands, which created an almost utopian vision for the aristocracy and encouraged them to relocate their hunting estates to the Northern peripheries. This included the Queen herself who often bought into this romantic vision of Scotland, and which manifested most particularly in Balmoral. Thus, we may have a *right to roam* but this creates no *right to live* and coupled with the dismantling of our authentic identities we are left with a Scottish identity itself in tatters.

The reality here is that when we try to engage with Scottish culture *authentically,* we feel a bit like the 'Chieftain of Clan McCrazy' where our Scottishness appears merely as an act. We, as Scots, evidently have much to offer the world culturally, and even the cultural vision put forth by Scott is borne of an 'Old Scotland' that presupposes our present notions of Scottishness. While this is an identity of Scotland though, it is not an identity for Scots and leaves many of us culturally homeless where we lose much of our richness of character as a people through the artificiality shaping much of the way we perceive ourselves as Scots – thus we are left as a nation that is culturally lost. The most acute danger is that this culture that represents one vision of Scottishness fails to serve Scotland, the needs of Scots, and the complexities and indeed often contradictions, of what it means to be a Scot.



ILLUSTRATIONS BY AILSA FRASER

THE NAZIS, OSTPOLITIK AND RE-UNIFICATION: HOW GERMANY'S IDENTITY HAS BEEN DEFINED BY A STRUGGLE TO UNDERSTAND ITS HISTORY

JAMES REINHARDT

On 6 December 2019, then-German Chancellor Angela Merkel visited Auschwitz ahead of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the camp's liberation. At a speech at the Birkenau site the same day, Merkel said it was the responsibility of Germans to accept that the atrocities of the Holocaust are "part of our national identity" which "does not end", and to be aware this is also part of the German self-understanding of a "enlightened and free society… a democracy."

Yet, what Merkel said over five years ago is still something Germans continue to grapple with today – the innate fact of accepting the past. Germany's twentieth-century history does not sit very comfortably with most Germans today, and this relationship with the nation's short history is central to the modern German identity. It is also the distortion of some of the more positive aspects of the last century, particularly Ostpolitik, which are also significant in explaining what it means to be German today.

Undoubtedly, the largest scar is that of Nazism, which is fundamental to all of this. The overriding emotion Germans feel is unsurprisingly guilt for the Holocaust, in which most current historians estimate that seventy to eighty-five million were systematically executed by "the final solution", including six million Jews. It is a burden that Germans have carried with them in the following decades, that they must atone for the terror they unleashed on Europe, and it is remarkable how much it has played a part in crafting German foreign policy. Two years ago, I spoke to Fiona Hill, a leading expert on foreign affairs, and one of the most telling things she said to me was that she thinks Nazi guilt "is the primary driving force for Germany today, and the sense of guilt is overwhelming at the political level. Many people in the hierarchy of the German government families were involved in the Nazi military."

The most crucial consequence of this is how it is fundamental to explaining Willy Brandt's decision to embark on Ostpolitik during the Cold War. To put it simply, the policy, a more open way of communicating with the Soviet Bloc, was grounded on the acceptance of Adenauer's idea that the Federal Republic of Germany should prioritise Western integration instead of German re-unification as this provided greater state security and was more likely to idealise liberal democracy in the FRG. However, the main reason Brandt was so determined to pursue the policy was his desire to repair the damage the Nazis caused. The treaties of Moscow and Warsaw (both 1970) saw West Germany accept the Oder-Neisse line in Eastern Europe, effectively recognising German territory losses from the war. Brandt famously knelt at the foot of the Warsaw Ghetto on the day the Treaty of Warsaw was signed, which symbolised how he saw the treaty as an apology for the genocide of the Holocaust. When the SPD, the creators of the policy, won a convincing victory in the 1972 election, it served as a legitimisation of Ostpolitik, and ever since it is how German leaders have approached politics with Central Eastern Europe.

When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, it seemed pursuing Ostpolitik was the solution to conflict in Europe. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Merkel's foreign minister, once said that "what Ostpolitik in fact achieved… was peace in Europe." This is far detached from reality, as the fundamental goal of Ostpolitik was tightening the security of the FRG and not uniting with the German Democratic Republic, but Steinmeier's comment is perhaps the most telling sign of how Germans became blinded by their own history. The pain of Nazism is so severe that Germans feel an ever-present burden to repair Europe themselves and in their image, and when Germany re-unified, the euphoria the country felt ignored the fact that the fall of the wall was a complete freak event, and Ostpolitik had probably done more to sustain the GDR than bring it down, considering the extent to which the GDR was surviving on FRG loans. This clouded image of history is central to how Germany viewed its identity in a post-Cold War Europe, and especially their attitudes towards Russia and Putin. The basic theory under Chancellors Kohl and Schroeder was that the establishment of capitalism in Russia

would result in a democracy, not only because Ostpolitik included a series of economic trade deals (such as the Urengoy gas project) but also because the capitalism of the West de-Nazified the FRG. The result shows how misguided Germans were in attempting to re-create a history that never happened: when Ukraine was invaded in 2022, Germany paid 8.3 billion Euros via oil and gas deals to Russia in the two months after the assault on Kyiv.

Re-unification had other consequences, as the Western-centric nature of how Germany views itself internationally today is symptomatic of the way many Germans like to forget the GDR ever existed. In her book *Beyond the Wall*, Katja Hoyer argues that the GDR "lost its right to write its own history, and it *became* history" after re-unification. Roughly an eighth of Germany today consists of those who lived in the GDR, yet since re-unification there has been a concerted effort by former FRG members to patronise ex-East Germans – Merkel was frequently treated with suspicion by the SPD because she was born in the GDR. Much like the Nazis, West Germans feel shame for the East German experiment and the repression that took place in the state through the Stasi, and the deliberate attempt to forget East German history is important to the German national identity that grew in the 1990s. To an extent, this is because East Germany was a state devoid of historical basis: one of the most fascinating extracts of Hoyer's book is her detailing of Honecker's attempts to give the GDR historical roots by claiming the Lutheran reformation and Bismarck's first unification as East German events, which shows how East Germans grappled with a similar identity struggle as West Germans did after the Nazis. However, it does not detract from the fact that what it meant to be German after re-unification was overtly Western.

The consequences of this in modern German politics are far reaching. One of the defining features of the GDR was how most East Germans were comfortable in the state, and when there was a merging of the FRG and GDR economies it was terminal for many East Germans who were ill-equipped for jobs in a capitalist workforce. It has left many East Germans disaffected with Germany today and has become one of the primary driving forces for the AFD, the neo-fascist party which threatens to make significant inroads into the Bundestag in February. For many East Germans, it doesn't matter what they represent so long as they are an alternative to the current set of political parties.

The rise of the AFD acts as further proof that Germany's national identity today is fractured because of a flawed understanding of the country's tumultuous history. The lack of consideration East German history has been given in a re-unified Germany only reinforces that idea that Germans have a problem making sense of history. Much like how attitudes towards Putin are defined by Nazi guilt and Ostpolitik, it shows the problems the modern German state faces today have been caused by a skewed interpretation of history.

JOURNEY TO ETERNITY: DEATH AND GRIEF IN ANCIENT EGYPT

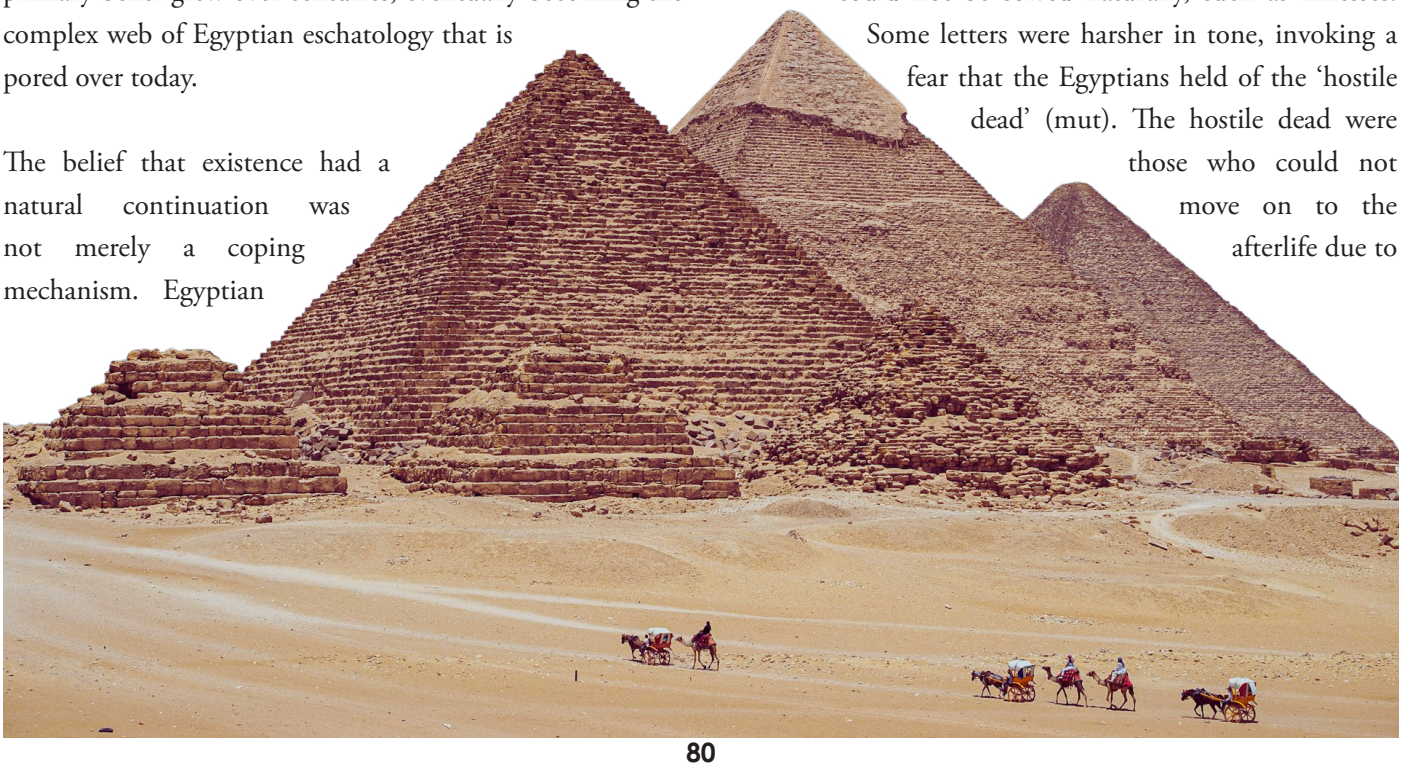
ARIANNA NORTH CASTELL

Death is universally recognized as one of the most significant rites of passage in human existence. The ways in which civilizations, both ancient and modern, conceptualize and respond to death serve as critical indicators of their cultural frameworks. These attitudes not only shape a society's identity but also provide a lens through which we can engage with its values, practices, and the lived experiences of its people. Through funeral rites, burial practices, and narratives about the afterlife, a society reveals both its relationship with mortality as well as the priorities and aspirations of its living members. In this regard, the Ancient Egyptians stand out for the complexity and richness of their eschatological beliefs. Their elaborate funerary customs, monumental tombs, and sacred texts offer a profound insight into how they navigated the uncertainties of death. These practices were not merely attempts to cope with loss but reflected an enduring conviction in the continuity of existence. Exploring these beliefs provides a unique lens through which we can engage with the Egyptians' lived experiences and their remarkable efforts to transcend the boundaries between life and death.

Among contemporary society, Egyptians are often perceived as obsessed with death. Every motif that they are famed for, such as the mummies or the pyramids, is inextricably linked with death and the dead. Though there is a wealth of evidence surrounding their funerary beliefs and practices, a full understanding of their beliefs in their entirety eludes us. Funerary texts and images often allude to theological concepts and mythological narratives known to the Ancient Egyptians but not known or explained to us. This notion of an 'obsession' with death does, however, misrepresent the Egyptians. Their dedication to the dead and funerary practices should instead be explained as a complete conviction in an eternal afterlife. When one dies, this does not signify an end, but rather a continuation of existence in another form. Egyptians viewed life itself as something fleeting, whereas death and the afterlife was permanent. It is frequently noted that they devoted more time and resources into caring for their afterlives than investing in environments for the living. Though this notion stems from the same perception of a 'death-obsessed' society, there is a degree of accuracy. Tombs, (also referred to as a 'house of eternity') were made to last, out of robust materials, whereas houses for the living were made from mud or reeds. From the earliest evidence of an afterlife belief in Ancient Egypt we can see the idea that the afterlife was, to them, an extension of earthly existence. Grave goods consisted of food and drink, tools, weapons, all practical objects that the deceased needed in life and so would need in death to continue their existence. This primary belief grew over centuries, eventually becoming the complex web of Egyptian eschatology that is pored over today.

The belief that existence had a natural continuation was not merely a coping mechanism. Egyptian life was full of cycles, not beginnings and ends, so it is natural for them to have applied this to human life as well. Their year centred around the annual flooding of the Nile Valley, which fertilised and rejuvenated the land. Their days were centred around the rising and setting of the sun, which they believed travelled through the underworld at night before circling the horizon each day. They tracked the cycle of the stars, the moon and of harvests. To them, nothing had an end, so death was simply seen as a step into another type of existence. This does not mean that the fear of death was completely removed- the ending of human life was still traumatic, and those left behind grieved openly for their loved ones. Death was likened to the arrival of a boat at a harbour - the ending of one journey and the start of another.

A key part of the grieving process was the role that the living were able to play in the existence of their deceased loved ones. Death is often a sudden, unexplained trauma. Funeral rites allow for the living to continue their connection with the deceased. The preparation and care of the body, as well as continually providing them with care and nourishment, helped ease the pain of these sudden losses. The dead also played an active role in the lives of the living well beyond funerary practices. Barriers separating the realms of the living and dead were fluid, the latter often having an impact on the lives of their relatives. The clearest evidence we have for these beliefs are found in letters to the dead. Often, relatives would write to the deceased, petitioning them regarding things that could not be solved naturally, such as illnesses. Some letters were harsher in tone, invoking a fear that the Egyptians held of the 'hostile dead' (mut). The hostile dead were those who could not move on to the afterlife due to



experiencing a violent death or an improper burial and were seen to exact harm on the living. Writing containing spells to ward off these dangers have also been found, alongside letters, from those lamenting that their loved ones were hostile spirits. If tombs fell into ruin, this also ran the risk of the interred becoming hostile and 'haunting' the living, as their memory had not been protected.

The fulfilment of an eternal afterlife was centred around preservation. Preservation of one's memory was essential; the living bore the responsibility to ensure the dead were being cared for, to avoid the spirit becoming hostile. Eternity within one's body was also of high importance, achieved by the process of mummification. It is most likely that this process did not have a relation to eternal afterlife when it began. Sand filling early graves would have absorbed fluids in the body, allowing the skin, fingernails and hair to be kept well preserved, some theorising that it was the later disinterment of these bodies and discoveries of their lifelike appearance that triggered the notion that human existence did not end with death. Regardless of the origin, the preservation of the body was an important medium through which life could continue after death. Mythological precedent can be found in the myth of Osiris: his body was subject to the first embalming by the god Anubis and was able to rise again. Mummification became a standardised practice, seeking to convert the body into a 'sah,' an eternal and perfect image of the deceased. This was a vital element in the transfiguration of the dead, meaning many stages of mummification included liturgy.

The ancient Egyptians' intricate approach to death reveals a profound interplay between mythology, ritual, and practical action. For them, death was not an end but a transformation, seamlessly woven into the natural cycles they observed daily. By preserving the body, sustaining the memory of the deceased, and maintaining an ongoing relationship between the living and the dead, they crafted a vision of eternity that transcended mortality. This commitment to continuity offers a unique perspective on how a culture can confront the inevitability of death. The Egyptians provide us with an insight into how a society behaves when it is built upon a vehement belief that death is not the end, and the complex practices that arise as a result.

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WHERE THERE'S A MAN, THERE'S A MARLBORO: WESTERN MASCULINITY'S LONG LOVE AFFAIR WITH CIGARETTES | Aidan Incagnoli

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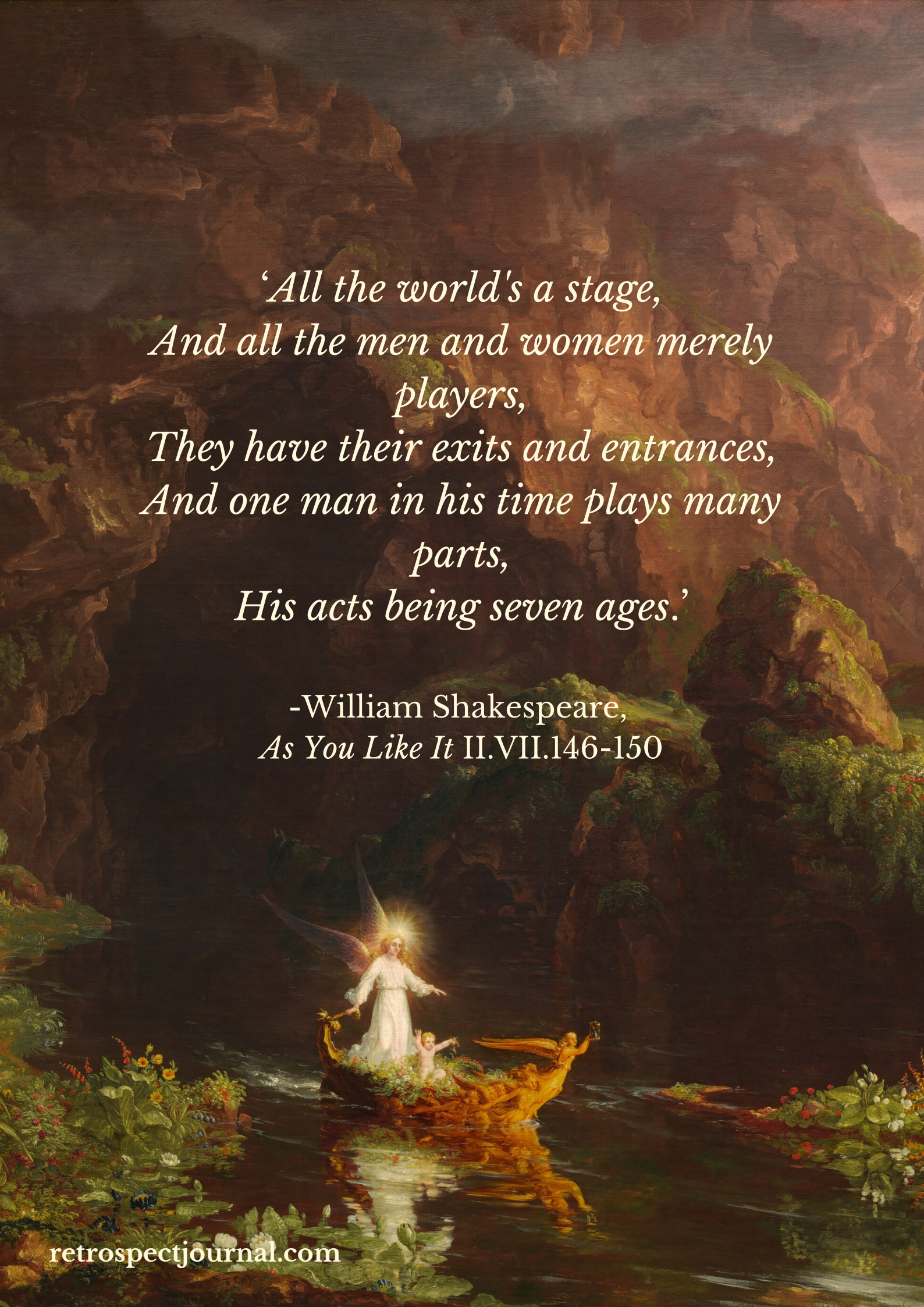

‘All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players,
They have their exits and entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages.’

-William Shakespeare,
As You Like It II.VII.146-150