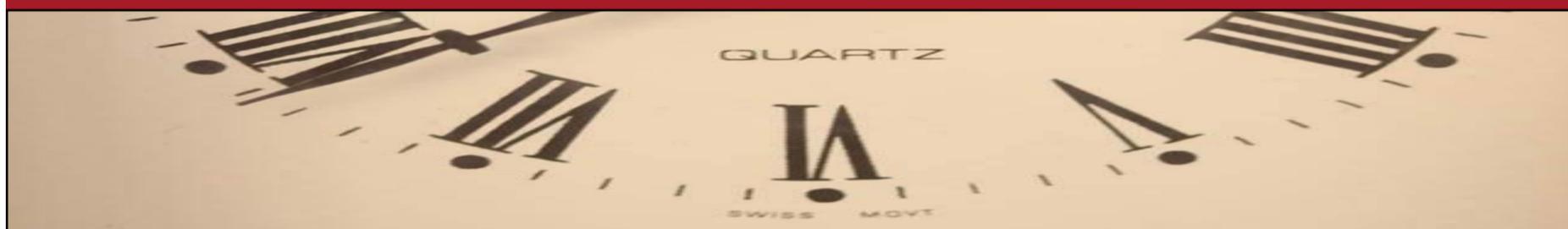


PHI ALPHA THETA OF WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

presents



GATEWAY



HISTORY JOURNAL

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GATEWAY

*A collection of historical essays written by undergraduate students at
Washington University in St. Louis.*

*A Journal of the Washington University in St. Louis Chapter of Phi
Alpha Theta.*

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Special thanks to:

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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

This spring, we are incredibly delighted to present the thirteenth edition of the *Gateway History Journal* of Phi Alpha Theta. Moreover, this year marks the first digital edition of the journal and we hope our readers will continue to enjoy this publication in its new format as they have in the past. Thanks to great promotion and support from Washington University faculty, we received a substantial number of submissions which were varied in topic, length, and authorial voice. Based on the works we reviewed, we were thrilled to see a wide range of classes represented and a sincere engagement with the subjects at hand. If this year's selections are any indication of future interest in *Gateway*, we are certain this journal will continue to be a highly anticipated publication for many years to come.

After serious deliberation and numerous meetings, we have selected the following seven works to feature in this edition. This collection represents some of the best and most engaging historical work being conducted by undergraduates across our campus. With selections coming from beyond the confines of the History Department, we have found a unique trend this year which looks at media forms of history, particularly film, to understand both relative accuracy and societal views. This newfound engagement with technological advances only seeks to prove the import of this journal as it stays relevant in today's digital age. Other works, while by no means traditional, address topics ranging from U.S. foreign relations to Byzantine rulers and epics for entertainment. Addressing a wide range of centuries and geographic regions, the following papers demonstrate the considerable talents of our writers and researchers.

For the third year in a row, we are beyond proud to include this year's abstracts for the senior honor theses. Every year, we have an extraordinary group of dynamic students writing memorable theses to earn coveted honors from the History Department, though the cohort for the 2012-2013 academic cycle is truly amazing. We are pleased, therefore, to give our readers a glimpse into the fascinating topics which are explored in these well-researched works. Like the essays presented in the front of this journal, these abstracts represent some of the most professional and highest caliber work being conducted by undergraduates at this university.

As editors of *Gateway*, we have enjoyed this experience immensely and sincerely hope subsequent editors will gain as much value from this collaboration as we have. Lastly, we are grateful to Phi Alpha Theta's faculty advisor, Professor Cassie Adcock, for all of her support, direction, encouragement, and guidance while we've been working deliberately to publish our first online edition of this journal.

Your editors,
Lauren Henley ('15) & Caroline Ross ('12)

Samuel Cornblath



During the nineteenth century, the United States began a campaign to expand its influence and create a U.S.-led Western Hemisphere, which led to the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. This policy gave the U.S. the power to intervene in relations between countries in the Western Hemisphere and European nations to protect the former becoming re-colonized; in short, the U.S. became the protector of the Western Hemisphere.¹ Secretary of State James G. Blaine expanded the U.S.'s role in the 1880s with the Big Brother policy that hoped to place Latin American countries behind U.S. leadership and open their markets to U.S. trade.² At the same time, this period ushered in the development of technology, particularly in communication. Samuel F. B. Morse and Alfred Vail created the first telegraph system and started distributing it throughout the U.S. in 1844. Caused by the desire to expand its influence, the U.S. commissioned telegraphs from Washington D.C. to other major cities in the Americas, and on October 2 1882, the Central and South American Telegraph Company opened the international telegraph network from Chile to the U.S.³ It is this telegraph cable and the instantaneous communication it provided that caused and heightened the tension between the U.S. and Chile in the coming years. The correspondence, through direct messages and the press, between the U.S. and Chile from 1891-1892 led to increased stress between the two countries. Specifically the communication pieces in the Brown Affair, cutting of the Chilean Congress' cable, the Itata Incident, and the Baltimore Crisis, which will be discussed later, demonstrate the interplay between technology and the U.S. expanding influence in the Western Hemisphere.

Throughout the late 1880s and early 1890s, Chile underwent many drastic changes through international conflict, expansion of its naval power, and civil war. The U.S. continued to assert itself into Chile's affairs, as Chile was the growing superpower in South America through its expanding nitrate based economy and naval prowess in the War of the Pacific, in which Chile defeated both Peru and Bolivia for access to mineral rich regions in the north of Chile.⁴ The U.S. wanted to maintain ties with the leading South American country to gain access to its economy, but also to keep an eye on its new military strength.⁵ Additionally, the U.S. believed Great Britain was going to take control of the region's economy through strong ties to Chile, which the U.S. had to prevent in order to protect its own political and economic interests in the Western Hemisphere.⁶

Due to U.S. intervention in Chile's affairs, many historians characterize the two countries' relationship as "strained," "tense," and "one demanding respect, the other gratitude, which neither believes the other deserves."⁷ For William Sater, a leading historian on the Southern Cone, and most other authors, historical narratives focus on the military events, such as the War of the Pacific, the Itata Incident and the Baltimore Crisis

1 Sidney Lens and Howard Zinn, *The Forging of the American Empire: from the Revolution to Vietnam, a History of U.S. Imperialism*. (Pluto Press, 2003), 464.

2 Ibid.

3 John A Britton. "The Confusion Provoked by Instantaneous Discussion: The New International Communications Network and the Chilean Crisis of 1891-1892 in the United States." *Technology and Culture* 48.4 (2007).

4 William F Sater, *Chile and the United States: Empires in Conflict* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 7. The War of the Pacific took place from 1879-1881 over ownership of nitrate-rich areas, controlled by Peru and Bolivia. The U.S. tried to intervene because its business interests and Britain's economic relations with Chile would lead to greater control in the region. Chile forced the U.S. to back down due to its superior naval power.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid, The UK and Chile had strong economic ties during this time over shipment of nitrate, which the U.S. feared.

7 Ibid.

that led to strained ties.⁸ While military factors did impact U.S.-Chile relations, as John Britton, a historian whose research focuses on international communication asserts in his article, communication played a key, and typically, underrepresented role as well, highlighting the interaction between two historical trends of the time: the U.S. expanding influence and technological developments.⁹ Therefore, via the newly founded cable and the production of skewed information, communication is one of the major factors that led to and intensified the strained relations between the U.S. and Chile during the Chilean Civil War period.

The Chilean Civil War of 1891 was a revolution led by the Chilean Congress and Chilean navy, known as the Congressionalists or Constitutionals, against the President José Manuel Balmaceda and the Chilean army. The conflict arose from disputes between Balmaceda and Congress after Balmaceda tried to nationalize the most important industry to the Chilean economy— nitrate—without the permission or support of Congress. Therefore, in retaliation, Congress did not approve Balmaceda's proposed budget in 1891.¹⁰ Balmaceda then unconstitutionally disbanded the Chilean Congress and passed the presented budget, provoking the armed conflict in January 1891. The Revolution of 1891 ended in September when the congressional forces, backed by Great Britain, defeated the Chilean army and, as a consequence, Balmaceda committed suicide.¹¹ The Constitutionals took over the Chilean government and put in place a stronger congress. Throughout the war, the U.S. aided Balmaceda through direct action against the Congressionalists. In addition to these factors, lack of communication during the Itata Incident led to preliminary tensions between the U.S. and Chile.

The incident, that later became known as the Brown Affair, and subsequent disconnection of the Congressionalists' telegraph cable, began what the rebels saw as the U.S.'s open favoritism to Balmaceda. During a Constitutionalist attack on Valparaíso in July 1891, Admiral George Brown, the commander of the U.S. fleet, sent coded telegrams to Washington D.C. providing the U.S. instant updates. Balmaceda, around the same time, reinforced his troops at Valparaíso pushing back the invasion.¹² Due to the coincidental timing of Brown's message and Balmaceda's military decision, the Congressionalists blamed Brown for informing Balmaceda even though Brown's telegram went out twelve hours after Balmaceda's reinforcement plans.¹³ Nevertheless, Brown's communication provided the rebels a reason to view the U.S. as an instigator and laid a foundation for future disagreement.

Moreover, the international cable from Washington to Santiago caused further tension between the insurgents and the U.S. during the Civil War. Prior to the rebellion, Peru contracted the cable company to expand the South American line to include Lima. Under the protection of the U.S. navy, the cable company cut the line at Iquique – where the Congressionalist headquarters was located —and split the line to Lima in July 1891.¹⁴ In doing so, the insurgents lost their cable connection and access to foreign communication. While the contract came into being before the war, the cutting of the physical line of communication further aggravated the rebels who viewed it as another example of U.S. support of Balmaceda, tainting U.S.-Chilean relations.

The Itata Incident and the communication surrounding it additionally intensified U.S. relations with the Congressionalists. The Itata Incident stemmed from the U.S. seizure of the *Itata* –which held Congressional weapons—due to what the U.S. considered its legal liability. Through its actions, the U.S. prevented the ship-

8 Sater's book is a historical documentation, based on the view that Chile-U.S. relations are hostile and negative.

9 Britton's article responds to historical thought that communication is favorable for its additions to diplomacy, but Britton only discusses communication in the political process rather than acknowledging other factors.

10 Sater, *Empires in Conflict*, 56.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid, 58.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid, 59.

ment of weapons and, according to Congressionalist diplomats, delayed the rebel offensive.¹⁵ Communication played an important role in heightening tensions during this event. The U.S. government did not alert the Chilean insurgents to the arrest of the *Itata*; instead as the Chilean Foreign Minister Isidoro Errazuriz said in a telegraph to D.C., “The Provisional Government has learned by telegram of the Associated Press that the transport *Itata*, detained at San Diego, California.”¹⁶ The communication breakdown from the beginning of the *Itata* Incident further aggravated the Chilean Congressionalists.

Furthermore, the two countries presented the event in different ways via official speeches and newspapers, causing confusion and disagreement. The U.S. saw the seizure as lawful and justified. U.S. President Benjamin Harrison said in his 1891 State of the Union Address, “It would have been inconsistent with the dignity and self-respect of this Government not to have insisted that the *Itata* should be returned to San Diego to abide the judgment of the court.”¹⁷ Additionally, the *New York Times* stated, “The seizure of the steamer *Itata*, in the harbor of San Diego, Cal., is a simple enforcement of the duty of the United States as a neutral power.”¹⁸ In both of these public statements by U.S. bodies, the U.S. claimed their acts were legal and necessary. On the other hand, the Constitutionalists thought the capture was unjust. Minister Errazuriz said, “As an evidence that it is not disposed to support or acknowledge an infraction of the United States law, the subscriber takes advantage of the personal relation you have been good enough to maintain with him.”¹⁹ Errazuriz refers here to Balmaceda’s envoy to Washington, Pruedencio Lazcano, who convinced the U.S. to intervene. He further states that the U.S. only seized the *Itata* to honor its relations with Balmaceda, criticizing the U.S. actions.²⁰ These open disagreements between the two nations and passing along of differing information intensified the strained relations. The correspondence between the U.S. and the Congressionalists during the Chilean Civil War, specifically the communication in the Brown Affair, cutting of the insurgent cable and the *Itata* Incident, led to increased stress between the two countries. It also highlights the interaction between technology and the U.S. influence in the Western Hemisphere.

Communication continued to impact U.S.-Chilean relations after the Civil War. The Baltimore Crisis typifies the nations’ interactions and the impact of communication. After the end of the Civil War, the USS *Baltimore* took a reprieve in Valparaíso on October 16, 1891 to provide a break for the sailors after the war. Leaving the True Blue Saloon, two U.S. soldiers, Charles Riggin and John Talbot, got into an argument with a Chilean sailor, resulting in a fight.²¹ Within moments, a Chilean mob attacked the group of U.S. sailors, killing Riggin and Talbot, and wounding seventeen other U.S. soldiers. Additionally, Valparaíso policemen jailed thirty-one other U.S. sailors.²² Following the attack, the U.S. made an inquiry blaming the Chilean soldier and demanded an apology and reparation for the deaths and injuries. Chile, in its own right, conducted its own inspection, a time-consuming process leading to U.S. frustration.²³ Historians, including Sater, consider this as the catastrophic event that nearly caused a war between the two countries. While the original attack increased strain on U.S.-Chile relations, the instantaneous correspondence and other forms of communication about the event added to the tension, pushing it to a new level.

Following the attack, the U.S. and Chile communicated via cable. The end of October and the early weeks of November 1891 had little flow of correspondence while the U.S. waited for Chile’s investigation

15 Osgood Hardy, “The *Itata* Incident,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 5 (1922): 195-225.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 “The United States and Chile,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1891, 4.

19 Hardy, “The *Itata* Incident,” 195-225.

20 Ibid.

21 Sater, *Empires in Conflict*, 61.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid, 62.

results. However, in his December 1891 State of the Union Address, President Harrison brought the Baltimore Crisis back to the forefront. He stated, “If these just expectations should be disappointed or further needless delay intervene, I will by a special message bring this matter again to the attention of Congress.”²⁴ Subsequently Harrison brought the issue back up due to U.S. sentiment that Chile was rebuking the U.S. and avoiding answering for its crimes, which contradicted the U.S.’s superiority. Harrison’s statement started a heated exchange between the two countries throughout December 1891 and January 1892.

In the first weeks of 1892, correspondence between the two nations reached a peak. Being able to learn about new information over cable provided both the U.S. and Chile the ability to respond quickly and react instantaneously. While this may seem a positive, as conflicts could be solved faster, in this situation it led to increased tension due to the new nature of quick correspondence and the harsh U.S. demands. It began with Chilean Foreign Minister Manuel Antonio Matta’s press release in December 1891 stating,

The instructions (recommending) impartiality and friendship have not been complied with, neither now nor before. Proof of this is furnished by the demands of Balmaceda and the concessions made in June and July, *the whole* Itata affair, and the cable companies... The statement [from the U.S.] that the North American seamen were attacked in various localities at the same time is deliberately incorrect.²⁵

In this statement, Matta brings up old wounds from the Itata Incident and directly contradicts the U.S. by saying the U.S.’s report is inaccurate. This illuminates the Chilean negative perceptions at the time of U.S.’s role in their affairs: hypocritical, demanding, and wrong. This caused uproar in the U.S. from the government and the press. Newspapers across the country rallied behind the U.S. in the Baltimore Crisis calling the Chilean government’s actions “unfriendly,” “cruel,” and “defiant,” while calling the U.S. acts as “brusque,” “doing its duty,” and “protecting life and liberty.”²⁶ U.S. Representative James McCrery stated in reference to Chile at a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing, “We could land a hundred thousand troops, and such a step being once taken, there would be no halt until our forces had marched through the whole country.”²⁷ These public forms of communication within the U.S. created an intense atmosphere, in which Harrison launched a final demand to Chile.

Nearly two weeks after Matta’s statement on January 17, the U.S. government responded with a statement by Blaine, who referred to Matta’s statement as “palpable insults” and demanded, “The desired withdrawal by President Montt” as “He [President Harrison] enjoys prompt action.”²⁸ The U.S. gave Chile these demands to be followed; however, Chile ignored the U.S. request. The new communication system of the cable allowed for instant correspondence and therefore the U.S. expected a quick response.²⁹ As a result, after not hearing back four days later, on January 21, Blaine wired U.S. Foreign Minister to Chile Patrick Egan a new message from President Harrison—an ultimatum.

I am now directed by the President to say that if the offensive parts of the dispatch of the 11th of December are not at once withdrawn, and a suitable apology offered with the same publicity that was given to the offensive expressions, he will have no other course open to him except to terminate dip-

24 Benjamin Harrison. “State of the Union Address 1891.” The White House, Washington D.C, December 9, 1891.

25 Sater, *Empires in Conflict*, 62.

26 “The Valparaiso Affair,” *The Independent*, November 5, 1891, 43. “Desire Peace in Chile. American Merchants Interested in its Restoration,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 28, 1891, 5.

27 Britton, “Confusion Provoked.”

28 Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the 52nd Congress, 1891-2. Vol. 34, no. 91, p105 (no. 2954).

29 Britton, “Confusion Provoked.”

lomatic relations.³⁰

This was a decisive use of the communication at the time period. President Harrison used the speedy technology to follow-up just four days later telling the Chilean government to apologize and give reparation or suffer the consequences. In this way, Harrison used the new communication system to trap the Chilean government forcing them to give him a timely reply. The instant correspondence provided the U.S. the opportunity to make demands and expect a response; however, it also meant that Chile was put under intense pressure, which heightened strain and nearly caused an armed conflict. A few days later, Chile released information that it would accept the terms through an Associated Press report, and then, on January 30, with an official statement through Egan that said, “In the President’s belief, it will be easy to reach a full and honorable adjustment of all unsettled matters.”³¹ The cable provided both countries a means to exchange information publically and privately to one another. As shown above, the immediate correspondence led to heightened tensions between the two countries as critical information traveled instantly, making it possible to provide firm ultimatums.

In addition, the press in both countries publicized the feelings of the people and explained the correspondence between Chile and the U.S., providing different information that exacerbated tension due to confusion. Newspapers in both Chile and the U.S. discussed and drew their own conclusions about what happened; which country was accountable and consequences for that country. *La Patria*, a Chilean newspaper, provided a detailed account of what happened at the fight blaming the “Yankee sailors.”³² On the other hand, as described above, prominent U.S. newspapers such as the *New York Daily Tribune*, *Chicago Daily Tribune* and *Washington Post* published pro-U.S. pieces on the crisis and on Harrison’s demands.³³ These articles travelled across and between both countries via the recent cables showing that new communication allowed the immediate flow of information within and between the U.S. and Chile.

Robley D. Evans, a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy, shows the governments’ and press’ dissemination of information between the two countries in his naval journal *A Sailor’s Log: Reflection on Forty Years of Naval Life*. Evans was stationed in Valparaíso during the Baltimore Crisis and witnessed firsthand the flow of skewed information between the two countries, which led to further confusion and tension. Following this crisis in early December, he discusses the different information being publicized between papers in the U.S. and the press in Chile. Each paper, he explains, gives a different account of the U.S. response—one says the USS *Philadelphia* and *Newark* are coming to Chile while others say the opposite.³⁴ The unifying factor among the U.S. papers is the “the excitement over the Chilean affairs.”³⁵ This trend of skewed information between different sources continues throughout December and January according to Evans’ account, when he shows that Valparaíso newspapers say, “trouble between the two countries was about settled,” while, “Press reports from the United States published the same morning indicated great activity at the Navy Department.”³⁶ Evans shows here that there was apparent tension between the two countries. It is also a clear example of the differing information and lack of communication between the U.S. and Chile during this time via the cable lines. This sort of correspondence fostered confusion in both countries and heightened tension by promoting incomplete information. In this way, the press added to the general disorder around the event, which exacerbated strained relations caused by previous communication mishaps.

30 Executive Documents.

31 Ibid.

32 Benjamin Harrison, “Message to Congress Reporting on Correspondence Between the United States and Chile Regarding Violence Against Sailors in Valparaíso,” January 25, 1892. *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=71054>.

33 Harrison, “Message to Congress.”

34 Robley Dunglinson Evans, *A Sailor’s Log: Reflection of Forty Years of Naval Life 1861-1909* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901), 261.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid, 270.

While in the example of Chile-U.S. relations during the Civil War period communication played a detrimental role, Britton shows instantaneous communication played a helpful role during Chilean-Argentine border disputes, which highlights the unique nature of the former event. Once again, the U.S. intervened into Chile's affairs in 1881 due to prospects of war with Argentina.³⁷ The U.S. was concerned in Chile's matters because of economic interests it had in the region. U.S. foreign ministers to both countries used their own telegraph cables to put Argentine and Chilean foreign ministers in contact. In a period of five days, the mounting conflict was easily and smoothly solved through instant communication, demonstrating the typical thought that improved communication was beneficial to the diplomatic process. This event between Chile and Argentina was a precursor to the Chilean Civil War events, which, as shown, had the opposite effect on the Chilean-U.S. ties. The Civil War period was distinctive due to the U.S.'s direct role rather than that of a peacemaker. The U.S. was threatened by Chile's naval power and growing influence, and therefore, when the U.S. was directly in conflict with Chile, it had to take a harsher stance, which manifested itself through communication.

Historians typically address the Chilean-U.S. relations during the Chilean Civil War period as strained, tense and troublesome due to military disagreements. The technological piece of communication is overlooked when compared to the seizure of the *Itata* or the deaths of two U.S. sailors in the Baltimore Crisis. However, as shown, communication partially created and dramatically intensified the U.S.-Chile conflict. The U.S. played a direct combative role against Chile in this period, which shaped the role of communication in a harsher and more straightforward way. This conflict took place during a period of change in the Western Hemisphere when the United States was expanding its influence and authority with the help of the technological developments. The interaction between these two trends shaped U.S.-Chilean relations by providing instant communication during high-stress situations, which intensified these military conflicts.

³⁷ John A Britton, "The International Communications and International Crises in Latin America, 1867-1881," *The Latin Americanist* 52.1 (2008): 131-154.

HOLY HISTORY! HISTORIOGRAPHY, HERESY, AND THE MARVELOUS IN GERVASE OF TILBURY'S *OTIA IMPERIALIA*

Marshall Mayer



The Gloucestershire Anchor

In his epic *Otia Imperialia* Gervase of Tilbury told a story about tired villagers leaving high mass on a dark and dreary day in a small parish in Gloucestershire. To everyone's amazement, "a ship's anchor was seen caught on a tombstone within the churchyard wall, with its rope stretching up and hanging in the air." As the parishioners debated the source of the anchor and its purpose, the rope began to move, as if a force beyond the clouds was pulling it at. Sounds could be heard from above, as if a group of men were exerting a great effort in its retrieval. When that proved ineffective, the unseen beings "sent one of their number down; using the same technique as our sailors here below, he gripped the anchor-rope and climbed down it, swinging one hand over the other." The "sailor" freed the anchor from the place it was interred, only to be set upon and seized by the parishioners. "He then expired in the hands of his captors, suffocated by the humidity of our dense air as if he were drowning in the sea." After an hour, the ship in the sky gave up on their comrade, cut the rope to the anchor and departed.

The passage concluded: "And so in memory of this event it was fittingly decided that that anchor should be used to make ironwork for the church door, and it is still there for all to see."¹

The *Otia* was written for the entertainment of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto IV, and was published in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It was a book of history and memory, of mythology and the marvelous, narrating and explaining incredible phenomena of the world. The *Otia* was a book of advancing historiography and scholarship.² It epitomized the genre of historical writing that had been developing in Latin Christendom since the eleventh century, a genre characterized by an arguably modern approach to writing history in a medieval world. The episode of the Gloucestershire anchor, an undoubtedly fantastic story, represented a very important advancement. By weaving together history, geography and the marvelous, a story like the Gloucestershire anchor was given not just mythological credibility, but historical credibility as well due to the historiographical standard that Gervase would have been obligated to meet.

The book itself is separated into three sections, though each section overlaps with the others. It begins with an historical account of the known world, which gives way in the second part to a geographical examination of the same. The third and final section ties the book together with "the marvels of every province to our discerning listener."³ The marvelous, however, and what it exemplified for Latin Christendom after 1200, especially the repudiation of heresy, underlies the entire work, giving it a powerful coherence.

Where as many medieval texts simply tell stories and announce fact, Gervase was eager to add a sense of authority to his writings:

1 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. and trans. S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns, (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 80-1 (I. 13).

2 In the early decades of *Otia Imperialia*'s production, English historiography had reached a sort of Golden Age. See: Elizabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220*, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2002), chap 3.

3 *Otia*, pp. 558-9 (III. Preface).

No longer need great men learn of God's power, as happens all too often, from the lying tongues of players or actors: now they will have a reliable account which we have either culled from the books of ancient authors or established from eyewitness testimonies, confirmation of which can be had any day if the various localities throughout the provinces described should be investigated.⁴

An earlier production by a different author might have discussed the occurrence of an anchor from the sky, and several did,⁵ but Gervase intended, within the limited scope of a medieval writer, to provide – or at least provide the opportunity for the reader to find – evidence of the same. He did not always cite his sources but, as I shall examine, recent research has found numerous hidden references to earlier authors. Gervase challenged his reader, and indeed himself, to think critically of the world. He also attempted to separate fact from fiction (though he occasionally merged the two) and draw conclusions founded in a Christian belief system and all the expert testimony at his disposal.

Indeed, though the text in question illustrated an advanced understanding of scholarship beyond Gervase's era, it still had a solid grounding in thirteenth century philosophy. Gervase was an intensely religious man, and spared no opportunity to tout his orthodoxy in attacks against heterodoxy of all forms. He took "favour to people who are devoted to the divine sacraments, while shunning those who commit fornication against God and despise the sacraments administered at the hands of the priests of our time... They are heretics indeed, these people who despise the sun when it passes through unclean places."⁶ It is no wonder, then, that he should have been chosen to play the lead character in a story written by Ralph of Coggeshall several decades prior to the publication of the *Otia*.

The Persistent Publicani

In 1183 or 1184, a marvelous thing happened near Reims. William of the White Hands, Archbishop of Reims, was riding in the countryside with several young clerks.⁷ One of them was Gervase of Tilbury who spied a beautiful girl walking alone in a vineyard.⁸ He approached and "led on by the curiosity of the lubricious youth"⁹ attempted, in a courtly fashion, to make a proposal of wanton love.¹⁰ She refused, insisting that "Good youth, the Lord does not desire me ever to be your friend or the friend of any man, for if ever I forsook my virginity and my body had once been defiled, I should most assuredly fall under eternal damnation without hope of recall."¹¹ Gervase, a well-educated and pious man, recognized that this young woman must be of the sect known as Publicani¹² and, with either a pure heart or a lustful persistence, immediately attempted to convince his interlocutor of the error of her ways and educate her on the true faith to which he subscribed. It was during this discussion of faith that the archbishop and the rest of his entourage arrived, discovering the heretic. The girl was arrested and taken with them back to Reims.¹³

4 *Otia*, pp. 14-5 (Preface).

5 Banks and Binns note that air ships are found in Celtic legend as early as 748. See *Otia*, p. 80 n. 5.

6 *Otia*, pp. 664-5 (III. 57).

7 H.G. Richardson, "Gervase of Tilbury *Otia Imperialia*," *History*, 46, no. 157 (1961): 113.

8 Edward M. Peters, "The Lady Vanishes: Gervase of Tilbury on Heresy and Wonders," *Disputatio*, 21 (2009): 181.

9 *Ibid.* "Lubricae iuventutis curiositate ductus."

10 *Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated*, ed. and trans. Walter Leggett Wakefield and Austin P. Evans (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), pp. 251-253

11 *Ibid.*

12 Wakefield and Evans' translation of this episode indicates Gervase called the Publicani movement a "plague."

13 *The Lady Vanishes*, pp. 181-2.

This exemplum involving Gervase of Tilbury was written by Ralph of Coggeshall who interrupted an account of the reign of John I, king of England, to detail this and other stories of minor marvels. The story may not be accurate. Many elements of the story replicated the *pastourelle*, a popular form of storytelling by which a young man attempts to seduce a young maiden who either finds reasons to deny him or cleverly gives into his advances.¹⁴ Ralph most likely chose Gervase as the subject of the story due to his intense hatred of heresy and heretics. Regardless of the reason, what we know of Gervase would make the rest of the story a little easier to believe.

In Reims, the haranguing continued, as the archbishop and his clerks attempted to dissuade the girl of her beliefs.¹⁵ She refused to recant, and was tried and sentenced to the stake.¹⁶ She called upon her more learned mistress, who lived in Reims, to defend her. The older woman, once summoned, affirmed the correctness of their heretical beliefs, and was likewise condemned to die at the stake. But it seems the older woman was not willing to suffer this punishment, for she escaped in a miraculous self-defenestration, one that suggested a malignant spirit was at work.¹⁷ The younger woman, the object of Gervase's advances, was indeed burned at the stake, but with a remarkable steadfastness to her beliefs and in a decidedly dignified manner, consistent with the death of a true Christian martyr. She never shed a tear, nor cried out in pain from the conflagration, much to the surprise of those in attendance.¹⁸

It is unclear to what extent Gervase felt guilt in regards to the girl's fate, but he almost certainly felt justified in his strict opposition to this heresy.¹⁹ Indeed, he makes several biting references in the *Otia* regarding the crusade against the Albigensian and other heretics²⁰ and Gervase's joy at the crushing they had begun to receive. It is through these passing remarks that we must glean most of what is currently known about Gervase, an Englishman who sought, and found, education, a career, and success on the European continent.

A Career on the Continent

H.G. Richardson noted that little scholarly work has been undertaken on the subject of Gervase of Tilbury, especially in English. He chose to do so himself in an attempt to illustrate a man who not atypically sought out a continental education, and had a remarkable, atypical career.²¹ There are few hard dates to work with regarding Gervase, but he seems to have been a man who was granted the patronage of some of the most powerful families in Latin Christendom, had an overwhelming devotion to his orthodoxy and had an intellectualism that rivaled his continental contemporaries.

Of his early life, there is some disagreement. His name alone gives a clue as to his origin, Tilbury in Essex, England.²² He was probably born sometime in the late 1150s or early 1160s into a family with connections to Patrick, Earl of Salisbury.²³ We surmise this because Gervase enjoyed a friendship with Philip, son of Patrick, whom he knew from their days in schools and at the court of King Henry II of England.²⁴ He

14 Ibid. See also *The Medieval Pastourelle*, ed. By William D. Paden, 2 vols (New York: Garland, 1987), I, 36-73, for twelfth-century examples.

15 Ibid.

16 Richardson, p. 114.

17 *The Lady Vanishes*: 181-2.

18 Richardson, p. 114.

19 *Otia*, p. xxvii.

20 Ibid, pp. 28-35 (I. 2), 594-9 (III. 23), 668-73 (III. 59), 684-9 (III. 66), and 758-89 (III. 103), to name a few.

21 Richardson, pp. 104-105. We are indebted to Richardson for his biographical effort.

22 *The Lady Vanishes*, 173; *Otia*, p. xxv.

23 Ibid.

24 *Otia*, pp. 576-83 (III. 12).

also served the Young King Henry, and wrote a book for him, *Liber facetiarum*, and during his service to the Young King began planning what would eventually become the *Otia* (though the dedication would be to Otto IV, Holy Roman Emperor, not Henry).²⁵ It would also be reasonable to assume that he spent his early years in England, due to several references he makes to obscure places that he could only know about if he had been a local.²⁶

Gervase was educated at Bologna, where he studied and taught canon law and earned the title *magister*.²⁷ He found his way to Rome by 1166.²⁸ He was in Venice in 1177 to witness the reconciliation between Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III,²⁹ which was probably during his time at Bologna. It has already been noted that Gervase was in the service of Henry II, which would have been sometime before 1180, and he started serving the Young King Henry a short time after. When the Young King died, Gervase came to serve under William of the White Hands, Archbishop of Rheims, and then under William II of Sicily.³⁰ Gervase was certainly still in royal service in 1189 or 1190³¹ though probably left shortly thereafter.³²

We find Gervase next in Arles, where he was “attached to the household of Imbert d’Aiguières, Archbishop of Arles (1191-1202), visited Rome for the coronation of Otto IV in 1209, and was appointed marshal of the kingdom of Arles by Otto IV around 1210, more, probably, for his learning and legal skills than for any military capacity.”³³ Between 1214 and October 1216, the *Otia* was complete, and was presented to the Emperor, at a time when Emperor Otto IV was rather diminished in power and prestige, in the aftermath of the Battle of Bouvines that would dethrone Otto IV and play into the imminent signing of the Magna Carta in England.³⁴

25 Richardson, p. 105.

26 *Otia*, p. xxv. Banks and Binns also point out the fact that Gervase could have spent his time in England when he was at the court of Henry II. They conclude that, more often than not, he was in France during this time. In note 4 of that same page they note that Gervase has knowledge of English vocabulary, using the English words skylight, werewolf, and forester in *Otia Imperialia* (pp. 82, 86, and 336 respectively). Richardson also discusses the possibility that Gervase could have, while in the employ of Henry II, traveled to England, but concludes that most of his knowledge of the area must have been acquired before leaving for Italy.

27 *Otia*, p. xxvi.

28 Richardson, p. 107.

29 *Otia*, pp. 556-83 (III. 12).

30 Richardson, p. 107.

31 Banks and Binns and Richardson disagree about the date. It would have been around the feast of John the Baptist, in June, during the Siege of Acre. Richardson writes it was 1189, and the siege did not begin until two months later. This would fit with one interpretation of the Latin *Nempe anno quo fuit Acon obsessa, circa imminens sancti Iohannis Baptiste festum*, but the same text might also be interpretable as the first year during which Acre was under siege, which would put the date at June 1190, as Banks and Binns write. Banks and Binns argue that Philip, son of Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, would have arrived in Salerno with the invading Crusaders, making the more likely date 1190.

32 Richardson, p. 107. Richardson discusses this assumption at length. It would seem that a King Tancred rose to power and was no friend to Normans or Englishmen. Gervase, whose loyalties lay with William II of Sicily and Queen Joanna, would have certainly been opposed to Tancred’s rule. See *Otia*, pp. 488-9 (II. 21) and pp. 464-5 (II. 19), respectively. It would also seem that had Gervase been present when King Richard I, a man described in the *Otia* as *non tam Anglorum regem quam fidei christiane deffensorem* (not so much the king of England as the defender of the Christian faith – *Otia*, pp. 264-5 (II. 19)) stayed in Sicily in 1190, he would have thought to make mention of it while discussing the siege of Acre.

33 The Lady Vanishes, p. 173. Peters gives no source reference for this information. Richardson gives a wider range of dates, starting with Otto IV being crowned king of the Romans on 12 June 1198, and states that Gervase had probably been at the coronation in 1209 in his official capacity as marshal of Arles.

34 The battle of Bouvines effectively ruined Otto IV, leaving him ‘emperor no longer except in name.’ see Richardson, p. 108. Richardson notes that Gervase mentioned at one point that William the Lion was dead (d. 4 December, 1214) indicating that the book was still in the works as 1215 began. Otto IV died in 1218. See Peters, Richardson, for more on the date of publication. Also see *Otia*, pp. xxxix-xli, and Gervase’s own references to the then-alive King John on pp. 488-9 (II. 21). Since King John was still alive, it indicates the date of publication could be before 19 October 1216.

The life that Gervase led was, by any measure, a successful one. Although it was not uncommon – indeed, it was quite fashionable – for Englishmen, as periphery members of the European community at large, to seek an education and career on the continent (provided they had the means or the patronage to do so),³⁵ Gervase took a unique path.³⁶ He not only studied and taught canon law, but he also had an amazing secular career.³⁷ He traveled extensively and sought knowledge from those who had been to the places he could not go or had not gone. He was a servant to and, by his own admission, sometimes a friend to royalty and nobility in many houses across Europe. But he also must have been able to interact with the laity at ease.³⁸ He was well read, often referencing, verbatim at times, contemporaries like Peter Comestor and Bernard Sylvester, or ancient writers like Juvenal, Lucan, and Virgil.³⁹ Additionally, Gervase was fiercely loyal to at least several of the men whom he served, evidenced by myriad remarks of loyalty to and respect for not just the recipient of the *Otia*, Otto IV, but also to William II of Sicily, Henry II and the Young King, and even Richard I. It would seem that Gervase even remained in service to the Emperor after Otto IV was dethroned.

He was equally loyal to the Christian faith, if not more so, in the way he so diligently attempted to convince that Publicani girl of her misguided life as well as in the many affirmations of faith in the *Otia*.

Let the Lying Heretics Hide Away!

Gervase of Tilbury was at the forefront of the battle against heresy. His writings time and again denounced heresy in all its forms, especially in regard to the Albigensians. These heretics were not only the targets of the 1208 crusade proclaimed by Pope Innocent III against Raymond VI, count of Toulouse.⁴⁰ They were also most likely considered a source of, at the very least, major inconveniences to the newly appointed marshal of the Kingdom of Arles, Gervase himself.⁴¹ Having been appointed marshal a year after the start of the crusade against the Albigensians, Gervase must have dealt with the spillover heretics and crusaders from the neighboring Albigensian stronghold.⁴² Tensions clearly existed on a grand scale:

Let the lying heretics hide away, let the tongues of the Albigensians cleave to their jaws! For they maintain that there are two gods...

For shame! They damn the prophets but extol the apostles, they scorn our sacraments, and fight among themselves like specked sheep; while you reject what the other demands, at odds and opposed to each other in their opinions, they manufacture schisms.⁴³

Gervase's faith in Christianity, compounded with his political struggles with the Albigensians in the lands of the Count of Toulouse,⁴⁴ made him an enemy to heterodoxy, especially in regards to the dualist traditions of

35 Walter Map, and Gerald of Wales are fine examples of scholars who sought their educations or fortunes in continental Europe. For a discussion of English (specifically Cistercian) historiography, see *Narratives*.

36 Richardson: pp. 102-104.

37 Ibid, p. 114.

38 Evidenced by the myriad references in the *Otia* to stories he had heard from lay people. Book III of the *Otia* references many local legends and bit of folklore that probably would not have come from the upper echelons of society.

39 Examples can be found at, amongst other places, *Otia*, pp. 244-5 (II. 7), pp. 302-3 (II. 10), and pp. 44-5 (I. 5).

40 Pope Innocent III never used the term Albigenses himself.

41 The Kingdom of Arles shared a border with the lands of the Count of Toulouse, the site of the Albigensian Crusade.

42 At the start of the crusade, for example, two churches at Arles had been converted to fortresses by William Porcelet and were destroyed by the advancing crusaders. See Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1978), p. 88.

43 *Otia*, pp. 30-1 (I. 2). Part of that rant is stolen from Peter Comestor, as well as several ancient authors.

44 Later known as Languedoc.

the Albigensians. He was in the forefront of this particular battle. “Gervase’s Albigensian excursus... was one of the earliest account – if not the earliest – of what the *Albigenses* supposedly believed and why they deserved extermination.”⁴⁵

Heretics had been in existence for as long as there had been a Christian church to define them as such, so it was not unheard of for small pockets of religious dissent to arise. Early references to the Albigensians do not reflect alarm or fear. An 1177 letter from Raymond V, Count of Toulouse to the abbot of Cîteaux spoke of the “two principles” belief held by some of the heretics of his realm, a fact that was largely ignored as it had been during the council of Lombers in 1165.⁴⁶ That council was more concerned with attitudes towards celibacy than more traditional disagreements between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, like the denial of Christ’s assumption of human flesh or the refusal to eat meat.⁴⁷ By contrast, Gervase around the same time was writing enraged words of hate against the Albigensians, before they were considered a true threat to the Christian faith.⁴⁸

Combating heresy was hardly uncommon among those of high position in Gervase’s Europe. Countless writings survive that condemned various heresies, from the Albigensians to the Potestas.⁴⁹ An act of heresy was not defined by what it was, but by what it was not; heresy was anything that was inconsistent with the standard teachings of the Christian faith and heretics consisted of anyone who had partially or fully withdrawn themselves from the Church.⁵⁰

To Gervase, the existence of this “Albigensian cosmos was the exact opposite of the Catholic universe decreed by Innocent III and his sacred council.”⁵¹ Gervase believed in the universal power of God. He believed that the “beginning... is a being without a beginning: with the beginning, from the beginning, in the beginning of time, God created heaven and earth, that is, the world.”⁵² Albigensians, however, supposedly believed in a duality of everything. The devil created the earth and God endowed man with a conscience, to earn salvation in an evil realm. There was a definite beginning, not the eternal loop that Gervase described.⁵³

It would seem that the divergent beliefs of the Albigensians and Christians even caused Gervase to debase their heresy further by providing an indirect boost to another set of heretics. “Give heed, you poor fools, to what the pagans believe about God – for they have a truer notion than you who call yourself Christians... For

45 Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 146-7.

46 Which was an early reaction to this particular heresy and would help begin the slow march towards what would become the crusade against the Albigensians in 1208.

47 R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 198-203.

48 It would be nigh impossible to pinpoint an exact date when Gervase wrote these lines, but an educated guess can be extrapolated. The lines were penned in the early pages of the book. Gervase wrote in his Preface that he had conceived of the book about thirty years prior to its publication. It is likely that he began work on the *Otia* after completing and publishing *Liber facetiarum* for the Young King Henry III (d. 1183). Therefore, it also seems likely that sometime in the 1180s Gervase was seething about Albigensians just a few years after Count Raymond V was writing passive remarks of generic concern towards them. That would put the origin of Gervase’s opposition to Albigensians more than twenty years prior to the crusade against the Albigensians, during which he would be serving as marshal of the Kingdom of Arles.

49 Many have been compiled, translated, and edited in Edward M. Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1980). See also *HHMA*.

50 Edward M. Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1980), p. 4.

51 *A Most Holy War*, p. 147

52 *Otia*, pp. 18-9 (I. 1).

53 *The War on Heresy*, pp. 198-203. See also *HHMA*, pp. 336-346; and Sumption, pp. 32-33.

Jupiter, from *iuuans pater*, the helping father of all, is God, and all in all.”⁵⁴ The *Otia*’s deluge of diatribes denouncing heretics – especially the Albigensians – made it clear that Gervase was far more than just a passive observer of heresy. He was an active voice in its opposition, steadfast in his convictions and unwavering in his belief system, bolstered by his Christian education and the intellectuals from whom he sourced many of his opinions.

An Unordinary Man

Gervase’s incredible career was by no means an ordinary experience for a man to have in his time. But it was not unheard of either. Indeed, for men born of any means, opportunity, and education, traveling across the continent and – with perseverance – rising to a relatively high station was definitely achievable. One well-known contemporary whose career overlapped with that of Gervase was a scholar named Peter Comestor, whom Gervase frequently referenced in *Otia Imperialia*.⁵⁵ Contrasting Gervase with Peter Comestor helps to highlight the level of contemporary scholarship that Gervase met and surpassed.

Peter Comestor was a man who would ultimately achieve success as a scholar, but not in the same way or to the same heights as Gervase. This is little surprise when you consider the significant advantage Gervase had. Peter Comestor was a French theological writer who enjoyed a personal acquaintanceship with Peter Lombard, under whom he studied for many years. He taught in the Paris schools and became a canon of St. Loup and Dean of the cathedral there. He served as Dean of Troyes from 1147, and was appointed Chancellor of Paris in 1168; both offices he held until his death.⁵⁶ He was the author and an early propagator of the genre of glosses. He published many during his lifetime, most notably on his mentor Peter Lombard’s Four Books of Sentences and a gloss of the Gospels.⁵⁷ His most distinguished book is undoubtedly *Historia scholastica*, which was heavily influenced by *Glossa Ordinaria*, and was itself something of a gloss.⁵⁸

Like Gervase, Peter Comestor was critical of his sources and was not afraid to delve into many different viewpoints on a single subject. His name, Comestor, is homage to his love of and obsession with reading. To be sure, Peter Comestor, having been connected with the Church at a young age, gained an education and earned success as a scholar and theologian. It is not surprising, then, to find someone like Gervase, blessed with not only an education, but also connections to aristocracy, reaching even greater heights.

Gervase had spent time in the court of King Henry II during his early years in England. It was during that time he had developed his friendship with Philip, son of Patrick. It is unclear just how close they were, though Gervase referred to him as someone for whom he shared a “*singularitatem affectionis*,” and with whom he had a “long comradeship in the schools and at the court.”⁵⁹ He thrived on the formality and glamour of life at court, but was more than willing to associate with both men and women from all walks of life. His time at court and his kinship with Philip⁶⁰ meant a major boost in Gervase’s career when he would strike out across the continent. It is no wonder, then, that he had enough of a boost for him to propel himself to a position of

54 “Attendite, infelices, quod gentiles sanius de Deo sentiunt quam uos qui christianos uos dicitis... Iupiter enim, quasi iuuans omnium pater, Deus est, omnia in omnibus.” *Otia*, pp. 32-33 (I. 2).

55 He only once explicitly references Peter Comestor in *Otia*, pp. 766-7 (III. 103), though Banks and Binns note that Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* served as a major source for all three books in the *Otia*, though especially in Gervase’s writings on cosmographical and biblical history in Book I. See *Otia*, p. xlii.

56 David Luscombe, “Peter Comestor,” *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1985), pp. 109-11.

57 Ibid, p. 109, p. 114.

58 Gervase borrowed extensively from *Historia scholastica* when composing the *Otia*.

59 *Otia*, pp. 578-9 (III. 12).

60 And at least a few other gentlemen of the aristocracy, it would seem reasonable to assume, especially if Gervase was himself of the aristocracy and the kinship he mentions to Philip is a literal kinship.

influence – at least, as far as his low station would allow.

Gervase was an impressive scholar, and published many works, including *Liber facetiarum*, which survives only in fragments through references made in other publications. His only surviving major work is the *Otia*. He was a marshal, a *magister* of canon law at Bologna, the author of at least two lengthy compendium works, a servant in the courts of King Henry II, Emperor Otto IV, and King William II of Sicily, and the much-disputed possible author of the Ebsdorf Map.⁶¹ Gervase was undoubtedly multi-talented and multi-faceted in his ability and accomplishments. He was overwhelmingly intellectual and very serious about his religion and his work. Above all, he had a fascination with the novel, which translated into a love of travel, an insatiable appetite for reading, and an almost child-like enthrallment with the world around him. These interests combined perfectly when compiling what would become the *Otia*, as Gervase would draw on every facet of life that he found challenging, from history to geography to, and most importantly, the magical and the mystical, the mythological and the marvelous. Gervase's culminating work could well be considered to be the best lasting legacy he could have asked for. The *Otia* captures all that we know of Gervase and all that we know of the world in which he lived, served, researched, prayed, and traveled.

The Organization of the Study

The *Otia* has been studied on and off for since its publication at the start of the thirteenth century. Gervase, too, is hardly unknown to scholars, but little modern comprehensive work has been done on Gervase or on the *Otia* itself. Many have made passing references to Gervase's work, others have studied just one or two sections of the *Otia*,⁶² and a few authors have attempted to compile a biography of his life, or a summation of his works. The prevailing writings on these subjects are limited in scope, especially in English. In fact, it was only last decade that a comprehensive translation of the *Otia* was published in English.

It would be difficult to summarize or identify a single stream of scholarly work in line with the overarching subject of this study. Therefore, it is necessary to separate each offshoot in order to compile an accurate account of the modern historiography that went into the research for this study. In other words, as it is my intention to dissect historiography using as a lens the *Otia*, Gervase and the world in which he lived, it is necessary to acknowledge the different tributary areas of research that make up the whole of this study.

This study is organized in three principal parts. The first will discuss historiography in Gervase's time. It will attempt to understand the then-modern standards for good history writing, how sources were used, what was considered an adequate or ideal level of research, what kind of academic standard Gervase would have been held to, and to what extent Gervase tried to be historiographically accurate in the *Otia Imperialia*. The second section will discuss heresy, the subject of myriad scholars' careers, and the role that heresy played in the lives of Gervase, Emperor Otto IV, Pope Innocent III, and others of note in medieval Christendom. It will explore the origins of heretical beliefs, especially in regards to Albigensians, and discuss the reasons heresy was considered so dangerous. It will also lay the groundwork for the final section by exploring the ways in which heresy and mythology so often overlapped, what the difference was between the two, and why one was so popular and the other so reviled.

61 As per the Ebsdorf Map: while it is unlikely that Gervase is responsible for the map, good arguments can be made to suggest he had a hand in its creation. The map does seem to have been made to specifications that Gervase himself would have approved of, from the representation of Rome as a lion to the Y- shape of map reminiscent of Christ. Banks and Binns note in their discussion of the Ebsdorf controversy that some have argued Gervase sketched a map to accompany the *Otia*, and that was used as a model for the Ebsdorf Map. See *Otia*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi. Also see: *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1997), pp. 64-70, for further discussion of the Ebsdorf map, as well as possible clues that could connect Gervase of Tilbury to its creation.

62 Most passing references to the *Otia* that I have come across relate to the third book, on marvels, and many of those do not take the tome as an impressive piece of scholarship but as a book of frill and fancy.

The last section will discuss the marvelous as Gervase understood it, i.e. the magical, the mythological and the mystical. What purpose did marvels serve? What value did fables hold? How pervasive was folklore in everyday life? Legend and marvels held sway over people, even when the myths in question bordered on the illogical, impossible, and even heretical. But in the end, the truth about a myth, an act of heresy, or history itself only really matters insofar as how it is recorded, interpreted and reinterpreted, and in how it affects peoples lives in palpable ways.

Cameron Moubray



As a faithful document of the final days of Mary I and the early reign of Elizabeth I, Shekhar Kapur's film *Elizabeth*, whatever its critical acclaim as a work of theater, is without question profoundly lacking. The anemic historicity of its recreation of both the Elizabethan court and of the events and people surrounding it is as immediately apparent as it is unsurprising. It is unfair, after all, to expect any popular dramatization of history to follow uncompromisingly the actual course of events. Though human history is of itself just as dramatic and spectacular as any work of fiction, the complex and violent interplay of men and nations does not – unaccountably – follow narrative conventions. Besides its excessive and unwieldy *dramatis personae*, history is entirely too prone to introducing too many different plots and storylines, with inconsistently satisfying resolutions, to translate unedited to the stage. Therefore, as absolute accuracy is neither possible nor really desirable, *Elizabeth* may be forgiven certain distortions insofar as it follows, in vague terms, the general outline of Elizabeth's reign. If there is no great historical satisfaction to be found in the details of Elizabeth, it can be perhaps taken more agreeably as a character study, writ in the broadest of strokes, of its eponymous protagonist – both the woman Elizabeth Tudor and the royal sovereign Elizabeth I – and, indeed, of England. Although tightly compressed, the film encompasses the defining elements of Elizabeth's Queenship: sectarian tension, sexual tension, and a court struggling to manage both.

Elizabeth's introduction unambiguously establishes the Protestant-Catholic division of England in context of Mary I's vigorous persecution of Protestant elements, attempting to roll back the Protestantization begun with Henry VIII's schism and enshrined as the law of the realm under Edward VI, Mary's (recognized) predecessor. The film does not, of course, linger on the legal and theological precedents – or lack thereof – driving the Marian Persecutions or the underlying strife of the Reformation. However it does at the very least illustrate the profound sectarian division which Elizabeth inherited: a vexing situation in which neither side held any apparent majority among the public at large, with a body of law that had been pulled in two very different directions during the short reign of her two immediate predecessors.¹ Such were the circumstances under which Elizabeth produced and pushed through her Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, a religious settlement intended to establish a unified Anglican Church. *Elizabeth* deals only briefly with the Queen's legislation on the matter, focusing on the 1558 Act of Uniformity to the exclusion of the subsequent Act of Supremacy, a compression likely made in service of narrative expedience. It further embellishes the affair with an ahistorical intervention on Sir Francis Walsingham's part, depicted as essential to securing the Act's passage. If these omissions and embellishments are glaring, at very least the film's account of the Act's ultimate passage and, moreover, the Crown's success in winning the acquiescence of at least some part of the clergy is borne out by contemporary historical record: Camden's defining chronicle of Elizabeth's reign claims that a majority of the Catholic priesthood "thought it more behovefull" to submit to their new sovereign and her church.² Though Camden's overly-kind description of the Catholic concession might better be framed as an extortion by "the Marian exiles, backed by ... radical Protestant devotees" in the Commons, the film's brief treatment of the religious settlement is not a wholly unsatisfactory compromise, capturing the continued Catholic dissension while

1 Arnold Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church Under Queen Elizabeth* (London: Kegan, Trench, Truber & Co., 1916), 10-11.

2 William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England* comp. Wallace T. McCaffrey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 34.

also conveying the critical revolutionary legitimation of Elizabeth's rule represented by the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy.³

Whereas the religious divide forms the film's backdrop, royal sexuality constitutes a more explicit running theme for most of the narrative, providing much of the drama throughout whilst also illuminating, in certain ways, the fraught topic of Her Majesty's hand. The portrayal of Henry, Duke of Anjou and future Henry III of France, and his courtship – such as it is – of Elizabeth is without question one of the more flagrant dramatic licenses taken by the film, matching the historical record only inasmuch as a marriage between Henry of Anjou and Elizabeth was at one point mooted, and that Henry may have been homosexual. Certainly the mincing, preposterous fop of the film is not an accurate recreation of the Duke of Anjou, nor of his wooing endeavors, seeing as he never met the Queen personally – a complication, given Elizabeth's "radical" vow to "marry no man whom she has not seen."⁴ The Anjou of the film is evidently a composite of Henry of Anjou and his younger brother, Francis, who many years later was Elizabeth's final suitor, the only one to court her in person and the most nearly successful – though likewise not, as far as the record indicates, prone to transvestite orgies, and in fact quite popular with the Queen. Above and beyond the Anjou-composite's absurdly flamboyant carrying-on, his public behavior towards Elizabeth upon their meeting would never have been borne by any monarch, least of all Elizabeth herself. Precisely what would really have come of a foreign heir lewdly propositioning and groping a royal sovereign before her entire court is difficult to speculate, as such a diplomatic enormity scarcely has precedent in international law, but fleets have been launched and cities sacked over lesser provocations.

The Henry character therefore may best be considered, rather than a recreation of the French courtships, as a compression of all Elizabeth's foreign courtships and, moreover, the perception of the same, at varying times and to varying degrees, by both Elizabeth and the English public. The image of a degenerate French catamite slobbering all over the Virgin Queen could well have been constructed by John Stubbe himself in response to the courtship of the latter Anjou. An "imp of the crowne of Fraunce, to marye with the crowned Nymph of Englande," indeed – if the film's Anjou is not so ominous a character as Stubbe and other Protestant patriots perceived Francis, he certainly has the character of a grasping, usurping, alien figure such as no Englishman could possibly want on the throne.⁵ Likewise, an allegory of sorts can be found for Elizabeth's own view of a foreign marriage and its implications. Though the true character of Elizabeth's objections to marriage, whether pathological, pragmatic or otherwise, cannot be construed with certainty,⁶ it is plain that Elizabeth from the outset was determined to maintain her personal power and agency as Queen of England.⁷ In that light, Elizabeth too might have been predisposed to perceive foreign suitors as an affront to her dignity by the very nature of their mission.

Elizabeth further establishes the perennial controversies and complications proceeding from Elizabeth's personal sexuality as a female monarch. Per Sir William Cecil, near the start of the film, "Her Majesty's body and person" were "no longer her own property" but the Crown's, and all that implied. Although Elizabeth's fondness for Lord Robert Dudley apparently did not manifest itself in the form a physical relationship, as it does in the film, their relationship certainly cast doubt upon the Queen's chastity in the public eye, with attendant political consequences.⁸

3 Sir John Neale, "The Elizabethan Age" in *Essays in Elizabethan History*, ed. Sir John Neale (London: Cape, 1958), 24-5.

4 Ilona Bell, "Elizabeth and the Politics of Elizabethan Courtship" in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free Woman* ed. Carole Levin et al. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 181.

5 John Stubbe, *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf Whereinto England is Like to be Swallowed*, ed. Lloyd Berry (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968), 11.

6 Susan Doran, *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana* (Durham: Duke University, 1998), 2-3.

7 Ilona Bell, "Elizabeth and the Politics of Elizabethan Courtship" 180.

8 Julia Walker, *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, 13.

The politicking of Elizabeth's court, primarily by Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir William Cecil, is encompassed ably enough by the film, even if it takes liberties with the particulars there as in all other things. The "parlous and degenerate state" which Cecil describes as Elizabeth's inheritance is at least accurate. Likewise, while the various conspiracies against Elizabeth's reign depicted in the film are a compression of several plots, chiefly the Babington one, their retelling captures not too sensationally the danger in which the throne stood. The three main characters on Elizabeth's court; Cecil, Walsingham and the seditious Duke of Norfolk, constitute another compression of the rest of the Privy Council and its internal divisions. The "personal antagonisms, political rivalries and policy differences" at court are mostly reduced to the differences of policy and method between Cecil and Walsingham, of which Walsingham's intrigues are afforded the better part of the film's attention.⁹ The film's culmination with the establishment of Elizabeth's famed "Virgin Queen" image and its associated cult of personality (of which *Elizabeth* itself is in many ways a manifestation), while no more accurate than any other part, does correctly show the import of that image to the solidification and consolidation of Elizabeth's power.¹⁰

Elizabeth, therefore, is by no means a reliable reconstruction of events, but in certain places an outline of the character of Elizabeth's reign at least begins to take form. The film's irrepressible sexuality lends itself to a study of courtship and the royal gender somewhat better than its more cursory examination of the sectarian and political concerns of the day. However, given the three were often inextricably intertwined, the treatment of the former serves to illuminate, at least in part, the latter.

9 Ibid, 12.

10 Sir John Neale, "Elizabethan Age" 27-28.

Evan Perschetz



Working under the exigencies of mainstream cinematic storytelling, Shekhar Kapur's *Elizabeth* (1998) frequently sacrifices historical accuracy for the sake of dramatic tension and entertainment value. Characters appear in places and times they should not and have interactions that never actually happened, the complex motivations of key figures are simplified, altered and dramatized, and there is little nuance in the villainous portrayals of the forces working against Elizabeth. However, as often as the film strays from historical fact in favor of narrative convenience, it remains accurate in capturing the general contemporary spirit of the political stakes and circumstances surrounding the early years of Elizabeth's reign. *Elizabeth* is most historically satisfactory as an expression of what Carol Z. Wiener calls the "semi-apocalyptic" early Elizabethan mood towards the country's religious and diplomatic crises with the Catholics,¹ and in depicting how Elizabeth herself fostered these sentiments to reinforce a sense of English national identity.

Through both its form and content, the film assumes the dichotomous good-versus-evil nature of Elizabethan anti-Catholic attitudes. The opening sequence of the film, shot with cold, dark colors and featuring bombastic, despairing non-diegetic music, depicts three Protestant martyrs being burned at the stake in stark, explicit detail. One of the martyrs cries out for more wood to be thrown on the fire to burn them faster and ease their pain, and spectators in the crowd attempt to do so before they are pushed back and dispersed by Queen Mary's guards. The scene immediately establishes Mary's England as a place of Catholic oppression and Protestant virtue in the face of suffering. By contrast, Elizabeth herself is introduced in a lighthearted scene with Robert Dudley, with bright, warm colors and much softer music. The rest of the film reflects this first impression with its baldly villainous depictions of virtually all of the major characters that belong to anti-Elizabeth, pro-Catholic factions. The Duke of Norfolk, the film's primary antagonist, is a glowering, scheming menace throughout. The Spanish ambassador Álvaro de la Quadra and the Jesuit priest John Ballard are similarly grim-faced, black-clad threats. Álvaro literally operates in the shadows throughout the film as he corrupts Robert Dudley, and Ballard brutally kills one of Walsingham's spies with his bare hands. These depictions, together with the brief yet sinister appearances of Mary of Guise and the Pope himself, foster a sense all through the film that Catholic forces are evil forces. For her part, Elizabeth is depicted as an internally conflicted but ultimately much more benevolent leader. The film largely insulates her from culpability for many of the ruthless acts committed on her own behalf by showing Walsingham enacting them for her, sometimes without her consent or knowledge.

While these depictions of Catholicism do not offer anything approaching an objective historical view of the religious conflict in Elizabethan England, and are often not even factually accurate, they succeed in conveying the anti-Catholic sociopolitical climate of the time. The opening sequence, in both its structure and its theme, recalls John Foxe's famous contemporary accounts of Protestant martyrdom, which similarly describe the excruciating details of stake-burnings, the martyrs' last words, and the reactions of the spectators. First published in English in 1563,² during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* created a religious history of England that stressed the evils committed by the Catholic Church and its fol-

1 Wiener, Carol Z. "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism." *Past & Present* No. 51 (Oxford: OUP, 1971), 53.

2 Freeman, Thomas S. "Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), Online. ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan. 2008.

lowers, positioning the new Protestant queen as much more benevolent and virtuous by contrast. The book was very successful, heavily contributing to growing attitudes of fear and mistrust towards Catholics during Elizabeth's reign.³ The film's opening sequence allows the film to trace this same contemporary progression of anti-Catholic sentiment, using sensational and gruesome depictions of Protestant martyrdom to color the viewer's perception of Elizabeth and her Catholic enemies.

The black-and-white morality of Elizabeth and the Catholic characters also works to reinforce the film's authentic expression of the Elizabethan anti-Catholic atmosphere. Although it may seem that the shifty, brooding portrayals of figures such as Norfolk, Álvaro, and Ballard and the general association between Catholicism and villainy throughout the film are liberties and exaggerations taken solely to make Elizabeth's story fit more neatly into the narrative strictures of the mainstream cinematic epic, they actually accurately reflect the way many Elizabethans felt about Catholics. In her article "The Beleaguered Isle," Wiener notes that for many people in Elizabethan England, the conflict with Catholicism "was not simply a struggle between two political entities but was a fight of universal significance between the forces of good and evil".⁴ The emotional climate of Elizabethan England, if not the strict historical fact, was actually pitched at the same heightened, dramatic level the film takes on. Additionally, according to Wiener, this notion of grandiose cosmic conflict caused Elizabethans to be "pessimistic about the future," feeling a "tension and fear" towards Catholics "both out of proportion to and longer lasting than any real danger."⁵ In this regard, the exaggerated ominous power of the Catholic Church and even the existence of various inaccuracies and contrivances in the Catholic schemes against Elizabeth shown in the film are satisfactory as projections of Protestant Elizabethan paranoia about their religious enemy.

Another major way in which *Elizabeth* is historically satisfactory is in its central thematic exploration of how Elizabeth manipulates these anti-Catholic sentiments to help create a new sense of English national identity. Throughout the film, Elizabeth has to simultaneously contend with the internal religious conflict and the diplomatic marriage question, two problems that are inherently intertwined due to her foreign suitors' Catholic sympathies. She reasserts England's religious separation from Rome midway through the film with the passage of an Act of Uniformity, but she remains threatened by Catholic factions until the very end, when she addresses both the religious and marriage questions by reinventing herself as the Virgin Queen. In the film's final scene, she enters the court dressed in all white with her face painted white as well, as a choir sings on the soundtrack. By essentially positioning herself as a new symbolic Virgin figure to replace the Virgin Mary (which calls back a conversation between Elizabeth and Walsingham earlier in the film about the power of the Virgin Mary), and by rejecting all of her Catholic suitors, Elizabeth outwardly rejects Catholicism in an elaborate fashion. According to Wiener, "the semi-apocalyptic ideology of anti-Catholicism gave England a sense of her own importance, and on one level of consciousness, courage to meet the fight."⁶ In that sense, then, in the process of successfully resisting potential Catholic influences and outwardly rejecting Catholicism itself, Elizabeth also helps England to forge its own national identity. Elizabeth punctuates this newfound sense of identity with the final line of the film: "observe, Lord Burghley. I am married to England."⁷

Elizabeth paradoxically manages to be most historically satisfactory when it stretches the historical facts, because it uses these moments to convey an acute understanding of the tense and emotionally charged sociopolitical attitudes of the real Elizabethan England. In doing so, the film is able to reconcile its dramatic inclinations with a sense of historical authenticity in a way that many works of historical fiction cannot.

3 Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle," 28.

4 Ibid, 57-8.

5 Ibid, 28.

6 Ibid, 53.

7 *Elizabeth*. Dir. Shekhar Kapur. Perf. Cate Blanchett. Working Title Films, 1998.

Gabriel Rubin



“Public opinion,” in the words of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, is “the acid test of a foreign policy.”¹ With the American citizenry ultimately controlling the future of elected officials and their associated bureaucrats, U.S. foreign policy often must engage in a degree of cognitive dissonance to balance rational policy concerns with political necessities. Mass media outlets, party politics, and other non-governmental groups hold sway in this court of public opinion, and their influence pervades even the classified documents at the highest levels of U.S. diplomatic decision-making. In the waning months of the Eisenhower administration in 1959 and 1960 these considerations came to the forefront of U.S. policy, preventing the U.S. from making rational choices relating to the Sino-Soviet split. Changes in the Communist world were progressing rapidly, and the U.S. response lacked the agility necessary for effective foreign policymaking. The black and white terms in which the American populace and political class classified Communism clogged the gears of American intelligence. Public opinion forced American officials to bypass crucial policy maneuvers in favor of maintaining an uncompromising stance toward the Communist world.

China had occupied a uniquely prominent position in the minds of Americans in the years preceding the Communist takeover in 1949. Henry Luce, founder and owner of *Time* and *Life* magazines, came from a family of Christian missionaries in China. The Luce-owned publications wrote fawningly of Chiang Kai-Shek, China’s nationalist leader and a pro-U.S. Christian.² When Chinese Communists under Mao Zedong chased Chiang and his Kuomintang off the mainland, angry condemnations of U.S. policy proliferated in the press. Articles in *Time* and other publications lamented the “loss of China,” which was “still incalculable in its consequences. For Communism, it was the greatest victory since the Russian Revolution.”³ The Republican-leaning *Saturday Evening Post* claimed in a series entitled “Why We Lost China” that the State Department was culpable. Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin would advance this thesis- thus gutting the Department of some of its finest officers- over the ensuing years.

McCarthy first alluded to “individuals who are loyal to the ideals and designs of Communism...the Far Eastern Division of the State Department” in a speech to Republicans in Reno, Nevada, on February 12, 1950.⁴ Though McCarthy claimed that he had 57 names of known Communists in the State Department, he only explicitly accused four, of whom only one remained at State at the time of the address. John Service, a longtime “China hand” was merely the first of his colleagues to have his reputation shredded by McCarthy. Fellow China experts Owen Lattimore, John Carter Vincent, and John Paton Davies all received summons to appear before Senate committees to have their loyalties tested and careers scrutinized. Worried that Congress was treating his diagnosis of the “loss of China” improperly, Joseph Alsop, author of the *Saturday Evening Post* series on the loss of China, wrote to Senator Millard Tydings to decry the destruction of “the decent traditions of American political life.”⁵ But for the reputations of skilled intelligence analysts, such hand wringing came too late. The extinguishment of McCarthy’s merciless fire came only after the State Department had suf-

1 Leslie Gelb, “The Essential Domino: American Politics and Vietnam,” *Foreign Affairs*, (1972).

2 David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*. (New York: Random House, 1972), 114.

3 “Defeat.” *Time* 53.6 (7 February 1949): 21. Academic Search Premier. Web. 28 Mar. 2012.

4 E. J. Kahn, *The China Hands: America’s Foreign Service Officers and What Befell Them* (New York: Viking, 1975), 213.

5 *Ibid.* 217.

ferred the loss of some of its greatest experts on the Far East precisely when they were needed most to present the case for sound policy at the highest levels of government. Even worse for American intelligence, however, was the infusion of self-censorship and fear among members of the intelligence community. Other capable experts could eventually replace John Paton Davies and his colleagues, but these new analysts would be wary of appearing to present any information- such as changes in the political relationship between the Soviets and the Chinese- that might attract the attention of Communist-hunters.

In the early 1950s, at least, Communist China and the Soviet Union did make efforts to conserve Communist unity. China under the Communists started out both indebted to and aligned with the Soviet Union. Mao relied on Soviet funding and expertise for his nation's nascent nuclear program in the early to mid-1950s, and generally followed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance.⁶ Only later, around 1958, did the cracks begin to emerge that would essentially destroy the positive relations between the two Communist powers, turning allies into bitter rivals.

During the years of Sino-Soviet cooperation the Eisenhower administration took pains to stem the spread of Communism in Asia. After losing the mainland in 1949, Chiang Kai-Shek continued to battle the Chinese over island chains in and around the Taiwan Strait. While not included in a mutual defense treaty between the U.S. and the Chinese Nationalists in Taiwan as vital territories in the national interest, the U.S. nonetheless provided material and other support for the explicit purpose of defending the islands. In a meeting at the State Department between Chinese Nationalist Ambassador Wellington Koo and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East Walter Robertson, Robertson forcefully claimed that the loss of islands, in this particular instance the Tachen Islands, would put the Communists in a "favorable position for further aggression."⁷ Though the U.S. never directly used force throughout the period of tensions over the Taiwan Strait, U.S. policies still reflected an uncompromising stance toward the Chinese Communists.

In its dealings with the Soviets, the U.S. had taken a similarly confrontational tact. The U.S. spent the 1950s shoring up alliances with developing countries, creating a nuclear umbrella over Western Europe, and strengthening key NATO alliances. Flashpoints of conflict between pro-Western forces and the Soviet bloc popped up in crises in Berlin, Hungary, and elsewhere. The status of U.S.-Soviet, or more generally Western-Communist, relations during the mid-1950s can be aptly summed up by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's speech to Western diplomats in Moscow in November 1956, in which he laid out world divisions in stark terms:

"About the capitalist states, it doesn't depend on you whether or not we exist. You don't like us, don't accept our invitations, and don't invite us to come to see you. Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you!"⁸

Khrushchev viewed the Communist cause as singular, leading the U.S. to do the same.

Soviet attitudes, at an official level, grew more accommodating towards the U.S. later in the 1950s. The Soviets admired American technology, even if they were repulsed by the capitalist impulses behind its development. In advance of a visit by Khrushchev to the U.S. in September 1959, Soviet Trade Commissar Anastas Mikoyan reminded American government officials and business executives of "Lenin's admiration for American productivity."⁹ Khrushchev expressed willingness to ease tensions over thorny issues such as the

6 "Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance," *Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China*. <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/ziliao/3602/3604/t18011.htm>.

7 Memorandum of Conversation, 12 January 1955, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986), II, 13-17.

8 "We Will Bury You!," *Time* 68.22 (26 November 1956): 26. Academic Search Premier. Web. 18 Apr. 2012.

9 Austin Jersild, "The Soviet State as Imperial Scavenger: 'Catch Up and Surpass' in the Transnational Socialist Bloc,

status of Berlin and nuclear testing, both areas of mutual concern for the superpowers. *Time*, though, sneered at Khrushchev during his visit, claiming it knew the true reasons he had planned the trip:

From Washington to Manhattan to Los Angeles to San Francisco, [the visit is] not so much a move to reduce world tension as a historic and tireless one-man campaign to cajole, flatter, wheedle, shame, threaten and defy the U.S. into changing its way of looking at the world.¹⁰

Luce and his editorial staff wanted no part in U.S.-Soviet rapprochement, seeing it as a Communist plot for world dominance.

Just as American relations with the Soviets showed signs of thaw, ties between the Soviets and the Chinese began to fray quickly. The rift developed as a result of three main ideological differences, according to British and American intelligence sources. First, the Soviets were wary about the size and scope of Chinese economic policy. As a key financial backer, the Soviets worried they would be stuck holding the bag for “The Great Leap Forward,” Mao’s plan to modernize China through extensive land consolidation and infrastructure development. Secondly, Mao and the Chinese politburo pursued a much more aggressive and ideology-based foreign policy than the Soviets, evidenced by high-stakes conflicts with the U.S. over the Quemoy and Matsu Islands and extensive support for Communist uprisings in Southeast Asia. Under Khrushchev the Soviets had taken a more conciliatory tone towards the United States, willingly negotiating over issues of mutual strategic interest. Khrushchev did not want his “junior partner” setting foreign policy for the Communist bloc. Lastly, and most ideologically, the Soviets opposed the Chinese agricultural commune system, a policy uniquely formulated to control hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants within a Communist program- Khrushchev had sought to distance himself from the brutal communal agriculture system set up by his predecessor Joseph Stalin, under which millions of Soviet citizens died.¹¹

The American national security apparatus was aware of the rift, albeit unsure of its full implications. A National Intelligence Estimate from July 1959 elaborated upon the reasons for the conflict and its possible effects:

We believe that Soviet and Chinese Communist interests with respect to nuclear weapons are in some degree incompatible. The U.S.S.R. is almost certainly reluctant to see the Chinese acquire nuclear weapons under their own control...The reconciliation of Sino-Soviet interests will probably become increasingly difficult...nevertheless, both partners will undoubtedly recognize that their problems are the inevitable consequence of the alliance itself, and that there is no feasible alternative to maintaining it in essentially its present form.¹²

U.S. diplomats recognized both the boon and bane of the situation. While it could be advantageous to play one side against the other in the hopes of weakening Communism as a global force, U.S. attempts to highlight differences could also serve to “aggravate Soviet and Chinese Communist concern,”¹³ thereby drawing the two back into closer alignment. Unfortunately, intelligence bureaucrats debated these policies via classified channels, far away from the American public. Additionally, given the lack of high-level (that is, the Secretary of State, National Security Council, or President) engagement with the intricacies of strategy, these policy

1950–1960,” *The American Historical Review* 116.1 (2011): 109-32.

10 “The Elemental Force,” *Time* 74.13 (28 September 1959): 11. Academic Search Premier. Web. 20 Apr. 2012.

11 Memorandum of Conversation, 18 September 1959, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995), XIX, 591-593.

12 National Intelligence Estimate, 28 July 1959, *FRUS, 1958-1960*, XIX: 577-81.

13 Memorandum From the Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (Cumming) to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (Murphy), 16 October 1959, *FRUS, 1958-1960*, XIX: 611-13.

suggestions, however ingenious, were seemingly just intellectual exercises.

American intelligence agencies, in their joint National Intelligence Estimates, clearly demanded a change in policy towards the Communist world, one that would take into account its variations. Yet in 1959 and 1960 those changes would have been incompatible with the stark contrasts between good (the West) and evil (the Communist bloc) expected by the American electorate. *Time* and other publications did not ignore the schism altogether. Indeed, *Time* covered the developments in the Communist world nearly every week, going so far as to claim that “the ideological row between Moscow and Peking grew shriller last week than any dispute ever overheard between states claiming to live in Marxist unity and solidarity.”¹⁴ Yet *Time* still painted a picture of a spreading Communist contagion. In an article entitled “Tighter Red Knots,” the magazine’s correspondent stated that “concern about Communist penetration spread across the Americas.”¹⁵ As the nation’s leading newsmagazine, such sentiments carried weight, especially in the months preceding the 1960 presidential election.

To shore up his legacy as an anti-Communist leader, Dwight D. Eisenhower toured three key anti-Communist Asian allies in his final summer as president. After visiting the Philippines and before a final stop in South Korea, Eisenhower met with Chiang, the septuagenarian leader of Nationalist China - the only China, according to official U.S. policy. Eisenhower asked Chiang his opinion on developments between the Chinese Communists and the Soviets. Clearly nonplussed by the question, Chiang responded that the split was “merely a Soviet intrigue...to make Western nations think less of the Russian threat and also to minimize their apprehensions of danger from the Chinese Communists.” Eisenhower agreed with Chiang: “If the whole situation was to be looked at in military terms, it must be recognized that in spite of occasional differences the Communists must be viewed as a solid monolithic aggregation.”¹⁶ The conversation then turned to discussions of military aid to Chiang’s forces in the name of combating Communist aggression.

Strikingly, as if to challenge Eisenhower’s exact phrasing, a National Intelligence Estimate published just three weeks after the president’s meeting with Chiang claimed, “The Sino-Soviet relationship is not a Communist monolith.” On the contrary, the estimate pondered possible changes in policy to better respond to the deteriorating alliance:

Chinese Communists will be more inclined to pursue their own interests and to question Soviet leadership than they have during the first decade of the alliance... Stresses and strains in the Sino-Soviet relationship will tend to weaken the hostile combination, and may provide situations and opportunities which can be exploited by the West.¹⁷

The “opportunities” here would be to draw the Soviets closer with the intention of isolating the Chinese Communists, thereby forcing them into more moderate positions of “coexistence” with the United States, a position the Soviet Union had held throughout much of the Eisenhower administration. Nothing in the diplomatic record suggests that top officials discussed these opportunities, despite the urging of lower-level intelligence analysts and diplomats. The U.S. further limited its options by engaging in continued military agitations over the Taiwan Strait, which severely limited American bargaining power with the Soviets and drew the Soviets, at least publicly, closer to the Chinese. It is therefore unsurprising that Secretary of State Christian Herter reported that there was “no visible easing of tensions between Chinese Communists and ourselves.”¹⁸ With no evolution in U.S. policy towards the Communist world, the relationships between the parties could hardly

14 “The Wishful Haters,” *Time* 75.26 (27 June 1960): 22. Academic Search Premier. Web. 28 Mar. 2012.

15 “Tighter Red Knots,” *Time* 76.5 (1 August 1960): 33. Academic Search Premier. Web. 28 Mar. 2012.

16 Memorandum of Conversation, 18 July 1960, *FRUS, 1958-1960*, XIX: 675-83.

17 National Intelligence Estimate, 9 August 1960, *FRUS, 1958-1960*, XIX: 703-05.

18 Editorial Note, *FRUS, 1958-1960*, XIX: 604-605.

hope for any progress in the direction of accommodation.

Eisenhower's foreign policy in late 1960 had to contend with the bluster and gamesmanship of a Cold War election season. In the first debate of the campaign- immortalized as the "five o'clock shadow debate"- Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard M. Nixon both used their opening statements to define the struggle against Communism in their own terms. Nixon, with a typical sense of foreboding in his voice, described the battle grimly: "We are in a deadly competition, a competition not only with the men in the Kremlin, but the men in Peking." Kennedy employed even less nuance, declaring, "the question is whether the world will exist half slave or half free."¹⁹ Both answers played into the idea of the Communist monolith, Kennedy's arguably more so than Nixon's. Kennedy had long since bought into virulent anti-Communism, and the debates were simply his way of upholding his end of a bargain made with the U.S.'s most powerful media mogul, Henry Luce.

Luce had long been a friend of Kennedy's father, Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy. Though traditionally a staunch supporter of Republican candidates, Luce availed himself to the possibility of having his publications, *Time* and *Life*, write favorably about Kennedy, if given certain assurances. Historian David Halberstam relates a conversation between Luce and the elder Kennedy:

On foreign affairs, Luce continued, if [John F. Kennedy] shows any sign of weakness toward the anti-Communist cause- or, as Luce decided to put it more positively- if he shows any weakness in defending the cause of the free world, we'll turn on him. There's no chance of that, Joe Kennedy had guaranteed; no son of mine is going to be soft on Communism. Well, if he is, Luce answered, we'll have to tear him apart.²⁰

With the rare opportunity for a Democrat to be even tacitly supported by Henry Luce, Kennedy dutifully complied with the mogul's wishes and struck a robust anti-Communist stance throughout the campaign, denying Nixon any possible Republican advantage of being tougher on Communism. Kennedy's credentials notwithstanding, Nixon did not shy away from promoting his stance on the issue in campaign television advertisements, telling Americans, "We can have peace if we continue to show firmness and strength toward the Communist world."²¹ The tactic did not prove successful for Nixon on Election Day, as Kennedy was able to squeak into the White House by just over 100,000 votes.²²

Kennedy's razor-thin victory in November 1960 evoked hopeful feelings for millions of Americans who saw the telegenic young politician as a change from the status quo, a marked break from the grandfatherly Eisenhower. Though he promised to seek out "new frontiers" for the United States, Kennedy's approach to relations with the Communist world differed little from Eisenhower's. Kennedy spent his short time in office adding to U.S. military capabilities by bolstering the navy and air force, in opposition to his predecessor's parting warning about the "military-industrial complex."²³ Top-level diplomacy with the Soviets was rare, and non-existent with the still-unrecognized Chinese Communist government.

A portion of the blame for a lack of significant engagement with the Soviets during Kennedy's administration can be placed on the Eisenhower administration's bungled handling of the May 1960 U2 spy-plane

19 "First Kennedy-Nixon Debate," *Text and Audio of First Nixon-Kennedy Presidential Election Debate [September 26, 1960]*, Web. 18 Apr. 2012. <http://watergate.info/nixon/60-09-26_first-election-debate.shtml>.

20 David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*. (New York: Random House, 1972), 18.

21 "Tough on Defense Commercial: Richard Nixon 1960 Presidential Campaign Election Ad," *YouTube*, YouTube, 19 May 2011. Web. 23 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-GqJNnbXcmI>>

22 "1960 Presidential General Election Results," *U.S. Election Atlas*, Web. 25 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/national.php?year=1960&f=0>>.

23 Phillip Nash, Nuclear Weapons in Kennedy's Foreign Policy. *Historian* 56 (1994): 285-300.

incident. Just two weeks before a summit between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, the Soviets revealed that they had recovered both the plane and its still-living pilot after it was shot down flying over Soviet territory, allegedly scoping out secret Soviet nuclear sites. A muddled response by Eisenhower, caught in a lie following a public denial of the existence of the spy-plane and its subsequent presentation by the Soviets, led to a cancellation of the summit and a significant deterioration in U.S.-Soviet relations.²⁴

Nonetheless, of the two Communist powers the Soviets were still more amenable than the Chinese to the possibility of better relations with the United States. By the 1960s the Soviets based their policymaking much more on realpolitik than on ideology, as the Chinese did. As the split deepened between the two, the result of repeated border clashes and provocative statements by the leaders of both nations, the Soviets could have found common ground with the United States on containing the Chinese and attempting to moderate their aggressive behavior.

Though the United States was unwilling to take advantage of the strained Sino-Soviet relationship, there were others who seized the opportunity. Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese nationalist leader, understood the Sino-Soviet split better than most and profited accordingly. With both the Chinese and the Soviets claiming to be the true vanguard of global Communist movements, Ho deftly started a bidding war between the two to fund and supply his forces in his quest to unify Vietnam under his leadership and expel its foreign occupiers. Soviet

and Chinese funds for the Vietminh continued to flow as the U.S. became increasingly bogged down in Vietnam, a move that reflects the jockeying between the powers more than the aggressive spread of a Communist monolith.²⁵ The United States misinterpreted the Vietnamese strategy, labeling Ho and his nationalist forces as Communists in the direct service of the Chinese and Soviets. That mistake culminated in the deaths of tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers and over one million Vietnamese, all in the name of stopping the spread of Communism.

In another arena of international import, the U.S. could have benefited from dealing with the Soviets and Chinese separately and as equals with regard to a nuclear test ban treaty. Kennedy spent considerable political capital following the Cuban Missile Crisis attempting to negotiate with the Soviets over limiting the experimental use of thermonuclear weapons. Negotiations repeatedly encountered obstacles relating to the Chinese nuclear program, an issue of concern to both parties. Since the U.S. would not directly meet with Chinese representatives, Moscow was responsible for communicating with Beijing about the treaty. In one particularly bombastic reply to a Soviet letter, the Chinese accused Moscow of “participating in a U.S. conspiracy directed against China, of catering to the desires of the U.S. government, and of trying to enter into treaty obligations in China’s name.”²⁶ While this outburst had the effect of motivating the Soviets to reach an agreement with the Americans, lack of Chinese cooperation and mutual suspicions regarding the balance of power in the Sino-Soviet-American triangle led to a watered down agreement with limited abilities to slow the nuclear arms race. Yet again, diplomatic inflexibility limited the U.S.’s negotiating power on issues of great international importance.

In a sense, the American constitutional system predetermines that inflexibility. Governments in the U.S.S.R. and Communist China did not have to contend with influential news media or electoral politics, and accordingly were less encumbered when making strategic decisions. Unfortunately, the rationale of members of American intelligence agencies did not always correspond to popular perceptions of world affairs, leading

24 Sergei Khrushchev, “American Heritage,” *The Day We Shot Down The U-2*, Web. 18 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.americanheritage.com/content/day-we-shot-down-u-2>>.

25 Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2003), 134.

26 Lorenz Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008), 258.

unelected experts to clash with politicians who had to balance policy with politics. In certain cases, American policymakers must make the calculation that the estimates of intelligence experts take precedence over public opinion. In the case of the Sino-Soviet split, American officials at the highest levels of power ignored information critical to the national security of the United States in favor of staying in step with outdated prevailing attitudes about global Communism. Given the disastrous consequences of that choice, their negligence cannot be justified by petty political considerations.

THE FILM *SUBARNAREKHA* AND “PARADOX OF A FLEETING PRESENCE: PARTITION AND BENGALI LITERATURE” BY TAPATI CHAKRAVARTY

Rasa Guarnaccia

Introduction

In 1947, Bengal was partitioned along with the rest of India into two separate states, one belonging to Pakistan, East Bengal, and one belonging to India, West Bengal. In the time that followed, millions of refugees moved based on their religion: Muslims to East Bengal and Hindus to West Bengal to avoid targeting and possible violence if they remained in the minority. Over the course of this migration, violence and destruction was commonplace. Partition roused religious nationalist sentiment on both sides, and many lives were destroyed as a result of the displacement and bloodshed. With a central event such as Partition looming in a state's history, one would expect a reactionary movement in literature, film, and art to try to portray the pain and suffering of the human experience, as fiction can tell stories that survivors or victims are unable to. However, in her chapter, “Paradox of a Fleeting Presence: Partition and Bengali Literature,” Tapati Chakravarty depicts the tendency in Bengali literature to treat Partition as a peripheral event, instead of focusing on the horror of the event itself. Chakravarty argues that this was due to the political climate of Bengal pre-Partition, in which both the national radical party and the leftist party both agreed that the Partition of the state of Bengal would be the best outcome in the newly formed nations of India and Pakistan. Since both elected parties in Bengal had fully supported Partition, there was little room for discourse in fictional works on the negative aspects of Partition, such as the displacement of millions of people. However, Chakravarty does find an exception to this trend of silence in the fact that poetry, in its free and abstract literary form, could use the lens of human emotion to address Partition.

Chakravarty addresses only novels and poetry in her description of works of Bengali fiction, and she does not consider the role of film. I argue that films made about this time, adequately address and represent Partition as the cause of agonizing displacement and structural violence against women and Untouchables in the aftermath of the event. The film *Subarnarekha* comes from the same thematic background as most Bengali novels, and tackles issues of Partition similarly to how Chakravarty argues poetry does, creating a symbolic language in which Partition can be addressed without being politicized. *Subarnarekha* acknowledges the painful silence surrounding Partition that Chakravarty describes and uses its characters to tell an alluding story about the suffering and diminishing agency of women and Untouchables as a result of Partition.

Subarnarekha's Place in Bengali Fiction

Chakravarty argues that the explanation behind the lack of Partition literature is that both Right and Left wing political parties in Bengal did not disagree on the perspective of India as a nation-state and viewed Partition as “an anomaly, as a ‘price’ to be paid for independence.”¹ Since the opposing political parties all believed in the necessity of Partition, this left little political or conceptual framework to understand Partition as anything other than a necessity when writing prose. Writers could not explicitly criticize or discuss the negative repercussions of an event seen as universally positive. Thus this “language which could adequately comprehend and represent the disjunctive role of the Partition in the lived history of Bengal” could not be

1 Tapati Chakravarty, “The Paradox of a Fleeting Presence: Partition and Bengali Literature,” in *Pangs of Partition / the Human Dimension*, ed. S. Settar and Indira B. Gupta (New Delhi: Manohar, 2002), 274.

developed because it “had gradually been banished by the advance and spread of the nationalist discourse in the twentieth century.”² There were those who believed that the new state of India should return to its ancient roots as a solely Hindu nation, and Partition, which created a nearby separate state for Muslim minorities to go to, was compatible with a nationalist viewpoint. The pressure to conform to this normative way of thinking proved too great for the litterateurs to combat in their writing; “The absence of the conceptual wherewithal to understand this uprooting, this cataclysmic and violent transformation of millions of lives has meant that this important historical process found almost no place in fiction.”³ The dominating and official memory of Partition as an unavoidable and ultimately positive event left prose writers unable to adequately describe Partition in terms of human tragedy.

However, Chakravarty sings a different tune about poetry: “It is this inherent (and necessary) pliability of poetry as a literary form, which allowed for a distance between the historical conditions of the emergence of the poet’s concerns and themes, and their presentation within the form of the poem.”⁴ Similarly to the Bengali poetry that Chakravarty describes, *Subarnarekha* uses fragmented consciousness and lack of formal narration in its vivid images to represent the pain and presence of the Partition experience. There is no overarching narrator, and no one point of view for the film to take a side on what is right or wrong during the events of Partition. The motif of home and lacking a home, repeatedly mentioned by the children in the film who kept searching for a home, a whole family, and the stability that it encompasses, distinctly references Partition without having to mention it. Chakravarty argues that while novels had to be “consciously contemporary in the choice of its subject matter”, meaning they had to explicitly ascribe events to the themes they addressed, poetry “did not require using experientially concrete history, to construct its diction.”⁵ Because the film focuses so much on the emotions of the characters, its themes are ambiguous enough to apply to refugees in any place; it can criticize Partition without being overtly political, and instead can appeal to the empathy of the audience. In the words of Chakravarty, “The fragmented consciousness of the world in the poetic mode of its appropriate in thought was better suited to destabilize the discourse of the nation-state, humanism, reason, etc.”⁶ Film and poetry could therefore subtly attempt to question the official stance on and offer alternate interpretations of Partition before novels, before public consensus, and before political change.

The film *Subarnarekha* illustrates the central themes of Bengali fiction that Chakravarty describes, including issues of nationalism, capitalism, tradition, and the family. The film addresses all of these issues in a variety of contexts: from the nationalist refugee camp that Ishwar and Sita first come to, where the students chant “Bande Mataram,” to the capitalist job Ishwar takes, and finally to the relationship between Ishwar and Sita concerning her female identity. In the film, Ishwar is an educated young man who is a refugee from East Bengal. He is the guardian of his younger sister Sita, and along the way as a teacher in a refugee camp, he takes pity on an abandoned young boy named Abhiram and adopts him. When Ishwar is offered a job managing a factory, he moves with Abhiram and Sita into a new house, and sends Abhiram away to be educated. When Abhiram and Sita are older, they fall in love and want to get married. Abhiram finds out that his mother was an Untouchable, and this news causes career-related ramifications for Ishwar, and Ishwar tries to get Sita married off and Abhiram sent to Germany to study engineering. But Sita and Abhiram elope and eventually both die years later, and Ishwar ends up with their young son at the end of the film.⁷ Although it might appear that *Subarnarekha* treats Partition as a peripheral event, one can discover the deeper political and social critique by digging into the film’s symbolism and character relations.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid, 276.

4 Ibid, 277-278.

5 Ibid, 277.

6 Ibid, 278.

7 *Subarnarekha*. DVD. Directed by Ritwik Ghatak, Bengal: J. J. Films, 1965.

Silence of Partition

Subarnarekha presents a different side to this absence of commentary on Partition in fiction from the perspective of silence. Those who suffered during Partition, possibly those marginalized groups who suffered the worst fate were kept silent to maintain a usual and untouched order. Urvashi Butalia states, “The violence that women faced in the aftermath of Partition is shrouded in many layers of silence... we hear little about the rape and abduction of women.”⁸ The silence surrounding the violence against women is visible in Bengal where Chakravarty noticed a silence surrounding Partition as a whole, only alluded to and never discussed in fiction. Similarly, *Subarnarekha* opens with text on screen setting the scene in 1948 and reading, “Uprooted people, seeking a place to hide their heads...” In this beginning text, *Subarnarekha* follows the trend of Bengali novels: Partition is on the sidelines, the unspoken driving event that uprooted the characters. Silence surrounds the topic even though it is obvious to the viewers what caused this uprooting. However, this silence on the subject of Partition becomes an intentional motif that is repeated by Abhiram within the story. In the film, Ishwar tells Abhiram, who wants to be a writer, that people will not want to read what he writes about because people do not want to read about sad things. It is never explicitly stated what Abhiram is writing about, but this ambiguity and silence mirrors the film’s general ambiguity and silence in never saying the word Partition. When Abhiram is actually trying to make it as a writer in Calcutta, we see that no one buys his writings, and he is not published. Perhaps a commentary on the state of Bengali literature that Chakravarty writes about: no one wants to remember Partition explicitly in fiction, because it is too painful.

Women, Untouchables, and Agency

In describing the united political climate surrounding Partition, Chakravarty poses the problem of how fiction can get around the normative silence. I argue that the way in which *Subarnarekha* portrays the place of women and Untouchable individuals cast in the role of the Other brings the tension behind Partition to the forefront of the film.

To understand whether *Subarnarekha* addresses the heart of Partition, one must examine how the political arena affected the personal family lives of those who lived through the event. Urvashi Butalia argues that in the new post-Partition India, “the norm for the new Indian citizen remained, by and large, the male citizen. And it was this that allowed the State to not only be paternalistic, but also to act as coercive parent where women were concerned.”⁹ The government and its officials were given the power to decide whether a woman had been abducted, as was known to happen in the chaos of Partition, and if they decided she was, could remove her from her new family and return her to where they determined her home to be.¹⁰ Men could choose where they lived, but women could not. They were treated as possessions of a patriarchal family structure and ultimately the state. Thus, the state was able to dictate not only where families had to lead their lives, but also how, providing a model for the family and a model for the perfect national citizen with their policies that favored single-religion, patriarchal families. Menon and Bhasin quote a government official talking about the recovery of women abducted during Partition, or women who were married to someone not of their own religion, “As descendents of Ram we must bring back every Sita that is alive.”¹¹ Sita is the abducted first wife of the god Ram in the classic Hindu saga, the *Ramayana*. Bringing back the women who were living across the

8 Urvashi Butalia, “From *The Other Side of Silence*,” in *Crossing Over: Partition Literature from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh*, by Frank Stewart and Sukrita Paul Kumar. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2007), 47.

9 Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2000), 331.

10 Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, “Recovery, Rupture, Resistance: Indian State and Abduction of Women during Partition,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 28.17 (1993): 4.

11 *Ibid*, 3.

border in East or West Pakistan became a national duty for every Indian with roots in Hinduism. Menon and Bhasin take this a step further when they say, “It was a construction that defined [a woman], first and foremost, as the member of a community and then invested her with the full responsibility of upholding community honour; next, it denied her any autonomy whatsoever by further defining her as the victim of an act of transgression which violated that most critical site of patriarchal control- her sexuality.”¹² This reclassifies sexual violations into religious terms: a Hindu woman married to a religious Other was sexually violated according to Indian society and the state, regardless of the woman’s choice, thus intertwining the legal and official with the personal. Butalia quotes a man she interviewed who killed many of his female relatives: “He insisted that the women and children had ‘offered’ themselves up for death because death was preferable to what would almost certainly have happened: conversion and rape.”¹³ Honor killings by male family members put the action and control of women’s lives and sexuality in the hands of men, who believed, ultimately, that upholding a woman’s role and honor in her family was connected with upholding the new nation of India.

Since women provided the vessel through which communal tensions could be played out during Partition through abduction, recovery, and control of sexuality, I argue that the lack of agency women had post-Partition in their role in the family was a result of the political climate that Partition created. *Subarnarekha* highlights the role of government in creating this political and separatist climate, and critiques this lack of choice for women within the structure of the Indian family through the female character Sita. The first allusion is clear: Sita bears the same name as the abducted wife of Ram in the *Ramayana*, and when she is a young girl in the film an old man tells her the story and explains how she is a “daughter of the land” establishing her as a Hindu woman which we know post-Partition comes with a national duty to her community. Much of the film centers on Ishwar, the male character who is the head of his family consisting of Sita and the adopted Abhiram. I argue that Ishwar in his role as the head of the family represents the state, and that his actions in trying to separate Abhiram and Sita represent the unwilling separation of peoples who had no agency over their lives, harkening back to the role the state played during Partition. Ishwar struggles to remain in control of his family in whatever way he can at many points in the film. The first thing Ishwar says after learning of Abhiram’s Untouchable caste is that he must find a groom for Sita. As control of Abhiram and the fate of his future swings out of Ishwar’s control, he jumps to trying to stabilize control of his other ward, Sita. It highlights how Abhiram and Sita occupy positions as Ishwar’s possessions. When Sita does not want to see the groom that Ishwar has intended for her and does not listen to him, he hits her. And later, when Sita tells Ishwar of her intentions to marry Abhiram, he says he wishes that she would die before she disobeyed him. Similarly with Abhiram, Ishwar will not let him become a writer, and instead against Abhiram’s wishes, plans to send him to Germany to study engineering. These actions highlight the way in which the Other, women and Untouchables, were denied choices and expected to listen to the paternal power of the state.

The loss of Ishwar and Sita’s mother also clearly has an impact: Ishwar remarks to Sita, “you won’t go away like her, mothers are not supposed to go away”. Again the role of women as a stable, immobile, and controlled presence in the family is clear. However, Sita does leave Ishwar of her own choice to marry someone that he does not want her to marry, and he goes crazy, first trying to prevent it, then with grief when she leaves, and finally when seeing her as a prostitute causes her to commit suicide. Ishwar as the normative male can stand in for the state of India, and its role trying to prohibit women from leaving the typical family structure for a religiously and legally forbidden marriage, and leaving them no agency to do so. Sita’s marriage was not an abduction: it was a choice to go with the male Other against the wishes of the head of the house, and against what she as a woman in India was supposed to do. This brings up the possibility that women in Partition could have made choices to marry an unsanctioned Other, and then had that choice disregarded by the state when they were forcibly recovered. By identifying the existence of women’s choice when it comes to family life, the film thusly comments on the way that the state during Partition tried to rigidly take away that

12 Ibid, 8.

13 Butalia, “From *The Other Side of Silence*,” 49.

choice. Addressing the control of sexuality and sexual purity, at the end of the film, Ishwar accidentally visits a brothel while drunk, and ends up in Sita's room. Feeling so shamed by this, Sita commits suicide right there. Thus ultimately, her brother continues to control her sexuality: since she had not yet worked as a prostitute, his presence and her action prevented her from ever doing so. Sita's sexual purity is intact, and through tragedy, normative social and moral order is restored. By examining the character of Sita, we see how the film makes a statement on the tragically controlled and rigid role that women were expected to play in post-Partition Indian society.

Conclusion

The silence is one tool in the maintenance of a fictional portrayal of history, and deceit for the sake of creating a bearable reality is another. In the end of the film, Abhiram and Sita's son asks Ishwar questions about the place they are going to find a new home. Ishwar does not tell him the truth about the place that they are going: that there are no butterflies and music on blue hills and his dead mother and father will not be there to meet him. The film alludes to the false sense of history told in Bengal post-Partition by providing a false sense of hope. It explains that the state of Bengali society, in forgetting Partition in history and in fiction, is for the purpose of making a new home free from the pain of truth. Thus the horror of separation, destruction of families, and Partition is shown, but covered up in the end for the sake of redemption and moving on.

Ultimately, *Subarnarekha* shows that a film starting out with Partition as a peripheral event can still use its imagery, characters, and language to adequately represent it. The film paints a bleak portrait of life: in the end, the marginalized voices will be kept silent and a fictional version of the truth will be remembered. However, the film makes an important statement in trying to show how this way of remembering came about. The marginalized point of view is shown, and it is shown in tragedy. On the outside, the film does represent the trend in literature to keep the silence around Partition that Chakravarty describes, while in actuality it serves to highlight this unfortunate silent tendency through the controlled and minimized relationships of the Other characters. In dealing with the pain and suffering that came hand in hand with the Partition of Bengal, *Subarnarekha* provides an important social and political critique to explain Chakravarty's silence, and hopefully serves to change it.

Elena Gittleman

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I

The reign of Justinian has been viewed by many scholars as the beginning of a medieval East Roman, and so Byzantine, world. This medieval Empire was defined by theological disputes, large building projects, and great wars both to the East and West.<sup>1</sup> Despite the move of the capital to Constantinople in 330, the Emperors since Constantine viewed themselves as directly continuing the legacy of the Roman Empire and the Emperors in the East continued to view the lost Western territories of the Roman Empire as part of their realm.<sup>2</sup> They did not consider themselves a separate entity at all. Indeed, it was the philosopher Montesquieu who coined the terms “Byzantine” and “Byzantium” in the eighteenth century in order to separate the East Roman Empire, beginning with Constantine, from the ancient Roman Empire.<sup>3</sup> Justinian believed deeply that his Empire was a continuation of ancient Rome and therefore, his Empire and all that is associated with it will from this point on, will be referred to as the East Roman Empire and not the Byzantine Empire.

The greatest challenge Justinian faced during his reign was how to reassert his imperial authority in the aftermath of the Nika Riots in 532. These riots were an extreme escalation of the familiar chariot race hooliganism common to such events. They lasted approximately one week, tearing apart the urban fabric of Constantinople, and threatened to destabilize the imperial and religious authority held by the Emperor.<sup>4</sup> After the riots were quelled and half of the city destroyed, Justinian began an impressive rebuilding program to win the populace back to his side and to reestablish his imperial authority. In addition to rebuilding the city, Justinian continued his plan to expand his Empire abroad, especially in Italy. Justinian’s reconquest began with his defeat of the Vandals in Carthage in 533; yet what he hoped to be a quick conquest of Italy turned into a long and bloody war lasting over eighteen years.<sup>5</sup>

A true understanding of Justinian, the Gothic Wars (as they came to be called) and their repercussions throughout the Empire, relies on a discussion of the social and political realities of Italy and the capital, Ravenna. The Romans lost control of Italy during Emperor Zeno’s reign in Constantinople in 476.<sup>6</sup> In addi-

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1 John Haldon, “Political-Historical Survey, 518-800,” chap. II.3.2B in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 250-252.

2 Ibid., p. 252.

3 Steven Runciman, “Gibbon and Byzantium,” *Daedalus*, 105, no. 3 (1976): p.106.

4 The Nika Riots were an uprising of upper-middle class factions, the Blues and Greens, against Justinian. They believed he was being unjust in his punishment and dissemination of justice. These two rival groups then banded together in an attempt to overthrow Justinian and place the nephew of Anastasius, Hypatius on the throne. The riots grew rapidly and the Blues and Greens burned half of the city to the ground, including parts of the Imperial Palace and the Imperial church, the Hagia Sophia. Justinian and his general Belisarius put down the riots with a bloody fist, killing thousands of the rioters inside the Hippodrome.

Evans, J. A. S. *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power*. (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 119-125.

5 Procopius, *History of the Wars Books VII-VIII*, Vol V, trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 419.

6 Procopius, *History of the Wars Books V-VI.5*, Vol III, trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 3.

tion to Zeno ruling in the East, Romulus Augustulus was the last Western Roman Emperor, and ruled under the regency of his father Orestes.<sup>7</sup> However, the West was very weak, and the Romans sought an alliance with several Gothic nations, increasing the proportion of Goths in the population, and as Procopius, an east Roman court historian, observed, “as the barbarian element among them became strong, just so did the prestige of the Roman soldiers forthwith decline.”<sup>8</sup> When Orestes attempted to stop the Ostrogoths from taking more power, they immediately killed him, leaving the West without a Roman ruler. However, Odoacer, a bodyguard of Emperor Romulus Augustulus, agreed to occupy the throne, and held power securely for ten years.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the Emperor Zeno, in order to halt an attack by the Ostrogoths in Thrace, convinced their commander Theodoric, who held Roman patrician rank and was a consul, to turn his attack towards Italy to “force out the usurper [Odoacer] and be ruler over all the Romans and Italians.”<sup>10</sup> Theodoric agreed to the Emperor’s plea and gained control of Italy after a brief series of battles and sieges, and attempted to rule harmoniously with Odoacer, who in turn, plotted to kill Theodoric. Theodoric thwarted this plan and became the sole ruler of Italy, with his capital in Ravenna, in 489.<sup>11</sup> Although Theodoric was an Ostrogoth by birth, he was described by Procopius, who worked for the court at Constantinople, as being “as truly an Emperor as any who have distinguished themselves in this office from the beginning; and love for him among both the Ostrogoths and Italians grew to be great.”<sup>12</sup> Theodoric ruled Italy for thirty-seven years, bringing peace and prosperity to a land that had been exhausted by famine and constant warfare for a century.<sup>13</sup>

## II

The primary sources from Theodoric’s reign, while not numerous, are extensive. Procopius of Caesarea, and Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (better known by simply the name Cassiodorus) are the primary authors that this thesis will consider. Procopius was in the service of the royal court at Constantinople and travelled with the East Roman general, Belisarius, writing a history of Justinian’s wars in the western Mediterranean. He was an eyewitness to many of the events he wrote about as part of an official document to be given to Emperor Justinian. As such, special attention must be paid to the degree of flattery and how the necessity to please Justinian could have affected the way in which Procopius described a person or an event.<sup>14</sup> Cassiodorus, on the other hand, was in the service of King Theodoric and his successors in Ravenna. Cassiodorus held many powerful positions at the Ostrogothic court, including *quaestor*, a consulship, a patriciate, and was Master of the Offices, and Praetorian Praefect.<sup>15</sup> Cassiodorus’s great work, a History of the Goths, is unfortunately lost, but many of the letters he wrote on behalf of Theodoric and his successors were compiled at the end of his life to create the *Variae Epistolae*.<sup>16</sup> These two sources provide many insights into the life and rule of Theodoric, as well as the larger historical and political climate of Italy during the late fifth and early sixth centuries.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. 5.

10 Ibid., pp. 5-7.

11 Ibid., p. 11-13.

12 Ibid., p. 13.

13 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), p. 20.

14 Anthony Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 1-17.

15 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), pp. 14-39.

16 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by S.J.B. Barnish (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992).

Theodoric was the son of an Ostrogothic ruler, Theodemer, and a Catholic mother, and was born soon after the death of Attila the Hun in 453.<sup>17</sup> For some time, the Ostrogoths were held under the sway of the Huns, and Theodemer, along with his two brothers, led Ostrogothic forces to fight against the Romans and the Visigoths in 451. After the death of Attila, the Ostrogoths came to an agreement with the East Romans and settled in Pannonia, although the relationship between the Ostrogoths and Constantinople was very tense.<sup>18</sup> Due to this relationship, Theodoric was sent to Constantinople as a hostage at the age of eight, and spent ten years there that would, in part, shape the way he ruled Italy.<sup>19</sup> At the age of

eighteen, Theodoric returned to his people a fiercely independent young man, and immediately began showing his skills as a military leader, quickly gaining the acceptance and praise of his people and, perhaps unconsciously, laying the basis on which he would one day govern them.<sup>20</sup> Theodoric's relationship with Emperor Zeno was turbulent at best, but he eventually agreed to go to Italy to depose of Odoacer at his behest in 488. Zeno's reasons for specifically asking Theodoric to accomplish the overthrow of Odoacer were most likely twofold: to stop the Ostrogoths from destroying Thrace, and to pit one group of "barbarians" against another in the hope of weakening both. This was a common tactic of Eastern Emperors and was fairly successful in this case.<sup>21</sup>

The subsequent war between Theodoric and Odoacer centered around the siege of Ravenna, and by 489 Italy was divided into two zones, one ruled by Theodoric and one ruled by Odoacer from Ravenna. The war and siege of Ravenna lasted as long as it did because the city "was notoriously difficult to attack," but the siege put terrible stress on the city, and a famine killed many people.<sup>22</sup> Finally, Theodoric gained sole control over Ravenna and all of Italy by the end of 489. Theodoric's rule and the rise in power of the Ostrogoths in Italy created various relationships between the remnants of the old western Romans, the Eastern Roman Empire, and the Ostrogoths. Through exploring these relationships a clear image of the nuances of Theodoric's reign becomes apparent.

One such relationship was that between Theodoric, as the ruler of Italy, and the Emperor in Constantinople. Soon after Theodoric gained control in Italy, Zeno died and Anastasius took his place as Emperor in Constantinople in 491.<sup>23</sup> When Zeno sent Theodoric to Italy, it was likely that he meant for Theodoric to secure Italy only until he himself could arrive and restore full imperial authority in the West.<sup>24</sup> However, Zeno's death brought the westward expansion to a halt, as it was imperative for Anastasius to secure his position as Emperor in the East first.<sup>25</sup> It was therefore under these circumstances that Theodoric assumed kingship over both the Ostrogoths and the Romans without official imperial sanction. Emperor Anastasius only allowed this situation as long as Theodoric always maintained the supremacy of the Emperor at Constantinople.<sup>26</sup> This arrangement

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17 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 11.

18 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., pp. 14-15. Moorhead points out that, "given the high degree of fluidity characteristic of barbarian peoples in the settlement period, the later dominance which Theodoric exercised over the Ostrogoths was something which had to be achieved."

21 P.S. Barnwell *Emperor, Prefects & Kings: The Roman West 395-565*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp.14.

22 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 20-27.

23 P.S. Barnwell *Emperor, Prefects & Kings: The Roman West 395-565*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 135-136.

24 Ibid., p.135.

25 Ibid.

26 Yitzhak Hen, *Roman Barbarians: The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 29.

is seen clearly in the first letter of the *Variae* from Theodoric to Anastasius, when Theodoric proclaimed that, “our royalty is an imitation of yours, modeled on your good purpose, a copy of the only Empire; and in so far as we follow you do we excel all other nations.”<sup>27</sup> Even though Theodoric ruled Italy for thirty-seven years, he never tried to usurp the role of Emperor, and insisted on being called the subordinate title “rex” until the end of his life.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, even on one of the exceedingly rare occasions in which Theodoric deviated from this slightly subservient position to the Emperor, he expressed his independence completely within a Roman context and manner.

This was the case when Theodoric commissioned the great mosaic for his palace at Ravenna, which is now lost, but a great description of the mosaics is known from medieval sources, including Agnellus’s *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*. The mosaic depicted Theodoric as an armed, autonomous king being greeted by the armed personifications of Rome and Ravenna with no reference to the Emperor in Constantinople.<sup>29</sup> However, the motif of the mosaic scene was entirely within the Roman traditions of artistic representations of power, creating questions regarding Theodoric’s self-image as a ruler. There is little question amongst scholars that Theodoric sought to emulate the rule of the ancient Romans.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that his time at the court in Constantinople inspired him to follow in their footsteps, or allowed him to understand the power dynamics in Italy and chose to become a part of them rather than oppose them. Either way, and despite Theodoric’s constant flattery of the Emperors in Constantinople and his subservient attitude to them, Emperor Zeno never agreed to Theodoric’s independent rule of Italy and therefore, the proclamation of Theodoric as King of Italy was a diplomatic breach.<sup>31</sup> Theodoric’s relationship with the Emperors in Constantinople, having lived through the reign of three, was for the most part peaceful, but exceptionally complicated. In contemporary writings there were radically different opinions and conclusions as to the nature of Theodoric’s power in relation to the Emperors, which likely reflected a contemporary reality of the absence of a clear definition of Theodoric’s position. This confusion stemmed from the fact that no matter the compact or deal Theodoric made with the Emperors in Constantinople, the fact remained that Italy was a land under the control of barbarians, just like when it was under the rule of Odoacer.<sup>32</sup> While this was tolerated for much of his reign, it is clear that by the end of his life, the relationship between Theodoric and the Emperor rapidly changed for the worse.

### III

The dynamic between the Roman and the Ostrogothic citizens was complicated. Although the Romans far outnumbered the Ostrogoths in terms of population size, the Ostrogothic minority held the majority of the power.<sup>33</sup> What that actually meant in terms of the day-to-day relationship between the two groups was in

27 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), p. 141.

28 Procopius, *History of the Wars Books V-VI.5*, Vol III, trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 11.

29 Mark T. Johnson, “Toward a History of Theodoric’s Building Program,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42 (1988): p.86.

The full translated quote from Agnellus according to Johnson states: “A similar one was in the palace he built here [in Ravenna] in the tribunal of the triclinium which is called Ad mare, [and another one was] over the door and above the gate that is called the Chalke of this city, where the main entrance to the palace was, in a place called Sicreston, where the church of the Savior is seen. On the gable of this building was the image of Theodoric in mosaic holding a lance in his right hand a shield in his left, clad in war gear. Next to his shield stood Roma, depicted in mosaic, carrying a lance and a helmet. Next to the lance stood Ravenna, depicted in mosaic, her right foot over the sea, her left foot over the earth hastening toward the king.”

30 See Barnwell, Moorhead, Hen, Burns, Deliyannis

31 P.J. Heather, *Goths and Romans: 332-489*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 56.

32 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 110-111.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

reality, far more complicated than one group being subservient to the other.<sup>34</sup> While Theodoric strove to emulate the Roman Emperors of past and present, he did not hold his people to the same standard. Several letters included in the *Variae* illustrate this difference. Theodoric continued to hold circus games in Rome and, as usual with circus games, rivalries occurred which threatened to disrupt the peace of the city. Theodoric wrote three separate letters about these incidents to the Senators of Rome, the People of Rome, and to Agapitus, the Praefectus Urbis. These letters implored them to bring their disputes to the Praefectus Urbis, this being a “far better and safer course than taking the law into [their] own hands,” as “the games [were] meant to make people happy, not stir them up to deadly rage.”<sup>35</sup> These letters clearly show the expectation of the Roman population to be civil, and to work within the law to settle their quarrels. The picture of the peaceful, law abiding Roman was sharply contrasted with a letter to all of the Ostrogoths in Italy to call them up to arms for the invasion of Gaul. This letter began: “To the Goths a hint of war rather than persuasion to the strife is needed, since a warlike race such as ours delights to prove its courage.”<sup>36</sup> This letter suggested that the Ostrogoths as a people *needed* war due to their very nature as a “warlike race,” a sharp contrast to the letters appealing to the Roman sense of peace and decorum.<sup>37</sup> Also of note is that Theodoric included himself as being a member of the “warlike race” by adding the words “such as ours.” This is an especially interesting choice of words as we have seen that Theodoric’s aim was to mimic the rule of Roman Emperors. What these letters successfully demonstrate was that a division in labor and role in society between the Romans and the Ostrogoths did exist.

The Ostrogoths were concentrated in population in the Northwest of Italy, which some scholars have suggested implies that the purpose of their residency was militarily significant, thus indicating their role in Italian society as the protectors of the peninsula.<sup>38</sup> Cassiodorus again made that distinction clear in a letter, observing that, “while the Gothic army is fighting, [may] the Roman peasant enjoy in quiet the peace for which he sighs.”<sup>39</sup> This clearly casts the two groups into two distinctive roles: the warrior protectors of the country and the mild mannered farmers and civil servants. Theodoric indeed maintained the civil service for the Romans as it had existed under the old Roman Emperors, and it is tempting to draw a dichotomy in the roles of the Ostrogoths and the Romans as military leaders and civilian leaders, respectively. However, care must be taken, as the reality was not clear-cut. For example, one of the most famous military commanders in Gaul in the sixth century was a Roman by the name of Mummolus, indicating that Theodoric allowed Romans in the military as both soldiers and commanders.<sup>40</sup> While the Romans did continue to hold a monopoly of high civil offices, Ostrogoths were known to have held some of the higher positions, such as Triwila, who was the only known person to hold the office of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* during the Ostrogothic period.<sup>41</sup> Certainly toward the end of Theodoric’s reign, Ostrogoths were becoming increasingly influential at court, culminating in the consulship of Theodoric’s son-in-law, Eutharic, and the allowance of Goths to membership in the Roman

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34 It is worth noting that the group termed the “Ostrogoths” in Italy was not a homogenized group, but instead, Theodoric’s invading army consisted of several different barbarian groups (mostly Ostrogoths), some of whom lived in Italy prior to the invasion. So while it is slightly problematic to simply label the barbarian following of Theodoric as Ostrogothic, for this purpose the distinction is between the barbarian groups is not entirely relevant.

Ibid., p. 68-69.

35 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), pp.161-162.

36 Ibid., p. 157.

37 Ibid.

38 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 71.

39 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), p. 493.

40 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 72.

41 Ibid., p. 73.

Senate.<sup>42</sup> According to the sixth-century *Anonymous Valesianus*, Theodoric supposedly (and famously) said, “The poor Roman imitates the Goth, the well-to-do Goth the Roman.”<sup>43</sup> This quote speaks to the elevated status of the Ostrogoths, but at the same time, places them as socially inferior to the Romans. This social pressure led to the process of assimilation, which began with the wealthiest of the Ostrogoths adopting Roman ways of dress, speech, and even on occasion, religion.<sup>44</sup> Wealthy Ostrogothic families were able to overcome the boundary of simply being military leaders to become landowners, further encroaching on the territories, both literally and figuratively, of the Romans.<sup>45</sup>

While the clear distinction between their basic functions in society became slightly blurred, the Ostrogoths and Romans were also divided before the law, as the legal code differentiated legal processes for “Romans and barbarians.”<sup>46</sup> This distinction was made clear in Cassiodorus’s “Formula of the Count of the Goths in the Several Provinces,” the position that he claimed was “the only new dignity in the Gothic State,” and was therefore, “proof of the coexistence of Roman and Gothic law in this kingdom.”<sup>47</sup> Cassiodorus goes on to explain that should an issue arise between two Ostrogothic parties, the matter would be settled “according to our [Ostrogothic] edicts,” but if a conflict should occur between an Ostrogoth and a Roman, a Roman juriconsult would rule on the matter.<sup>48</sup> However, if a conflict arose between two Romans, the decision would rest with the “Roman examiners, whom we appoint in the various Provinces.”<sup>49</sup> This system was put into place so that “each may keep his own laws, and with

various Judges one Justice may embrace the whole realm. Thus, sharing one common peace, may both nations, if God favour us, enjoy the sweets of tranquility.”<sup>50</sup> The legal document that created these distinctions was the *Edictum Theorodici*, which was, for all intents and purposes, a reworking of existing Roman law. By legally dividing the inhabitants of Italy into “Romans and barbarians,” the *Edictum* solidified the tensions between the two groups, making it impossible for a true integration between the peoples to occur. And indeed, tensions were high between the Ostrogoths and the Romans as seen in many of Cassiodorus’s letters, which reference the destruction by the Ostrogothic army during times of peace.<sup>51</sup> Ultimately, the separation of the Ostrogoths from the Romans in legal and social roles worked for a time, but backfired on Theodoric, leaving most of the Italian inhabitants on the side of Emperor Justinian during the impending Gothic wars.<sup>52</sup>

#### IV

The most pertinent relationship to understanding Theodoric’s reign, the later Gothic wars, and Emperor Justinian’s conquest of Italy was the relationship between Rome and Ravenna. During the Gothic Wars, the Romans and the Ostrogoths approached the war in a similar manner tactically, relying heavily on siege war-

42 Ibid., p. 75.

43 “Romanus miser imitatur Gothum et utilis Gothus imitatur Romanum.” Anonymous Valesianus 61 (translation, John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 103.

44 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 104.

45 Ibid., pp. 102-104.

46 Ibid., pp. 75-76.

47 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), pp. 320 – 322.

48 Ibid., p. 321.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), letters 4.36, 5.13, 5.26, 12.5.3, 8.27.2.

52 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 111.

fare as opposed to open-air battles. However, the two armies differed greatly in regards to their primary focus and concerns; namely, the choices made in regards to the safeguarding of Rome and Ravenna. Procopius mentioned Ravenna for the first time in his books of the Gothic wars in a description of the struggle for the city between Odoacer and Theodoric in 489.<sup>53</sup> He explains that Ravenna's position on a level plain a short distance from the sea is ideal, as it cannot be "easily approached either by ships or by land army."<sup>54</sup> It is inaccessible by ship because the shoal deposits made by the Adriatic Sea made it impossible to put a ship in at its shore. This created an illusion confusing to mariners, as "the beach of Ravenna, although to the eye of mariners it is very near at hand, is in reality very far away by reason of the great extent of the shoal-water."<sup>55</sup> Water helped protect Ravenna on both sides, as the Po River "encircled it on all sides and so [caused] the city to be surrounded by water," creating difficulty for an army travelling over land to reach the city.<sup>56</sup> However, the great protection the waters brought the city of Ravenna did not inhibit the city's commercial activities, for an estuary was formed with the rising and falling tides every day, allowing merchants to easily access the sea and the city to carry on their trade.<sup>57</sup> The city of Ravenna was therefore the ideal place for a capital. Throughout the war with the Romans, keeping Ravenna under their control was of extreme importance to the Ostrogoths. Every time their army needed to retreat and regroup, they would go to Ravenna to restock on provisions, gather up more soldiers, or to simply reevaluate the situation. Additionally, the Roman army was able to successfully exploit the significance that the Ostrogoths placed on their capital city to win the siege on their priority in Italy – the city of Rome. When Belisarius turned his attention upon Rome for the first time, the inhabitants of the city were frightened by what they heard about the previous siege and battle of Naples, and so "decided after considering the matter that it was better to receive the Emperor's army into the city."<sup>58</sup> The Ostrogoths guarding the city, upon learning that the city was planning on receiving their enemy's army, quickly retreated to Ravenna, and on 11 December 536 "Rome became subject to the Romans again after a space of sixty years."<sup>59</sup>

The Ostrogothic general Vittigis, knowing the strategic and historical importance of Rome to the opposing army, recognized the necessity of regaining control of the city. Fierce battles and sieges then ensued for control of Rome, but as soon as the Ostrogoths learned that John, a commander of the Roman army, secured Ariminum, a city close to Ravenna, their priorities immediately changed.<sup>60</sup> The Roman army was too close to Ravenna for the Ostrogoths, who then, because the city was in danger of being captured, quickly abandoned "all other considerations...[and] straightaway made their withdrawal" from their siege at Rome.<sup>61</sup> At this point in the narrative, it is clear that the Ostrogoths and the Romans viewed Italy very differently. The Roman army still saw Rome as the epicenter of the peninsula, as it was at the height of the Roman Empire. The Ostrogoths, who came to Italy when Rome was already a city of lesser relevancy to the practical ruling of the land, saw the natural advantages of Ravenna to be far more important than the historical significance of Rome. These differences in perspective between the Ostrogoths and the Romans dictated their respective strategies in the war; the Romans later abandoned Ravenna to save Rome just as quickly as the Ostrogoths gave up Rome to save Ravenna at the beginning of the war.<sup>62</sup> The actions and motives surrounding these two cities in the Gothic War

53 Procopius, *History of the Wars Books V-VI.5*, Vol III, trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 7. Of course, this is not the first city mentioned by Procopius in his History series as a whole, as the Gothic war begins in the fifth book of this series. It is however, mentioned before any other city in relation to Italy.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., pp. 7-9.

56 Ibid., p. 9.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., p. 143.

59 Ibid., p. 147.

60 Ibid., p. 373.

61 Ibid., p. 375.

62 Procopius, *History of the Wars Books VI.16 – VII.35*, Vol IV, trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 255-259.

As one example.

stems from their relationship during Theodoric's reign, when the focus and prestige of Italy was transferred from the old city to the new.

## V

The capital of the Western Roman Empire was moved from Rome to Milan, and finally, in 402/403, Emperor Honorius moved the royal court to Ravenna, where it stayed throughout the Ostrogothic period.<sup>63</sup> During Theodoric's kingship, Rome and Ravenna respectively represented the prestige of the Roman imperial past and the Ostrogothic present. Rome retained its prominence as the seat of the Senate and therefore the residence of the most important families in Italy. It was still the city where young men from wealthy families were sent for an education, and even the coins minted under Theodoric were imprinted with the Roman eagle or a scene of Romulus and Remus suckling the she-wolf, both clearly alluding to the importance of the history of Rome.<sup>64</sup> [Figure 2] Theodoric hoped to retain the grandeur of the city's past through his support of the Roman Senate, and the rebuilding of old Roman buildings and the walls of the city.<sup>65</sup>



Figure 2 .Theodoric Imperial Coin. 522-534 AD. Æ Follis (8.53 gm). Rome mint. IMVICTA ROMA, Helmeted bust of Roma right / Eagle standing left, head reverted; Classical Numismatic Group, Inc, "Research Coins: The Coin Shop - Ostrogoths, Theodoric and Athalaric." Last modified 2008. Accessed March 12, 2013. <http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?Coin-ID=26634>.

However, Theodoric only paid a single visit to Rome in 500 to celebrate his *tricennalia*, a very traditional, imperial act.<sup>66</sup> He spent six months in Rome, during which time, according to *Anonymous Valesianus*, he visited St. Peter's Basilica and prayed "most devoutly and as if he were a Catholic," met the Pope, and spoke to the Senate and the entire population of Rome promising to stay in the tradition of the previous Roman Emperors and not change anything they had previously ordained.<sup>67</sup> He entertained the Romans with circus games, a classic imperial strategy to gain the support of the people, in an attempt to legitimize his presence in their city as the ruler. Indeed, all of his actions in the city suggested the activity of an Emperor and mirrored the traditional celebration of an imperial anniversary.<sup>68</sup> Theodoric very clearly understood the importance of the continuation of the prestige of Rome, but he actively built the city of Ravenna to create a newer, more Ostrogothic image of Italy. Specifically, he accomplished this through the construction of Arian, rather than Catholic, churches and buildings in Ravenna.

Arianism was a sect of Christianity considered to be heretical by the orthodox Catholic Church. It began through the teachings of Arius, a priest of Alexandria in the early fourth century. Arius believed that Christ was

63 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 24.

64 Ibid., pp. 140-141.

65 Thomas Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 90.

66 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 61. It is unclear which anniversary exactly was being celebrated at this event, but it is likely the celebration of his first military victory at age 18. (Moorhead, p. 14-15)

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

the *creation* of God the Father, and therefore a subordinate being. This challenged the view of the Holy Trinity as being three equal, yet distinct aspects of the one God.<sup>69</sup> Almost immediately, Arianism was condemned first by the Council of Nicaea in 325, and for a second time at the ecumenical council of Constantinople in 381.<sup>70</sup> Although all Arian groups believed broadly that Christ was not of an equal status to God the Father, their exact beliefs about the Trinity varied.<sup>71</sup> It is likely that the Visigoths, who had been converted around 376 by the Arian Emperor Valens, in turn converted the Ostrogoths from a form of paganism to Arianism.<sup>72</sup> The Ostrogoths who Theodoric led into Italy however, were not a religiously unified group; some were Arian, some Catholic, and others remained non-Christian, and others still held a mixed belief in paganism and Christianity. Theodoric's primary concern, however, was not his followers' level of belief, as he used the concept and distinction of Arianism simply as a unifying tool amongst the Ostrogoths. Arianism allowed him to place his own people in positions of power and to keep his kingdom separate from the Orthodox Roman world in order to retain power. Perhaps most importantly however, Arianism allowed the Ostrogoths to be Christians, and therefore a part of the larger world of *romanitas* without forcing them to forsake either their pride and identity as a people or their shared ancestral history.

As much as Rome was an orthodox Catholic city celebrating the grand imperial past, Theodoric wanted Ravenna to be an Arian city very much of the present, and looking into the future. Ravenna was the seat of Ostrogothic governmental power, and had been the seat of imperial power in Italy since the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>73</sup> The population of Ravenna consisted of Ostrogoths and Roman bureaucrats who were very aware that their fortunes depended heavily on the Ostrogoths.<sup>74</sup> Ravenna relied on royal patronage and funds, and flourished under Theodoric; in fact, most scholars have viewed his rule as a golden age in Italy.<sup>75</sup> Ravenna quickly turned into a wealthy city, was able to sustain its own markets and was especially known for its master goldsmiths.<sup>76</sup> There is also evidence for the existence of guild-type organizations in the sixth century, and bankers often gained a vast amount of wealth, allowing them to patronize artisans and artists, and more broadly to boost the economy of the city.<sup>77</sup>

Theodoric's program of building in Ravenna certainly helped the city become worthy of being called the capital of Italy. Theodoric built a new royal residence for himself in Ravenna (unfortunately this palace is now lost), modeled after the Great Palace in Constantinople. He also built a new aqueduct and drained the marshes surrounding the city in order to plant gardens.<sup>78</sup> Ravenna is known today for its numerous, and beautifully decorated churches, and Theodoric built as many as six new Arian churches.<sup>79</sup>

When discussing the relationship Ravenna had with Rome during the reign of Theodoric, it is important to note that while Theodoric did spend money to *repair* buildings in Rome, he *built* new ones in Ravenna. In a letter to Sabinianus, a high ranking member of the Roman Senate, Theodoric clearly stated the importance "to

69 Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.139.

70 Ibid., pp. 139-140.

71 Ibid., p. 139.

72 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 89.

73 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 142.

74 Ibid.

75 T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554-800*, (Hertford, U.K.: Stephen Austin and Sons Ltd, 1984), p. 4.

76 Thomas Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 129.

77 T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554-800*, (Hertford, U.K.: Stephen Austin and Sons Ltd, 1984), pp. 214-215. In fact, the banker known as Julian was able to finance both the church of San Vitale and the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, both known for their extravagant, and expensive mosaic decorations.

78 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 42-43.

79 Ibid., p. 143. There were six Arian churches when Justinian's army captured the city.

preserve as well as to create,” when discussing the repair of the walls of Rome.<sup>80</sup> However, he only preserved Rome. The Catholic Church patronized all of the new buildings created in Rome during Theodoric’s kingship, while the buildings in Ravenna were constructed by royal patronage.<sup>81</sup> The relationship between Rome and Ravenna in the fifth and sixth centuries was not a clear hierarchy. Theodoric not only understood the need to sustain Rome as a significant presence in Italy, but also desired to preserve the wealth of history the city held and represented. At the same time however, he also understood the need to create his own center of power and did so by building specifically Ostrogothic Arian churches, and housing the main bureaucracy in Ravenna, thereby, at the expense of Rome, establishing his people, and his city, as the most powerful in Italy.

## VI

Although there is no vast, discernable difference in the architecture, materials, or decorative techniques between Arian churches and Roman churches, the Ostrogoths and the Romans found the distinction to be very important. The church of Sant’Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Theodoric’s royal palace chapel, encapsulated Theodoric’s ideology as ruler and sheds further light on the relationship between Rome and Ravenna. The church, built in the first years of the sixth century, was originally dedicated to Jesus Christ, and bore the inscription: ‘King Theodoric made this church from its foundations in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.’<sup>82</sup>

Sant’Apollinare Nuovo is a simple basilica with two side aisles, and a semicircular apse directly connected to the nave – a basic architectural design modeled after the palace church built by Emperor Constantine.<sup>83</sup> While the architecture and exterior is fairly plain and simple, the interior is sumptuously decorated with mosaics. Mosaics were a highly praised and popular form of art, and Theodoric sent for “some of [the] most skillful marble-workers, who may join together those pieces which have been exquisitely divided, and, connecting together their different veins of colour, may admirably represent the natural appearance,” in other words, to create mosaics and marble revetment in Ravenna.<sup>84</sup> By gathering the most skilled mosaic workers, Theodoric hoped to have his reign “match preceding ones in the beauty of its buildings, as it [did] in the happiness of the lives of [his] subjects.”<sup>85</sup> It is clear that Theodoric viewed artistic patronage as an important aspect of his reign, just as the past Roman Emperors had.

However the church mosaic decoration in its current form differs significantly from the original due to the collapse of the apse in the eighth century.<sup>86</sup> Additionally, the only original mosaics still extant are the ones that survived the re-consecration of the church.<sup>87</sup> Those mosaics are the scenes of the life of Christ in the upper register on the nave walls, the prophets and apostles on the level of the clerestory [Figure 4], Christ enthroned [Figure 5], Madonna enthroned being approached by the Three Magi [Figure 6], and the “Classis”

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80 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), p. 158.

81 Ibid., pp. 142-144.

82 Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 146-147. *Theodoricus rex hanc ecclesia a fundamentis in nomine domini nostrio Jesu Christi fecit.*

83 Mark T. Johnson, “Toward a History of Theodoric’s Building Program,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42 (1988): p.85.

84 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Letters of Cassiodorus: Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford: Oxford College, 1886), p.148.

85 Ibid., pp. 147-148.

86 Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.152-153.

87 Bryan Ward-Perkins, “Where is the Archaeology and Iconography of Germanic Arianism?” *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*, Edited by David M. Gwynn and Susanne Bangert, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), p. 277.

[Figure 7] and “Palatium” mosaics. [Figure 8]<sup>88</sup> Unfortunately, the loss of the apse mosaics leaves a large gap in the overall understanding of the mosaic program, but the remaining images still paint a clear picture of Theodoric’s intentions.



Figure 4. Saints Approaching Christ, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Photo by author.



Figure 5. Christ Enthroned. Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Photo by author.



Figure 6. Madonna Enthroned, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Photo by author.



Figure 7. Classis Mosaic, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Photo by author.

Several scholars have suggested that the scenes from the life of Christ in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo are linked with Arian theology or liturgy.<sup>89</sup> These scholars focused on the distinction between the beardless Christ and the bearded Christ on opposite sides of the nave as representing an Arian stance on the question of the dual nature of Christ. This interpretation is problematic as there were many levels of Arian belief, as well as no evidence of which side the Arians took in that particular debate. Additionally, the difference in physiognomy between the two images of Christ was not altered during the Orthodox redecoration of the church, and using both a bearded and a beardless Christ was very common in Orthodox churches as well.<sup>90</sup> In fact, there are almost no traces of the doctrinal differences and rivalries in any of the churches in Ravenna.<sup>91</sup> These images

88 Mark T. Johnson “Toward a History of Theodoric’s Building Program,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42 (1988): p. 85.

89 Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 156 – 158. Cf. von Simson (1948), R. Jenson (2002), R. Sörries (1983), R. Zanutto (2005), A. Grabar (1980), C.O. Nordström (1953), A. Baumstark (1911).

90 Ibid., pp. 156-157.

91 Bryan Ward-Perkins, “Where is the Archaeology and Iconography of Germanic Arianism?” *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*, Edited by David M. Gwynn and Susanne Bangert, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), p. 277.

could have served either theology, and their similarities therefore emphasized less the differences between the two sects, and more the way in which Theodoric utilized classic Roman, and in this case, Orthodox motifs, even in an Arian Ostrogothic context.

A unique aspect of the mosaic program is the connection between the image of Christ enthroned and the “Palatium” mosaic partially depicting the city of Ravenna. Directly to the right of the apse, Christ sits in majesty upon a golden throne surrounded by archangels. Certain aspects of the image situate Christ as Emperor – the golden throne and purple robes would have easily been recognized by viewers as symbols closely associated with the imperial office.<sup>92</sup> On the same side of the nave, at the opposite end of the church, is the image of the city of Ravenna. This image and the opposing image of the port city of Classis [Figure 7] were part of the original Ostrogothic mosaic decoration, although the original male figures that accompanied the image have subsequently been removed.<sup>93</sup> This mosaic shows a representation of the now lost palace of Theodoric in Ravenna, as well as several buildings in the background.<sup>94</sup> Although there is some scholarly debate as to whether or not the buildings are meant to represent specific places in Ravenna or project a more general idea of a city, in the context of the rest of the mosaics and Theodoric’s overall ideology surrounding his reign, the buildings are clearly representative of the two churches and baptistery built by Theodoric.<sup>95</sup> If the main building façade of the mosaic is indeed Theodoric’s palace, the church on the right is most likely the palace church of Sant’Apollinare Nuovo with its now lost baptistery, with the second church being the Arian congregational church of Santa Andrea dei Goti.<sup>96</sup> The combination of the depictions of the royal palace, the royal church and another Arian church built by Theodoric in this mosaic, as well as the absence of any other building, represented the city of Ravenna as a creation of the Ostrogothic King.<sup>97</sup> There are fragments of human figures remaining in the mosaics today, the majority of which were removed when the church was re-consecrated by the Catholic clergy. These figures were likely members of the royal family and court officials, representing Theodoric’s court and again emphasizing Theodoric’s role in the creation of Ravenna as a royal city.<sup>98</sup> The Palatium Ravenna mosaic therefore represents Theodoric’s kingdom and rule, and within the context of Christ seated as an Emperor several meters down the wall, emphasized the legitimacy and divine blessing of Theodoric’s rule.

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92 Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 158-159.

93 Ibid., p. 160.

94 Ibid.

95 Mark T. Johnson “Toward a History of Theodoric’s Building Program,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42 (1988): pp. 87-88.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid., p. 80.

98 Ibid., p. 95.



Figure 8. Palatium Mosaic, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Photo by author.

Between the representations of Christ enthroned and Ravenna is a procession of twenty-six saints physically linking the earthly court with the Heavenly court.<sup>99</sup> These images, however, are not the original mosaics and were created in the 560s after the church was re-dedicated as the church of St. Martin, a saint who gained a particular reputation in the fifth century as being an outspoken anti-Arian.<sup>100</sup> However, based on close examination of the mosaic, the bottom row of green tesserae and the top row of gold are original, making it likely that the original mosaics were very similar, but depicted specific saints that were venerated by the Ostrogoths.<sup>101</sup> It is striking that these figures were the only major changes in the church's mosaic decoration. The overtly Biblical representations of Christ and the scenes from the Gospels remained untouched, and therefore were not what divided the Arians and Catholics in this context. Instead, they were more strongly divided by the saints and authority figures the sects chose to revere.<sup>102</sup> In fact, with so little other visual or iconographical evidence of disagreements between the Arians and the Catholics in Ravenna, the rededication of Theodoric's palace church, and the destruction of those mosaics was the most blatant evidence of religious discord in the capital.<sup>103</sup> However, with the original mosaic saints leading the way from Theodoric's kingdom of Ravenna to Christ's kingdom of Heaven, Theodoric proclaimed the importance and legitimacy of the Arian religion and his legitimacy as king of Italy, doing so within the visual traditions and motifs of contemporary Roman mosaic work. Therefore, the decision to alter the saintly figures to more obviously Catholic saints, definitively announced the reasserted dominance of the Catholic Church and the divinely inspired rule of Justinian.

Theodoric's royal patronage was extensive, not just in Ravenna, but throughout all of Italy. In this way, Theodoric clearly emulated the Roman Emperors, as the Ostrogoths did not have their own tradition of patronage of art or buildings.<sup>104</sup> The palace church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo harkened to the Roman past, acknowledged the influence of contemporary Constantinople, and promoted the dominance of the rule of Theodoric and the Ostrogothic present. Theodoric employed both art and architecture to visually define the justification of his position as the ruler of Italy on par in power to the Emperor at Constantinople.

99 Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 166-167.

100 Bryan Ward-Perkins, "Where is the Archaeology and Iconography of Germanic Arianism?" *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*, Edited by David M. Gwynn and Susanne Bangert, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), p. 282.

101 Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 171-172.

102 Bryan Ward-Perkins, "Where is the Archaeology and Iconography of Germanic Arianism?" *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*, Edited by David M. Gwynn and Susanne Bangert, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), p. 282.

103 Ibid.

104 Mark T. Johnson "Toward a History of Theodoric's Building Program," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42 (1988): pp. 95-96.

## VII

Theodoric brought peace and prosperity to Italy, something the land and the people had not known for decades. However, that peace was short-lived and died along with Theodoric. Originally, Theodoric was sent to Italy at the behest of Emperor Zeno to revive Rome and to redirect the loyalties of all of Italy back to the Emperor at Constantinople, and in this, Theodoric failed.<sup>105</sup> The king made concerted efforts to keep the Romans and the Ostrogoths separate peoples in the hopes of striking a balance of Ostrogothic independence within the unity of the Roman peoples. However, in the end this policy created a rift between the two peoples that could not be repaired by Theodoric's weaker successors. Indeed, the letter announcing Athalaric's ascension to the throne after Theodoric's death suggested a very tense relationship between Theodoric and the Emperor at Constantinople. The letter asks Emperor Justin to remember, that:

As it is the glory of your piety to cherish those whose fathers you loved – for no-one is believed to have given harmless and sincere affection to the old unless he demonstrably approves their posterity – let hatreds be shut up with men entombed. May anger perish with the violent; affection should not die with those held dear, but you should treat with the greater goodwill one who cannot be blamed for his kingdom's quarrels.<sup>106</sup>

Beginning at the end of Theodoric's life and continuing after his death was a growing faction and desire amongst the most powerful Roman families to forge a stronger alliance with Constantinople, and by the end of Theodoric's reign there is clear evidence of the relationship between Ravenna and Constantinople was being severed. The loss of alliance with Constantinople partially stemmed from the rise in the Eastern Empire's persecution of Arians.<sup>107</sup> As more Ostrogoths were being forced into conversion, and more became assimilated into Roman society, the basic premise and religious ethos of Theodoric's rule was destroyed. The Ostrogoths were no longer a separate, powerful entity in Italy, and the ideal of a balanced society between the two peoples tipped in the direction of the Romans.<sup>108</sup>

Procopius described the events after Theodoric's death in great detail, and through this narrative, the flaws in Theodoric's policy of separation between the Ostrogoths and the Romans were clearly shown. Athalaric was Theodoric's heir and grandson, but as he was too young to assume royal power in his own right, his mother Amalasantha acted as his regent. Amalasantha wanted her son to "resemble the Roman princes in his manner of life," and was raising him as a future Emperor of Constantinople would be instructed.<sup>109</sup> However, the majority of the Ostrogoths within the government disapproved of this path and wished him to rule in a desire which was likely a last-ditch effort on the part of Ostrogothic nobility to retain their Gothic identity as more and more Ostrogoths assimilated and disappeared into Roman society.<sup>110</sup> The notable men of the court then charged against Amalasantha, accusing her of purposefully raising her son to be a weak, "cowardly and submissive spirit," so she could then assume full power.<sup>111</sup> Amalasantha, rightly fearing these men and fearing for her life, submitted to their requests, and Athalaric began to be "educated" as the Ostrogoths desired. He was taught to fight and drink, making him an "exceptionally depraved youth," leaving the example left by

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105 Thomas Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 90.

106 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *The Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. by S.J.B. Barnish, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), p. 101.

107 Thomas Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 101-102.

108 Ibid., pp.101-106

109 Procopius, *History of the Wars Books V-VI.5*, Vol III, trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 17.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

his grandfather far behind.<sup>112</sup> Amalasantha's attempt at raising Athalaric as a young Roman prince was likely an attempt at soothing tensions with Constantinople, but it is clear that the Ostrogoths were more concerned with their own interests.<sup>113</sup> Theodoric's reign, while successful until nearly the end of his life, created tensions amongst the Romans who longed for the return of their power, and the Ostrogoths, who eventually resisted the assimilation into Roman society in an attempt to retain their history and identity as a people. This policy worked under Theodoric, who was able to maneuver the line between Roman and Ostrogoth with ease, appeasing one side or the other whenever the need arose. Theodoric's time in Constantinople as a youth as well as his subsequent military victories as a leader of a "barbarian" people, created a dual man – at once, a great late Roman with a love for the Classical past, and an Ostrogothic king with a desire to find a place for his people to flourish in a world without the hegemony of Rome. This was the man who created a peaceful Italy, who restored Rome, and built a beautiful new capital city with some of the world's greatest works of mosaic. This prosperity, however, could not be continued under the successors of Theodoric, and Italy was once again plunged into war, this time lasting eighteen long years.

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112 Ibid, p. 21

113 John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 254-255.

# SENIOR HONORS THESIS ABSTRACTS

## Contributors

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Adam Ezrapour, “The Gamble with Jihad: Pakistan and the United States, 1947-2009”

Elena Gittleman, “Edge of an Empire: Religion, Politics, and the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna, Italy”

Benjamin Kallen, “The Destroyer of Worlds America’s Response to Nuclear Weapons in South Asia”

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Hannah Lustman, ““Electric shock is simply something you don’t go around talking about at cocktail parties”: The Fractured Political Narrative of Thomas F. Eagleton”

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# WHAT IS A WAR CRIME?: MOVING BEYOND VICTORS' JUSTICE AND THE LEGACY OF THE TOKYO WAR CRIMES TRIAL

Martha Clark

Advisor: Lori Watt

The Tokyo War Crimes Trial prosecuted the top-level Japanese military and government officials for war crimes after World War II. It was both a problematic and important event in the development of international law. Following the example of the Nuremberg Trial, the Allied Powers created an international war crimes tribunal at the Tokyo Trial that was revolutionary in its scope and ambition. Like Nuremberg, the Charter of the Tokyo Trial included two crimes that had never before been prosecuted by a war crimes tribunal -- "crimes against peace" and "crimes against humanity." These crimes were controversial however, as they were considered to be "ex-post facto," meaning they did not have valid legal precedent under international law at the time. This was particularly true for crimes against peace, the inclusion of which elicited much dissent from Japanese officials and scholars, including from former General and Prime Minister Tojo Hideki, and from members of the Tokyo Tribunal itself. The inclusion of these crimes inspired the charge of "victors' justice" against the trial. The Allied Powers (especially the Americans) were accused of applying their own rules of right and wrong on the Japanese defendants without regard for established international law. The refusal to indict Emperor Hirohito, the lack of prosecution for the American use of the atom bomb, the inconsistent treatment of rape by the prosecution, and the failure to include the charge of experimentation of biological weapons on civilians and Allied prisoners of war were all Allied actions that weakened the legacy of the trial and supported the assertion of "victors' justice." While a valid claim, this thesis attempts to move beyond the idea of "victors' justice," examining the importance the Tokyo Trial held for future international war crimes tribunals and for establishing a comprehensive historical narrative of the actions of the Japanese military during the war and in the events leading up to it.

Adam Ezrapor

Advisor: Krister Knapp

Although numerous historians have studied the relationship between the United States and Pakistan, none have examined this relationship primarily through Pakistan's historic use of militant proxy organizations to wage its foreign policy. This study, which combines a wide array of both American and South Asian primary and secondary sources, argues that Pakistan began using jihadist groups as a means of maintaining pressure on India in Kashmir, after it became clear that Pakistan could not maintain parity with its eastern neighbor through conventional military means. The initial successes of these militant groups in Afghanistan cemented the role of these groups as a useful foreign policy tool among Pakistani policymakers. However, after decades of arming and funding these groups, in the wake of September 11, 2001, Pakistan discovered that it could no longer control these increasingly radicalized organizations, some of whom would begin to wage jihad against the Pakistani state itself, after it declared its allegiance to the United States in the war on terror.

From the American perspective, Pakistan's use of militant proxies was largely ignored until it began to directly affect American interests in Afghanistan. The United States aggressively supported the mujahideen fighters in their quest to evict the Soviets from Afghanistan. However, after the Soviets departed, the U.S. began to view these militants as terrorists who threatened regional stability. The American invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 has dramatically strained relations between Pakistan and the United States, as militant groups, operating from Pakistan, continue to attack coalition forces in Afghanistan. However, despite the dangers they pose, Pakistan still refuses to fully cut ties to these groups, as it views them as essential in any future conflict with India.

# EDGE OF AN EMPIRE: RELIGION, POLITICS, AND THE BASILICA OF SAN VITALE IN RAVENNA, ITALY

Elena Gittleman

Advisor: Mary Gregory Pegg

The Basilica of San Vitale is widely regarded as one of the most important Late Antique churches outside of the eastern Mediterranean. Began by a Catholic Bishop while the city was under Ostrogothic Arian rule, and completed after the East Roman Emperor Justinian's reconquest of the city in 547, the church and its mosaic program provide a fascinating insight into a world at a crossroad. Many scholars have studied the imperial panels depicting Justinian and the Empress Theodora, as well as the narrative portions of the mosaic program. Unfortunately, the details of plants, animals, birds, and water that make up the largest portion of the interior mosaics have largely been ignored. It is believed that the mosaics were mostly designed and constructed before Justinian gained control of the city, yet the most famous of all of the mosaics are the two imperial panels depicting himself and Theodora. No other changes were made to the existing mosaic program except for the inclusion of these two panels. The mosaics all work together to embody contemporary theological and political ideas that worked to strengthen the renewed imperial power over the city.

This thesis re-examines the mosaic program of San Vitale, paying special attention to the connection between the nature imagery, the Old Testament narratives, and the imperial panel portraits. Additionally, the patronage of the church by a private citizen and not by the Emperor leads to questions of local meaning and purpose, especially Ravenna's place in the East Roman Empire. My analysis of the mosaic program is grounded in literary, theological, political, and historical sources. This thesis explores how the Basilica of San Vitale at once encapsulated the historical and theological concepts of Justinian's Empire, and gave insight into early medieval Ravenna and the East Roman Empire.

# THE DESTROYER OF WORLDS AMERICA'S RESPONSE TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN SOUTH ASIA

Benjamin Kallen

Advisor: Krister Knapp

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how America has oriented its foreign policy to handle nuclear weapons proliferation in India and Pakistan. Although there are varying arguments about how these weapons factored into the decision-making process of the United States for this region, no general consensus exists. Some scholars theorize that the primary driver behind America's actions in South Asia was the Cold War and efforts to contain Soviet expansion. Others claim that America never really considered the region to be that integral in its Cold War calculations, and that nuclear proliferation played a bigger part. This thesis examines primary documents, spanning the period between 1947 and the present, as well as secondary sources in an effort to more fully understand this issue. This thesis argues that while Cold War interests did play an instrumental role in America's policy-making towards South Asia, this was largely limited to the 1950s. Beginning in the early 1960s, the United States started showing more concern over nuclear weapons proliferation in South Asia, and by the middle of the next decade this concern had translated into policy. Except for a brief revisiting of Cold War strategy during the Reagan Administration, proliferation issues would continue to form the bedrock of American policy toward both Pakistan and India up to the present. No other weapons technology has affected war as dramatically as nuclear weapons have. As such, they warrant significant study. While the United States and Soviet Union reduced their nuclear stockpiles, other states increased their nuclear weaponry or continued developing them. Rogue nations or individuals acquired them for monetary gain or terrorism. By analyzing the past effects on international relations of nuclear weapons, it may be easier to predict their future diplomatic impact. Understanding the root causes of the turmoil in South Asia may be key to better formulating policies that will help to make the subcontinent more stable and secure.

# EMBODYING EMPIRE: CONSTRUCTING AMERICAN IMPERIAL IDENTITY IN DIME NOVELS AND CONGRESSIONAL DEBATES, 1865-1901

Kelly Loughead

Advisor: Iver Bernstein

The United States experienced vast social, political, and economic changes after the Civil War. This thesis examines the ways in which American identity and individual attachment to the American polity were reconstructed as the United States expanded its physical and psychological boundaries into a continental and overseas Empire. It analyzes American cultural productions, specifically dime novels and debates in Congress, in order to understand popular representations of Empire from the Indian Campaigns in the late 1870s to the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. It is concerned with how individuals and groups were constructed as either falling within or without conceptions of American identity and Empire. The role of the Army in American Empire, and its symbolic importance in a time when it was in relative disarray, is examined alongside its relationship to Native Americans. Native Americans were a key group in the formulation of American identity, encompassing the ever-changing line between foreign and domestic. Both dime novels with their fictional portrayals, and Congress through the Dawes Act, attempted to spatially and temporally define where Native Americans conceptually and officially belonged in the burgeoning American Empire. The varying ideas of how Empire was envisioned — and the tensions inherent in these formulations between nation and individual, foreign and domestic, military and civilian — became increasingly confused even as the United States reached the supposed locus classicus of American Empire, the Spanish-American War. This thesis argues that these contradictions, which threatened to tear apart Empire, are embodied in dime novels and congressional debates that foregrounded the role of the individual as the United States moved from Civil War era nationalism to the bureaucratic structures of imperialism.

# “ELECTRIC SHOCK IS SIMPLY SOMETHING YOU DON’T GO AROUND TALKING ABOUT AT COCKTAIL PARTIES”: THE FRACTURED POLITICAL NARRATIVE OF THOMAS F. EAGLETON

Hannah Lustman

Advisor: Iver Bernstein

Thomas F. Eagleton was a three-term United States Senator for the state of Missouri from 1968 to 1986. Eagleton rose quickly through Missouri state government and was elected Saint Louis Circuit Attorney, Attorney General, and Lieutenant Governor after one term in each position. However, Eagleton is best known for an infamous bid for the Vice-Presidency for as running mate of South Dakota Senator George McGovern in 1972. When media sources discovered that Eagleton had been treated for depression with electroconvulsive therapy, negative reaction would eventually be the motivation for his removal from the ticket just eighteen days after his nomination. However, the representation of Eagleton’s mental illness and its influence on his political career were much more complex than its revelation in 1972, and analyzing how he navigated the relationship between his private life as a mental health patient and public life as a prominent politician is the subject of this thesis.

This thesis provides a richer understanding of Eagleton’s life as both a man struggling with mental illness and one with rising political power (especially as he is frequently mentioned when presidential candidates choose running mates), The balance between public and private life was never the result of a strict boundary separating his struggles with Bipolar II disorder and his life as a politician. Although 1972 was the first time accurate information was disseminated about his treatment, a relationship was present for many years between his disease and his public life. This thesis is ultimately an exploration of how Thomas Eagleton’s politics resonated with some of the issues he confronted privately, as well as how the symptoms of his Bipolar II disorder and his representation of his mental illness influenced his political career in Missouri and the United States Senate.

# HISTORIOGRAPHY, HERESY, AND THE MARVELOUS IN GERVASE OF TILBURY'S *OTIA IMPERIALIA*

Marshall Mayer

Advisor: Mark Gregory Pegg

Gervase of Tilbury, marshal of Arles, wrote a book of history, geography, and of the marvelous called the *Otia Imperialia* for Otto IV, Holy Roman Emperor around 1215. The *Otia Imperialia*, more than anything, packaged the marvelous with a Christian ribbon. It was a masterpiece of medieval scholarship, unique in its scope and breadth, focusing on the marvelous and a scientific approach to history writing. The early thirteenth century was a time of great political, social, and scholarly shifts in Latin Christendom. The Church was solidifying its power not just as a moral and religious authority, but as a political authority as well. The Holy Roman Empire was engaged in a civil war and Pope Innocent III proclaimed an internal crusade against Christian heretics in the lands of the count of Toulouse. During the same period, Latin Christian intellectuals were making great strides in the development of historical writing. This thesis is a study of the *Otia Imperialia* and how Gervase of Tilbury omnivorously encompassed this social and religious change in an encyclopedic and innovative history.

# GOING EAST: THE EVOLUTION OF THE MEDIEVAL TRAVEL ACCOUNT, 1253-1356

Jeffrey Shevack

Advisor: Mark Gregory Pegg

The most famous of the medieval European travel accounts is the record of Marco Polo and his family's journey to Asia, known as the *Livres de merveilles du monde*. Though the *Livres*, renowned for its fantastic nature and enormous scope, is the most famous work of the genre, it is only one of a multitude of travel accounts written by pilgrims who left the bounds of Latin Christendom and passed into Eastern Asia. While many travel accounts have been analyzed and used for various purposes, there is not much literature focused on the development of the travel account as a genre during the Middle Ages. This study aims to track this development over the course of a century, from the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fourteenth century, to extract information on how Latin Christendom was transforming and how Latin Christians changed the way they saw the world. It will also try to determine the reasons for the evolving style of narration in the genre and how this period of one hundred years helped mold the model for succeeding Latin Christian travel accounts. This analysis will use Latin Christian travel accounts from the mid-thirteenth century through the mid-fourteenth century, primarily focusing on the travel accounts written by William of Rubruck, Marco Polo, and Sir John Mandeville, but will also utilize contemporary sources from Asia in order to provide a broader context in verifying the claims made by the authors of the travel accounts and in understanding how Christianity affected the traveler's perception of the world outside the physical bounds of Latin Christendom.

# JA SÓC AQUÍ: THE CONSTRUCTION OF CATALAN CULTURE DURING THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

Alina Sigmond

Advisor: Mark Gregory Pegg

In 1979, Catalonia was recognized as an autonomous region within Spain for the second time in the twentieth century. Four years into the newly founded Spanish democracy after the death of General Francisco Franco, Catalonian culture confronted issues of cultural identity, especially where culture intersected with politics. My thesis analyses this cultural construction of modern Catalonia and its affect upon the Catalan people. I examine language, street movements and the Catalan government. Each topic unravels a bit of Catalan culture: the language in defining the people; street movements in determining how the people came together; and the government to show how Catalonia was officially represented.

I find that during the Transition to Democracy, Catalans, especially those in power, chose to reclaim their culture by reinventing it. After nearly forty years of repression under Franco's Dictatorship, the rediscovery and reinvention of this culture in the 1970s entailed a more powerful and ultimately more useful phenomenon – an incredible consensus and mandate from the Generalitat that Catalans had a unique collective identity that needed protecting and promoting during this fragile time.

By 1979, Catalonia was in a vital socio-political position where Catalans' culture and collective identity was being questioned, shaped, and used by people and politicians in and out of Catalonia. The Transition marked a change in how the northwest region of Spain would be considered. It is what fundamentally altered and created modern-day Catalonia.

# FROM SOCIAL REFORM TO URBAN MODERNISM: THE COLLAPSE OF PRUITT-IGOE AND FAILURE OF PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY

Alyssa Stein

Advisor: Margaret Garb

When Pruitt-Igoe was demolished in 1972, the high-rise public housing project in North Saint Louis was arguably the most infamous public housing project in America. Its failure has been attributed to many factors, including the isolation and extreme poverty of the residents; however, the most common explanation is the modernist design of the buildings. DeSoto Carr, the site of Pruitt-Igoe, was not always destined for to twentieth-century modernism. Initially proposed by planner Harland Bartholomew in 1947, the dilapidated site was to be redesigned according to the theories of nineteenth-century planners and social reformers. By the time the project was constructed in 1954, Saint Louis City officials had decided to incorporate the nineteenth-century design concepts proposed by Bartholomew and head architect Minoru Yamasaki with twentieth century modernism. Even though many of the public policies that influenced modernist construction broke from early public housing design, Saint Louis officials aimed to manipulate the built environment to reform the lower and working-class and to ameliorate poverty, a primary goal of nineteenth-century reformers. This thesis examines the collision of the two philosophies—nineteenth-century planning and reform movements with twentieth-century modernism—that shaped the design and situation of the buildings, as well as the optimistic rhetoric at groundbreaking, the disillusionment with mid-twentieth century urban policies, and ultimately, the spectacular downfall of Pruitt-Igoe.