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Battle at Sea. 1836.
Auguste Mayer (1805–1890).
Oil on canvas, 105 cm x 162 cm.

ALPATA is named after the Seminole word for alligator.

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Contributors

Featured Articles

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Lynsey Wood is a history major currently studying on exchange from Lancaster University in the UK. Her interests include the British monarchy, particularly the reigning queens of England, and the intricacies of death-culture throughout European history. She will graduate next year and plans to pursue a Ph.D. in history and go on to teach. She is also interested in fiction writing.

Book Reviews

David Dry is a first year student in the Department of History 4/1 program. His area of research is early medieval Europe, with an emphasis on Merovingian Gaul.

Edward Grodin is a junior majoring in history and minoring in European Union studies. He is currently working on his honors thesis concerning the persecution of Italian Jews under Mussolini. After graduation, he plans to attend law school with a focus on international law.

Juan Hernandez is a senior majoring in history and minoring in Jewish studies. His research interest focuses on the Latin American experience in the modern state of Israel. He plans to travel to Israel to improve his language skills and study the case migration and assimilation.

Mary Lester is a junior majoring in history and anthropology and minoring in Spanish literature. She recently received a University Scholars grant to continue thesis work on Arian/Catholic religious conflict in Visigothic Iberia. She plans on continuing her studies with the eventual goal of earning a Ph.D. in history and becoming a college professor.

Michal Meyer is finishing her dissertation on the making of science for public consumption in nineteenth-century Britain. The title of her dissertation is "Speaking for Nature: Mary Somerville and the Science of Empire."

Parker Pflaum is a senior double majoring in history and Chinese and minoring in anthropology and geography. He was recently awarded a Chinese government scholarship to study Chinese at a P.R.C. university for a year. He plans on applying to modern Chinese history Ph.D. programs with the eventual goal of becoming a college-level professor.

Melanie Quintos is a first-year masters student in the Department of History studying the early Middle Ages. She is at an advanced level in French and German, and is currently studying Russian and modern Greek. These languages will help her complete her thesis on Constantine-Cyril and Methodius' mission to Khazaria.

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The Colonial Atlantic World: An Ocean of Exchange

Introduction

Angela Zombek

Over the last thirty years, the field of Atlantic history has exploded, emphasizing the complex network of exchange between the four continents bordering the Atlantic Ocean. Although the field of study covers several centuries and events ranging from Columbus's first voyage to the modern Cold War, the colonial chapter of Atlantic history remains the richest to date. The field's geographic reach has enhanced scholars' ability to evaluate the struggle over dominium and imperium that engaged the colonizers and the colonized for hundreds of years. Colonialists, therefore, have tended to focus on the imperial endeavors of France, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal to understand the historical consequences of the multilateral exchange of culture, goods, religious beliefs, labor, and biologies between Europe, Africa, and the Americas.

In the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, navigation of the Atlantic Ocean was the key to establishing overseas empires, raising capital for the mother country, and spreading imperial influence by encouraging European settlement and political control. Following the Mediterranean model of French historian Fernand Braudel, Atlantic World scholars conceptualize history around geography rather than political boundaries, forming one mode of inquiry around transatlantic migrations that precipitated intercontinental cultural exchanges and shaped the political, social, economic, and natural landscapes in the New World as the Atlantic enabled intercontinental migrations.[1] Europeans who undertook the voyage across the sea brought with them a range of ideas as they sought to

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1. For information about Atlantic history and Braudel's influence on it, see John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*, 2d., (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–2.

replicate European society in the New World. The Atlantic, in fact, operated as a highway that facilitated not only the spread of ideas and people, including millions from Africa to the New World, but also biological organisms (including plants, animals, and disease). This dispersion of ideas, people, and biologies contributed to the loss of both human lives and imperial control overseas, particularly in the French and British empires in North America in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

One of the many benefits of examining the colonial period through the lens of the Atlantic World and transatlantic connections is that such an interpretation fosters comparative investigations of colonial dynamics and encourages analysis of problems that were common to more than one settlement.[2] Additionally, this transnational inquiry has inspired scholars to consider the role of enslaved Africans and Native Americans in the making of the Atlantic World. For many generations, scholars, as historian John Thornton notes, have predominantly depicted the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Atlantic World from a "European perspective."[3] In recent years, scholars have shifted their focus of inquiry from Anglo-Europeans who operated slave ships and oversaw African slave labor to Africans and the slaves themselves, thereby revealing the experiences of Africans in their homeland during the slave trade and chronicling the brutality of the institution of slavery. This approach is fruitful since it questions the idea, largely the product of scholars detailing a Eurocentric narrative of slavery, that Anglo-European slave captors and owners completely controlled the power dynamics of slavery. Africans not only dictated the parameters of the slave trade in Africa, but their criticisms of political power in African society also reveal the many complexities inherent within that culture and challenge the notion that European cultural, political, and economic superiority enabled domination of the continent.

Overall, the study of Atlantic history has flourished over the past few decades. Many prominent scholars and institutions continue to open new avenues of inquiry and support further study of the Atlantic World. For all of its advances, however, the study of Atlantic history is relatively new compared with the fields it incorporates, leading one to ask how the field originated and grew so quickly in so few decades.

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2. Nicholas Canny, "Writing Atlantic History; or Reconfiguring the History of Colonial British America," in *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 3, The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History: A Special Issue. (Dec., 1999): 1108.
3. Thornton, *Africa and Africans,* 2.

The Birth of Goliath: The Origins of Atlantic World Historiography

Michael Schoeppner

For students beginning their investigation of the Atlantic World, a typical question emerges: when did the Atlantic World actually originate? Taken as a historical inquiry, the question could be reworded: at what point does the Atlantic become a useful unit of historical analysis? Scholars' responses to the question would vary considerably. Some might argue for 1492, the year when Columbus arrived in the Caribbean. Others would suggest a date more than a century earlier, pointing to the colonization of the Canary Islands by the Portuguese. Still others would pinpoint the Atlantic World's "birthday" somewhere in between, maybe when various Europeans began exploring the West African coast and interacting with its native peoples. If, however, the question is interpreted historiographically—as a query into the birth of the Atlantic World as a field—it would instigate far less dispute. In fact, with a few exceptions, a consensus exists regarding the origins of Atlantic World historiography.

The political context of the two world wars of the twentieth century greatly influenced the development of the "Atlantic" concept. Motivated by *realpolitik*, American interventionists on the verge of World War I and pro-Allied writers before and during World War II emphasized the Atlantic connections between Western Europe and the Americas. In the wake of World War II and with the escalation of the Cold War, the term Atlantic became a buzzword for international geopolitics and cultural identities. Whether embedded in terms such as NATO or emblazoned on new publications such as *The Atlantic Community Quarterly*, the

Atlantic Ocean as a historical concept appeared to transform from a partition separating Europe from the Americas to a superhighway uniting the continents. Keeping in mind this political environment, many early Atlantic histories in the mid-twentieth century focused on the birth and expansion of democracy, the diffusion of Christianity, and the persistence of specific legal concepts and institutions. In other words, as Bernard Bailyn has put it, these histories expressed the Atlantic foundations of "Judeo-Christianity, Roman law, and Greek reason."[4]

Yet the political and social reality of the World Wars and subsequent Cold War was hardly the sole motivating factor in looking to the Atlantic as a unit of analysis. Forces operating within the academy and unrelated to contemporary geopolitics were bringing the Atlantic Ocean into historical focus. One of those forces materialized in the 1960s with the scholarship of Philip Curtin, who sought to illustrate and quantify the African slave trade to the Americas. In so doing, Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade* and the works that emerged in its wake placed the Atlantic at the center of the narrative.[5] It was perhaps Curtin—in downplaying national borders to highlight the vastness of the slave trade network—that motivated students of empire and colonization to look beyond national frames of references and consider the interwoven histories of various colonizers and the colonized. Similarly, in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, economic historians of the French, British, and Spanish empires (to take a few examples) began to discover that local merchants on the peripheries of empire realized profits not on a unilateral trade with their respective metropoles, but upon "an unstable, flexible, multilateral geometry of trade."[6] Environmental histories, starting with Alfred Crosby's *The Columbian Exchange*, similarly disregarded national boundaries in examining the biological barter precipitated by transatlantic travel.[7] By focusing on the sea change in ecology resulting from Atlantic exchanges, Crosby not only advanced the Atlantic World paradigm but also launched the new field of environmental history.

In the wake of these studies a self-conscious, "Atlantic" historiography began to emerge. Thanks in no small part to the program in Atlantic History, Culture

4. Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History*: *Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 4–30.

5. Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press,1969).

6. Bailyn, *Atlantic History*, 47.

7. Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972).

and Society at Johns Hopkins University and the work of its key contributors Sydney Mintz and Jack Greene, the field experienced a steady expansion in the 1980s. By the mid-1990s, Atlantic World historiography grew dramatically, culminating with the creation of Harvard University's International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World in 1995.[8] As a result of new scholarly interest, institutional support (such as that found at Johns Hopkins and Harvard), and geopolitical contexts, the Atlantic World has evolved into its own historical subfield. Many universities now offer graduate degrees in Atlantic History. Journals have appeared dedicated specifically to the field, and publishers have created books series on the subject.[9] Atlantic historians who teach, research, and publish are in high demand.

From these origins, Atlantic history has firmly established itself in the American academy. It is left to be seen how the field fares in the new millennium and whether it fosters new foci of historical inquiry around other ocean systems.

8. For a brief historiographical essay of the acceleration of the Atlantic World paradigm in the eighties and nineties, see Ian Steele, "Exploding Colonial American History: Amerindian, Atlantic, and Global Perspectives," *Reviews in American History* 26, no. 1 (1998): 70–95; Nicholas Canny, "Writing Atlantic History: Or, Reconfiguring the History of Colonial British America," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (1999): pages unknown.
9. Allison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111, no 3 (2006): 741–757.

Economics in the Atlantic World

Michelle Lea Dissman

One of the greatest connective factors of the Atlantic World and one of the field's most studied disciplines is the intertwined economies of the peoples around the ocean's rim. The economic aspects of the Atlantic World clearly stand as an example of the vast, fast-paced expansion of markets throughout the colonial era as European nations scrambled for colonies, supply sources, and more. As European nations planted various colonies throughout the Atlantic World, these markets continued to develop, and transatlantic trade became an overwhelmingly dominant feature in colonial economies. Crucial to the growth of trade and colonial economies were several different industries that grew from the raw material and agricultural resources available to the growing European colonies; among these were the sugar and rum industries and, subsequently, the development of the mass plantation system.

Once European powers began to organize colonies in the Atlantic, the sugar industry started to emerge as a global influence, especially in the British island colonies of Barbados and Jamaica. The sugar industry and its subsequent slave trade developed so quickly that societal structures lagged behind in their own development.[10] Manufacturing of sugar began in the 1630s in Barbados, and continued to grow with some periods of decline before recovering in the 1720s through to the American Revolution.[11] These island colonies became trade societies with their products destined for exportation, and the focus within these

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10. Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640–1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 7.
11. John J. McCusker, "The Economy of the British West Indies 1763–1790: Growth, Stagnation, or Decline?," in *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 311.

British colonies would quickly turn towards sugar production as British investors and speculators arrived to try for personal fortunes. Susan Dwyer Amussen argues in her *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and Transformation of English Society, 1640–1700* that to achieve economic prosperity from sugar, the immigrants from Britain had to struggle to adapt to a new economic colonial system that included plantation slavery, to which the British were not accustomed.

This new economic system, Amussen argues, was plagued with difficulties for the newly arriving British investors. Difficulties included the struggle to learn the basics of organizing and operating a plantation for profit, especially since many immigrants did not wish to stay in the islands. The desire to return home ensured that "the traffic between the West Indies and England was two-way, with many men spending some years in Jamaica or Barbados and then returning to England."[12] However, despite British inexperience with plantation-style colonization, the islands of Barbados and Jamaica would turn profitable fairly quickly, especially as the demand for sugar at home in Britain continued to grow.

The sugar trade was not the only trade that emerged within the Atlantic World. The Caribbean rum trade, prompted by a demand for alcohol in the colonies, grew out of the sugar trade to play an important role as it expanded throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[13] Frederick H. Smith states in *Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History* that the "inter-Caribbean rum trade created exchange networks that brought together disparate New World colonies, and the internal rum trade created links between diverse social groups."[14] At first, "despite its growth, the early Caribbean rum trade remained at the margins of the Atlantic World and failed to fully penetrate the huge alcohol markets of Europe."[15] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, mercantilist policies opened intercontinental avenues to the rum trade.[16] In the British West Indies, production continued throughout the 1770s and 1780s to produce anywhere from approximately 4.6 million to 6.4 million gallons of rum a year with large amounts going to England, the United States, and to a somewhat lesser extent Canada.[17] Interestingly, various European colonial powers treated this growing trade differently: Britain promoted the trade of its Caribbean rum,

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12. Amussen, 7.
13. Frederick H. Smith, *Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 6.
14. Smith, 6.
15. Smith, 6.
16. Smith, 94.
17. McCusker, 322.

even providing it with a growing home market as well, while Spain and France sought to limit and restrict its circulation until the outbreak of the Seven Years War.[18] These changes and the growth of the rum trade itself aided in the spread of its influence. By the end of the eighteenth century the Atlantic rum trade had markets in the Americas, Europe, and in West Africa.

Throughout the Atlantic World, new industries developed after colonization by European powers, including two principle industries—sugar and rum. These industries and others, such as the tobacco trade, resulted in a realignment of economic influence and material resources throughout the globe. However, none of these economic changes and production innovations would have been possible without the creation of a system of large-scale plantation agriculture and the inception of a massive slave trade to put labor in those fields.

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18. Smith, 94.

The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Study

Mary Lester

Post-World War II scholarly interest in the Atlantic slave trade grew exponentially following Philip Curtin's 1969 landmark study *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*.[19] After completing an earlier in-depth study on Jamaican society and economy in the eighteenth century, Curtin identified a "South Atlantic System" that brought the "two distinct though intertwined cultures and economies" of Africa and Europe together on the island.[20] Curtin's census of slave trade activities inspired several subsequent investigations of slaving voyages, culminating in the 1999 publication of the extraordinary database *The Transatlantic Slave Trade* on CD-ROM.[21] In this database, about 27,233 slaving voyages are recorded with various details, such as ports of departure and arrival, slave numbers and mortality rates, and names of ships and captains.[22] With this remarkable collection of information, scholars can more easily track trading links across the Atlantic that bring the international aspects of the slave trade to light.

Although the 1999 database contained a wealth of information on British and North American voyages, it was severely lacking in data on Portuguese and Spanish slaving voyages and the extensive role of Brazil in the slave trade.[23] Scholars addressed both of these data gaps in a 2005 revision of the *Transatlantic Slave Trade* database, which reveals the Iberian domination of the slave trade

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19. David Eltis and David Richardson, "A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Database*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 2–3.
20. Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 32.
21. Bailyn, 133.
22. Eltis and Richardson, 5,9.
23. Eltis and Richardson, 6.

until the seventeenth century. Although the Spanish were the first to transport slaves across the Atlantic, the Portuguese came to control the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish Americas.[24] Northern European traffic to the Caribbean eventually surpassed the earlier Iberian hold on the slave trade, as the Dutch and the British gained new footholds in the slaving industry.[25] Great Britain and the Netherlands conducted much of the known later slave voyages, and historians have also speculated on French activities in the trade: although the French were not as active in the trade as other nations, a number of French slave ships sailed to Spanish and French territories.[26]

As the study of the transatlantic slave trade emerged with the growing field of Atlantic history, it became one of the crucial connections between the Atlantic societies of Europe, Africa, and the Americas. In some areas of Africa, internal politics were intimately linked to the slave trade; for example, in western Sudan, slave raids were fundamental in the formation of precolonial states.[27] External and local forces shaped the slave trade in other areas, such as Angola, bringing African affairs, European trade, and the American markets into a close relationship.[28] Even North America had a small, active part in the trade until 1836; based out of New England, small slaving companies brought Africans from the Gold Coast and Angola to settlements as varied as the British Caribbean and South Carolina.[29]

The massive slave trade across the Atlantic not only created political and cultural links between Africa, Europe, and America, but it was also an integrative link in Atlantic economy for centuries. Aside from the economic implications of the trade itself, the slave trade "reflects commodity trade patterns" across the Atlantic World.[30] Fluctuations in the demand for American tobacco and the decline of the indentured-servant system intensified or decreased the demand for unfree laborers;[31] slave traders even used Salvadorian tobacco to buy slaves in the Bight of Benin, introducing a cyclical link between the slave trade and the tobacco

24. Eltis and Richardson, 13.

25. Eltis and Richardson, 21–24.

26. James Pritchard, David Eltis, and David Richardson, "The Significance of the French Slave Trade to the Evolution of the French Atlantic World before 1716," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Database*, 205–206.

27. Andrew Hubbell, "A View of the Slave Trade from the Margin: Souroudougou in the Late Nineteenth–Century Slave Trade of the Niger Bend," *The Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 27.

28. Roquinaldo Ferrerira, "The Supression of the Slave Trade and Slave Departures from Angola, 1830s–1860s," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Database*, 314.

29. Eltis and Richardson, 28.

30. Eltis and Richardson, 19.

31. Bailyn, 46.

industry.[32] Similarly, the explosion of the sugar and coffee industries led to more slaving voyages and brought Africans to South America and the Caribbean.

In the relatively new field of Atlantic history, the slave trade is unique in its ability to both bind and separate, to destroy and create. The arrival of Africans in the New World uprooted hundreds of thousands of people and affected several African societies, yet led to cultural mixing and an entirely new culture in the New World. Although its very definition was separating people from their homeland and dislocating millions, the slave trade managed to unite ordinary Atlantic citizens in a common, ocean-wide society. From an African chieftain to a New England shipbuilder, from a Dutch merchantman to a Cuban plantation owner, from a kidnapped slave to an English woman stirring sugar into her tea, the slave trade is inextricably linked to the story of the Atlantic World.

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32. Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia, 1582–1851," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Database*, 142.

The Interactions of Atlantic Religions

Anuradha Pandey

The slave trade facilitated the spread of several European and African religions spread across the Atlantic and the development of new blended forms of faith and worship. Three main branches of the religious dissemination included Catholicism in colonial Spanish America, Protestant Christianity in British North America and the Caribbean, and African religions in both Spanish and British America. Despite the seeming sweep of Christianity throughout the Atlantic, the faith was never unchallenged or adopted uniformly; in fact, Christianity rarely emerged in the Atlantic World unchanged from its contact with other cultures. The British and Spanish were two of the main powers on the Atlantic stage, and each undertook very different strategies for dealing with religion in their respective territories. The Spanish tried to achieve homogeneity by requiring settlers and Native Americans to adhere to Catholicism, but Spanish conversion efforts yielded poor results. By contrast, denominational diversity characterized the English colonies in North America. The arrival of Africans to the New World led to the mixing of African religions and Christianity, and both came out exceptionally transformed.[33]

Throughout the English presence in the Atlantic World, the English, Scottish, and Irish states all supported different Christian traditions. The variety of religious interpretations found in the three kingdoms was eventually transplanted to the English colonies, which in turn became even more religiously diverse than the metropole, prompting demands for the separation of church and

33. Carla Gardina Pestana, "Religion," in *The British Atlantic World 1500–1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 81.

state in response to English Anglican hegemony. In particular, the Pilgrims and Puritans and their desire for freedom from persecution have a special place in the myth of American exceptionalism. The English colonies were not religiously homogenous, and the imposition of a single faith would have required the English state to expend a vast amount of resources and actively support the transfer of the Anglican institution to colonies, as Spain did for Catholicism.[34]

The English assumption that metropolitan institutions, such as the Church of England, would be recreated in the colonies met disappointment. The British did not transplant Anglican hierarchy to North America until the revolutionary years. The entire institution took two centuries to transplant, and enforced conformity was even then only successful in seventeenth-century New England. The failure of the English state to make its colonies Anglican was proof that the metropolitan was not the most effective agent for creating a state church in North America.[35]

Historians disagree on whether the driving force behind English imperialism was Protestantism, though a distinctly anti-Catholic presence existed.[36] The English neither undertook concerted efforts to convert the natives as the Spanish had, nor were they successful in unseating Catholic Spain from its dominant religious position in the Americas.[37] The Spanish empire's efforts to convert natives largely failed, but it converted many more at least in name than did the British Empire. Indeed, the Jesuits were willing to reinterpret Native American beliefs in the context of Catholicism, while prostelyzing Protestants instead wanted to replace native beliefs entirely and without compromise. The Spanish understood that conversion would not completely eradicate native religious traditions and that in the process Christianity itself had to be reinterpreted in the New World context. The desire to replace indigenous beliefs proved ineffective for the Protestants when it came to Africans as well. Though the campaign to convert Africans met with more success, Protestant Christianity was transformed in the process.[38]

When it comes to African religion, most scholars have tended to focus on slave conversion without giving sufficient attention to the fact that African conversion

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34. Pestana, 70–71.
35. Pestana, 72.
36. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, Ideas in context, 59 (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
37. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, 73–79.
38. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire,* 81.

actually began in Africa.[39] Many slaves converted to Christianity before leaving Africa, and catechists helped integrate Christianity and African cosmologies in the New World.[40] Though historians have often assumed that slaves adapted their religions to Christianity, the case was in fact the opposite. Furthermore, numerous African religions fell together in the New World, and necessity arose to create a new cosmology based on these varied traditions in addition to adopting Christian beliefs. Africans created new cosmologies to fit their specific needs in the slavery context.[41]

Religion in the Atlantic World cannot be well captured in such a small space, but the thread that weaves through the study of religion in the New World is that no tradition crossed the Atlantic fully intact. And what of the recipients of these transplanted faiths and the targets of these conversions efforts? The louder European narratives have traditionally muffled those of Native Americans, but new scholarship has brought greater balance to the decibel distribution.

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39. John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 254.
40. Thornton., 262.
41. Thornton, 263.

Redefining Native Americans in the Atlantic World

Sarah McNamara

The Atlantic World narrative reflects a tale of unparalleled social diversity. To the arriving Europeans the land seemed virgin, untouched, and managed by innocents pleading for civilization; however, beneath the mask of European dominance lay a continent of highly developed societies willing to benefit politically and economically from the new arrivals. Relation and cooperation with native groups presented a conflict between Native and European society, for each considered itself superior. Eurocentric scholars have traditionally seen Native American cultures as passive in the development of the Americas. Yet in a New World of cultural redefinition, the seemingly vacant continent became the grand stage of ethnic contradictions.

Today, Atlantic World historians have shattered the stereotypical ideas of separate "red" and "white" histories.[42] Instead, a more complex cultural "conversation" has replaced the limitations of traditional colonial study.[43] Historian T. H. Breen opens this idea in his 1983 article "Creative Adaptations: Peoples and Cultures." Breen describes the cultural collision of the New World as the "tale of human creativity," while criticizing scholars who ignored the interaction between Native Americans and Europeans to favor one group, or tell solely one static history. [44] Breen particularly highlights how Native Americans adapted to their changing environments by keeping some traditions, and modifying others.

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42. T. H. Breen, "Creative Adaptations: Peoples and Cultures," in *The Atlantic World in the Age of Empire*, ed. Thomas Benjamin, Timothy Hall and David Rutherford (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 57.
43. Breen, 59–60.
44. Breen, 57.

In "Creative Adaptations", Breen depicts a new understanding of the complexity of the relationships that shaped the New World.

The glorified "conquests" of the Atlantic World create an interesting narrative of cultural interactions. Historian Thomas Benjamin reexamines this familiar history with a more inclusive point of view. In his 2001 study of the "conquest of Yucatan," Benjamin explains the conquest as a war truly between two opposing Mayan tribes.[45] His piece "Alliances and Conquests" destroys the idea of preconceived Spanish superiority and reveals a new complexity to the traditional "conquest" history. Also concerning Spanish-American relations, Ramon A. Gutierrez addresses the cultural exchange between the Franciscans in the modern-day southwestern United States, while David J. Weber investigates how both the Spanish and Native Americans independently employed the mission system to their own advantage. According to these studies, the missions became not only a place of supposed Christianization, but also a political and military refuge for weakened tribes seeking protection.

One of the most notable effects of early cross-cultural encounters involves the idea of race. In American society, the simple idea of race has managed to subjugate, enslave, and limit millions of people through ethnic classification and Eurocentric ideas of cultural, or "racial," superiority. However, an often-overlooked topic in Atlantic history is Native American slavery. In her article "Enslavement of Indians in Early America," Joyce E. Chaplin explains that Native subjugation is so easily forgotten because numbers tend to prioritize interest toward the millions of Africans who were enslaved over the thousands of Native Americans who were enslaved.[46] While the numbers may not be as daunting, in enslaving Native Americans Europeans advanced notions of inequality and the continuation of "the other" in terms of ethnic classifications.[47] Chaplin believes that recognizing this event reveals the "tensions between slavery and freedom" in American history, and the enduring effects of racial subordination.[48]

When Europeans discovered the American continent, they not only found a world new to them, but "made the Americas a New World for the Indians

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45. Thomas Benjamin, "Alliances and Conquests," in *The Atlantic World in the Age of Empire*, 82–83.

46. Joyce E. Chaplin, " Enslavement of Indians in Early America: Captivity without the Narrative," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World,* ed. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 45.

47. Chaplin, 50–51.

48. Chaplin, 45.

who lived [t]here."[49] The modern study of the Atlantic World acknowledges the duality of these first encounters. Today, historians have embarked on a quest to incorporate past cultural conversations into a more comprehensive history of the Atlantic World. From this intricate narrative of cross-cultural interactions emerges a more clear view of American societies today in the context of their true pasts.

49. Benjamin, 56.

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FOR ATLANTIC WORLD HISTORY

Stephanie Schroeder

Since its emergence in the 1970s, the field of Atlantic World history in the United States continues to advance with strong academic support. Research in the above fields of economics, religion, and Native history would not have been possible without the efforts of various institutions throughout the United States. In the last thirty years, universities and other academic organizations in the country have fostered the growth of a field of study that encompasses subjects originating long before the twentieth century. The increasing number of doctorate degrees awarded in Atlantic World studies by universities, such as Duke, Princeton, Columbia, and Michigan, among many others, exemplifies the growing popularity of the field.[50]

Perhaps Harvard University, encouraged by the work of Bernard Bailyn, has done more to advance the field than any other institution. Bailyn began the International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World in 1995, a program Matthew Smith of Miami University has hailed as the field's most distinguished, saying the "schools that devote special attention to the historical study of the Atlantic now flourish as far afield as Sydney and Liverpool, but the most rarified concentration of Atlanticists is the Atlantic History Seminar."[51]

The seminar, which meets for ten to twelve days in August, varies its theme every year. The participants in the seminar must be recent recipients of the PhD

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50. Dissertations in Atlantic History, "Dissertation Abstracts," International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~atlantic/dissabs.html, Accessed 20 January 2009.
51. World History Connected, "Baffled by the Doldrum? Teaching the Atlantic in World History," http://worldhistoryconnected.press.uiuc.edu/5.3/smith.html, Accessed 20 January 2009.

or currently seeking advanced degrees. Additionally, Harvard hosts each semester weekend workshops open to anyone in academia.[52] Due to the seminar's success, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation has recently renewed funding for the program through June 2010. In addition to hosting the yearly seminars, the Harvard program produces a newsletter and maintains a website that contains a vast listing of dissertation abstracts and recent publications in the study of Atlantic World history. The seminar also sponsors short-term grants to "encourage comparative research in Atlantic History topics."[53]

The support of several prestigious academic institutions has helped propel Atlantic history into the spotlight as a fast growing field of study. Several universities, including the University of Florida, are currently supporting Atlantic scholars with graduate student funding, library collections, lecture series, and endowed professorships, and are creating new programs to introduce students to the wonderfully complex Atlantic World and facilitate new research on a variety of unexplored topics. With such a fast-growing area of study, some academics are divided as to the benefits and drawbacks of such a method of looking at history. However successful a new historical field might be, academic support and opposition must always be weighed and balanced when considering a new method of study

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52. About the Seminar, International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, http://www. fas.harvard.edu/~atlantic/aboutsem.html, accessed 20 January 2009.

53. About the Seminar, International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, http://www. fas.harvard.edu/~atlantic/aboutsem.html, accessed 20 January 2009.

The Future of Atlantic History

Meghan Nash

The arm of history is very long indeed. The desire to be remembered is seemingly engrained into the core of human nature, as generation after generation has left behind artifacts and accounts, allowing historians to study the stories of people from thousands of years ago. Out of this bounty, historians have created different, more manageable areas of study. Geography, gender, or race limit some scopes, while others, such as Atlantic World history, have the potential to blend cultures and ethnicities from across the globe. Examining a multitude of topics, including trade, religion, the exchange of cultures and traditions, and the role of imperialism, the connections that have yet to be discovered and bridges to be built by Atlantic World historians seem virtually limitless. Compared with other fields, the Atlantic World is a fairly new arena; yet its ascent in the world of history has been swift, with university graduate programs spouting up all over the globe alongside international conferences and textbooks.[54] The field's ability to link the people of Europe, North America, Africa, and South America through the activities on this one ocean makes its continued ascending popularity undeniable. It is not just a history of one country, but a unique history of the entire Western World.

But a new field of study must overcome initial suspicion and criticism to secure its future, and the study of the Atlantic World is no different. The main criticism against the Atlantic World perspective is that it asks no original questions but simply addresses the old ones from a new perspective. To secure its own future, Atlantic World history must prove that it is not just a more politically correct

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54. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian Publishing, 2002), 11.

way of studying imperialism.[55] Other observers counter that, far from being redundant, Atlantic World history reaches too far, daring to rewrite the accepted histories of several prominent nations. Historian Jack P. Greene explains that "the idea of an Atlantic world has always been at odds with the much older and more deeply entrenched conception of the past...for re-conceiving the entire historical landscape in which [events] occurred."[56] This is perhaps the greatest hurtle facing Atlantic World historians—finding a way to interject their discoveries into the history books.

However, the number of Atlantic World supporters far outstrips the number of its critics. After all, Atlantic World history offers an indispensable alternative to the Eurocentric emphasis of earlier scholarship. Ian Steele eloquently demonstrates the inclusive reach of Atlantic history, and highlights the new, close attention paid to the normally overlooked influences of the Caribbean, Latin, and Native American societies on the Atlantic economy.[57] In examining detailed studies on large empires, such as the British empire, Steele points out the usefulness of an "Atlantic" perspective in determining the impact of events in Britain on Amerindians and colonists on the one hand and that of events in the New World on Britain on the other.[58] Atlantic World history has the power to create a historical connection between all nations and through its multidirectional approach carries the possibility of spurring the creation of more historical fields of study.

The future of Atlantic World studies appears to be bright. Granted, criticisms exist, and most likely the future will bring more, but what field of study has not been criticized at one time or another? The doors that Atlantic World historians have opened and the discoveries they have made portend the field's continuing influence in the academy. For centuries, the Atlantic Ocean has been the great geographic confluence between four continents. Within its vastness, historians for generations to come will find limitless opportunities for scholarship.

55. Armitage and Braddick, 13.
56. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005).
57. Ian Steele, "Exploding Colonial American History: Amerindian, Atlantic, and Global Perspectives," *Reviews in American History* 26, no. 1 (Mar. 1998): 75.
58. Steele, 79

Featured Articles

Moving Into America: The Role of Mobility in the Americanization of Ybor City's Latino Community

Sarah McNamara

Introduction: Tracing Cuban Bread Crumbs

On a typical Florida afternoon in 1924, the hot, sticky, humid air of Ybor City became laced with the sweet aroma of rising yeast and freshly baked bread. As the cigar workers trudged to their casitas for afternoon lunch, each found a two-foot-long-loaf of Cuban bread tactlessly slammed onto the iron nail hammered next to every door.[1] In this small annex of Tampa, four bread companies ruthlessly competed in the Cuban bread market. The Pardell, Ferlita, More, and Two Brothers bakeries all went to extreme lengths to intimidate the competition.[2] The black-and-white pages *La Gaceta* were decorated with underhanded advertisement campaigns, an endless round of price wars found a boundless battle ground in the promising rhetoric of bakery owners, and even homemade bombs were strategically placed in the soot-stained brick ovens of competing bakeries. At that moment, Cesar Marcos Medina, owner of the Two Brothers Bakery, waved his white flag and surrendered in the war of Cuban bread. Instead, he decided to produce a new product—American bread.[3] "You can't do that: you're a Cuban and a Spaniard," the stunned public told Medina. However, rather than accepting

1. Cesar Marcos Medina, interviewed by Gary Mormino, May 22, 1984, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Page 9, University of Florida, http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/UFDC/UFDC.aspx ?g=spohp&m=hd2&i=3521&td=Ybor+=City (accessed March 1, 2008)
2. Medina interview.
3. Medina interview.

a stagnant position in the established norms of Ybor's Latino community, Cesar Marcos Medina replied with staunch determinism, "Yea, well this Cuban is going to make American bread."[4]

What the Latino community perceived as an irrational and unnatural decision evolved into a multi-million-dollar business for Medina. His American bread gained great popularity with the changing attitudes of the Ybor Latino youth. The American bread represented acceptance into a new culture and new world. The long, stiff Cuban loaves were no longer what the children wanted to take to school, and they each longed for the white, square sandwiches just like those of their American classmates.[5]

While unanticipated by Cesar Medina, the production of his American loaf was one step toward the Americanization of the Ybor Latino community. Americanization is a phenomenon that affects immigrant populations in the United States. Host communities pressure immigrants to assimilate into one Anglo identity, leaving behind many of their rich traditions and cultural associations. Originally, the Ybor community resisted this pressure by uniting under one Latino identity.[6] However, with each new American-born generation, Ybor's Old World traditions and independent identities became increasingly harder to defend against the threatening influence of Americanization.

The Americanization of Ybor City and its Latino residents is a topic that past historians have acknowledged, but not exclusively investigated. Nancy Hewitt's analysis of women's activism in Ybor City paints a picture of an immigrant community where women revolutionarily redefined themselves and their positions in an American context. Also, Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta investigate the effects of "class, culture and community" on the Italian population of Ybor. Hewitt, Mormino, and Pozzetta all characterize Ybor as a cultural hot spot, prone to change and redefinition. Yet while each author focuses on this idea of change that allowed Americanization, none of these previous analyses specifically explain the direct causes and effects of Americanization on the Ybor City community.

Ybor City was not a melting pot of Old World cultures. The Latino identity of Ybor City was comprised of a complex tapestry of Spanish, Cuban, and Italian threads all woven together by the pattern of a common immigrant experience. The result of this unity was a community rooted in tradition and distinctly Ybor.

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4. Medina interview.
5. Medina interview.
6. Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 322.

However, the one thing Ybor Latinos could not control was the imminent effect of American society on their southern community. Mobility exposed Ybor's tight Latino enclave to the prospects of the entire Anglo Tampa society. Through new developments in transportation, busing, and education and the onset of World War II, the once isolated community became subject to the ideals of American success, American identity and the American Dream.

Today Ybor City is a shadow of its past. The old smells, sounds, and spirits only live on in the legends of their former glory. Gayla Jamison describes, "Most of Ybor exists only in the memories of those who lived here."[7] The majority of this research is based on just that, the stories of Ybor told by those who lived there. Because the study of the Latino community is a relatively recent endeavor, endless resources of previous investigation do not yet exist. However, when following the history of Americanization, what better way to understand the process than to draw analyses from the oral histories of those who were Americanized? While it is necessary to account for romantic exaggerations and reinvented memories, common experiences and themes all connect the modernization of mobility to the transformation of the Latino identity.

The Beginnings of the World's Cigar Capitol

Prior to the late 1920s and early 1930s, Ybor City and its residents remained segregated from Tampa society. Anglo Tampa's ethnic and racial prejudices created a "we" versus "them" attitude.[8] Yet while the City of Tampa economically benefited from industrialization and the Ybor workforce, the Anglo mentality in which immigrant citizens were regarded as second rate left Ybor an uninterrupted enclave of Italian, Spanish, and Cuban traditions. Originally, these cultures existed and flourished independently of each other. However, stronger than the bonds of the mother country was the solidarity of the working class.[9] The first-generation immigrants docked at the port of Tampa with hope for a new life and job security, a hope realized by the local cigar industry.

The cigar industry was the economic core of Ybor City.[10] The sweet smell of the finest Habana tobacco filled the air and stained the hands of the artisans who stripped, stuffed, molded, and bound the delicate leaves into a work of

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7. *Living in America: One Hundred Years of Ybor City,* directed and produced by Gayla Jamison, 55 minutes, New York, NY: Filmakers Library, 1987.
8. Mormino and Pozzetta, 322.
9. Mormino and Pozzetta, 320.
10. Mormino and Pozzetta, 5, 175.

art. Cigar workers took pride in their position and production. A hierarchy of prestige was associated with each step of the cigar making process. From the lowly *despaldilladora* to the honored *selector*, there was always the opportunity for mobility within the ranks of production regardless of sex, race, or age.[11]

Spaniards, Cubans, Italians, both men and women, worked side by side in the cigar factories. In an immigrant community composed of distinct cultural traditions, the nonexistence of a division of labor tied these individually unique cultures into one distinct Latino identity. The factories became the great mediators of pre-existing tensions and differences amongst the ethnic groups. Thus, with a New World identity independent of Old World expectations, Ybor's diverse workforce formed an unexpected community inside these economic institutions.

While the cigar industry shaped Ybor City's economic backbone, the mutual aid society embodied the community's spirit. Grandiose structures reminiscent of Old World architecture reflected the culture each society represented. Roman columns, Sevillan arches, Galician tile work, and Cuban patios characterized the uniqueness of each ethnicity. The development of mutual aid societies was not particular to Ybor City. These institutions were the continuation of a European system brought to the United States by Latino immigrants.[12]

Four distinct societies represented the Latino community—Centro Español, Centro Asturiano, Circulo Cubano, and L'Unione Italiana.[13] The members of these societies paid weekly dues to cover building maintenance, medical care, worker's compensation, burial, and social activities. Membership in these societies was absolutely crucial to the residents of Ybor. In the event of illness or injury, the mutual aid system dictated where the patient was treated. Language and social-cultural barriers would have prevented Latinos from effectively interacting with the Anglo-Tampa hospital system.[14] Therefore, the mutual aid society became an irreplaceable life line to Ybor residents, and one of the first examples of socialized health care.

On Friday evenings as the sun set on Ybor City, the vibrant melodies of traditional music streamed from each society. Formal dances were a weekly affair

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11. Mormino and Pozzetta, 317. *Despalilladores* were those workers who stripped the stems from tobacco leaves, a much lower position when compared with the *selectores* who rolled the finished cigars.
12. Wastfall, L. Glenn. *Research Study for the Development of the Ybor City State Museum* (Tallahassee: Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, 1978), 91.
13. Westfall, 93–99.
14. Ferdie Pacheco, *Ybor City Chronicles* (Gainesville:University Press of Florida,1994), 43 .

for the residents of Ybor.[15] Couples delicately danced the waltz, quickly spun to the lively pasodoble, and always maintained proper distance from their partner.[16] Following the tradition of Old World courtship, busy aunts and watchful mothers closely trailed their young ladies at every social event.[17] On weeknights, the societies served as the local men's clubs.[18] The fanciful ballrooms overflowed with clouds of thick white cigar smoke and the clicking of delicate ivory dominoes. The sounds of deep bellows of laughter and forceful political debates characterized the colorful agenda of these nightly meetings.[19] The mutual aid societies provided more than medical security—they celebrated traditions while defining the new Latino community in Ybor City.

The residents of Ybor City shared a common livelihood. Each member was reliant on the other, a sense of community and interdependency defined the Latino community. As Angelo Cacciatore explains, "all people were close, 'cause we were poor; when you're poor you stick together."[20] This idea of unity allowed Ybor to develop into one community of ethnic diversity. Ybor City's Latino residents found cohesion in the commonality of immigrant circumstances.

Clustered housing characterized the physical layout of the Ybor City.[21] The neighborhood was like an endless sea of shotgun homes, painted plain white and built within an arm's reach of each other. Philip Spoto remembers that "doors were kept open and everyone was welcome."[22] The neighborhood was as social as the mutual aid society. People sat on their front porches and talked for hours.[23] While this sense of nostalgia may be interpreted as a romantic memory. it emanates a sense of unity and trust that existed within Ybor City.

The Ybor community was not a wealthy community. Fathers, mothers, and children all worked together to support the family. However, in an era of national

15. Jamison.

16. Domenico Giunta, interviewed by Gary Mormino, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Page 30, University of Florida, http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/UFDC/UFDC.aspx?g=spohp&m=hd31J&i=3499&td=Ybor (accessed March 28, 2008).

17. Giunta interview, 30.

18. Jamison.

19. Jamison.

20. Jamison.

21. Mormino and Pozzetta, 235.

22. Phillip Spoto, interviewed by Gary Mormino, June 30,1979. Quoted in *The Immigrant World of Ybor City,* 319.

23. Nelson Palermo, interviewed by Gary Mormino, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Pages 6–9, University of Florida, http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/UFDC/UFDC.aspx?g=spohp&m=hd9J&i=3476&td=Ybor (accessed April 15, 2008).

economic decline, Ybor City was not left untouched by the Great Depression.[24] Relying on their communitarian roots, the entire community stood together to help support those hurt by the tough economic times. The more comfortable residents, those who owned pharmacies, bodegas, and restaurants, often extended a line of "credit" to their clients in need.[25] Most store owners never expected to be repaid. However, in a city of Latinos, characterized by male machismo and Old World pride, the term "credit" made charity acceptable.[26]

Ybor City represented a mosaic of cultures bound together by a common Latino identity. It was an immigrant neighborhood united by a common experience of prejudice, industry, and social structures. Spaniards, Cubans, and Italians found stability and community in the unlikely streets of Ybor. To these first residents, Ybor City was more than grand brick structures and ornate wrought iron. It was a place of unity, hope, and autonomy. It was Ybor.

The First Steps Towards Mobility: Annexation, Trolleys and the Automobile

The City of Tampa annexed Ybor City on June 2, 1887.[27] Since 1885, Ybor City had brought new forms of industry and economic prosperity to Hillsborough County. The city of Tampa was an Anglo-American community, based on small neighborhood connections and devoid of independent industry. By incorporating the mighty immigrant workforce into the legal definition of "Tampa," the city was able to claim industrialization and reap the benefits of the cigar factories.[28] While connected in name, the two communities remained independent and distinct. Tampa residents saw Ybor Latinos as mobsters and mafia bosses, and thus allowed Ybor City to retain its name.[29] When discussing union strikes and gambling, the Anglos called the area Ybor; but if the topics concerned economic prosperity and modernization, they called it Tampa.[30] However, an independent coexistence would not continue into the twentieth century. Tampa's infrastructure eventually reached Ybor City before World War I, connecting the two cities by a common vehicle, the Tampa-trolley.

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24. Pachecho, 46.
25. Pachecho, 32.
26. Pacheco, 32.
27. Westfall, 49.
28. Westfall, 49.
29. Westfall, 49.
30. Westfall, 49.

Tampa's electric streetcars connected all areas of the city. The steel tracks stretched from the inner city to downtown, from Victorian Hyde Park to the factories of Ybor. The yellow wooden chariots left no neighborhood untouched or culture unrecognized.[31] The cost of transportation was a nickel a ride,[32] and the relative affordability of the trolleys allowed the once isolated Latino community to move beyond their economic limits, and discover the city of Tampa.

The American-born Ybor generation was the first to travel the trolley's tracks into areas of Anglo Tampa. Sulfur Springs, the Tampa Theatre, and Ballast Point became popular hangouts for Latino and Anglo youth alike.[33] Mutual aid society picnics, sporting competitions, entertainment and American interactions characterized each of these areas. With a sense of American nationality masked by a Latino culture, the young bilingual Ybor generation began to desegregate polarized Tampa. The Anglo community did not welcome this new movement. Signs reading "No Dogos!" which meant "no Italians, no Spaniards, no Cubans, nothing" were posted at Sulfur Springs.[34] Joe Maniscalco remembers reacting defensively to such acts of racism. "We are American, as good as you are!" the Latino boys would yell, forcefully asserting their American nationalistic pride through their thick Spanish accents.[35]

Young Latinos saw themselves as equal to their Anglo neighbors. American-born and bilingual, the identity of this generation was a mixture of Old World Ybor traditions and the individualism of their new American nationality. They took pride in their American birth and felt entitled to the same benefits as their Anglo counterparts. Movement and transportation forced the Tampa community to interact with the young Latinos. While reactions of racism did not stop the Latinos from experiencing traditionally Anglo activities, it did leave them with a sense of an identity crisis. This second generation felt the pressure to accept American values and assimilate into a "white" society. Therefore, while the Ybor youth ended every night surrounded by the familiarity of their cultural haven, they slowly began to accept the American world that surrounded their immigrant community.

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31. Pacheco, 45–49.
32. Pacheco, 46.
33. Joe Maniscalco, interviewed by Gary Mormino, April 3, 1980, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Page 31, University of Florida, http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/UFDC/UFDC.aspx?g=spo hp&m=hd2&i=3475&td=Ybor (accessed April 13, 2008).
34. Maniscalco interview, 32.
35. Maniscalco interview, 31.

Henry Ford's Model-T reshaped America and Ybor City as well. As the automobile became more affordable and gained popularity, the streets of Ybor City began to hum and clank with the sounds of cranking engines. While a single Ybor family unit could not afford to buy a vehicle, the entire extended family could.[36] The family car did not belong to one person, but belonged to the group. As families and neighbors shared the convenience of technological advances, the car allowed families to move quickly outside of Ybor and experience the Anglo world they had previously avoided.

The car allowed a freedom of movement that the trolley system could not offer.[37] Families were no longer restricted to the hours of public transportation.[38] Latinos were able to stay out longer to visit friends and family in other areas of Tampa, and their world became much larger than their safe cultural enclave in Ybor City. This opportunity quickly led to the expansion of the family unit and neighborhoods like West Tampa and Tampa Heights saw an increase in Latino populations.[39] These areas boasted the same red brick streets and Latino flair, but instead of the cramped casitas of Ybor city, slightly larger lots and bungalow homes characterized these neighborhoods. The sons and daughters of the original Ybor immigrants began to move outside the tiny streets of Ybor. While the extended family still maintained a strong relationship, American ideals were difficult to resist.

Originally, the attachment to tradition made Ybor resist change at all cost. However, American ideals of success and the new accessibility of this prospect put a premium on a culture very different from their own. By the late 1930s the Ybor cigar industry had begun to fade. Cesar Marcos Medina remembers the rise of restaurants, stores, and banks all run by Latino residents.[40] These Ybor Latinos were able to find economic prosperity beyond the walls of the brick cigar factories. More professional jobs gave the residents a sense of upward mobility and self-assurance. Anglo families started to travel into Ybor City to eat a meal on the famed Seventh Avenue (La Avenida Septima) and enjoy an evening of "ethnic flare." For the first time Ybor became a commodity and the Latino residents were ready to sell their culture. Blonde-haired, blue-eyed men and women started

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36. Pacheco, 117–118.
37. Giunta interview, 40.
38. Giunta interview, 40.
39. Westfall, 49.
40. Medina interview, 14–17.

eating at restaurants like the Tropicana and Columbia, bringing in new profits and leaving behind their American influence.

Ybor City had thrived in its isolation, but after the emergence of widespread transportation, Ybor City would never be the same. Interactions with the Anglo Tampa left the younger generation to question their place in modern society, while the dependable industrial community began to spread and professionalize. The development of the trolley system and the availability of the family vehicle left an unforgettable American imprint on the identity of the Latino community.

Education and the
Movement of American Ideals

In Ybor City education was not a right but a privilege. Sending children to school resulted in a smaller family income and more economic hardship.[41] Parents were forced to make an important decision: send the children to school with the hope of future opportunities, or send them straight to the cigar factories to join the work force.[42] Supporting a family in Ybor often included every extended family member.[43] Ybor's residents dreamed of the opportunity to educate their children. Many saved money to send their eldest sons to college, and sacrificed for the hope of a brighter future. However, the fortunate few who received an education entered a distinct public school system. From the education system in Hillsborough County, the Ybor youth learned more than basic curriculum—they learned what it meant to be American.[44]

All Latino children attended Ybor Elementary.[45] The first day of school would have been a shocking experience. Most of the Latino children did not speak English and few teachers spoke Spanish. [46] "They didn't understand the kids at all," Zoila Salas remembers while describing the Anglo Tampan Teachers.[47] A typical

41. Mormino and Pozzetta, 287.

42. Mormino and Pozzetta, 272.

43. Mormino and Pozzetta, 272.

44. Sara and Glara Wohl, interviewed by Gary Mormino, February 1, 1974, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Pages 3–4, 41–42, University of Florida, http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/UFDC/UFDC.aspx?g=spohp&m=hd2&i=3622&td=Ybor (accessed Febrary 25, 2008).

45. Short Wilson, interviewed by Gary Mormino, Febrary 1, 1974, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Pages 3–4, University of Florida, http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/UFDC/UFDC.aspx?g=spohp&m=hd5J&i=3633&td=Ybor (accessed February 25, 2008).

46. Wilson, 7.

47. Zoila Salas, interviewed by Gary Mormino, February 1, 1974, Samuel Proctor Oral History Archive, Page 34, University of Florida, http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/UFDC/UFDC.aspx?g=spohp&ts=Ybor&b=UF00006479&v=00001 (accessed Febrary 25, 2008).

school day was divided into two halves. The first half was spent in a traditional classroom, while the second was spent in "Chart" class. Sara and Glara Wohl, both former teachers, defined "Chart" as "Americanization courses."[48] According to these former teachers, the goal of Ybor Elementary was to Americanize the young Latino generation. Teachers taught the students English, but focused on helping them "change their customs so that they could integrate and assimilate into the new way of doing things."[49] Latino children could not speak Spanish at school, and if Spanish was spoken the child was either ignored or punished. Inside Ybor Elementary the Latino culture was not welcome.

Ybor Elementary was an American institution. As Tampa became larger in population but more integrated through transportation the Latino "problem" became more apparent. Focusing on the Americanization of the younger generation, teachers were able to develop a sense of American identity in the Ybor youth at an early age. As the 1930s began, the young Ybor generation desired a life different than that of their parents.[50] They did not associate themselves with the Old World traditions, but rather embraced the newness of American ideals.

High school moved Ybor children out of their safe cultural enclave and into mainstream Tampa society. The Latino population was split between two institutions, Jefferson High School and Hillsborough High School.[51] Beautiful gothic, brick buildings characterized the exterior of these schools. However, inside the picturesque structures was a mixed population and struggle for acceptance. For the first time Ybor students were integrated into the Anglo community.[52] Following the example of their peers, the Latino students continued their American education. At this stage, rather than learning how to be American, they participated in American society. Like their Anglo peers, Latinos said the Pledge of Allegiance, spoke in English and participated in the active school culture.[53] The sounds of Spanish words and bilingual conversations did not fill the halls of Hillsborough County's public high schools.[54] Instead, the sounds of fluent English spoken with fading Spanish accents streamed throughout the classrooms and across the schools' patios. While the Latino students still returned nightly

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48. Sarah and Glara Wohl interview, 41.
49. Sara and Glara Wohl interview, 41.
50. Sara and Glara Wohl interview, 40.
51. Bob Martinez, interviewed by Gary Mormino, March 23, 1999, Samuel Proctor Oral History Archive, Pages 5–6, University of Florida, http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/UFDC/UFDC.aspx?g=sp ohp&ts=Ybor&b=UF00005615&v=00001 (accessed February 25, 2008).
52. Martinez interview, 6.
53. Wilson interview, 8.
54. Wilson interview, 9.

to Ybor City, their community was no longer dictated by Old World traditions. Living American by day and Latino by night, this young generation was trapped between two worlds that did not translate.

For many Latino boys, a college education was a dream that World War II made a reality.[55] The 1930s were a dark time for Ybor. As the cigar factories slowly closed their doors and disappeared, the once steady economic heartbeat of Ybor City began to slow.[56] Step by step, Ybor's once vibrant community was fading into the background of the Tampa Bay area. There was little opportunity left in the small industrial town, but World War II presented the chance to leave the Latino community, experience the world, and go to college.[57] For young men, joining the armed forces became a popular alternative to manual labor. Ybor's sons packed their bags and went to Europe. To Europeans Ybor's Latino soldiers were no different than the blonde-haired, blue-eyed men who fought beside them. For the first time these Latino men became ambassadors of American freedom and the American Dream.

When Ybor City's Latino soldiers returned to the United States, they began a new life in search of their American Dream. Changed by new perspectives of a world with boundless opportunities, the young men found promise behind the walls of American universities. Many enrolled at the University of Tampa, staying close to home and remaining active in their Latino communities.[58] However, many did not, and several veterans of the Second World War enrolled in colleges across the state, including the University of Florida and the University of Miami.[59] Most of these men studied free professions like education, medicine, law and accounting. This allowed them to pursue economic prosperity while maintaining control over their employment conditions.

Education moved America into Ybor City, and Ybor city into America. The influence of American success, American ideals and the American Dream changed the identities of the younger generations, encouraging them to follow paths different from those of their parents. The Americanization of Ybor City and its residents did not create a group of clones unaware of their heritage. It created a group whose identity was neither fully American nor fully Latino. They were Latino-Americans, and living examples of the immigrant American cycle.

55. Giunta interview, 41.
56. R.S. Boggs, "Ybor City, Florida," *South Atlantic Bulletin* 3, no.2 (October 1937): 1,8.
57. Mormino and Pozzetta, 300.
58. Bob Martinez, 7.
59. Pacheco, 42.

Conclusion:
Americanization and the End of an Era

On a cool southern morning in 1937, the *Southern Atlantic Bulletin* published an article titled, *Ybor City: The Largest Spanish Speaking Settlement in the Southeastern United States.*[60] Written by linguist R.S. Boggs, the article did not acknowledge the cultural diversity and unlikely community of Ybor City. Instead, it focused on the Americanization of the small community.[61] Boggs believed that in 1937 the youngest generation of Ybor Latinos was at the optimal stage to begin the process of Americanization.[62] "The community seems to be losing its Spanish cultural tradition even more rapidly than its Spanish language," Boggs explained.[63] The professor from North Carolina went on to predict that in two generations the descendants of these Ybor residents would neither speak Spanish, nor follow the Latino cultural traditions.[64] They would be Americans.

Characterized today by new buildings, chic boutiques, and stylish restaurants, the once vibrant neighborhood is little more than a shopping center in disguise. The grand centros that once filled the city with vibrant culture and unforgettable traditions now sit in disrepair and neglect. In place of the endless sea of white casitas, a new interstate highway now stands, an interstate where Ybor's tight knit community once flourished. R.S. Boggs was correct in his 1937 prediction of Ybor's fate. The last generations of rich cultural enclaves have now assimilated into mainstream Tampa. Ybor City and its Latino residents could not escape the mobilization of Anglo-American ideals from entering their unique community. In short, they could not escape America.

The Americanization of Ybor and its residents was not an overnight phenomenon. It was a gradual process over fifty years and included numerous factors causing the Latino residents to identify with a new culture. While movement and mobility played large roles in the Americanization of this southern community, other political and social structures subjugated the Latino residents to American culture in different ways. Prejudice and the idea of racial inferiority are reoccurring themes in America's immigrant communities. Southern political and social institutions like the Black Codes, Jim Crow and the Ku Klux Klan undoubtedly had an effect on the Americanization of Ybor's Latino residents. In

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60. Boggs, 7.
61. Boggs, 7.
62. Boggs, 7–8.
63. Boggs, 8.
64. Boggs, 8.

Anglo Tampa the reformist attitude was active during the early twentieth century. Anglo women saw it as their mission to help Americanize the helpless Latino children of Ybor. Tampa is "politically southern and industrially northern."[65] However, to fully understand its "unique Spanish atmosphere," the social and political institutions that pressured Ybor City in the early twentieth century should be included in the dialogue the community's Americanization.[66]

Spaniards, Cubans, and Italians came to Ybor for the cigar factories and left the memory of an unforgettable community. While traditional music no longer streams from the mutual aid societies and the fresh, sweet aroma of Cuban tobacco has left the air, the memory of Ybor lives on through the traditions and feel of Tampa today.

65. Mormino and Pozzetta, 43.
66. Mormino and Pozzetta, 43.

Lebensraum in the East: The Nazi Use of *Volksdeutsche* as Administrative Tools in Poland, 1939–1943

Kay Witkiewicz

"The Poland of the Treaty of Versailles shall never rise again!" Adolf Hitler proclaimed in his speech to the Reichstag on October 6, 1939.[1] In fact, Nazi foreign policy toward Poland during World War II not only sought to restore its territorial losses incurred after World War I, but also to occupy even more of the country. Even before Germany lost provinces such as Poznán, most of West Prussia, and parts of Upper Silesia (including its coalmines) via the Treaty of Versailles, the nation had been pushing for territorial expansion into Eastern Europe.[2] Almost one year into World War I, in July 1915, 1,347 German intellectuals called upon Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg to conquer Poland and transform it into an agrarian buffer zone against Russia.[3] This decree proposed the settlement and cultivation of fertile lands in order to establish German autarky as a means of preserving its racial and cultural heritage against the Slavic threat from the East.[4] Similarly, the Nazi Party Program of 1920 demanded the union of all Germans living in and outside of the Reich to form a Greater Germany

1. Max Domarus, *Hitler. Speeches and Proclamations, 1932–1945. Volume III: The Years 1939 to 1940*, trans. Chris Wilcox (Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchuzy–Carducci Publishers Inc., 1997), 1944.
2. Felix Gilbert and David Large, *The End of the European Era: 1890 to the Present,* Fifth Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002), 167.
    Another key loss for Germany was the port city of Danzig, which the Treaty of Versailles declared a free city and placed under the supervision of the League of Nations.
3. Dietrich Eichholtz, "Der 'Generalplan Ost': Über eine Ausgeburt Imperialistische Denkart und Politik (Mit Dokumenten)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte* (1982): 254.
4. Eichholtz, 255.

in conjunction with establishing a proper living space, or *Lebensraum*, for the German population.[5]

Focused primarily on Eastern Europe, the Nazi quest for *Lebensraum* and the uniting of all Germanic people into a Greater German Reich were complementary endeavors. Of the 7 million *Volksdeutsche*—"people whose 'language and culture had German origins' but who did not hold German citizenship"[6]—who were dispersed throughout Eastern Europe post-World War I, about 1,190,000 lived in Poland.[7] Much of that population was concentrated in Western Poland, especially in the provinces Germany surrendered as part of the Versailles settlement. These regions, most prominently the Warthegau in Western Prussia, represented an agricultural breadbasket and a base for further eastward expansion. Furthermore, control of these Polish parts would both create *Lebensraum* and unite more Germanic people with the Reich and advance the Nazi goal of achieving *Volkstumsfestigkeit*, the physical and cultural securing of the already occupied area by means of German settlement.

Henceforth, following the Nazi takeover of Poland in September 1939, the administration of the conquered territory was geared toward establishing a politically and socially stable German living space through the strategic resettlement and voluntary, physical employment of *Volksdeutsche*. Correspondingly, *Volksdeutsche* were not only passive numbers and figures in the theoretical planning of the settlement of Poland and subsequently acquired Eastern territory, but also active participants in the Nazi expansion of *Lebensraum*. Throughout this process, Nazi racial policy played a key role in preserving the German character of the regions by sorting out the population into various different levels of ethnic acceptability. Anticipating further annexations in the East, the plans for the administration of Poland foreshadowed a general plan of systematically populating conquered Eastern European territories.

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5. Dieter Kuntz and Benjamin Sax, *Inside Hitler's Germany: A Documentary History of Life in the Third Reich* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1992), 72.

6. Doris L. Bergen, "The Nazi Concept of 'Volksdeutsche' and the Exacerbation of Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, 1939–45," *Journal of Contemporary History* 29 (1994), 569.
   In the author's opinion, Bergen gives the most comprehensive definition of *Volksdeutsche*.

7. Wilhelm Winkler, *Statistisches Handbuch der europäischen Nationalitäten* (Vienna, Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1931) and *Deutschtum in aller Welt: Bevölkerungsstatistische Tabellen* (Vienna: Verlag Franz Deuticke, 1938) cited in Valdis O. Lumans, "The Military Obligations of the Volksdeutsche in Eastern Europe toward the Third Reich," *East European Quarterly* 23 no. 3 (1989), 321.
   Czechoslovakia had the largest ethnic German population with 3,318,445.

First known as the Büro Kursell, the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (VoMi), as it was referred to by March 1936, was the central administrative office of all matters pertaining to ethnic Germans.[8] Located in Berlin and led by *Schutzstaffel* (SS) man Werner Lorenz since January 1, 1937, VoMi spread its influence through regional branches abroad.[9] While the organization was originally commissioned as a National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) office, the decree of July 2, 1938 granted the organization state authority as well.[10] As such, VoMi wielded control over the VDA (*Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*), a private interest group founded in 1881; since 1908, the VDA sought to preserve and reinforce German culture in areas outside the Reich, especially by establishing German schools.[11] Additionally, VoMi was also responsible for the disbursement of funds to ethnic Germans engaged in *Volkstumsarbeit*, any pro-German activity with the goal of strengthening the German character of a region and its people.[12] One of VoMi's main tasks was balancing the relationship between *Volksdeutsche*, the Reich, and the particular foreign states in which the ethnic Germans resided, while another crucial assignment was to physically examine and resettle people claiming to be of German origin.[13] Given these responsibilities, the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* integrated both the administrative and the racial aspects of Nazi foreign policy in the East.

The VoMi's leadership structure further influenced the combination of administrative and racial components into foreign policy. As Reichsführer SS, Heinrich Himmler was in charge of all SS activity, and thus automatically the superior officer to Werner Lorenz. Indeed, Himmler appointed himself "Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom" (RKFDV) backed by a retroactive official Führer decree of October 7, 1939.[14] Himmler's responsibilities clearly reinforced the racial undertones of his title: return *Volksdeutsche* to the Reich; settle the conquered lands with ethnic Germans; and eliminate undesirable components of the German *Volk*.[15] The Germanization of Poland relied on a "new

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8. Valdis O. Lumans, *Himmler's Auxiliaries: The Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle and the German National Minorities of Europe, 1933–1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 37–8.
9. Lumans, 41 and 147.
10. Lumans, 44–5.
11. Lumans, 25 and 63.
12. Lumans, 67.
13. Lumans, 75 and 190.
14. Lumans, 134.
15. Lumans.

ordering of ethnographic relations" achieved by resettling *Volksdeutsche* in place of Poles and Jews.[16]

The so-called Long-Term Plan for the Resettlement in the Eastern Provinces of 1939 was to implement this shuffle of ethnic populations in the East. Crafted by the Reich Security Head Office (RSHA) of which Heinrich Himmler was the ultimate leader, the *Fernplan* was the first of its kind to combine racially discriminating and ethnic German administrative policies.[17] Its main purpose was to outline the systematic deportation of all undesirables from the German-incorporated territories in the east.[18] However, this long-term plan also contained several short-term goals. Much more regional in character, these smaller plans consequently required less time for completion, and focused on smaller sub-populations. For example, the Warthegau *Nahplan* provided for the deportation of 80,000 Jewish and non-Jewish Poles in exchange for the settlement of 40,000 Baltic Germans over the first sixteen days of December 1939.[19]

Still, the overall goal of the *Fernplan* for all of Poland was to achieve a clear division between Germanized settlers and undesirable Poles and Jews in order to secure the purity of the newly established German *Volk* in the East by deterring racial intermixing.[20] In doing so, the plan would concur with Hitler's demands for the administration of Poland, namely the establishment of a secure Reich border, the expansion of *Lebensraum*, and the regulation of the Jewish problem.[21]

A Nazi-organized census scheduled for December 17, 1939, was the first step in realizing the *Fernplan*. After completion of the census, all Jews and members of the Polish intelligentsia between the ages of twelve and fifty-four were to be deported either to work camps or the General Government (GG).[22] The General Government constituted a central Polish region with about 14 million inhabitants,

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16. Domarus, *Hitler. Speeches and Proclamations, 1932–1945. Volume III: The Years 1939 to 1940*, 1936.

17. Karl Heinz Roth, "'Generalplan Ost' und der Mord an den Juden: Der 'Fernplan der Umsiedlung in den Ostprovinzen' aus dem Reichssicherheitshauptamt vom November 1939," *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 2 (1997), 54–5.

Reinhard Heydrich was the official director of the RSHA, but Himmler had the ultimate authority, especially since his appointment as RKFDV.

18. Phillip T. Rutherford, *Prelude to the Final Solution: The Nazi Program for Deporting Ethnic Poles, 1939–1941* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 86.

19. Rutherford, 57.

20. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Karl Heinz Roth, "Vorläufer des 'Generalplans Ost.' Eine Dokumentation über Theodor Schieders Polendenkschrift vom 7. Oktober 1939," *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* (1992), 73.

21. Domarus, *Hitler. Speeches and Proclamations, 1932–1945. Volume III: The Years 1939 to 1940*, 1845.

22. Roth, 54.

the vast majority of whom were of Polish descent,[23] yet the Nazi governor-general Hans Frank, an ethnic German, led the administration.[24] Since the Reich was in dire need of agrarian labor—an expected 1.7 million seasonal workers for 1940 alone—only those Poles not usable in the Reich or the Eastern territories were sent to the GG.[25] Additionally, the *Fernplan* called for all *Volksdeutsche* to aid in the economic build-up of the new territories, both in regard to agriculture and industry.[26] Most importantly, though, two general notions stood out in these strategies: settlement by as purely German a population as possible and the continued goal of *Volkstumsfestigung* in order to safeguard the inroads of Germandom.

Unfortunately for officials on the ground, the *Fernplan*'s simplistic proscriptions for determining race did not correspond to the heterogeneity of local populations. Determining who was German and who was not became quite subjective, as generations of intermixing made drawing accurate racial lines impossible. Despite the Nazi census of December 1939, the SS was still unable to distinguish between Poles and Germans by May 1940.[27] In fact, the SS had underestimated the size of the population strata. In spite of German racial origins, many failed to uphold German culture, and even surrendered the German language in the process.[28] Furthermore, not nearly enough *Volksdeutsche* were available to replace the Polish and Jewish elements that were to be removed.[29] Thus, to bridge this numerical gap, by Himmler's authority, the *Deutsche Volksliste* (DVL) became the evaluation tool for determining official ethnic German status, and consequently Reich citizenship, in the conquered territories by March 1941.[30]

The DVL was a systematic assessment that assigned racial qualifications to the populace as a means to expand Nazi-controlled influence in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe. A DVL mandate also required applicants to fill out and personally return questionnaires to their local VoMi office, where an executive committee of *Volksdeutsche* and *Reichsdeutsche* (German-born citizens of the Reich) already settled in the area determined their ultimate status as

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23. Roth, 64.

24. Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut, *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik: Das Werden des Reiches, 1939*, Teil 2 (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1940), 671.

25. Roth, 65, 67, 69.

26. Ebbinghaus and Roth, 89.

27. *Meldungen aus dem Reich: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS, 1938–1945, Band 4* (Herrsching: Manfred Pawlak Verlagsgesellschaft, 1984), 1104.

28. *Meldungen aus dem Reich.*

29. Roth, "'Generalplan Ost' und der Mord an den Juden," 66.

30. Lumans, *Himmler's Auxiliaries*, 198.

ethnic Germans.[31] Official guidelines stipulated that applicants had to fill out questionnaires for multiple family members excluding children under the age of 15 and elderly, fragile people.[32] This family profiling helped preserve the Nazi ideal of the agrarian family unit that was to be successfully resettled on farms in the occupied territory.

The executive committee categorized families according to five groups. Those in Group A actively defended and endorsed the German *Volk* and its cultural heritage, while Group B was made up of family units who merely preserved their Germanness.[33] Group C constituted people of German origin who despite having ties to Poles, such as through marriage, remained assets to the *Volksgemeinschaft*—the German community of blood, heritage, and cultural unity.[34] Groups D and E included families of German origin who did not preserve their heritage, and, in the case of Group E, even expressed sentiments of Polish nationalism.[35] Any unit qualifying for either Group A or B received Reich citizenship, while the committee issued all members of Groups A, B, and C ID cards ascertaining their belonging to the DVL.[36] Furthermore, officials allowed Groups A and B to remain in the East, along with some members of Group C, while they sent less desirable members of Group C to the Reich to be Germanized.[37] Groups D and E faced deportation to work camps or the General Government.[38]

The broad and arbitrary definitions of who classified as *Volksdeutsche* and who did not served the Nazi regime in expanding their power base in the East at the expense of "their own ideological principles of Germanness."[39] Certainly race was still a factor, as evidenced by the official instructions to only hand out questionnaires to people who did not blatantly appear to be Polish.[40] Later concessions that identifying racial signs (*Rassenmerkmale*) were unreliable, however, contradicted the mandate, as many Poles, especially from the Poznán

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31. Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut, *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik: Das Werden des Reiches, 1939*, Teil 2 (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1940), 619.

32. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*, 621.

33. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*, 620.

34. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*

35. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*

36. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*

37. Lumans, *Himmler's Auxiliaries*, 198–99.

38. Valdis O. Lumans, "A Reassessment of *Volksdeutsche* and Jews in the Volhynia-Galicia-Narew Resettlement," in *The Impact of Nazism: New Perspectives on the Third Reich and its Legacy*, eds. Alan Steinweis and Daniel Rogers (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 94.

39. Bergen, "The Nazi Concept of 'Volksdeutsche,'" 574.

40. Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut, *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*, 621.

region, represented the ideal Nordic type.[41] Although speaking German was evidence of belonging to the *Volksgemeinschaft*, many Poles, having been instructed in German schools, were also fluent in the tongue.[42] Then again, attendance at Polish schools did not preclude Germanness worthy of the DVL, while a German school education did not guarantee *Volksdeutsche* status.[43] For example, if there were no German schools in the area, circumstance dictated that German children had to attend Polish schools, where they naturally learned and spoke Polish, even though parents and kin could still cultivate the children's German language and heritage at home.[44] In such a case, these children and their parents could be categorized in either one of the first three groups according to the DVL.

Ultimately, for many aspiring *Volksdeutsche*, the "the easiest way to prove themselves good Germans was to prove themselves good Nazis."[45] One way to do so was to comply with Nazi assignments based on DVL classification. This usually affected only the families in Groups A and B since their racial and occupational backgrounds were more likely to comply with Nazi standards of working either in the East or in the Reich. The DVL distinguished between O-cases, the "elite of resettlers" who relocated to the Warthegau as farmers, and the A-cases, which offered greater technical skills better utilized in Reich industry.[46] However, the DVL judged both cases first and foremost on the criteria of racial quality, and then political and cultural reliability because the *Volksdeutsche* colonization of the territories continued to idealize the prospect of securing a racially pure extension of Germandom in the East.[47]

Still, the practical benefits of remaining in the East could not be denied. After all, the *Volksdeutsche* were the primary beneficiaries of the Nazi reorganization policy, as they would inherit the farms and possessions of the Jews and Poles driven out.[48] Eradication of the undesirables automatically meant the promotion of the ethnic German elements in the areas. Furthermore, the material associations attached to these anti-Semitic policies in the Eastern provinces promoted

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41. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*, 622.
42. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*.
43. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*, 623.
44. *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*, 621.
45. Bergen, "The Nazi Concept of 'Volksdeutsche,'" 574.
46. Lumans, "A Reassessment of *Volksdeutsche* and Jews," in *The Impact of Nazism*, eds. Steinweis and Rogers, 94.
47. Lumans, *Himmler's Auxiliaries*, 191.
48. Bergen, "The Nazi Concept of 'Volksdeutsche,'" 570.

continued enforcement of the racial policy, since the ethnic Germans' gain of possessions relied on endorsing the Nazi point of view.[49]

The tangible benefits of expanding and securing the *Lebensraum* of the *Volk* automatically encouraged discriminatory practices. In fact, the Nazis could hardly supply the ethnic German population, leading to the redistribution of clothing and other loot taken from concentration camp prisoners in Operation Reinhard towards the end of the war.[50] Indeed, Doris Bergen even suggests that Nazi officials could use the arbitrary definition of who constituted the *Volksdeutsche* as a tool of conservation, for as supplies became scarce, the officials could simply deny more people material benefits.[51]

Oftentimes being a good Nazi also meant joining the local *Selbstschutz*, a police organization modeled on the SS that secured the immediate neighborhood.[52] Starting out as an auxiliary police force of all men who could prove their adherence to the Reich—most often through political membership cards of parties favorable or similar to the Nazis—the *Selbstschutz* eventually turned into an extension of the SS because its duties fell under the authority of the RKFDV Heinrich Himmler.[53] Composed of male volunteers between the ages of seventeen and forty-five, the *Selbstschutz* was a paramilitary organization armed with weapons confiscated from the Polish enemy, and led by SS Führers in groups of one hundred in every district.[54]

With few formal duties, the local organizations were involved in various roles, from directing traffic to executing Jews and Poles.[55] Even though their tasks came at the discretion of the local leader, the *Selbstschutz* was primarily engaged in the protection of German property, including the securing of former possessions of undesirables.[56] Scholars can surmise that these groups were organized to protect the ethnic German population from Polish and Jewish hostilities, as well as against the overwhelming presence of Poles and Jews in the General Government. Indeed, one of the responsibilities of the *Selbstschutz* was to raise and strengthen

49. Bergen, 572.

50. Lumans, "A Reassessment of *Volksdeutsche* and Jews," in *The Impact of Nazism*, eds. Steinweis and Rogers, 96.

51. Doris L. Bergen, "The *Volksdeutsche* of Eastern Europe and the Collapse of the Nazi Empire, 1944–1945," in *The Impact of Nazism: New Perspectives on the Third Reich and its Legacy*, 107.

52. Christian Jansen and Arno Weckbecker, *Der "Volksdeutsche Selbstschutz" in Polen 1939/40* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1992), 42.

53. Jansen and Weckbecker, 56–7.

54. Jansen and Weckbecker, 52.

55. Jansen and Weckbecker, 85.

56. Jansen and Weckbecker, 84.

the self-confidence and courage of the *Volksdeutsche*.[57] This hints at a practical employment as well as an ideological employment of this voluntary force, likely in part to ensure the physical security and the preservation of the German character of the settled regions.

Organization within the *Selbstschutz* itself was a microcosm of the overall Nazi racial and administrative guidelines for the whole of the conquered Eastern European lands. Mandatory physical exams used racial features to create differentiated divisions with the paramilitary groups. As such, only the racially desirable of List A were eligible to integrate into official SS units, while the less racially acceptable of List B served police purposes, and those of List C were merely fit for the regular German army.[58] Himmler fully endorsed these strict distinctions, and saw the SS as the epitome of the Aryan ideal: strong, fearless, imposing men of Nordic complexion and stature. Himmler even advocated preferential living conditions and treatment in school for blond, blue-eyed children in the General Government.[59]

Membership in the *Selbstschutz* also decreed certain benefits. Among the perks, possession of a *Selbstschutz* ID guaranteed free use of the public railway and less strict racial scrutinizing of one's family.[60] Also, membership appeared to be widespread and relatively easy to achieve once the racial examination was passed, as more eager volunteers quickly replaced any discharged ones. In fact, even the racial qualifications necessary to attain List A status were at least readily met in West Prussia and Danzig, where eighty percent of those meeting the general qualifications joined the *Selbstschutz*, and half of whom belonged to the highest rank.[61] The *Selbstschutz* was the epitome of *Volksdeutsche*, or at least those deemed desirable, actively engaging in the reorganization and resettlement of the annexed Polish territories.

On a much broader level, by 1940, the *Generalplan Ost* (GPO) formulated the policies applied to the Polish regions for the continued settlement of Poland and the general settlement of any further Eastern lands. Devised by the RSHA, the GPO provided for an increase of 3.4 million Germans in the East within

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57. Jansen and Weckbecker, 82.
58. Jansen and Weckbecker, 59.
59. *Vom Generalplan Ost Zum Generalsiedlungsplan*, eds. Czeslaw Madajczyk et al. (München: K.G. Sour Verlag, 1994), 44.
60. Jansen and Weckbecker, *Der "Volksdeutsche Selbstschutz,"* 59.
61. Jansen and Weckbecker, 61.

thirty years in order to bring the total German population to 4.5 million.[62] Consequently, the plan demanded the removal of 3.4 million Poles.[63] Poland was the testing ground for the management of future territorial acquisitions, and two different concepts inherent in the GPO formalized the types of exploitation already begun in the country. *Kolonialisierung* referred to the establishment of a plunder economy in which the land and industry of the annexed regions would be utilized to the maximum benefit of the Reich.[64] In the already occupied regions of Poland, this procedure was evident especially in the *Volksdeutsche* takeover of former Polish farms. The second notion was that of *Kolonisierung*, the permanent German settlement of the acquired area.[65] The *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* had been in charge of that matter in Poland immediately since the surrender of Warsaw. Above all, the GPO shared the widespread deportation of undesirables and the resettlement of agrarian Germans with the previous plans.[66] In many ways, the *Generalplan Ost* was an umbrella strategy that represented an extension of the Polish *Fernplan* in both time required for completion and territorial scope.

The procedures enacted in Poland at the outset of the war systematically defined Nazi foreign policy towards the whole of Eastern Europe. Focused on the physical removal of undesirable Polish and Jewish elements and the subsequent replacement with ethnically acceptable Germans, the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, in conjunction with the measures dictated by the DVL, was in charge of resettlement. While the genetic and cultural mingling of Poles, Jews, and ethnic Germans made racial classification problematic, the preservation of a strong German heritage in the conquered territories remained a priority. Aside from the theoretical aspect of settlement, *Volksdeutsche* actively participated in the removal of undesirables and the securing of the already inhabited areas by joining the local *Selbstschutz*. Given the tangible benefits of following the racial and administrative Nazi party lines in the East, *Volksdeutsche* had material incentives to continue their engagement in the reorganization process. The ethnic Germans were the key to expanding *Lebensraum* and consolidating a Germanized Eastern Europe.

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62. Dietrich Eichholtz, "Der 'Generalplan Ost': Über eine Ausgeburt Imperialistischer Denkart und Politik (Mit Dokumenten)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte* (1982), 225.
63. *Vom Generalplan Ost Zum Generalsiedlungsplan*, eds. Czeslaw Madajczyk et al. (München: K.G. Sour Verlag, 1994), 3.
64. Eichholtz, "Der 'Generalplan Ost,' 221.
65. Eichholtz
66. Eichholtz, 239.

Defending the Old Gods: Pagan Responses to Imperial Persecution in the Reign of Theodosius I

Christopher Bonura

In the sweltering afternoon of a Mediterranean summer, a group of archeologists made an unexpected discovery in the town of Ostia, about fifteen miles southwest of Rome. In this place, once the main port of the Eternal City, they unearthed a massive temple dedicated to the worship of Hercules. Although the discovery was important in itself, at least one member of the excavation team found a small inscription found with the temple that made an even greater impact.[1]

It was the summer of 1938 and Herbert Bloch, a Jew from Berlin, had joined the archeological team after graduating from the University of Rome. He had come to Italy not only to study, but also to escape the Nazism of his native country. Yet that very month, the Italian fascist government under pressure from Germany issued its own anti-Semitic laws that would soon convince Bloch to leave for the United States.[2]

But the importance of the inscription he found would stay with him, even as he emigrated from Europe. The inscription was a simple statement, asserting only

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1. Details of the excavation are in Herbert Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394 A.D.," *The Harvard Theological Review* 38, no. 4 (October 1945): 199–203.
2. Information on Bloch's life are from Emma Stickgold, "Herbert Bloch; classics expert taught at Harvard 40 years," (October 3 2006), http://www.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2006/10/03/herbert_bloch_classics_expert_taught_at_harvard_40_years/ (accessed December 28, 2008).

The Roman Empire in the Reign of Theodosius I (378–395)

that one Numerius Proiectus had renovated the temple of Hercules in the year of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Eugenius (393 AD).[3] What made this discovery groundbreaking, however, was that it provided evidence that a major pagan temple had been renovated two years after the Christian Roman Emperor supposedly closed all the sites of pagan worship.

Bloch, after joining the faculty of Harvard University, began to research the circumstances behind the renovation of this temple. The article he published as a result, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West," changed modern understandings of religion in the late fourth century Roman Empire. He demonstrated that despite what Christian church historians had often insinuated, paganism was not a defunct religion that simply rolled over at the orders of the Christian government. In a world vaguely similar to Bloch's, a world in which religious persecution was being enforced upon Europe by discriminatory laws and state violence, he believed he had caught a glimpse, in the short reign of Emperor Eugenius, of the persecuted minority rising up in defense of their religion.[4]

3. The inscription, pieced together, read: DOMINIS • NOSTRIS • THEODOSIO • ARCADIO • ETEVGENIO • PIIS • FELICIBVS • TOTO • ORBE • VICTORIBVS • SEMPER • AVGGG • NVMERIVS • PROIECTVS • V • C • PRAEF • ANN • CELLAM • HERCVLIS • RESTITVIT
4. Paganism was not really a unified religion but a mosaic of different beliefs. The only shared concept was a polytheistic or henotheistic worldview. However, for convenience, this paper will refer to paganism with the term *religion*, and will be taken to encompass followers of religious beliefs outside of either Judaism or Christianity.

As a careful study reveals, the pagan reaction to Christianization in Italy was not the only such response in the last decade or so of the fourth century. Though historians like Bloch have studied specific instances of pagan reactions, there have been few major treatments of the aggregate of such reactions. The aim of this investigation will be to provide one. Since religious violence between pagans and Christians went back generations with both sides desecrating each other's holy sites, the focus of this study will be pagan reactions to persecution specifically enacted by the imperial government, which began under Emperor Theodosius I.[5] Such examples can be found in both the elite and local pagan responses to attempts to demolish their temples in the eastern provinces (specifically the Serapeum of Alexandria) and perhaps, in the reign of Eugenius, with an open attempt at regaining control of the political machinery of the Western Empire.

A clear view of these events is difficult to synthesize, for any understanding relies mostly on sources that contradict each other in trying to prove their respective points. Many of the Christian primary sources are church histories, such as those of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Sozomon, Socrates Scholasticus, and Rufinus of Aquileia, and portray the elimination of paganism as the natural, preordained triumph of the Church. Others, such as Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and Orosius' *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII,* sought to discredit paganism in the history of the Roman Empire. The pagan sources, such as Libanius, Zosimus, and Eunapius, are just as severe in their biases, and are characterized by firm opposition to Christianization. To attempt to supplement these ancient historians, this investigation will make extensive use of the Theodosian Code, a compilation of Roman law completed in 438, allowing trends and changes in the law to be tracked and dated.

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5. Constantius II (337–361) had passed anti-pagan laws (*The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, ed. and transl. Clyde Pharr (London: Oxford University Press, 1952)*, 3.10.4–6), but Emperor Julian (361–363) reversed these laws. After the reign of Julian, "evil magic" and blood sacrifices were banned, but a general mood of mutual toleration pervaded until Theodosius I.

Theodosius and his Laws

As the last ruler to control both halves of the Roman Empire, by this time generally divided between East and West, and the emperor who oversaw the triumph of Nicene Catholic Christianity,[6] the Spanish-born Theodosius I was famed both for his piety and his aggressive suppression of heresies.[7] In February of 380, he issued a law making the Nicene faith the official religion of the Roman Empire and the only formally accepted faith:

> We command that those persons who follow this rule shall embrace the name of Catholic Christians. The rest, however, whom We judge demented and insane, shall sustain the infamy of heretical dogmas, their meeting places shall not receive the name of churches, and they shall be smitten first by divine vengeance and secondly by the retribution of Our own initiative.[8]

Indeed, since the start of his reign in 378, Theodosius had ordered repressive measures against heretical groups, even commanding members of certain sects be hunted down and executed.[9] In a heavily-governed society like the later Roman Empire, religious violence was the rule rather than the exception; the earlier pagan persecution of Christians serves as a reminder that in the late antique Roman world, religious tolerance was expected even less than it was given.[10] Though Theodosius symbolized this age of religious compulsion, it was, however, not until 391 that he turned his aim toward suppressing traditional pagan cults that enjoyed great popularity with the Senate and army.[11]

On February 24, 391, Theodosius launched the first volley in his legislative attack on paganism. His law, preserved in the legal code of his grandson and

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6. Theodosius was a strong supporter of the Christian creed set forth by the Council of Nicea, namely that Christ was "of the same substance" as God. In 381, Theodosius convoked the Council of Constantinople, the Second Great Ecumenical Council, which upheld this position and declared heretic all who opposed it.

7. For the details of Theodosius' life, see Stephen Williams and Gerard Friell, *Theodosius, the Empire at Bay* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994).

8. *C.Th.,* 16.1.2.

9. *C.Th.,* 16.5.9.

10. Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred.* (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1995), 43–50.

11. Indeed, Theodosius had even promoted pagans, such as Symmachus and Tatianus, to high office.

namesake, prohibited pagan sacrifices and entry into temples.[12] This edict was followed up by another, harsher one later that year: "No person shall be granted the right to perform sacrifices; no person shall go around the temples; no person shall revere the shrines. All persons shall recognize that they are excluded from profane entrance into temples by the opposition of Our law."[13]

Nonetheless, even before Theodosius issued these laws, paganism was already on the defensive, especially in the eastern half of the empire. While earlier attempts at suppressing paganism are not so clearly attested to in the law codes, imperial agents, acting at least in Theodosius's name, were actively waging war on paganism. In 384, the Emperor's *praefectus praetorio Orientis*,[14] Maternus Cynegius, was already engaged in such a campaign against paganism.[15]

Cynegius, the Temples of the East, and the Pagan Elite

During his tenure in the eastern part of the Empire, Cynegius enlisted the aid of local monks in a quest to demolish pagan temples in his jurisdiction.[16] The archeological record suggests Cynegius's campaign and future tours of destruction, as far fewer remnants of pagan temples survive in Syria than churches despite the much shorter period of Christian rule over the region.[17] However, the degree to which the destruction of temples was a private affair led by Cynegius outside his official capacity is uncertain, as is Theodosius's approval or encouragement in the matter.

The Christian historian Theodoret, for one, claims that Theodosius personally ordered the destruction of the temples, stating, "Now the right faithful emperor diverted his energies to resisting paganism, and published edicts

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12. *C.Th.,* 16.10.10.

13. *C.Th*, 16.10.11.

14. Praetorian Prefect (regional administrator) of the East, a jurisdiction that covered Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

15. John Matthews, "A Pious Supporter of Theodosius I, Maternus Cynegius and his Family," *Journal of Theological Studies* 18, no. 2 (1967): 440, 445–446.

16. John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court, A.D. 364–425* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 140.

17. Garth Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire A. D. 320–435," *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978): 68.

in which he ordered the shrines of the idols to be destroyed."[18] He also claims that Bishop Marcellus of Apamea carried out the destruction of the Temple of Zeus in his city with the support of officials sent by Theodosius.[19] Zosimus, a pagan writer and general critic of the Christianization of the Empire, agreed with Theodoret even though he wrote from a different point of view than the church historian, writing that "[Theodosius] gave instructions to Cynegius, the prefect of his court, whom he had sent into Egypt in order to prohibit there all worship of the gods, and to shut up their temples . . . In this Cynegius obeyed his commands: he effectively closed up the doors of the temples throughout the east, Egypt, and Alexandria, and prohibited all ancient sacrifices and customary observances."[20]

The veracity of the claims of Theodoret and Zosimus, however, are open to question.[21] Theodoret wanted to portray Theodosius as the heroic destroyer of paganism, while Zosimus intended to depict the emperor as a Christian fanatic. The sources are vague as to whether Theodosius actually ordered the destruction of temples, authorized only specific instances of temple demolition, or merely turned a blind eye to the individual initiatives of Cynegius and the monks.[22] Libanius, a cultured and educated pagan from Antioch who witnessed the temple destruction first hand, certainly did not believe that Theodosius had ordered the attacks.[23] He dedicated an oration to Theodosius addressing the perceived illegality of the temple demolition. In his view, the destruction was the fault of the monks, who were usurping Imperial authority:

> "This black-robed tribe...these people, sire, while
> the law yet stays in force, hasten to the temples
> with sticks and stones and bars of iron, and in some
> cases, disdaining these, with hands and feet. Then

18. Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* transl. Blomfield Jackson, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* vol. III (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994): 5.21.
19. Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 5.21. The officials and their soldiers are portrayed as ineffectual, and Marcellus has to undermine the temples foundations (and fight a demon in the process), but Theodoret was very much trying to show that Marcellus was the hero of the story.
20. Zosimus, *Historia nova,* ed. and transl. James J. Buchanan and Harold T. Davis (San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University Press, 1967), 4.37.
21. David Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity* (New York: Routledge Press, 2002), 278–279.
22. Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire A. D. 320–435," 65.
23. Michael Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 210–211.

> utter desolation follows, with the stripping of roofs,
> demolition of walls, the tearing down of statues and
> overthrow of altars, and the priests must either keep
> quiet or die. After demolishing one, they scurry
> to another, and to a third, and trophy is piled on
> trophy, in contravention of the law."[24]

In Libanius's mind, only Theodosius had the right to order the destruction of the temples, claiming that "If, Sire, you commend and command such actions, we will put up with them, not without sorrow, but we will show that we have been schooled in obedience."[25] In the writings of Eunapius, a pagan Greek philosopher who was also a witness to the events, the outrage is also directed not at imperial officials, but at monks. "For in those days," Eunapius wrote, looking back on the prefecture of Cynegius, "every man who wore a black robe and consented to behave in unseemly fashion in public, possessed the power of a tyrant."[26]

The reaction of Libanius, Eunapius, and their fellow upper-class pagans was not so much outrage at the desecration of their holy sites, but rather at the desecration at the hands of social inferiors who lacked the authority to do so.[27] More importantly, the monks, as men of low social status,[28] provided an acceptable outlet at which the pagans could direct their anger. In fact, when Libanius briefly mentions Cynegius, he redirects the blame for the prefect's actions, claiming that Cynegius was merely a slave of "his wife's whims."[29] Hence, by blaming social inferiors, rural monks and meddling women, the pagan intellectuals avoided the hazardous prospect of appearing to criticize the Emperor.[30] As historian Peter Brown points out, "the grass-roots violence of the

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24. Libanius, "Pro Templis," in *Libanius, Selected Works,* vol. II, transl. A. F. Norman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), 30.8–9.
25. Libanius, "Pro Templis," in *Libanius, Selected Works,* 30.55.
26. Eunapius, *Hisotiarum fragmenta,* ed. and transl. R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire,* vol. II (Liverpool, England: Francis Cairns Press, 1983), 9.56.
27. Brown, *The Authority and the Sacred,* 51.
28. Libanius, in "Pro Templis," 30.48, says that the monks are nothing more than runaway peasants.
29. Libanius,"Pro Templis," 30.46.
30. Indeed, in,"Pro Templis," 30.26, Libanius actually offers Theodosius advice in converting the Empire, suggesting that the Emperor would only make pagans cling more fiercely to their religion by destroying their temples.

monks was probably less important than the controlled violence of Theodosius's determination to be finished with paganism. But it was violence of which one was still free to talk."[31]

LOCAL PAGAN RESPONSES IN THE EAST

The overzealously Christian term of Cynegius seems to have spurred a backlash in the Roman world, even on the part of Emperor Theodosius. After Cynegius suddenly died in 388, Theodosius appointed a pagan named Tatianus as the new prefect;[32] perhaps the speeches and complaints of Libanius finally had some effect, for two years later, Theodosius issued a law restricting monks to the desert and away from the towns and cities.[33]

Yet this new peace between Christians and pagans was short-lived. Tatianus's high position made him the victim of court jealousies, and Zosimus's history describes a coup d'état that ousted Tatianus and replaced him with the Christian *Magister Officiorum,* Rufinus.[34] In a short time the law banning monks from cities was reversed along with the general climate of pagan toleration in the East.[35] Violence broke out as monks and bishops once again targeted the temples for destruction. The historian Sozomen reports that pagans throughout the East fought to defend their temples, and often resorted to physical violence. In Apamea, the city's pagans armed the local peasants and burned Bishop Marcellus to death, the same bishop who destroyed the Temple of Zeus supposedly on Theodosius's orders.[36] The peasants had captured Marcellus while the bishop was away from his bodyguard as these soldiers were ransacking a temple; the fact that the bishop was guarded by soldiers hints that he may

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31. Brown, *The Authority and the Sacred*, 51.
32. Malcolm Errington, in *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 236, and Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ*, 212.
33. *C.Th.*, 16.3.1.
34. Zosimus, *Historia nova,* ed. and transl. Ronald T. Ridley (Canberra, Australia: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1982), 4.52. To distinguish him from the historian Rufinus, from this point the *Magister Officiorum*/Praetorian Prefect Rufinus will be referred to as Flavius Rufinus.
35. *C.Th.*, 16.3.2. For the religious climate, see Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ*, 235–236.
36. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* transl. Chester D. Hartranft, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* 7.15.

indeed have been acting with government approval.[37] As with the attacks on temples under Cynegius, however, the degree to which the imperial government was involved in these matters cannot be clearly ascertained from the primary sources. It is perhaps more likely that in the vast majority of cases, the pagans were responding to local, private attempts at temple destruction.

During this period of temple destruction, however, Theodosius began to pass his severe anti-pagan legislation. In 391, the temples were officially closed and sacrifices outlawed. The next year, Theodosius addressed an even stricter law to Flavius Rufinus in his role as the new Praetorian Prefect of the East, which essentially banned all practices with even remotely pagan associations.[38] This last law is problematic for historians: though it made sweeping prohibitions against everything from the burning of incense to the private veneration of household gods,[39] and declared animal sacrifices high treason punishable by death, the primary sources make virtually no mention of this draconian law. The sources also do not indicate any immediate pagan response to the decree. Why were there no bitter complaints over the law in the pagan sources like Zosimus, or gloating in the Christian histories?[40] Perhaps the reason that the sources largely ignore this law is that even more important events soon surpassed these legal actions.

Around this time, Christians were about to strike the most symbolic of all blows against pagans in Alexandria.[41] The city was home to a long pagan tradition, with nearly 2,400 shrines or temples spread out across the city's five

37. Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire A. D. 320–435," 66–67.
38. *C.Th.,* 16.10.12.
39. *C.Th* . Williams and Friell, stressing the impact this law must have had, go so far as to say that the modern equivalent would be to outlaw Easter eggs, Christmas trees, and Halloween pumpkins (pg. 123), all of which have innocuous roots in paganism.
40. Malcolm Errington, in *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*, 246–247 argues that the law was actually intended to target the pagan Tatianus and his sympathizers. Thus, since everyone recognized that it solely targeted Tatianus and his faction in the government, which had been expelled anyway, it received little attention. However, such an understanding of the law is unsatisfying. The law targeted everyone, "whether he is powerful by the lot of birth or is humble in lineage," (*C.Th.,* 16.10.12) throughout the Empire.
41. The actual dating of the destruction of the Serapeum is difficult to place since there are no specific references to the year in the sources. The date is variously assigned to 389, 391 (McMullen, *Christianity and Paganism,* 2), and 392. I am here inclined to follow Johannes Hahn, in "The Conversion of the Cult Statues: The Destruction of the Serapeum in 392 A.D. and the Transformation of Alexandria into a 'Christ-Loving' City," *From Temple to Church: The Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (London/Boston: Brill, 2008), 340–244, since his evidence, comments made by Jerome, seem most convincing.

districts.[42] The greatest symbol of the city's pagan history was the Serapeum, a temple dedicated to the Hellenistic-Egyptian god Serapis and described by the well-traveled historian Ammianus Marcellinus as second only to Rome's Capitol among the most magnificent sights in the world.[43] Theophilus, the bishop of the city, however, had taken it upon himself to cleanse his see of all sites of pagan worship. According to the primary sources, Emperor Theodosius either ordered the destruction of the temples,[44] or simply granted the bishop permission to convert them into churches.[45] It is unlikely that Bishop Theophlius, who had much to gain from looting pagan temples,[46] needed explicit orders from the imperial government. Yet the Emperor issued a law in 391 reiterating the ban on pagan worship that was specifically addressed to Evagrius and Romanus,[47] the civil and military governors of Egypt whom Eunapius portrayed as prominently involved in the temple destruction.[48] Therefore, it seems likely that at least some communication between Theophilus and Constantinople took place.

Imperial support or not, the bishop's first targets were the Mithraeum and Temple of Dionysius. Having destroyed them, he led a procession through the city, mocking the pagans by carrying the broken phalli of the gods. Enraged pagans responded by attacking the Christian procession, and fighting erupted in the streets. The scene grew very violent very quickly, and a number of people were killed.[49] As a result, many pagans fled the city, fearing imperial retribution.

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42. Hahn, "The Conversion of the Cult Statues," 336–337.

43. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum,* transl. Walter Hamilton, *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 22.16.12.

44. Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* transl. A.C. Zenos, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* vol. II, 5.16.

45. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 7.15 and Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* transl. William Henry Fremantle, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* vol. III, 11.22.

46. Hahn, in "The Conversion of the Cult Statues," 354–355, discusses the enormous riches the Church of Alexandria attained as a result of Theophilus' seizing of pagan temple assets.

47. *C.Th.,* 16.10.11.

48. Eunapius, *Hisotiarum fragmenta*, 9.56. Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 5.16 also alludes to their involvement, though he does not name them.

49. This is the general sense of events from the sources, though they do not agree on all aspects. According to Rufinus, the pagans rioted because their hidden lairs where they committed crimes had been discovered, but this seems like merely anti-pagan propaganda. Sozomen claims that the riot was a premeditated ambush, but this also seems unlikely, especially considering the volatile mood of the city, with violence ready to explode any minute. Socrates, who describes the display of the phalli and subsequent riot, is likely the most accurate source, as two of his teachers, Halladius and Ammonius, were pagans who had taken part in the violence, and he bases his version of events on what they told him.

Others under the leadership of a philosopher named Olympius reacted by storming the Serapeum and barricading themselves inside.[50]

The Serapeum was more than a temple: it was a massive complex built on a sort of acropolis high above the city, giving the pagans a very defensible position. According to Sozomen, the pagans had captured a number of Christians, and in their makeshift fortress forced these Christians to perform pagan rituals. If the Christians refused, the pagans tortured or killed them.[51] While a bitterly violent reaction such as this may have been perpetrated in revenge for the destruction of the temples, this may also just be further Christian propaganda aimed at dehumanizing the pagans and transforming the Christians into martyrs.[52]

With the pagans pent up in the Serapeum, the situation reached a stalemate. Regardless of whether he was involved in the situation before, at this point Theodosius stepped into the fray. He sent an imperial decree to the city, and, according to some accounts, the pagans and Christians declared a truce during which all parties met to hear the reading of the decree. Theodosius granted a pardon to the pagans, but ordered the Serapeum destroyed. A mob aided by monks and imperial troops made its way to the Serapeum. As Olympius and the other pagans fled, Theophilus and his followers smashed the statue of the god and utterly destroyed the temple complex.[53]

Thus, though they originally responded to Theophilus with violence, the reaction of the pagan community of Alexandria ultimately backfired, and they subsequently lost their religious places and perhaps even their jobs,[54] thereby leaving many with no option but to permanently depart from the city. According to Johannes Hahn, "The revolt of the pagan community, whether deliberately provoked or spontaneous, was used by the Bishop of Alexandria and his allies

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50. Socrates, who, again, had the most reliable source for these events, does not mention the storming of the Serapeum. In his account, it seems that the Serapeum was already destroyed when the street violence broke out. However, Rufinus and Sozomen both put great emphasis on the pagan occupation of the Serapeum, so it probably is based in some fact.

51. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 7.15.

52. Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, 279–80. Gaddis, in *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ*, 95, however, does believe Sozomen's claims.

53. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 7.15, Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.23, and Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.22.

54. Alan Cameron, "Palladas and Christian Polemic," *Journal of Roman Studies* 55 (1965a): 26–28. According to Socrates, the pagan rioters were mostly professors, and it seems that the teaching of classics may have been banned, at least temporarily, in Alexandria afterwards.

in the imperial bureaucracy to destroy the infrastructure of the entire pagan community and destroy its cultic base in the city permanently."[55]

According to Sozomen, when the Nile failed to flood at its normal time that year and threatened Egypt with famine, the pagans cynically hoped that this disaster would show the power of their outraged gods. When the Nile did flood, later but more plentifully than usual, the pagans were deprived of any sort of victory. In what may be fact, or simply a worn out Christian *topos*, most of the remaining pagans of the city are said to have reacted by converting to Christianity *en masse*.[56]

Literary Reactions to the Serapeum

Before Theophilus and his monks even harmed the Serapeum, pagans were already worrying about the fate of such a magnificent symbol of paganism in the face of Christian hostility. Libanius, in his oration to Theodosius, mentioned the Serapeum and singled it out among all others as a temple he prayed would not be harmed.[57] While Libanius's reaction to its destruction does not survive, a number of educated elites expressed their despair at the symbolic Christian victory in Alexandria.

The response in pagan literature is unambiguous. Shortly after the destruction of the Serapeum, the pagan poet Palladas of Alexandria wrote "Are we not dead and living only in appearance, we Hellenes (i.e. pagans), fallen on disaster, likening life to a dream, if we continue to live while our way of life is gone?"[58] Eunapius, another pagan contemporary of the events, responded to the destruction of the great temple with equal despair. In his account, he used classical myth to relate the situation to that of the gods. Eunapius portrayed the Christians as the giants in their attack on Mt. Olympus, with Theophilus as the giant leader Eurymedon.[59] The story is an earthly retelling of the gods' most desperate struggle, but one in which the gods are overthrown and the world cast into an age of darkness and chaos, where "an unseemly gloom would hold sway over the fairest things on earth."[60]

55. Hahn, "The Conversion of the Cult Statues," 350.
56. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 7.20.
57. Libanius, "Pro Templis," 30.44.
58. Cameron, "Palladas and Christian Polemic," 27.
59. Eunapius, *Historia fragmenta,* 9.56. The mention of Eurymedon is a reference to the *Odyssey* vii. 59: Εὐρυμέδοντος, ὅς ποθ' ὑπερθύμοισι Γιγάντεσσιν βασίλευεν.
60. Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists*, transl. Wilmer Cave Wright, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1952), 418.

The defeat of the pagans was just as decisive in the Christian accounts, but for them it was also a cause for celebration. The destruction of the Serapeum represented the annihilation of paganism, and Rufinus's account of the events concludes with Theodosius raising his hands toward heaven and proclaiming "*vetustus error extinctus est*," that is "an ancient error has been annihilated."[61] Rufinus paired this triumph with the Emperor's second great victory over paganism, his defeat of the usurper Eugenius.

Eugenius and the West

Theodosius's imperial conflict with the western emperor Eugenius served as the backdrop against which possibly the last pagan response to the Christianizing attempts of Theodosius took place. Unfortunately for historians, the reign of Eugenius is controversial. Since the publication of Bloch's article concerning the pagan revival, scholars have generally considered Eugenius's reign as the environment in which a short-lived pagan renaissance took place.[62] But in recent years the consensus has shifted,[63] and it is necessary to examine Eugenius's reign in greater detail before any conclusions are drawn.

Eugenius came to power under unique circumstances. In May of 392, Valentinian II, whom Theodosius had installed in Gaul as the nominal ruler of the West, was found dead at his residence in Vienne. Conflicting reports of foul play and suicide abounded.[64] Suspicion fell on Arbogastes, the *Magister Militium* of the West,[65] who was also a Frankish barbarian and a pagan. Arbogastes had worked his way up the ranks of the Roman army, but his nationality kept him from claiming the purple himself, so he installed Eugenius, his longtime friend

61. Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* transl. William Henry Fremantle, 11.30.
62. Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival of the West, 393–394 A.D." This sentiment is echoed in Matthews, "The Historical Setting of the 'Carmen Contra Paganos,'" Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte 19, no. 4 (November 1970): 464–479.
63. See especially Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius,* published very recently (2008). Other recent research, such as Neil McLynn's *Ambrose of Milan Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), and in the work of J. J. O'Donnell, also has greatly minimized the emphasis of pagan revival in their accounts of the usurpation of Eugenius.
64. Arbogastes is said to be Valentinian's killer in both Zosimus 4.58, Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII,* transl. Roy J. Deferrari, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. L (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 7.35, and Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and transl. Philip R. Amidon, S. J. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), XI.1. Both Sozomen (VII.22) and Augustine (*De civitate Dei,* transl. Demetrias B. Zema and Gerald G. Walsh, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. VIII (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1950), 5.26), though stridently Christian and supporters of Theodosius, nonetheless say the cause of Valentinian's death was uncertain.
65. Equivalent to commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the western half of the empire.

and a midlevel bureaucrat, as Emperor.[66] Yet, though the relationship between the pagan Arbogastes and the Christian Valentinian II had not been smooth,[67] Arbogastes seemed completely unprepared for the death of Valentinian and hesitated for two months before he raised Eugenius, who was in fact a Christian,[68] to the purple.[69] And even after Arbogastes proclaimed Eugenius emperor, their new regime still made no major move.

At the beginning of his reign, Eugenius denied a request from a senatorial embassy for the return of the Altar of Victory. Erected in the senate house by Caesar Augustus, this Altar opened sessions of the senate for over four hundred years as the burning of incense at the religious symbol preceded governmental business. In 382, however, the Christian government removed it, despite pleas from senators, such as the famous third *relatio* of Q. Aurelius Symmachus.[70] Since then, the shrine had come to symbolize the cause of the pagan senators of Rome, and by denying their request, Eugenius showed his continued allegiance to Theodosius and his policies. Eugenius even issued coins in both his own and Theodosius's name and sent embassies to Constantinople to gain Theodosius's approval.[71] Theodosius at first only stalled in responding to Eugenius, and was likely weighing his options. His intentions, however, slowly became clear: he ignored Eugenius's authority and unilaterally appointed the next year's western Consul. Then, in January of 393, he proclaimed his son Augustus of the West. Civil war seemed inevitable.[72]

This is the point in Eugenius's reign when the sources indicate that a pagan revival took place. With no support from the East, the new Western regime's allies were scarce and Eugenius desperately needed support. The senators of

66. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,* vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 95–96, 293.

67. Zosimus, *Historia nova,* 4.53.

68. Sozomen claims that he was a phony Christian. The majority of primary sources, however, are either silent about his religion or assert that he was indeed a Christian. Philostorgius, XI.1, is a notable exception, and claims that Eugenius was a pagan. However, this would make Ambrose's *Ep. ex. 10 (Maur. 57),* ed. and transl. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches* (Liverpool, England: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 216–218, a letter addressed to Eugenius, nonsensical.

69. On the unpreparedness of Arbogastes, see Williams and Friell, *Theodosius, the Empire at Bay,* 127–128.

70. For more on the Altar of Victory Controversy, see Christina Sogno, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus,* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 44–46, and McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 166.

71. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court,* 239–241.

72. Williams and Friell, *Theodosius, the Empire at Bay,* 130.

Rome, many of whom clung to the pagan ways of their illustrious ancestors, provided an untapped source for such support.[73] Theodosius's recent anti-pagan laws had likely alienated noble pagans even further from a regime that had always been highly Christian in its rhetoric. In addition, the senate was still reeling from the removal of its Altar of Victory. Thus, it was not Eugenius and Arbogastes who wanted to fight Theodosius's attempts at Christianization; they merely wanted to keep their fragile grip on power. The pagan senators of Rome, having seen the removal of their altar, their traditional cults deprived of state funding, and new legal restrictions placed on the practice of ceremonies, ultimately led the revival. If Eugenius would grant them an environment of religious freedom, they could forge a relationship of mutual benefit.[74]

Eugenius and Arbogastes crossed the Alps in early 393 and took up residence in Milan. They quickly began to successfully curry favor with the senatorial elite; Eugenius surrounded himself in an administration of pagans. Symmachus, the former leader of the senate's pagan faction, remained wary and purposely aloof after seeing his career damaged by collusion with the previous usurper Magnus Maximus four years earlier. Yet even he still exchanged gifts and pleasantries with the new regime.[75] But it was the Praetorian Prefect of Italy, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, who ultimately became the new head of the pagan faction. The Western regime also appointed Flavianus's son *prefectus urbi romae*, and gave high offices to other pagans such as Numerius Proiectus. Eugenius finally restored the Altar of Victory, and Flavianus traveled to Rome where he took part in ostentatious pagan ceremonies.[76]

According to a poem written a few decades later, pagans refurbished temples in Rome, celebrated the festivals of Attis and Cybele along with the Floralia (a pagan festival of flowers), and held the Megalensian games and festivities dedicated to Isis, all presumably under Flavianus's direction. The poem that attests to these events, however, is a contentious piece of evidence called the *Carmen Contra Paganos*. It is considered a poem of inferior quality and,

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73. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court*, 241–243. By this time, according to Betrand Lançon in *Rome in Late Antiquity,* transl. Antonia Nevill (New York: Routledge, 2000), 71–72, the senate was split about equally between pagans and Christians. However, Symmachus and his pagan faction are the most vocal and active senators in the surviving sources.
74. Williams and Friell, *Theodosius, the Empire at Bay*, 133.
75. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court*, 243–244.
76. Matthews, 237–243.

unfortunately, ambiguous setting, describing the reinstitution of pagan worship under a despised *prefectus urbi romae*.[77] Since 1870, when the classicist Theodor Mommsen identified the unnamed Prefect with Nicomachus Flavianus, his theory has remained popular.[78] However, the true subject of the poem is still a matter of much debate.[79]

Nonetheless, the *Carmen* is not the only evidence that Flavianus sponsored a pagan revival. The Christian Prudentius, describing Theodosius's Christianizing endeavors in contrast to the obstinate paganism of Symmachus and other senators, complained, "I thought that Rome, once sick with pagan vice, had purged herself by now of old disease and that no trace had remained since our good prince [Theodosius] had eased her grievous pains by healing laws. But since the plague [of paganism], of late revived, torments the sons of Romulus, we must beg God's help."[80] In addition, Bloch's inscription from the temple at Ostia provides some archeological evidence of a pagan reaction under Eugenius and coincides with the mention in the *Carmen* of pagan temple renovation in Rome.[81] With heavy imperial penalties for merely entering temples, it seems hard to imagine that the renovation of such a temple could have been carried out without some new form of toleration. Indeed, it is hard to deny that a pagan cultural renaissance took place in Rome in the years leading up to and during the reign of Eugenius. Macrobius in his fifth century work, the *Saturnalia,* celebrated many of the pagans whom Eugenius and Arbogastes gave office to or with whom they corresponded, as the last great generation of pagans.[82]

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77. Matthews, "The Historical Setting of the 'Carmen Contra Paganos,' " 467–477.
78. Mommsen's analysis is found in his article "Carmen Codicis Parisini, 8084," *Hermes* 4 (1870). Ten years later, Thomas Hodgkin, in *Italy and Her Invaders,* vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), pg. 562–564, follows Mommsen's view. This sentiment is echoed, three-quarters of a century later, in Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival of the West, 393–394 A.D.," 231–233. Additionally, Matthews, once again, is the strongest proponent of this interpretation in contemporary scholarship.
79. Errington in "*Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*" 253 and Neil McLynn in *Ambrose of Milan*, pg. 165. Both dispute the idea that the poem's subject is Flavianus.
80. Prudentius, "Contra Symmachum," *The Poems of Prudentius* vol II, transl. Sister M. Clement Eagan (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1965), 116.
81. Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival of the West," 216. For discussion of the *Carmen*'s description of the renovation of temples, see Matthews, "The Historical Setting of the 'Carmen Contra Paganos,' " 467–469.
82. Clifford Ando, "The Palladium and the Pentateuch: Towards a Sacred Topography of the Later Roman Empire," *Phoenix* 55, no. 3/4 (Autumn—Winter 2001): 389.

Under Eugenius, however, state sponsorship of paganism was not reinstituted. Ambrose of Milan accused Eugenius of instead laundering money through the pagan nobles by means of personal gifts in order to fund the cults.[83] Nonetheless, Eugenius did make a clear concession to the pagan faction by proclaiming Flavianus Consul for 394. Around this time, Flavianus probably spread a propagandistic claim of an oracle predicting that the ordained lifespan of Christianity would come to an end 365 years after the death of Christ (and thus around the time of Eugenius's usurpation) in an possible attempt to further emphasize the religious character of the impending conflict with Theodosius.[84] As Theodosius's army approached Italy, Flavianus and Arbogastes supposedly boasted that when they returned victorious from their campaign they would stable their horses in Milan's cathedral and conscript the clergy into the army.[85]

The pagans had come to match Theodosius in vitriolic rhetoric. This reactionary pagan movement, however, did not last long. On September 5, 394, the two rival Emperors and their armies met at the Frigidus River, the modern Wipatch in Slovenia. After two days of hard fighting, Theodosius emerged victorious and completely wiped out the armies of Eugenius and Arbogastes. Flavianus and Arbogastes committed suicide while Eugenius was captured and executed.[86]

The Ruin of Paganism

The religious biases of the primary sources are most evident in accounts of this battle, allowing for a more subtle examination of whether Eugenius's reign was as pagan in character as Bloch asserted. Zosimus and his main source Eunapius, both of whom never associate Eugenius in any way with paganism, remain consistent and portray the battle simply as one between two rival emperors. In their accounts, an eclipse darkened the battle, which, after a day

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83. Ambrose, *Ep. ex. 10 (Maur. 57)*, ed. and transl. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Ambrose of Milan*, 216–218. It should be noted that McLynn, in his study on Ambrose of Milan, disagrees with this interpretation of Ambrose's letter, and claims that Ambrose was criticizing Eugenius for giving the pagan aristocrats gifts in the first place, and not what the gifts were used for.

84. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* VII.21. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court*, 245, and Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival," 233, attribute it to Flavianus.

85. Paulinus of Milan, *Vita S. Ambrosii,* transl. Boniface Ramsay, *Ambrose* (London: Routledge Press, 1997), 208 (31).

86. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court*, 246–247.

of fighting, yielded no victor.[87] Then, while Eugenius's forces were sleeping, Theodosius and his army fell upon and slaughtered them.[88] Having no love of the zealously Christian Theodosius, the pagan writers did not depict his victory as entirely honorable, but they were completely silent about any religious motivations on either side. Eunapius and Zosimus, however, were both pagans, and were unlikely to want to identify the disgraced traitors Eugenius and Arbogastes with their cause.[89]

The Christian authors, on the other hand, were anxious to connect Eugenius with paganism and claim a victory for the Christian God. According to Theodoret's account, Eugenius's army fought under the banner of Hercules and Jupiter, and Saint Augustine's writings on the battle echo this. Augustine's account also mentions that Flavianus set up a massive statue of Jupiter hurling thunderbolts made of gold over the battlefield and that the victorious followers of Theodosius later pillaged the impressive statue.[90] Common also to all such Christian accounts is the idea that God directly intervened to deliver a victory for Theodosius. After a disastrous first day of battle, Theodosius was said to have prayed for divine aid,[91] and Theodoret reported that John the Baptist and Philip the Apostle visited the Eastern Emperor in a dream to lift his spirits and promise him victory.[92]

The Christian historians went much farther than the pagans in associating the Theodosian victory at the Frigidus with divine intervention. Sozomen, Rufinus, Orosius, and Theodoret all describe the appearance of the *bora* wind, a fairly common occurrence in the region but a decisive aspect of the battle, as a sort of *deus ex machina*:[93]

> A violent wind blew right in the faces of the foe, and
> diverted their arrows and javelins and spears....The

87. This version of events is highly questionable, especially considering that no solar eclipses, full or partial, are calculated to have occurred in the entirety of year 394. See Ridley's commentary in Zosimus, *Historia nova,* ed. and transl. Ronald T. Ridley, pg. 96, n.151.
88. Zosimus, *Historia nova*, 4.58.
89. Though a last heroic stand for paganism would seem romantic and more appealing for some modern historians (*c.f.* Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 1926), to ancient pagans, for whom the power of the gods was revealed in their aid to human followers, the association of paganism with a defeated regime could only be a source of embarrassment.
90. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, 5.26.
91. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos*, 7.35, and Sozomen *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 7.24.
92. Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.24.
93. Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, 286–287.

> imperial forces on the other hand did not receive
> the slightest injury from the storm, and vigorously
> attacked and slew the foe. The vanquished then
> recognized the divine help given to their conquerors,
> flung away their arms, and begged the emperor for
> quarter.[94]

Mention of this divine wind goes back to the most immediate source for the battle, a panegyric for the Christian Emperor written by the pagan poet Claudian.[95] However, later sources seized upon it as a miracle that showed God's support for the campaign against Eugenius and Arbogastes.

Nevertheless, just as the pagan authors may be too anxious to disassociate Eugenius's regime with paganism, the Christian authors may be too eager to find a connection. Recent scholars such as R. Malcolm Errington have dismissed any such connection, and Errington goes so far as to even dismiss the *bora* event, claiming that it is just some imaginative poetry written by Claudian and imitated by later sources.[96] He concludes, "the civil war between Theodosius and Eugenius dressed up as a battle between Christianity and paganism has nothing to do with history. For the religious history of the era, the war is simply an irrelevance."[97]

Yet there are some problems with dismissing any associations of Eugenius with paganism during the civil war. Errington claims that the banners of the pagan gods which Eugenius's army carried were likely nothing more than the standards of the *Herculiani* and *Ioviani*, the two most senior legions, which bore the names of the respective gods.[98] Nevertheless, detachments of both legions existed in both armies,[99] and if such banners were no longer in use under

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94. Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* transl. Blomfield Jackson, 5.25.

95. Claudian, "Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti," (December 24, 2004), http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Claudian/De_III_Consulatu_Honorii*.html (accessed December 28, 2008). Augustine, for one, in *De Civ. Dei*, 5.26, claims that Claudian was a pagan.

96. Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*, 255–257.

97. Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*, 257–258.

98. Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*.

99. See the *Notitia Dignitatum,* http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/notitia.html (accessed December 28, 2008)*,* see troop roles for the *Magister Militium Praesentalis* of the East and the *Magister Peditum* of the West.

Theodosius,[100] the use of the traditional standards must have been restored by Eugenius in a clear concession to the pagan faction. It is also hard to explain away Augustine's Jupiter statues, especially since he claims that his information came directly from conversations with some veterans of the battle.[101] Perhaps most importantly, the *bora* is a real phenomenon that occurs in the Wippatch region,[102] and there is no good reason to believe that Claudian or Theodoret simply made it up or that these two men, from Egypt and Syria respectively, somehow knew about this rare local meteorological phenomenon in the Julian Alps.

The most likely interpretation of the evidence is that, under Eugenius, there was indeed a pagan revival led by Flavianus in response to Theodosius's edicts. But Eugenius was no Emperor Julian: his toleration of the pagan revival was a purely political move aimed at securing allies among Rome's senatorial elite. After all, being at war with perhaps the most piously Christian emperor yet to wear the purple *paludamentum*, it was only natural that Eugenius would reach out to the pagan elite, the party with the most to lose from Theodosius's continued hegemony over the West.

Nonetheless, in Eugenius and his administration, Theodosius defeated the last holdout of pagan resistance during his reign. The senate quickly capitulated to the Eastern Emperor and its Altar of Victory was removed, never to be seen again, while the temples of Rome were permanently closed.[103] Theodosius did not have much time to celebrate his decisive victory, for he died in January of 395. Yet, if it were Theodosius's goal to inflict a mortal wound on Roman paganism, he accomplished it. While Theodosius's sons would continue the campaign against the temples and emperors would continue to pass anti-pagan laws up to time of Justinian,[104] Theodosius's reign was the crucial period when traditional paganism and the various cults were turned from ancient tradition to crimes of *lèse majesté*. As Edward Gibbon wrote, "The ruin of Paganism, in

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100. A safe assumption considering the preeminence of the cross as his battle standard in Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 5.24.

101. Augusinus, *De Civ. Dei*, 5.26.

102. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, 575–576. Hodgkin talks of eight Austiran cavalrymen, in his own lifetime, who were killed when they were caught traveling in the region and the winds of the *bora* whipped up around them.

103. Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity,* 21, 93–94.

104. *C.Th.,* 16.10.16. For later laws against paganism, see *Codex Justinianus,* 1.11.9–10.

the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may therefore deserve to be considered, as a singular event in the history of the human mind."[105]

Yet, it would be wrong to assume, as historians such as Edward Gibbon have, that there was no resistance to the laws of Theodosius. Pagans did respond, but the nature such resistance is often muddled by problems in historiography, and in the end this resistance was too little too late. Despite the various forms of pagan resistance, temples throughout the Empire were nonetheless closed down, the famous Serapeum of Alexandria and the city's pagan community were destroyed, and the resistance of the religiously reactionary Roman senate was broken. Paganism was crushed, and even the pagans had accepted that it was irreversible: it was time for submission, and in many cases, conversion.[106]

Thus, the experience of Palladas of Alexandria at the end of the fourth century was characteristic of the age. Coming upon the statue of a god, broken and overturned at an Egyptian crossroad, the poet was overcome with despair. He wrote of how he was struck by the rapid turn of events, at how the once mighty god had been laid so low: "but at night the god stood by my bed, smiling, and said; 'Even though I am a god, I have learnt to serve the times.'"[107]

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105. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, David P. Womersley (ed.) (London: Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1781, 1994), Vol. III, chapter 28, 71.
106. Cameron, "Palladas and Christian Polemic," 30–31.
107. Palladas, *Anthologia Palatina,* ed. and transl. W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1968), IX. 441.

'Memento Mori': A Death Obsession in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe?

Lynsey Wood

There is a common perception among the public today that those living in the Middle Ages were a very morbid people. Images of scythe-wielding skeletons, contorted plague victims and specters of death have all served to paint a bleak picture of life in late medieval and early modern Europe. It is important to understand, however, the reasons behind the death-culture of this period, and the context in which it was born. The men and women of late medieval Europe did not shy away from death; they embraced it. Their attitude was a practical approach unique to their time and place in history, and as such is often difficult for the modern mindset to fully grasp. When examining contemporary attitudes in this period, we must consider mortality rates and the presence of death in late medieval Europe, the role of death imagery in religious scripture, the psychological impact of the Black Death in the late 1340s, the presence of death in medieval art and literature, beliefs pertaining to sin and the fate of the soul after death, especially the doctrine of Purgatory, and practices concerning the "art" of dying and the unique attitude to life which emerged as a result. The death-culture prevalent in Europe at this time was both a reaction to and an embrace of the uncertainty and promise, which lingered at the hour of death.

Although historians dispute the exact boundaries, discussions of the late medieval and early modern period generally begin around the time of the Black Death in the 1340s and continue well into the eighteenth century, encompassing the repercussions of the various religious reformations and counter reformations of

the early modern period. In fact, many basic institutions and their accompanying cultural values did not change greatly amongst the masses between the time of the Black Death of the 1300s and the Industrial Revolution of the 1800s.[1] In tracing attitudes towards death throughout the centuries, it is therefore possible to note as much continuity as change. This makes it difficult to pinpoint an exact break, as periods tend to overlap and societal interpretations can become too narrow; conventional periodization can often obscure these continuities. For clarity's sake, it could be said that this period of analysis starts around 1348 and ends as late as 1750, with care to note the influence of earlier centuries and the echoes of later ones even into the early twentieth century.

Regardless of the finer details, it is quite accurate to say that general social attitudes towards death were very different during the late medieval and early modern period compared with today. Philippe Ariès identifies the "tamed death" of the Middle Ages in contrast to the "forbidden death" of the modern era.[2] In late medieval society death usually occurred in the home, and the deathbed scene was both a common and communal affair; even young children were familiar with the idea of death. The real question, it seems, should be how could contemporaries *not* have been fixated on death? Death was an ever-present reality, and an obsession perhaps unavoidable in a society whose average life expectancy was only 32 years in 1640, and in which nearly a third of children would not survive to reach their fifteenth birthday.[3] The late medieval world was one of famine, disease and daily hardships. Communities that attended church together would listen to sermons concerning the grave, and there was even a popular trend for congregations to visit tombs and graveyards.[4] As Elina Gertsman notes, "the medieval cemetery [was] not necessarily a mournful place... [it was] always busy and often given to worldly affairs."[5] A funeral, in particular, was an extremely elaborate and formal affair that acted as a catalyst for social interaction much like a village fete.[6] In earlier centuries men such as St. Francis of Assisi preached an attitude towards death,

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1. Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 8.
2. Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 1, 85.
3. Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1988), 7.
4. Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England (1066–1550,* (London & New York: Routledge, 1997), 2.
5. Elina Gertsman, "Visual Space and the Practice of Viewing: The Dance of *Death* at Meslay-le-Grenet," *Religion & the Arts* 9, issue 1/2 (March 2005): 1.
6. Daniell, 51.

which approached joy. "Praised be my Lord," he wrote, "for our sister, the bodily death."[7] In this sense death was God's final gift, something to be glorified rather than feared; deep mourning had become a contradiction, since the afterlife was infinitely superior to life on earth. Jesus' resurrection was the ultimate example of this.

In the late medieval world, the terms "Europe" and "Christendom" were practically interchangeable, and, since the teachings of Christianity centered around the concept of salvation and the fate of the soul, death—especially that of Christ himself—was at the core of the late medieval religious experience.[8] The Church as an establishment held great sway over people's lives at this time, and constantly preached about sin and the afterlife by encouraging meditation upon death.[9] Churches themselves, as well as other buildings such as hospitals, were covered in scenes of death and martyrdom, the holy but violent deaths of the saints. Engravings and epitaphs also served to remind man of his own mortality. In Germany, for example, many tombstones bore the epitaph "*Heute mir, morgen dir*," which translates as "Today me, tomorrow thee." Cadaver tombs, which became fashionable amongst the wealthy in the fifteenth century, even bore effigies of the decaying body.[10] It is wrong, however, to speak of a uniform set of religious beliefs in this period. Many scholars still debate the concept of medieval "popular religion," and when it comes to teachings regarding death historians can identify many contradictions.[11] There is a note of uncertainty pertaining to death even in the Bible itself; in his first letter to Corinthians, St. Paul asked rather despondently: "Oh death were be thy sting, oh grave where be thy victory?" Francis Bacon acknowledged this dilemma in 1625 when he wrote, "men fear death, as children fear to go in the dark.... It is as natural to die as to be born...."[12]

To better understand the death-culture of late medieval society one must consider the impact of the Black Death of the late 1340s, which historians estimate to have killed between one-third and two-thirds of Europe's population,

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7. Paschal Robinson, trans., *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi* (Philadelphia, Penn.: The Dolphin Press, 1905), 152.

8. Daniell, 8.

9. Daniell, 1–2.

10. Daniell, 63.

11. Jacqueline Simpson, "Repentant Soul or Walking Corpse? Debatable Apparitions in Medieval England," *Folklore* 114, no. 3 (December, 2003): 389.

12. Francis Bacon, "Of Death," in *The Essayes or Covnsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis Bacon* (London: Printed by Iohn Haviland for Hanna Barret, 1625), 6.

and which is sometimes aptly known as "The Great Mortality."[13] The disease returned to Europe in varying degrees up until the early 1700s, and plague and the resulting waves of death were a common occurrence in late medieval society. The psychological impact of the Black Death was devastating. In London alone, 200 people died every day, enough to fill a single graveyard.[14] The disease destroyed entire families, and local governments and institutions such as hospitals bought new plots of land out of sheer necessity to be used as mass graves to bury the number of dead. A lack of real knowledge about what had caused the Black Death further compounded the effects of the epidemic. A plethora of guesswork emerged, with everything from miasma (bad air) to planetary conjunctions blamed for bringing about the disease, and misunderstood causes inevitably led to ineffective treatments. The general consensus was that the plague was the result of God's wrath on a sinful human race, and the Church seemed powerless to fight or explain it; as far as contemporaries were concerned, death was invincible.[15] With no systemized method in place to collect statistics, contemporaries also exaggerated the number of dead, which only added to a general sense of despondency. In one case Boccaccio wrote that 100,000 died of plague in Florence alone, although this was very much an exaggeration since the entire population of the city was most certainly about 20,000 less to begin with.[16] Plague killed indiscriminately, regardless of religious or social barriers, and left some areas with hardly anyone left to care for the sick or bury the dead. "O death!" wrote Gabriele de' Mussi, an Italian chronicler around 1348, "cruel, bitter, impious death! which thus breaks the bonds of affection and divides father and mother, brother and sister, son and wife."[17] Such a catastrophic disaster had a devastating effect on all aspects of late medieval life, and mortality soon became more prominent in the consciousness and the arts.[18]

A common phrase at this time was *et morie mur*, a Latin phrase meaning "and we shall all die." *Memento mori* was another Latin term that is subject to various interpretations, but roughly translates as "remember you will die." *Memento mori* was the name of an expansive genre of artwork, literature and music that

13. Stéphane Barry and Norbert Gualde, "The Greatest Epidemic of History," *L'Histoire* 310 (June 2006): 45–46.
14. Charlton Thomas Lewis and Joseph H. Willsey, *Harper's Book of Facts* (1895), 639.
15. Barbara Wertheim Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14ᵗʰ Century* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1978) 103.
16. F. Donald Logan, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 279.
17. Francis Aidan Gasquet, *The Black Death of 1348 and 1349* (London: G. Bell, 1908), 20.
18. Daniell, 175.

served to remind every man, woman, and child of their own mortality. In artwork, *vanitas* still life paintings often featured symbols of death such as skulls juxtaposed with artifacts indicating life and earthly existence such as books and flowers, to represent the ephemeral nature of human existence and concerns.[19] Other paintings took a more blunt approach, depicting living persons paired with skeletons or specters of death; "Earthly Vanity and Divine Salvation", a triptych painted by Hans Memling around 1485, is divided into three panels, with a naked woman in the center, admiring her reflection in a hand mirror and flanked by the figures of death and the Devil. It is an allegorical work, showing the fleeting nature of beauty and the price of vanity to be paid in the afterlife. Music also anticipated death and emphasized the importance of a life without sin. *The Llibre Vermell de Montserrat*, a fourteenth-century manuscript of music, contains as its final song a piece entitled "Ad Mortem Festinamus" or "We hasten towards death." "Death comes quickly and respects no one," preach the lyrics, "Death destroys everything and takes pity on no one/To death we are hastening, let us refrain from sinning."[20]

The most famous creation of this period, however, was the *danse macabre,* or "dance of death," an allegory about the all-conquering power of death which first appeared in Europe in the early 1400s and took its name from the peculiar contortions of plague victims. *Danse macabre* was another example of the *memento mori* genre, characterized by imagery of skeletons leading mankind in an inevitable dance towards death; the style appeared not only in painted frescos and woodcuts but also through plays and dialogues, serving as a warning to both the mighty and the humble that all men will die without exception. With his ubiquitous scythe Death was seen as the leveler of society, bringing an end to all dominions and inequalities. We can identify in *danse macabre* an early form of black humour, in which something grotesque and tragic is retold in an absurd universe.[21] A famous example of the genre is "The Triumph of Death," an image painted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder around 1562, which depicts the smoking wasteland of a society ravaged by the skeletal armies of death. It is not too hard to see the parallels between this painting and the devastating effects that the Black Death wrought across Europe. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, death

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19. Barbara S. Groseclose, "Vanity and the Artist: Some Still-Life Paintings by William Michael Harnett," *American Art Journal* 19, no. 1 (Winter, 1987): 53.
20. Anon. 'The Llibre Vermell de Montserrat' (1399).
21. Peter L. Berger, *Redeeming Laughter: The Comic Dimension of Human Experience* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 117.

even began to be interwoven with dark erotica; the paintings of Hans Baldung Grien, such as "Death and a Woman" (c. 1517), show death raping the living. Clearly, to late-medieval people "there is no king more terrible than Death."[22]

Medieval people viewed death as something fearful, but also as something natural; whilst some believed in an apocalyptic final judgement of the human race, which was both universal and dramatic, others believed in a serene individual death of the self, attended by the sacraments. The former view was depicted in countless murals and paintings, most famously in Michelangelo's "The Last Judgement," which shows humankind being judged at the second coming of Christ. A requiem about this day of judgement, named the *Dies Iræ*, (Day of Wrath) was also written for All Soul's Day, a feast celebrated annually on the second day of November. All Soul's Day was a commemoration of the "faithful departed," which saw the living praying for the souls of the dead which were not fully cleansed of their past sins and transgressions, especially through the offering of Mass.[23] Similarly, the Feast of All Saints on the first day of November paid homage to the saints, but it was also closely associated with death, and both days served to exemplify a sense of morbidity tied to the approaching winter.[24] Through the celebration of Mass at these feasts, the living and the dead would thus become bonded together.[25]

However, prayers for the dead were not limited to these two days; the entire month of November was dedicated to the "faithful departed," and the dead in general were a matter of daily remembrance. It was common to have a priest celebrate Mass on the anniversary of a loved one's death, often known as an "obit."[26] Remembrance of and prayers for the dead therefore helped to bring a structure to the Christian year.[27] There were countless methods, such as pilgrimage and charity, to help departed souls apart from prayer. For the common person, money could be bequeathed to the local church in exchange for a place on the bede-roll, which guaranteed that Masses would be said for the man's soul after his death. Guilds and chantry chapels were an option for the more wealthy, which would hold prayers for the souls of departed members in exchange for an endowment;

22. Hans Holbein, *The Dance of Death* (G. Bell & Sons, 1892), 9.
23. Charles Herbermann G., *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church* (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1913), 315.
24. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 78.
25. Daniell, 12.
26. Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 117.
27. Daniell, 13.

Henry VII of England himself left £250 to pay for 10,000 Masses in his name after death.[28] All of these measures would ensure a soul's swift release from Purgatory

Purgatory was a waiting room for souls, a median between Heaven and Hell that acted as a "purification, so as to achieve the holiness necessary to enter the joy of heaven."[29] Dante's epic poem famously depicts Purgatory in the *Divine Comedy* as an island-mountain, with seven level terraces representing the seven deadly sins; at the mountain's summit is the Garden of Eden, the Earthly Paradise, from which the purged souls may finally ascend to heaven once they have completed their penance on the mountain's slopes.[30] The idea of Purgatory gained much popularity during the Middle Ages—indeed, it became almost a free-standing religion in itself, so widespread was its influence and dedicated its adherents— and this fundamental belief that departed souls needed help in order to ascend to Heaven soon underpinned many practices concerning the dead. Martin Luther, meanwhile, referred to Purgatory derisively as "the third place."[31] He found no place for Purgatory in his religious scripture, and sought to emphasize the hope of heaven instead. "We should pray for ourselves and for all other people," wrote Luther, "even for our enemies, but not for the souls of the dead."[32] From the sixteenth century onwards, the Protestant Reformation Luther had launched effectively "closed down" purgatory. *The Thirty-Nine Articles* (1563), introduced to Elizabethan England during the English Reformation, helped to affirm this position by denouncing the "Romish" doctrine of Purgatory as "a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture; but rather repugnant to the word of God."[33] Attitudes towards the dead underwent a significant upheaval during the Protestant and Catholic Reformations of this century, with Protestants condemning the Catholic preoccupation with death and the horrors of Purgatory.[34] This led, in turn, to the gradual "desocialization" of death, and the

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28. 'Henry VIII: April 1509', Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 1: 1509–1514 (1920), 1–8.

29. *Catechism Of The Catholic Church,* ed. David Bordwell (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2002), 235. The Church set out its doctrine on the belief of Purgatory at the Councils of Florence (1431–1445) and Trent (1545–1563).

30. John Donaldson Sinclair, introduction to *The Divine Comedy: Volume 2, Purgatorio,* by Dante Alighieri (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 13.

31. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 1.

32. Martin Luther, "Expanded Small Catechism," in *Three Reformation catechisms: Catholic, Anabaptist, Lutheran,* ed. Denis Janz (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1982).

33. George Wolfgang Forell, *The Protestant Faith* (Philadelphia, Penn.: Fortress Press, 1975), 257.

34. Bonnie Effros, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (Berkely: University of California Press, 2003), 22.

view of Masses, vigils for the dead and elaborate funereal customs as idolatrous.[35] However, despite this criticism of Purgatory and the need of Masses for souls, a preoccupation with death still remained, albeit in a modified form.

Many ghost stories dating from this period were heavily influenced by the doctrine of Purgatory; in one tale, a man is visited by his recently deceased mistress at Newton Cross, who asks him to celebrate Masses for her to free her from her current punishment. The man agrees, and his lover gives him some of her dark hair, which subsequently turns gold after he keeps his promise and sells many of his possessions to pay for these prayers. This religious morality tale ends with the sufficiently transparent line: "Praise be the power of the mass...."[36] There were, however, other, more sinister, kinds of apparitions. In his *A Treatise of Ghosts* (1588), Father Noel Taillepied spent no less than ninety pages listing the many different types of haunting, such as ghosts who return to demand burial or vengeance, omens of death, spirits inhabiting houses, disembodied footsteps and phantom funerals.[37] It is unsurprising then that the period from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century saw a belief in ghosts reach its highest peak.[38] Such folktales acted as a powerful incentive to pray for souls still dwelling in Purgatory, despite the orthodox religious teaching that the living and the dead could not converse directly.[39] Certainly, the appearance of an apparition remained greatly feared, as did the horrors of the corpse in its grave and, in turn, death itself.[40] However, a belief in ghosts and Requiem Masses seemed to suggest that the fate of one's soul was somehow negotiable, and uncertainty about death and God's judgement of an individual's soul remained.

For some, an obsession with death transcended mere superstition and culture into the practicalities of dying itself, and death thus took on a religious meaning, concerned more with ceremony and ritual than medicinal treatments. One contemporary poem titled *Signs of Death*, describing the state of the body when it neared expiration, was not used for medicinal purposes, but instead became "powerful moral verses to remind people of death."[41] Dying was even presented as something akin to an art form; certainly, the aspiration of attaining a "good

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35. Effros, 23.
36. David Englander, *Culture and Belief in Europe, 1450–1600: An Anthology of Sources* (Oxford, England: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991): 16–17.
37. Gillian Bennett, "Ghost and Witch in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Folklore* 97, no. 1 (1986): 8.
38. Bennett, 3.
39. Daniell, 12.
40. Bennett, 5.
41. Daniell, 41–42.

death" can be traced back to the hagiographical literature of the early Middle Ages, which emphasized the holy lives and exemplary Christian deaths of kings, nobles and churchmen.[42] One text in particular whose popularity peaked in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the *Ars Moriendi*, or the "The Art of Dying," which offered advice to those facing death, both practical and spiritual, and taught individuals how to "die well" and so reach salvation. Offering a section of appropriate prayers and etiquette for the deathbed scene, the text also outlines the five temptations that the dying man will confront—lack of faith, despair, impatience, pride and avarice—and depicts the spiritual battle between demons and angels over the dying man's soul in a series of allegorical engravings; earthly preparation was essential for this final struggle at the moment of death.[43] Dating from as early as 1415, the *Ars Moriendi* texts were written in the context of the religious turmoil and fear for the immortal soul resulting from the Black Death pandemic. With fewer clergymen remaining after the plague had struck— many caught the disease whilst administering late rites at the deathbed—the dissemination of such literature soon became necessary to administer instructions to the dying and ensure the salvation of souls. For many contemporaries, death had become a practical matter akin to everyday chores. Certainly, a preoccupation with *dignitas* in death has existed since antiquity, as man has strived throughout history to die in a way fulfilling of a worthy life.[44] However, the contradictions in teachings concerning death in this period are ultimately expressed within the *Ars Moriendi* itself; some passages of the text give a sense of hope and clarity to the dying, while others are inclined to doubt and so despair.[45]

　　Death in late medieval society was the moment when the mortal body expired and the immortal soul left it to join with an incorruptible and sexless immortal body.[46] Although there were variations within Christianity about where exactly the soul went after death—some believed it went to either Heaven or Hell, others believed in Purgatory, and still others believed in Abraham's Bosom or several other types of Limbo, that temporary place where excluded souls, such as unbaptized children, waited until Christ's ascension into heaven—death itself was a beginning rather than an end, and life on earth was a transitory stage in

42. Ryszard Groń, "Examples of "Good Death" in Ælred of Rievaulx," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 41, issue 4 (2006): 422.

43. Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying: The Ars Moriendi in the German Reformation (1519–1528)* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007) 2.

44. Anton. J. L. van Hooff, *From Autothanasia to Suicide: Self-killing in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 77.

45. Reinis, 17.

46. Daniell, 1.

comparison to the afterlife of the soul.[47] As a result there was a widespread fear of dying an "ugly death," that is, dying without having repented one's sins, such as a sudden death in battle or from plague. Soldiers would often prepare themselves for this possibility. Saint Ignatius of Loyola gave an account of his part in the Battle of Pamplona in 1521, before which he confessed to a fellow soldier and received the man's confession in turn.[48] Confessions of this type, taken in need by an ordinary person instead of a priest, were never considered sacramental, but they reflected clearly the fear of dying in sin.[49] A set of verses from the *Doten danz mit figuren*, a German book of woodcuts printed between 1485 and 1492, illustrates clearly the horror of sudden death: "Console yourself, for you must die," says the figure of Death to his victim, "There's no more time./Forget your goods, and come along./Neither prayers nor flattery will save you."[50] It is unsurprising, then, that men and women from all orders of society often sought to die on their own terms and—more often then is sometimes acknowledged—by their own hand.

Suicide existed in the late medieval world just as it has throughout history, despite laws outlawing suicide and punishing—post-humously—those who committed it. In Tudor and Stuart England, suicide was both a civil and religious crime.[51] Through suicide, it seemed that an individual could guarantee themselves a "happy death" free of sin, but in reality suicide was the worst mortal sin of all, that of despair. The question of sin, however, was dependent upon the circumstances in which the suicide occurred (for instance, a voluntary death was considered sinful, while suicide necessitated by grave illness was usually not). Characterized as "self-murder," punishments toward suicide cases could include exclusion from burial in consecrated ground or the confiscation of the property of the deceased.[52] In this way, punishments extended to the deceased's family and thus linked the sins of the dead with the living; an adult male with a household to support could, through suicide, reduce his family to pauperism.[53] That the Church felt the need to outlaw suicide and dispense such harsh punishments against it not only

47. Daniell, 1–2.
48. St. Ignatius, *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius*, ed. J.F.X. O'Conor (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1990), 19.
49. St. Ignatius, *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. Joseph N. Tylenda, S.J. (San Francisco, Cal.: Ignatius Press, 2001), 38–9.
50. Corine Schlief, "The Proper Attitude Toward Death: Windowpanes Designed for the House of Canon Sixtus Tucher," *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 4 (December, 1987): 596.
51. Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 132.
52. Alice Seabourne and Gwen Seabourne, "Suicide or accident—self-killing in medieval England," *British Journal of Psychiatry* 178 (2001): 42.
53. MacDonald and Murphy, 8.

affirmed the value of life, but it also served to reinforce an obsession regarding death, and, most especially, the dangers of dying in sin. St. Peter of Luxemburg committed "sanctimonious" suicide; struck down with a mortal fever, Peter forced his attendants to scourge him for any perceived faults before he died.[54] This concept of a sinful death even tainted the European witch crazes of the fifteenth, sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Fire was "a cleansing agent for souls," and burning was often the preferred form of execution, since the Church felt it their duty to save the individual's soul and stop its corruption from spreading to others.[55]

However, late medieval and early modern Europeans did not focus solely upon death; there is much evidence that they took every opportunity to celebrate life as well. Some of the educated exploited the Protestant and Catholic Reformations of the sixteenth century to reform or abolish popular festivities such as drinking in alehouses, mystery plays and carnivals—especially the popular pre-Lent carnivals—which were an opportunity for excess before the fasting and abstinence of Lent officially began.[56] The educated denounced such festivities as hotbeds of sins such as gluttony, lechery and especially drunkenness, but they were also an opportunity for Europeans to cast aside the religious teachings regarding morality and humility towards death and concentrate on enjoyment of life instead, if only for a short time.[57] As well as the partaking of food, drink, and general celebration, some activities such as dancing acted as an "incitement to fornication," and so quite literally were celebrations of life.[58] Valentine's Day itself was originally conceived as a celebration of mating, as well as the new light of Spring, and Europeans still pursued marriage and bore children despite shorter life expectancies and high infant mortality rates.

On the other hand, evidence demonstrates that even fundamental celebrations of life were tinged by a fear of death, and baptism, for example, was necessary to wash away the original sin of a newborn child; if a child died before baptism could take place then their soul would be doomed to Limbo.[59] The Church was so concerned of this possibility that if a woman died in childbirth the midwife

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54. Alban Butler and Richard Challoner, *Lives of Saints* (Forgotten Books, 1799), 263.
55. Daniell, 1.
56. Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1999), 207.
57. Burke, 212.
58. Burke, 212.
59. Bordwell, 283.

was supposed to cut her open and remove the baby so that it could be baptized.[60] Similarly, some women in Jacobean England took it upon themselves to write mother's manuals, which they intended to impart motherly and spiritual advice to their unborn children; Elizabeth Jocelin, who wrote *The Mothers Legacie, to her Vnborne Childe* in 1624, seemed to have had a premonition on the matter, for she died nine days after giving birth to a daughter.[61] Likewise, such excess at alehouses and festivals may have been a way of coping with the hardships of everyday life, but it was also the result of the subconscious knowledge that every day could easily be a man's last. Certainly, the motto "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow you may die" was heard frequently during the horrors of the Black Death, but it also became a philosophy for everyday life in this period, a common justification for debauchery and excess.[62]

In truth, late medieval and early modern Europeans were obsessed by death, and this obsession only grew as the Middle Ages waned. Perhaps, however, people were as obsessed by death in this period as they have been at any other time in history; they just had a more noticeable way of demonstrating it. It could be argued that an obsession still remains to this day, but that the attitudes towards death and the extent to which society acknowledges it have undergone a complete revolution over the centuries. In the twenty-first century and beyond, people try very hard not to confront the reality of death. "We have forgotten how to die," note Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy, "and the dying have to struggle as best they can to invent death."[63] Death is seen, above all, as a failure of medicine, something to be hidden away in hospitals and care homes, away from the imagination. Devastating pandemics and high mortality rates in the western world are now consigned to the history books. It seems death does not have a place in modern society.

Is this a healthy attitude, however? Death is the inevitable fate of civilization, common to all peoples throughout history. As a modern society that shrinks away from the idea of death and considers the subject a taboo, it is hard for us to understand the mindset of a people who confronted death so frequently in their everyday lives, who were forced to dwell upon it so strongly and to weave

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60. Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 44.
61. Kristen Poole, ""The Fittest Closet for All Goodness": Authorial Strategies of Jacobean Mothers' Manuals," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 35, no. 1, The English Resistance (Winter, 1995): 78.
62. William G. Naphy and Andrew Spicer, *Plague: Black Death and Pestilence in Europe* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, England: Tempus, 2004), 12.
63. MacDonald and Murphy, 1.

it so intricately into their culture and society. The Black Death of the 1340s had an irrevocable effect and devastated communities across Europe, but it simply exaggerated an already existing familiarity with death within society, which the church's teachings about the fate of the soul perpetuated; this familiarity manifested itself in elaborate burial rituals, death-genres and the daily commemoration of the dead. Theological debates, such as those surrounding the doctrine of Purgatory, may have modified or downplayed certain aspects of religious thought, but they also reinforced a continuous dialogue between the dead and the living. Late medieval and early modern Europeans did not turn a blind eye to the reality of death; they approached it with a refreshing sense of practicality and humility. That is not to say, however, that they approached it without any sense of fear. Eamon Duffy expresses it most eloquently when he describes late medieval piety as a state of being "half wedded to the things of this world, yet conscious too of death and what came after death."[64]

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64. Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion In An English Village* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), 70.
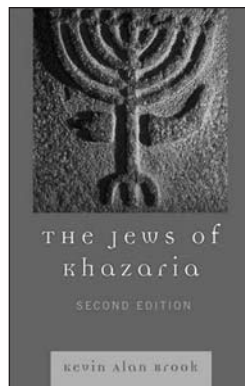
Book Reviews

Book Review

Kevin Alan Brook.
Jews of Khazaria.

Lanham, Mar.: Rowman & Littlefield
Publishers, Inc. 2nd ed. 2006.

Reviewed by Melanie Quintos

Khazaria was a ninth and tenth-century Turkic polity situated north of the Byzantine Empire and south of the land of Rus'. Despite the enormous reach of Christianity that appeared to be spreading across the world in the eighth and ninth centuries, the Khazar rulers instead converted to Judaism, and thus the Jewish empire of Khazaria remains an anomaly in the eyes of historians. Its curious existence invites scholars such as Kevin Alan Brook to diligently study this lost people and bring them more fully into the realm of historical significance. What makes Brook's book distinctive is that it intends to resolve debates surrounding the ancestry of various groups of present-day Jews, incorporating recent research that followed the May 1999 conference on Khazar studies (xii). Brook uses numismatic, linguistic, and genetic material in pursuit of this goal, and employs the methodological ammunition of the conference which did much to further scholarly knowledge of the Khazars.

In the second edition of this book (first edition published 1999), Brook wishes to resolve long-standing debates about the Khazars, particularly the Khazar component in the ancestry of modern Jews, and the historical moment at which the Turkic-speaking Khazars merged with the population of the Yiddish-speaking Jews (xii). Brook argues not only that the conversion to Judaism in the 830s transformed the Khazars into a powerful empire, but that Judaism also ensured that the linguistic Khazar link to modern Eastern European Jews was not as definite as he argued in his first edition (235).

The first five chapters of the book read largely as background with little commentary and acquaint the reader with the Khazars. They also provide the

vital function of establishing the Khazars as a complex civilization, with its distinctive towns, its ruling hierarchy, its culture, and its trading links with people of China, Rus', and the Arabs.

In chapter six, Brook lays out the likelihood a Jewish presence in Khazaria. He illustrates the hostility towards Jews in the Byzantine Empire based on forced conversions in the early seventh century. He claims that ecclesiastical authorities shared this same attitude, and interprets a quote from Photius as the patriarch's supposed desire to convert the Jews in the Crimea (90). This alone does not substantiate the church authorities' desire for forced conversion of the Jews to Christianity (90). Because chapter six depends on the notion that Jewish persecution in the Byzantine Empire induced them to seek a more hospitable realm, namely Khazaria (91), Brook is obligated to show evidence of this supposed oppression. This claim, however, cannot easily be supported by this single quote from Photius.

Brook's discussion of the actual method of conversion, mainly Roman Kovalev's numismatic evidence for Khazar conversion, is secondary to the plain *fact* that the Khazars did indeed convert to Judaism (79). Brook also claims that conversion took place at an earlier date than previous scholars. However, it is puzzling that Brook does not explain how the specifically *Jewish* Khazar empire flourished; he writes about how the empire flourished throughout time, but remains ambiguous as to whether this growth was under Jewish domination.

Chapter ten of Brook's book reveals a nuanced argument that is tempered by the genetic evidence on the Ashkenazic Jewish side. He concludes from the recent studies on Y haplotypes in Jewish male ancestry that the Khazar element does not form a large component of the genetic structure of modern Ashkenazic Jews (225). Brook also concludes that, because many female Khazar Jews were initially not Jewish, the genes resemble neighboring non-Jewish Iraqis, Iranians, and Kurds (225).

Ultimately, Brook stops short of suggesting a seamless continuity between the modern Eastern European Jews and the Khazars (235). Modern Eastern European Jews share ancestry with Ashkenazic Jews, and the Khazars become only possible, neutralized ancestors of the now Yiddish-speaking Eastern European Jews (234). Through genetic and linguistic evidence, Brook's

conclusion ends quite differently from his introduction. He not only modifies his argument about the Ashkenazic Jews from the first edition, but through careful research, also establishes a break between the medieval Khazars and modern Eastern European Jews.

One can say that Brook has succeeded in the aims in his book, which were to cast light on aspects of Khazar culture, to fix the date of conversion to Judaism confidently in the 830s in light of the material evidence, and to resolve the debates over the ancestry of the Ashkenazic Jews. This updated, second edition is a comprehensive work that will be of interest to the general public or the academic reader interested in Jewish or Khazar studies.

Book Review

Jean Dangler.
Making Difference in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia.
South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.
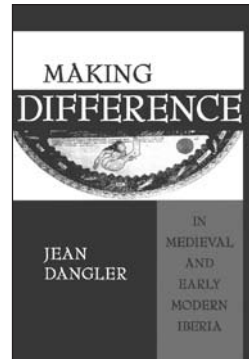
Reviewed by Mary Lester

Identity and the other were never solid concepts in Medieval Iberia, where existed a kaleidoscope of religions, ethnicities, and gender concepts in the Muslim and Christian kingdoms. In *Making Difference in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, Jean Dangler deftly examines unorthodox sources to uncover a deep conception of identity and difference that pervaded the peninsula. Using mostly Iberian literature, Dangler successfully juxtaposes a medieval Iberian concept of differing and contrasting identities with a later, more homogenous Castilian interpretation; although her arguments could use augmentation, they are fundamentally sound and intriguing.

In her examination of alterity in medieval Iberia, Dangler introduces two concepts she feels are key in medieval definitions of identity, namely "multifaceted subject formation and the embrace of contrasts and the negative" (1). At first glance, the author's assertion appears simple; it is obvious that many factors contribute to a person's identity and that contrast is commonly used to define difference. It is in the subtleties of her argument, however, that Dangler truly makes an impact. Medieval Iberia's *embrace* of the contrast and reliance on the negative, or *via negativa*, sets Iberian society apart from contemporary societies with its unique approach (19). Dangler breaks the mold in her definition of "multifaceted subject formation" as well, including subtler factors such as age in her study along with more obvious identity markers such as religion, gender, and race.

Generally, Dangler's use of the literary evidence is excellent; using Arabic poetry such as the *muwashshah* and medical literature about the body, the author successfully demonstrates that pre-Castilian Iberian society was quite open to

difference and evolving identities, noting in particular the free-flowing change in subjectivity and cross-gender identification in Arabic verse as authors alternatively adopted male and female voices. Early medical literature followed this trend as well; in addition to showing concern for both sexes, medieval writers tended to "fashion sexual differentiation along a continuum of possibility rather than according to fixed bodily states," a tendency that fits nicely with Dangler's theory (87).

Without doubt, the author's best use of evidence comes from her discussion on the medieval and early modern portrayals of the monster. It is in the figure of the monster that her argument for definition through the negative comes to life and becomes coherent. Using church imagery, cartography, and literature, Dangler strongly argues for a medieval conception along the lines of Pseudo-Dionysian thought, which maintained that "the divine could best be known as a paradox" through the unformed, unfinished creation of monstrous forms (119). Like the monster links the divine and the profane, images of monsters on the edge of maps link the known and the unknown, while monsters on church columns welcome the profane into a holy environment.

Although Dangler makes several excellent points and raises new questions in her book, her arguments are not perfect. Most of her evidence addresses gender issues, and revolves around medieval and early modern concepts of gender roles and mutability. Doubtless the gender aspect of Iberian society was important, but it is a severe error on Dangler's part not to include more examples of religion, race, and culture identities in her definition of multifaceted subject formation. Almost all evaluation of Arabic poetry and medical literature focuses on gender definition, as well as a good section of the discussion on monsters; it is only in discussing "cutting poems" that Dangler breaks free of her gender fixation and argues for a more general positive societal attitude towards revolving meanings and the negative.

Also, much of Dangler's cited evidence for medieval Iberia comes from Al-Andalus, with only a few isolated examples from the Christian kingdoms. It is only in her discussion of medieval medical literature that the author uses several specific sources from the north; the majority of her medieval primary sources originate from the Muslim south. Although granted *muwashshah* and cutting poetry were largely centered in Al-Andalus, it would only reinforce Dangler's thesis to incorporate more examples from early Christian kingdoms.

Overall, *Making Difference* is an excellent book that reexamines the complicated concept of medieval identity and contrast. In her study of various diverse sources, Jean Dangler raises several issues regarding medieval thought and attitude towards difference that will probably be addressed in the future. Her use of complex religious thought regarding the negative along with artistic literature and scientific treatises is new and refreshing. Although Dangler focuses a bit too much on gender to fully substantiate her wide claims regarding medieval Iberian society, further research into these fields of medieval discourse will probably reveal similar patterns regarding more aspects of identity.

Book Review

James Delbourgo.
A Most Amazing Scene of Wonders: Electricity and Enlightenment in Early America.
Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.
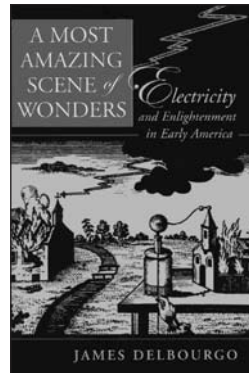
Reviewed by Michal Meyer

Benjamin Franklin and electricity go together like thunder and lightning. So, it turns out, do politics and electricity, religion and electricity, and even pornography and electricity. James Delbourgo's survey of electricity and its place in eighteenth-century America goes beyond traditional intellectual history and its focus on Franklin to a history of how ordinary Americans thought about and experienced electricity. Electricity flowed through the emerging nation's cultural life.

"Franklin's virtues—innate common sense, honest empiricism, secular practical utility, and civic-minded benevolence—constitute a myth of both the origins of America and the origins of American science" (3). Delbourgo reaches beyond the myth to an America that recognized the limits of reason and gave divine will a place in the world. The American Enlightenment that emerges was non-elite, fascinated by electrical performances and able to combine lawfulness and rationality with wonder and mystery. Electricity was thus both a natural force obeying universal laws and a marvelous force to be personally felt.

Many Americans experienced electricity via itinerant lecturers, whose main instrument for measuring electricity was the human body. These demonstrations combined sensation and education, where men such as Ebenezer Kinnersley invited their audience to hold hands and receive simultaneous shocks. Knowledge of the movement of electricity was physically felt. Such demonstrations in which bodies were voluntarily shocked raised the question of who was master and who servant, an important point in Delbourgo's undermining of the prime place that

reason traditionally holds in understandings of Enlightenment. Electricity was not simply a servant of rational science.

In Europe, rational elites distrusted marvels and wonder, for they might have overwhelmed the reason of the common people and lead them to riot and disorder. In America, writes Delbourgo, it was the middling sorts, "borgeois consumers, neither strictly learned nor vulgar, who wrote and spoke about electricity with utmost rational intent, yet also a persistent sense of mystery, one often explicitly religious" (10).

Men like Cotton Mather preached that God's ways were inscrutable, beyond the grasp of philosophers. Yet Mather also pursued a serious interest in the natural world and balanced Puritanism with science, producing a worldview that incorporated the lawfulness and order of nature as designed by God combined with wonder at God's works, a kind of approach particularly suited to electricity and the awe it evoked as well as its place in science. Religiously flavored scientific disputes did break out, and Delbourgo examines one in which electricity played a major role. The argument between a Harvard-educated minister and a Harvard professor centered on scientific explanations of natural events, in this case the 1755 earthquake, in which some thought electricity played a role by upsetting the earth's natural electrical balance. Such arguments did not pit science against religion, but served to clarify what was generally understood as a God-imposed natural order, of which electricity was a part.

Electrical experiences even moved directly into the language of religion. American evangelicals began to compare the effects of electric shocks to that of a spiritual awakening. One man described the experience of conversion as "a flash, the power of God struck me. It seemed like something struck in the top of my head and then went out through the toes of my feet" (133).

Electricity also proved politically active. "Electricity lent itself readily to political use because it provided a language of power through which to articulate the meaning of revolution" (132). Certainly the British worried that knowledge of nature might prove dangerous, for this was still a time when the social order was believed to reflect the natural order. The British were deeply suspicious of democratic science, in which anyone might take part, though independent-minded Americans rejoiced in the enthusiasm of electricity. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* wrote of a General Mifflin that during the War of Independence, by his own example, he "kindled that flame of military enthusiasm, which, like electricity, immediately seized the inhabitants of this city" (137).

Both cultural historians and historians of science will find much of interest in this book. Delbourgo's firm grounding of electricity in its time and place allows him to reorient the experience of American Enlightenment. As to the pornography, electricity and sex did mix in peoples' minds. An explicit French watercolor of Franklin, with an electrostatic generator in the background, linked Franklin's sexual-electric power to that of his role as progenitor of the new republic. Perhaps it is impossible to get too far from Franklin when discussing electricity.
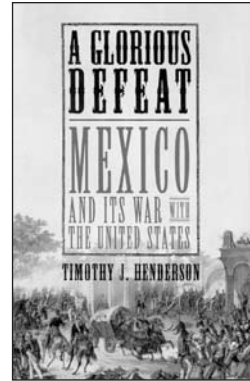
Timothy J. Henderson. *A Glorious Defeat: Mexico and its War with the United States.*
New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.

Reviewed by Juan F. Hernandez

In *A Glorious Defeat*, Timothy J. Henderson examines the complex chain of developments that characterize the period from 1835 to1848 in Mexican-American relations. The narrative at times becomes concerned with many details that instead of explaining events and illuminating the reader only serve to add to the confusion of characters and the complexity of such intricate development. However, Henderson is successful in writing about these various interconnected events and incorporates them into a relatively short book that facilitates one's understanding of this important period.

The reader is able to observe the dexterity of the author when he presents careful and detailed accounts of the complicated diplomatic processes that accompanied military campaigns throughout the whole period, starting with the outbreak of the Texas Revolution and ending in the last days of the Mexican-American War. These moments of brilliance are not restricted to his detailed stories of diplomatic suspense and intrigue; also worthy of praise is Henderson's ability to offer his audience original suggestions regarding the various events that followed this interconnection of history. In this fashion, his comments represent helpful insights that allow the reader to speculate about how and why different events took their own distinct shape, and in what way they would influence the future development of this enterprise.

Of particular interest is Henderson's ability to locate and deconstruct the life of many important figures who affected the course of events during this specific period. He describes the life of more than ten figures, examining their political profiles and going well beyond the conventional biographical-factual account. The analysis of many of these subjects, Mexicans, Americans and even foreign

personalities, allows the reader to easily identify the way in which these historical processes unfold, and to learn in what way these different—but interconnected—characters influenced and affected each other when formulating political, diplomatic or bellicose strategies. Thus, the audience can grasp interesting details about the lives of many personalities such as Moses Austin and his son Stephen Austin, General Manuel de Mier y Teran, General Anastasio Bustamante, President James K. Polk, and Mexico's great caudillo Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, *inter alia*.

After reading this book it becomes evident that the author desires to explain the historical narrative of these events, but dedicates more attention and care to the development of affairs in the Mexican side. This is not to say that he forges an obscure alliance with the Mexican cause; on the contrary, his writing style combines clarity and neutrality to form a delicate fabric that serves to hold the historical narrative with all its complex details. The fact that Henderson moves to the other side of the border and dedicates more attention to the Mexican perspective represents a plus in his overall handling of the topic. By presenting the story in this way, the author exposes the North American audience (specifically that of the United States) to a side of the story that has been neglected in classrooms and in the entire official and unofficial national narrative.

When moving towards the end of his piece, Henderson skillfully organizes the answers to some of the questions that come to one's head after finishing the book. In what way did the Texas affair influence future developments in the civil order of both countries? What did this war mean for Hispanic settlers that lived in Texas before the U.S annexation? What did this war mean for Negroes and Native Americans that inhabited the territory what became part of the United States? What was the main repercussion of this war for Mexico? The author moves to offer a short but concise set of answers that enlighten the mind of the reader and serve to connect missed facts and bits of historical knowledge together, in this way consolidating a more complete and comprehensive understanding of history.

BOOK REVIEW

JURGEN HERBST.
REQUIEM FOR A GERMAN PAST: A BOYHOOD AMONG THE NAZIS.

2002. Reprint, Paw Prints, 2008.

Reviewed by Edward A. Grodin

When one approaches Jurgen Herbst's "requiem," the term *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* comes to mind. Loosely translated, this word encapsulates the process of coming to terms with the past. To a large extent, *Requiem for a German Past* spells out this process for the reader as Herbst confronts his coming of age under the Third Reich, transforming a simple autobiography into a *Bildungsroman*. The idea of this book as a requiem solidifies the symbolic burial of his past into its pages. Likewise, Herbst attempts to deal with what it meant to be "German" in the context of Nazi Germany. He explores the conflict between those who saw themselves steeped within military and religious traditionalism and those who enthusiastically joined the ranks of the Nazis. In the end, individualism and the search for self in the author's postwar world started to unravel the established norms and conventions of Nazi society.

For Herbst, the war embodied the struggle of competing messages. Throughout much of the conflict, he was torn between a history of religion and militarism in German culture and Nazi ideology. In one instance of this internal struggle, Herbst's mother provided a moral compass, asking him to imagine how he would feel if he were treated cruelly like the Morgensterns. From his mother's request, resistance to the Nazi ideals emerged from morality rooted in the "spirit of humanism and Protestant Christianity" (53) and acted as a subconscious influence over Herbst instead of an overt act of physical conflict or subversive speech. Herbst's experiences in Poland reinforced these moral decisions, and he attempted to socialize with "the Other." Yet, as he progressed through the ranks of the Hitler Youth, the young man found that the organization afforded him the opportunity to achieve his dream of serving in the army. In the *Jungvolk*,

neither "school nor church nor home could offer competing alternatives" to the experiences of the "boy soldier" (95). However, by the end of the book, the reader traces Herbst's development from such boyhood idealism to mature realism.

As such, Herbst's story is not confined to his involvement with the Hitler Youth or Nazism in general but rather expands upon the impact of a fascistic environment on his friends and family. The narrative helps underscore the personal side of the wartime experience that often gets lost in the political and military histories of World War II. By providing the reader pictures in conjunction with his narrative, Herbst offers a framework with which to put a human face on his wartime narrative. The relationship between Herbst and his father serves as a case study in understanding the evolution of a perspective based in German tradition that runs counter to the emergent Nazi ideology. Yet, for young Jungen Herbst seeking to carry on his father's conception of romantic warfare, "[World War II] was not the war of the textbooks...but the war of blood and gore" (128). The end of National Socialism signified the end of the German paradigm of war.

Hence, *Requiem for a German Past* successfully represents the profound impact of war from the perspective of a child and the way in which the experience shaped him as well as those around him. It is limited in that the reader can only view Herbst's world through the metaphorical eyes of a child and therefore not fully comprehend the scale of the war. However, he never claims to provide a historical survey of Hitler's Germany, and the limitation of his youthful perspective paradoxically reveals more about the dangerous persuasion of the Nazi regime than many scholarly works.

GERALD M. MAGLIOCCA. *ANDREW JACKSON AND THE CONSTITUTION: THE RISE AND FALL OF GENERATIONAL REGIMES.*

Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kan., 2007.
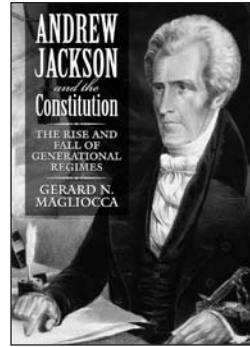
Reviewed by Zack Smith

The title of Gerard Magliocca's book *Andrew Jackson and the Constitution* is, at best, misleading. The emphasis in this work is not on the life of Andrew Jackson, or even on his constitutional policies; rather, its primary purpose is to focus on the Jacksonian movement in an attempt to prove Magliocca's theory that "every generation of Americans, not just the Framers, acts to correct the abuses tolerated by constitutional law and must overcome opposition from a political establishment committed to a different set of ideals" (2). To clearly explicate his theory, Magliocca develops the concept of "constitutional generations," based on the idea that these generations, and subsequently the cyclical nature of "constitutional law, is fueled by the fact that each generation goes through a unique set of collective experiences that sets its view apart from its predecessors "(2).

Magliocca views the "Jacksonian generation" as the perfect group through which to illustrate this concept. It began as a generation seeking reform and was part of the backlash against the "big government" ideals of the existing establishment. As a result, it steadfastly opposed both the Second Bank of the United States, and the nationalistic opinions of the Marshall Court. Once the Jacksonians became the establishment, they corrected the excesses of their predecessors, and implemented their own ideological goals. They limited the role and power of the federal government, destroyed the Second National Bank, and emphasized state and local power. In implementing this new constitutional order, Magliocca makes clear that the Jacksonians inadvertently provided the

impetus for a new constitutional generation that would eventually coalesce into the Republican Party and replace their own Democratic establishment.

Because of Magliocca's attempt to explain constitutional change across half a century, it quickly becomes obvious that Magliocca's book omits pertinent historical events that would damage his theory of constitutional change. As a result, he highlights specific constitutional battles and ignores others. He unfortunately does not discuss the Tariff of 1828 or the subsequent "Nullification Crisis." In the context of the centrality of "States Rights" to Magliocca's conception of Jacksonian constitutionalism, the fact that Calhoun's Nullification Doctrine occupies less than a paragraph in the book is baffling. Magliocca could have strengthened his overall position by examining these events in his study, and avoided potential pitfalls in his argument.

Another problem with Magliocca's study is his concept of "constitutional generations." The key determinants for what constitute a "constitutional generation" seem to be the era in which someone grew up and the length of time he/she remain in power. However, upon closer examination, this grouping does not make sense. Throughout the book, Magliocca pits Jackson and his generation against a generation of conservative ruling elites who wanted to maintain their power. Central to this struggle between Jackson and the previous "constitutional generation" are key figures, such as John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and, briefly, John C. Calhoun. Based on Magliocca's suggestion that "constitutional generations" are directly linked to temporal generations, the reader might easily assume that the men mentioned above were much older than Andrew Jackson. That assumption would be incorrect. Andrew Jackson was actually the oldest of the group. Since these men grew up in roughly the same time period, should they not, according to Magliocca, have similar constitutional outlooks? This is clearly not the case and provides a problem for Magliocca's entire theory of "constitutional generations." The long career of Chief Justice John Marhsall also provides a stumbling block to this argument since Marshall retained his position on the Supreme Court through several "generational shifts" and maintained significant political power throughout the presidencies of both ideological allies and opponents.

While there are clearly good aspects to Magliocca's book, such as its critical treatment of Native American's during the Jacksonian regime, overall it has a few fatal flaws. It assumes that the readers bring with them a vast amount of knowledge, not only about American history of the era, but also about the

intricacies of American Constitutional history. Despite this, one thing is certain. "The question of how the Constitution should be interpreted...stirs immense interest," (128) and Magliocca's book did, at least, offer "some fresh ideas about our constitutional past" (129).

Martin Palmer.
The Jesus Sutras: Rediscovering the Lost Scrolls of Taoist Christianity.

New York: The Ballantine Publishing Group, 2001.
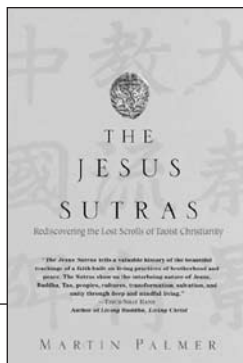
Reviewed by Parker Pflaum

In his book *The Jesus Sutras,* Martin Palmer attempts an innovative understanding of Nestorian Christianity in China through his investigation into its spread and his new translation of the Jesus Sutras. These seven documents, known collectively as the "Jesus Sutras," were discovered in a cave near Dunhuang during the end of the nineteenth century; along with the Nestorian Stele, unearthed in the late seventeenth century, and some archeological fragments, they are the primary remaining artifacts of the Nestorian Christian Church present in China during the Tang Dynasty (618–907 A.D.). The loss of some of the Sutras and the mistreatment of others has exacerbated this already severe dearth of material evidence, and the problematic translations by Moule and Saeki in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggest the difficulty of translating these documents. Therefore, Palmer's study is a welcome addition to the struggle to translate these documents, and moreover, his new archeological discoveries provide new primary evidence that will help to understand Nestorian Christianity in China.[1] Palmer's book will be of interest to a broad readership due his simplistic approach and exciting tone; however, his pedagogic flaws will make the book unacceptable to serious scholars in this field of study.

Palmer's failure to employ sufficient footnotes or endnotes and his inadequate bibliography greatly undermines his book. His poor source work also

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1. Japanese spies apparently first identified the Da Qin monastery and pagoda during the 1920s or 30s. It was later studied in 1937 by the Japanese professor, Saeki, who identified it as an ancient Christian site. According to Palmer, however, its location was lost in the intervening years until his re-discovery in 1998.

accounts for his apparent lack of consideration of recent studies on this topic. For example, Palmer wastes his time translating two of the Sutras that a recent study by Lin Wushu and Rong Xinkiang persuasively argued were in fact forgeries.[2] Furthermore, Palmer's lack of references to original sources makes it nearly impossible to compare his translations of the Sutras with other translations.

Palmer's extreme bias further undermines his arguments, as revealed in the following quotation:

> Ricci was a man after my own heart, a Christian who saw and treasured the Chinese world, and who loved the fascinating and profound wealth of ideas, history, language, beliefs, and traditions from which Christian faith and practice could learn and within which they could find a distinctive place (4).[3]

Although it is certainly acceptable to have this sympathetic view of the merging of Christian and Eastern philosophy, Palmer allows it to influence his translation and analysis. For example, Palmer says, "In these Christian Sutras from China is the shape or outline of a post-Augustinian theology that the West itself *needs* in order to *become free from the burden of original sin and thus reconfigure or rediscover Christianity* [emphasis added]" (176). His bias also influences his translation, causing it to differ significantly from others. He argues for extreme syncretism between Christianity and the Eastern religions based on his translation of Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian terms at face value, when in fact readers should understand that the utilization of these terms was the Christian translators' only option. Therefore, the more sophisticated translation by Li Tang is probably a better indication of the Christian translators' intended meaning.[4] For example, Palmer translates one sentence as, "Free us of the karma of our lives, Bring us back to our original nature" (203), while Tang translates the

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2. Lin, Wushu and Rong Xinjiang, "Doubts Concerning the Authenticity of Two Nestorian Christian documents unearthed at Dunhuang from the Li Collection," *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 1, no. 1 (May 1996): 5–14.

3. Another illustrative instance of his bias is on page 175, "Many contemporary Christians who read these Sutras will find them too radical. Yet in them the Church of the East achieved one of the most remarkable retellings of the significance of Jesus, one faithful to the Gospel message of *redemption and liberation from our failures and weaknesses (karma) and a message of hope—hope that the inevitability of rebirth could be broken and each believer freed to live in eternal bliss in the presence of God* [emphasis added]." I think his use of "our" is instructive.

4. Li Tang, *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and its Literature in Chinese: together with a new English translation of the Dunhuang Nestorian documents, (*Frankfurt, Germany: Publications Universitaires Européennes, 2002).

same sentences as, "Who takes away the collected sins of all beings, So that our true nature well saved."[5] Palmer chooses to translate "重罪 [zhongzui]" as "karma" and "真性 [zhenxing]" as "original nature" while Tang translates them as "sin" and "true nature," respectively. Since the term "重罪" can be literally translated as "aggregated offenses," Palmer is wrong to translate it as "karma," and Tang's translation as "sins" is probably closer to the intended meaning.[6]

Martin Palmer's book is both interesting and informative and the story succeeds in sweeping the reader along in the wake of his excitement for the subject. Indeed, at times the story even feels like a fairy-tale treasure hunt, especially Palmer's search for the lost Da Qin Monastery using only an unreadable map hastily drawn by Japanese spies in China prior to World War II. Additionally, Palmer provides both background and contextual information that is necessary to understand the spread of Nestorian Christianity in China. He covers Sassanian history, Zoroastrianism, the Nestorian controversy, the Thomarist Church in India, Eastern philosophy and history and many other subjects. However, this extensive contextual information, along with his lengthy translations, leaves Palmer little space to provide adequate analysis of the topic. Therefore, due to the book's scholarly inadequacies, it should only be used as an introductory survey of the subject in conjuncture with a more scholarly work and his translations should likewise be used with caution.

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5. Tang, 182.
6. Palmer's translation of "真性" as "original nature" is also incorrect. "Original nature" is a concept espoused by Eastern philosophies that refers to mankind's inherent goodness. Tang's translation of "真性" as "true nature" is a literal translation that does not include this unwanted connotation.

Michael P. Speidel. *Ancient Germanic Warriors: Warrior Styles from Trajan's Column to Icelandic Sagas.*
London: Routledge Press, 2004.
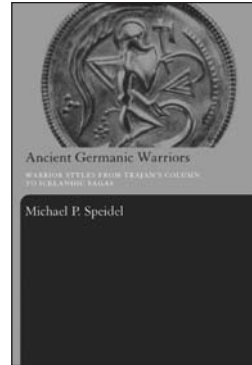
Reviewed by Christopher Bonura

In *Ancient Germanic Warriors,* Michael Speidel, perhaps most famous for his book on the Roman Imperial horse-guard *Riding with Caesar,* returns to the realm of military history. This time, he gives an in-depth study of Germanic warriors from prehistoric times through their service in Roman armies and up to the age of the Vikings. Throughout the study, he attempts to show that "all Germanic people shared one culture," and in military terms, they stayed close to their Indo-European roots while Greece and Rome strayed toward more "civilized" warfare (3, 193–194).

"Much that is offered here is new," he warns, "and our study carries the risks of pioneering endeavor" (2). However, he takes all possible steps to support his claims, and his research is quite impressive. The freshness and novelty of his approach, unfortunately, do not make up for the deficiencies of his conclusions, which are often misleading, oversimplified, or severely flawed in logic.

In nearly every chapter, Speidel draws extensively on Trajan's Column for the appearance and nature of Germanic warriors, calling it "our main source" (7). He claims that the column is useful because "it does not invent dress or equipment, nor does it change them to look more 'classical'" (6). But he is completely wrong. The artists who created the column lived far from the front lines and perhaps never even saw a real legion, and the Roman soldiers it depicts are idealized in parade armor and portrayed in Attic-style helmets.[1] Indeed, Spiedel later even contradicts himself, freely admitting that the column distorts Rome's Dacian enemies to emphasize their barbarism while not considering that Rome's allies

1. Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 2003), 17.

might be equally distorted. He makes only a passing reference to the Adamcilisi (Traiani) Tropaeum, which was constructed in the actual war zone and is generally considered far more accurate in its illustrations.[2] And it is not only Trajan's column that he misuses, continuously interpreting stylized artwork from all periods literally and reading the claims of ancient historians uncritically. He gives relatively little attention to truly useful archeological evidence, such as the numerous bog finds of early Germanic warriors.

The author organizes most of the book into chapters on individual warrior types, many of which, he posits, were transmitted over the millennia from the Indo-European ancestors of Western cultures. "They link Bronze, Iron, and Middle Ages," he writes, "two thousand years of history seldom seen as belonging together" (2). But he never compellingly shows that these styles are anything more than artificial groupings created by the author himself. In fact, he sees millennia old traditions in what, for all evidence, seem to be but battlefield expediencies. Men stabbed horses because that was the easiest way for infantry to bring down a mounted warrior, not because of a sacred horse-stabbing art that Speidel spends many pages trying to conjure up. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that the shield wall was what he calls an "inherited Indo-European battle formation" (103). Many cultures just found that it worked.

It is impractical to list all the strange conclusions he draws from his evidence, but some are particularly jarring. He claims that Julian the Apostate died not because he forgot to put on armor, but because he willfully spurned armor in order to fight in the style of a Germanic berserker (67–68). Speidal also claims that a tradition of mobile, stealthy warriors who dressed as wolves existed in most Indo-European cultures dating back to the Bronze Age, though he never gives any compelling reason to believe that warriors wore wolf furs for any other reason other than warmth or status (13–17).

To make matters worse, Speidel has a habit of drawing together a number of his shakily grounded ideas to draw additional unbelievable conclusions. Combining the importance of the wolf in the story of Romulus and Remus with the fact that skirmishers of the middle Republic wore wolf skins as part of their kit, he concludes, "wolf-warriors, as we have seen, founded Rome" (194). He also asserts that the Romans must have recruited Germans who carried on this tradition in the late Roman armies based solely on the fact that wolves (among

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2. Ibid.

many other real and mythical creatures) appear on the shields of several legions levied in the north.

Overall, the book is not without its strengths. Speidal gives interesting histories of Germanic cavalry along with a well-researched and compelling history of the *barritus* war cry. But even at his best, Speidel is hampered by his false sense of continuity, seeing disparate traditions over the geographic and chronological breadth of ancient civilization as somehow connected in the murky depths of prehistory. Ancient warfare is a popular subject and there are many good books out there to read. Anyone who wants a truly illuminating analysis of ancient Germanic warfare has many better options than this work.

Book Review

Barbara Yorke. *The Conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain c.600–800.*

Harlow, England: Pearson/ Longman, 2006.
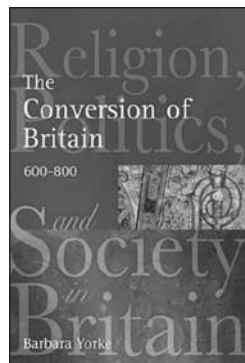
Reviewed by David Dry

In *The Conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain c.600–800*, Barbara Yorke uses "conversion" in the broadest sense of the word. Her study is part of a book series covering the topic of "Religion, Politics and Society in Britain." Yorke's monograph is the first chronologically in this series, which extends its coverage through the twentieth century. Not only does the book encompass Christian religious conversion, as expected, but it also deals with aspects of political and societal change and the interplay between these transformations. Her scope is likewise broad and includes an examination not only of Anglo-Saxons (or native Britons) but also the Welsh, Picts, Irish and their contemporaries on the continent as a means of comparison. Yorke's goal is to wade through the available evidence and contentious issues and give an expansive account of the comprehensive changes which took place in the Britain from 600–800.

The first chapter is meant to lay the groundwork for the transformations which came as a result of Christian conversion, and Yorke begins with Roman Britain and the Christian Romano-Britons who first came into contact with Anglo-Saxon settlers. She successfully demonstrates how, especially in the west, "Roman" civilization did not vanish after the breakup of the Empire. Following in this vein, Yorke also points out that contemporary political dynamics allowed a process of Anglicization of the native population rather than immediate conversion and Romanization of the newcomers to Britain.

In the second chapter, Yorke lays out the main theme of her book, namely, the transformative assimilation of Christianity into the various cultures of Britain. Contrary to many historians, Yorke argues for the vitality of Roman and Christian culture for the Romano-British. Among other issues, she highlights the importance of the Romano-British in the conversion of Ireland. While admitting that the evidence for Romano-British conversion of Anglo-Saxons in east Britain is inconclusive, she does claim that they contributed to the conversion of those Anglo-Saxons who moved west and maintains that contemporary authors, namely Bede, were "prejudiced against the British church" (119). The role of kings in the conversion process is also seen as the crucial factor in national conversion. Political motives, acquisition of "Roman" prestige, legitimate religious compulsion and marital obligation were just a few of the factors which led kings to convert.

In the remainder of her book, Yorke analyzes the outcomes of this initial Christian conversion, exploring the results of church structure combined with early medieval British society and the effects of Christian doctrine on this society and society on Christian doctrine. In examining church structure and society, Yorke convincingly argues for the thorough interpenetration of lay and ecclesiastical culture. The author also shows the variety of lay manifestations in church structure and governance using evidence from religious animal art to the ecclesiastical authors' use of Virgil.

The book, while well researched and putting forward well-supported arguments, falls short of its purported aims in a number of areas. The author nobly attempts to present a complete swath of the many distinct cultural groups which comprised Britain and their individual conversion experiences. While in some cases this goal is attained, the choice to segment the book into various ethnic subcategories proved problematic. In her chapter on conversion Yorke devotes an entire section to the Picts, but in the discussion of customs and Christian practice they are completely ignored. This creates not only an inexplicably incomplete picture but also a disjointed overall narrative. These structural drawbacks, along with the lack of significant discussion on modern conversion authors and theory (such as Ramsey MacMullen's contentions), are the greatest shortcomings of the work. However, such criticisms aside, Yorke's effort is a fine addition to the corpus of literature on Christianization and provides a unique multi-dimensional and multi-cultural view of the very complicated process of the conversion of Britain.

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All submissions must follow the *The Chicago Manual of Style* humanities documentation system.

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