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EDITORIAL POLICY

THE UNDERGROUND is a peer-reviewed academic journal that publishes research-based student work in both written and multimedia format. The goal of this journal is to provide an outlet which allows St. Lawrence students to share the results of their work with the rest of the academic community. All submissions must be original. The journal is published online and in print once a semester. Each submission will undergo a rigorous editorial process based on a series of blind peer reviews. Submissions may be subject to a series of revisions. All work must be submitted in an electronic copy. Students may submit multiple works per semester. Submissions may include but are not limited to written pieces (i.e. research papers, etc.) and visual art (i.e. photography, video of performances, etc). Submissions must be sent in by the time determined and announced by the editorial board each semester.

ON THE COVER



ON THE COVER: Photo credit to Josie Emmanuele.

LETTER TO THE READERS

Dear Reader,

Welcome to the twelfth edition of The Underground Journal! As always, a tremendous amount of hard work went into the creation of this semester's journal. I would like to thank Kathryn Corbitt '18 and Grace Galanti '17 for their consistent hard work on our Executive Board as Managing Editor and Graphic Designer respectively. This semester we had a great variety of submissions, and we are excited to share the work of each of our talented contributors!

The journal begins with an eye-opening look at gender roles entitled "Policing of Women's Body Hair Maintenance Norms to Perpetuate Hegemonic Gender Roles," by Julia Simoes. Quin Roussard's, "Disparities in Latino and African American Access to Mental Healthcare Compared to Whites," comes next, focusing on the existing discrepancies between Whites, Latinos and African American's, and their ability to access and receive adequate mental health services worldwide. In the subsequent essay, Germaine Garcia explores Lao She's novel, *Cat Country*, and analyzes its role as a satire of early 20th century China in "Cat Country: The Downward Spiral of a Civilization." The next two pieces similarly have international focuses, with Josie Brown's work, "The Arte was a Social Institution that Helped Maintain Cultural Hegemony in Renaissance Venice" and my own, "The Evolution of Entertainment: Analyzing the Explosion of Film in Britain during the Interwar Period." The penultimate installment in the journal is Samuel Song's "Garden of Earthly Delights: Monsters of the Late Medieval Tradition," which focuses on the work of Dutch painter Hieronymus Bosch. Finally, this issue closes with Nicole Kubishta's wonderful exploration of the portrayal of female power and agency in two versions of the myth of the abduction of Persephone/Proserpina, entitled "The Agency of Goddesses in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*."

On behalf of all of us at The Underground, we sincerely hope you enjoy our newest installment!

Regards,



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Policing of Women's Body Hair Maintenance Norms to Perpetuate Hegemonic Gender Roles

ABSTRACT: In today's American society, the presence of body hair, specifically on women, has been deemed a cultural taboo. Such frequent and widespread submission to the norm of hairlessness can be attributed to the mass media's consistent policing of women's beauty ideals, deeming body hair as unattractive, unhygienic, and unfeminine. These standards defined by the media remind women that their social acceptance depends on their ability to conform to the hegemonic ideal of beauty. Women's participation in this established ideal often goes unquestioned, as people continue to internalize and conform to it, in turn policing those who don't conform and ultimately perpetuating the norm. The perpetuation of body hair maintenance norms has significant repercussions including social isolation for rejecting norms, promotion of the idea that women exist as the object of someone else's desire, control over women's sexual agency, and further disadvantaging already marginalized populations. The current hairlessness ideal ultimately serves to disadvantage women, disempowering them by restricting their autonomy and control over their body.

KEYWORDS: Gender norms, beauty ideals, body hair maintenance, disempowerment, mass media

Disgusting, unattractive, dirty, unhygienic, unfeminine... all commonly used words when referring to the existence of hair on a woman's body in places that it "shouldn't be." Also all words employed by my brother in reaction to an article he read exploring the trend of women growing out their armpit hair and adding glitter to it as a feminist statement. When asked why he found such a practice so revolting, his only response was something along the lines of "That's just gross, women shouldn't have long armpit hair." An assertion to which I countered, "Yet your armpit hair is acceptable?" He had no rebuttal. Still, I pushed on, sharing that I myself had chosen not to shave my leg hair for the past several months. He attempted to justify my choice as acceptable due to the light blonde color of my hair, as if trying to appease me in some way. However, his comment essentially maintained his original argument that visible body hair on a woman is not okay. Although in the spirit of sibling rivalry I'd like to blame this encounter on my brother's idiocy, I can't. Unfortunately, he was just voicing an opinion the majority of people in our society hold. Because my leg hair is not obvious, it is more acceptable. The generally understood rules of society surrounding body hair maintenance encourage women to remain hairless, and my brother fell victim to this normalizing force. But how is it decided that women can have long hair on their heads, but if they have hair peeking out from their short sleeve shirt when they raise their hand in class, they can be ridden off as unfeminine or unattractive? Why is this idea so widely accepted? These wonderings sparked by the conversation with my brother caused me to explore the question: how do body hair maintenance norms represent and perpetuate societally communicated gender roles?

In today's Western societies, the presence of body hair, specifically on women, has been deemed a cultural taboo. There is an expectation that women maintain the hairless state they occupy during adolescence, even as their bodies transform and develop throughout puberty and the rest of adulthood. This expectation informs women's behavior, reminding them that in order to be accepted as an appropriate, feminine woman in society, they must take action to sustain a hairless condition. In one study involving almost 700 women, 99% of them reported having removed their body hair through various methods including shaving, plucking, and waxing. Most commonly they removed hair from their underarms (98.67% of participants), legs (93.66%), pubic area (85.69%), and face, including the eyebrows and upper-lip region (82.45%) (Toerien, 402). Such a frequent and widespread

participation in this practice signifies the extent to which the norm of hairlessness for women has been established in society. Submission to this norm often goes unquestioned, as people continue to internalize the hegemonic messages they receive, in turn perpetuating them through their participation in activities that conform to the established ideal.

The cyclical pattern surrounding the policing of women's body hair has sparked the attention of many scholars, giving rise to a multitude of literature on the topic. In exploring this literature, there were a number of themes I found to be consistently present. The standards for what a woman's body should look like have developed throughout history, culminating in society's current definition of femininity. Scholars commonly argue that this socially constructed ideal of femininity is normalized through a variety of institutions, with many of the standards surrounding beauty, including hairlessness, often being attributed to the media. This normalizing process is understood to only be the beginning of the problematic defining of gender roles. Differing expectations for men and women surrounding their appearance can result in consequences that further disadvantage women while supporting the superiority of men. Scholars have discussed many repercussions of body hair norms, including social isolation for rejecting norms, promotion of the idea that women exist as the object of someone else's desire, and in turn the control of women's sexual agency. These consequences serve as a communicative enterprise, policing and disciplining women's bodies, sending a series of implicit, hidden messages that women need to change their natural body. Even further, some of the literature I read investigated the role of intersectionality in this issue, suggesting that these hegemonic ideals of hairlessness are both classist and racist. As a result of body hair maintenance norms, women are put in a double bind. They are strongly encouraged by various institutions to depilate their bodies in order to be accepted because if they don't they are shamed and rejected by society, deemed unattractive and unfeminine. However, if they do conform to these norms by removing their hair, they are only further contributing to the unrealistic beauty standards women are held to. Social scrutiny and policing of women's body hair results in a cycle of communication, feeding in and feeding out stereotypical, problematic gendered expectations for women.

Development and Internalization of Female Hairlessness Norms

The removal of body hair has not always been expected of women. Looking at the history of this practice in Western societies, it seems that it originated between the years of 1915 and 1919 (Basow, 84). The Gillette Razor Company began targeting women as clothing styles started transforming. With the introduction of women's clothing that revealed the underarm and leg areas, Gillette saw an opportunity to introduce a new product especially for women, the "Milady Decollete" razor (Basow 84). Prior to this time period women rarely ever routinely removed their body hair (Fahs, "Classroom" 485), so in order for this product and the general movement towards women's hair removal to be successful, a new stigma had to be created surrounding hair on a woman's body. This is where the role of the media came in. Advertisements focused on deeming any hair on a woman, aside from that growing on her head, as "unwanted," "ugly," and "unfashionable (Basow, 84). Toerien illustrates this point, explaining that by convincing women that their natural bodies were flawed, they would be encouraged to invest in products that would alter their "problematic" features, allowing them to better align with the marketed beauty standards (404). Ads also encouraged compliance to these new founded expectations by highlighting the importance of pleasing others. Basow discussed how a growing number of magazine ads in the 1920's focused on a woman's duty to please men with her appearance, emphasizing the role that a woman's beauty played in attaining security and a partner's fidelity (84). This focus on creating a new image of beauty for the purpose of selling a product prompted the enforcement of body hair removal norms for Western women.

Following the initialization of these standards, images of hairless women began to permeate the media. Tiggemann and Kenyon expand on the points made by Basow and Toerien, arguing that it was the "rise of the mass media in the late 20th century [that likely imposed] more uniform standards of beauty throughout the world than before" (873). The ideal of female beauty, as illustrated in the media, became increasingly sexualized. Images of women wearing clothing that revealed their bare skinned figures resembled, and in turn encouraged

the celebration of bodies similar to that of a prepubescent (Fahs, "Classroom" 485). Braun broadens this understanding of the role of the media. She references the porn industry as a medium serving to perpetuate these norms, specifically in terms of pubic hair, as women are often shown with hairless genitalia (481). The media's continued representation of women in a state of hairlessness has caused this beauty standard to be a staple of femininity. In turn, gender roles have become partially defined by the absence or presence of body hair as it serves as a mechanism for identifying and performing a person's masculinity or femininity.

In Western cultures, there exists an association between body hair and alignment with the ideal representation of gender. To have a hairy body as a man is understood as a sign of strong masculinity, and as a result, having hair defines a man as powerful. Conversely, to have a hairless body as a woman is a sign of proper femininity, a position that corresponds to a condition of powerlessness (Fahs, "Classroom" 484; Toerien, 399). Tiggemann and Kenyon clarify the role of this communicative cycle of norms as they look at its socially constructed nature. They demonstrate the artificiality of the link between smooth skin and femininity by pointing out that biologically mature men and women are marked by the presence of body hair (883). Yet, only females are asked to deny this natural process if they want to be seen as a woman. Even further supporting the role of societal influence in our understanding of body hair regulation, Toerien explains the inconsistencies in the expectations. In one study, she highlights that it is not all body hair that seems to be condemned, as "less than 9% of participants reported removing their arm hair" (403). Despite the unfair, unequal nature of the gender roles defined by the representation of specific body hair regulations for women, they are widely performed in Western societies.

Repercussions of Established Body Hair Norms

The constant representation of ideal femininity throughout a variety of institutions causes a woman's participation in the culture of hair removal to feel required. Tiggemann and Lewis suggest that the link between femininity and hairlessness is one that women have accepted and internalized (385). It is not consciously thought of as a point of inequality or difference between men and women, but is just understood as a practice that begins once a woman's body starts growing hair. "Hairlessness is the taken-for-granted condition for a woman's body" (Braun 479). However, it is this compliance that becomes problematic. When a practice becomes integrated into the expectations of a society, often times the participation in, and repercussions of the activity aren't questioned. According to Fahs, it is the adoption of these societally constructed ideas that serve as a means of social control ("Otherness" 454). A study by Tiggemann and Lewis demonstrates Fahs' point. They found that while women "can recognize the normative pressures on them in general to shave, they are unwilling to accept this as the rationale for their own specific behavior" (385). Women may be under the impression they are shaving for their own personal benefit, but in denying the inevitable influence of socialization on practices regarding body hair removal, the inequality existent within this practice is perpetuated.

Unfortunately, it's easier said than done to stray from the social guidelines surrounding body hair maintenance. Braun claims that women who have visible body hair are viewed as "less (sexually) attractive, sociable, positive, and happy and as more aggressive than women without body hair" (479). These viewpoints regarding the existence of body hair on others are also informed by societal ideals. Braun shows that the internalization of body hair norms not only influences individual's practices, but also their response to others'. Mothers, sisters, sexual partners, and other individuals in a woman's life are a policing force when it comes to body hair. Their investment in the femininity ideal manifests into explicit commentary on how they think someone else should comply with gender and sexuality norms (Braun, 479). The standard response of disgust in reaction to a woman's body hair adds another dimension of communication to this topic. The existence of these negative social implications for not conforming to societal standards only reinforces the norms within one's mind. Not only do people receive messages from large presences such as the media, but the individual reproduction of those same doctrines further perpetuates the defined gender roles in regards to body hair.

Designating Women as the Object of Someone Else's Desire

In a culture where such narrow standards of beauty are determined for women, there is constant pressure to abide by them. Scholars point out that the policing of these standards teaches women that their actions must be accepted by society if they don't want to reap the negative social consequences. Fahs claims that this motivation to conform is rooted in the desire to please other people by attending to societal expectations ("Otherness" 452). As women learn that hairlessness is essential to representing "proper" femininity, they become concerned about whether they are pleasing others' with their representation of femininity. Tiggemann and Lewis discovered that it is this attempt to reach social standards of attractiveness that many women identify as their main reason for continuously participating in hair removal practices (381). The universal expectation of women to appear attractive in our society not only causes people to react negatively when women don't conform, but when they do meet the defined standards of beauty, there are positive social consequences (Tiggemann and Lewis, 382). In turn, the desire to please others, through taking action to achieve beauty standards such as hairlessness, is encouraged and reinforced.

The idea that body hair policing reinforces the notion that women are the object of another's desire sparked a more in depth look at the ways in which that's realized. It seems to be a consistent understanding that in order to please others when it comes to the presence of body hair, the goal is to refrain from making anyone uncomfortable, as well as to minimize the level of disgust. When exploring this relationship between discomfort, disgust, and body hair, Braun found that pubic hair especially prompted a strong reaction. In a study she conducted, it became clear that people thought the visible presence of pubic hair made others uncomfortable (484). Participants also specified that it was pubic hair on a woman that they found unattractive, whereas the removal of pubic hair on a man's body is not expected, and therefore its presence is not rejected (Braun, 485). Women feel that they not only have to monitor their underarm and leg hair growth for the ease of others, but they also have to be conscious of the negative reactions that might ensue if they were to accidentally visit the beach having forgotten to remove the pubic hair from their bikini line. Toerien looks beyond simply the expectation for hairlessness, and discusses that general understanding that it shouldn't even be apparent to others that hair was ever existent. With an underlying awareness of the general unacceptability of body hair, women must take actions to eliminate any signs of hair, or hair removal in places where it shouldn't be, as it is a threat to the established idea of proper femininity (Toerien, 404). The culture of body hair maintenance consistently communicates to women that their actions must serve to please others, which ultimately results in their objectification.

The Policing of Women's Sexual Agency

Defining women as objects of someone else's desire takes away their power and puts it in the hands of others. Women are expected to conform without question to the standards of femininity set forth by society. However, it is often this culture of gendered standards that serve to perpetuate the unequal distribution of power between men and women. Some literature suggests that the idealization of a youthful appearance is a source of marginalization for women (Tiggemann and Kenyon, 874). The established ideal of beauty in society describes a thin, white woman with smooth, bare skin, resembling a young girl. Therefore, Toerien argues that it is when women hit puberty and start developing body hair, that the expectation for hair removal begins, as it signals their sexual maturity (400). Scholars Kelly and Hoerl further propose that the societal value placed on a youthful appearance for women, and subsequent policing of body hair development, are mechanisms for removing their power. Matured women have "adult desires and political interests," which are potentially threatening to the power typically designated to men in those areas (144). Therefore, by encouraging women to maintain their youthful, passive, sexually inexperienced form, they are eliminated as a threat to the power structure currently in place.

It seems that the encouragement for women to maintain a youthful appearance is widely practiced in the form of body hair removal. Toerien reported that most participants in her study started removing their hair as soon as they started producing it during puberty (403). Advertisers often present hair removal products as

empowering a woman to look and feel great, supposedly celebrating women's sexual autonomy and personal choice. From a young age, girls are sold products (waxing kits, razors, etc.) that provide them with all they may need to remove any hint of hair as soon as it shows up. However, Kelly and Hoerl point out that the messages these products and advertisements are sending still promote the idea that women need to change their appearance to please others. Contemporary beauty culture doesn't respect women's autonomy but instead "exploits bodily aesthetics that privilege male sexual pleasure and take a physical toll on women's bodies" (Kelly and Hoerl, 141). In an experiment conducted by Fahs, her students went the entire semester without shaving. Many women in this study shared that the first reaction they experienced when telling people what they were doing was a question about whether their boyfriends or husbands approved (Fahs, "Otherness" 464). People seemed to be concerned with the reactions of the men in their life because having body hair as a woman is not viewed as feminine, and being with an unfeminine woman might be a threat to the man's masculinity. This relationship between the policing of women's appearance by enforcing a youthful, hairless state, and the goal of male approval represents gendered power dynamics perpetuated in society.

Further Disadvantaging Already Marginalized Populations

Body hair maintenance norms put women in a disadvantaged position due to the cycle of policing that perpetuates unequal gender roles. However, this powerlessness experienced by white, middle-class women is only exaggerated for women who are disadvantaged on a dimension beyond gender. In my research I came across a number of sources that acknowledged the intersectionality of this topic. Braun emphasizes the monetary factor that plays a role in a woman's ability to successfully conform to hegemonic standards of beauty (481). The cost of products and procedures that allow someone to achieve the ideal smooth skinned, hairless state is not cheap. This can restrict individuals from working class backgrounds from experiencing the benefits associated with complying with societal norms. In support of this point, Fahs found that women experiencing this dimension of marginalization receive more policing from their families because of their position of disadvantage. The students lacking financial stability that chose to grow out their body hair reported experiencing more regulations and penalties from their families than middle class women did (Fahs, "Classroom" 494). This increased supervision exists as a way to ensure as much conformity to hegemonic standards as possible.

Fahs also discusses how women of marginalized races experience body hair norms differently. The beauty ideal that is perpetuated and in turn expected of women in our society is characterized by whiteness. As a result, women of any other race are immediately disadvantaged. This idea is buttressed by the experience of the women in Fahs' study. The "women of color often expressed that body hair exacerbated their 'differentness' from white or middle/upper-class women in the course" ("Classroom" 494). These women, too, experienced a greater amount of policing from their families when they chose to grow out their body hair. This depicts the added struggles minority women face when it comes to maintaining their body hair. The cycle of communication that policies all women on the basis of body hair is amplified for women that come from an economically or racially disadvantaged position.

Conclusion

Throughout the course of my research, I came to understand the process of how body hair maintenance norms are presented, internalized, and perpetuated in a way that defines distinct gender roles. The historical development of women's body hair regulations introduced the role that the media played in normalizing hairlessness. This provides context for understanding the continued presence and policing of hairless beauty ideals in the current mass media system. These defined standards for women's bodies develop into a cycle of communication, as people receive messages about expectations for themselves and others, and eventually perpetuate those expectations by policing others. The ideals that exist within our society define images and roles associated with stereotypical femininity and masculinity. This has a number of repercussions, as it

policies those who don't conform, and puts those who do in a position where they are contributing to their own objectification and marginalization. Body hair maintenance norms ultimately disadvantage women through by restricting their autonomy, ultimately disempowering them.

In the process of gathering information on this topic, there seemed to be a few gaps in the existing research. In our society, gender roles have been very clearly defined on the basis of a binary, male versus female, masculine versus feminine. Therefore, we tend to analyze gendered relationships with this dichotomy in mind. Given this reality, it was to be somewhat expected that the inclusion of non cis-gendered populations would be somewhat neglected in research on body hair norms. In turn, I'm wondering, how do societal expectations for body hair maintenance affect trans-women? How do the norms affect gender non-conforming individuals? These communities have been excluded from the discussion, and it is certainly an area to focus on for future research. Recognition of queer communities also seemed to be lacking in the literature on this topic. Fahs briefly mentioned how perceptions of homosexuality can be tied to the existence of body hair, as the women in her class that grew out their body hair were often labeled as "queer" ("Classroom" 490). This could be related to the generalization that gay women more often reject femininity, and having body hair is symbolic of that reaction. However, how does this relate to the policing of body hair norms for the queer female population? Are the norms enforced more as they were for racially and economically disadvantaged women, in an effort to avoid further marginalization? Are they monitored less because it's already an expectation that queer women are more masculine? These questions seemed to be missing from the general research on the topic, and it's an area where I think more exploration is needed. Ultimately, the existing research on the policing of body hair maintenance norms provides a strong basis for understanding the development and perpetuation of unequal gender roles, while leaving room for additional research on the topic focusing on LGBTQ etc. populations.

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Disparities in Latinos and African American's Access to Mental Healthcare Compared to Whites

ABSTRACT: Mental health care is integral to the comprehensive health care of individuals. Despite this, there are many disparities between Whites and Latinos and African American's, and their ability to access and receive adequate mental health services around the world. These limitations are centered around the culture and living conditions that differ between Whites and Latinos and African Americans. In the future, solutions to these disparities, including intervention programs, should be optimized for providing the best care to the greatest number of citizens in these populations.

KEYWORDS: Mental health, healthcare, minorities, inequality

The idea of mental health has often been put on the way-side when discussing healthy individuals in today's Westernized world. Over 60 million Americans alone are thought to experience mental health issues and forty percent of those people do not seek or receive effective treatment. Recently, there has been a higher demand for proper health care and the role that ethnicity plays in the acquisition of such services is being further investigated. Many ethnic groups, such as Latinos and African Americans, experience different circumstances that factor into their inaccessibility to mental healthcare. Holistically, the combined effect poverty and minority status, and the multifaceted attributes involved in each, significantly contribute to the person's higher risk of reduced access to mental health care services (McKinlay and Marceau, 1999). Most, if not all, results are consistent with the notion that these disparities lie in less access to care, poor quality of care and a greater unmet need for care in many non-White ethnic groups. It is important to acknowledge the disparities between groups' access to healthcare to implement ways which they can be broken down and equality can be achieved.

Only 3.5 percent of Latinos are seen to use specialty mental health services, which is significantly lower than their non-Latino white counterparts (Alegria et al., 2002). Some of the factors that impact Latinos are language barriers, poor funding, insurance status and inadequate access to facilities due to different geographic locations. One contribution which heavily donates to the lack of mental health treatment for Latinos is limited English proficiency. Those with restrained use of the English language were less likely to participate in psychotherapy and it is speculated this is because they cannot gain access to a bilingual/fluent provider, and feel comfortable enough with them, to seek specialty care (Alegria et al., 2002). Also, Latino patients with mental-health practitioners who are more ethnically similar to themselves are more likely to continue treatment and improve their symptoms/illness than those who have ethnically dissimilar providers (Lopez, 2002).

Another aspect of this language barrier factor may be the concept of self-reliance built into the culture of poor Latinos. The idea of self-reliance is seen as a coping mechanism in Latino communities and further reduces the use of mental health services (Alegria et al., 2002). In concurrence with the notion that self-reliance in communities is a large part of Latino culture, ethnic/racial differences in the person's ability to recognize a mental health problem and their perception of their need for care is much different which could explain why the use of specialty care is so low in Latino communities as well (Alegria et al., 2002). In the Latino culture's language, there are many idioms that are used to conceal certain aspects of discussion on healthcare. Particularly, mental-health related issues are not discussed and are referred to as *nervios* which helps reduce the stigma associated

with them and promotes this idea of family support and cohesiveness. Use of this idiom is important in families' coping mechanism for identified health problems they may have; therefore, understanding the extent of its use is salient to narrowing the cultural explanations underlying the underutilization of mental health care services.

Additionally, there is minimal access to specialty services in urban Latino communities meaning that the persons would have to travel a long distance for access to services. It has been proven that the more behavioural health specialists there are in a communities, the more likely individuals are to use them; which can explain the low use in Latino neighbourhoods. The diminished access to professional care in their neighbourhoods can be linked to Latinos then using lesser quality services which would most likely give them a poor experience with their provider. This poor experience could lead to them not seeking further help and not moving on to receive appropriate mental care.

African American's have similarities with Latinos regarding their difficulty in accessing mental health care, as only 2.2 percent of African American's use specialty mental health services; which is also significantly lower than their White counterparts (Alegria et al., 2002). The social environment which many African Americans live in can lead to their abundant need for mental health care. Families who live in urban areas are faced with challenges related to population density, inadequate or unaffordable housing, overcrowding, scarce access to resources and high crime rates. These circumstances contribute to differences in socioeconomic class, residential conditions, and medical care which perpetuate racial differences in disease; furthermore, over time they manifest psychological stress which further links race to health. (Williams and Jackson, 2005).

Similar to Latinos, many of the disparities in mental health care access and use in African Americans is highly associated with their residential conditions. Many barriers to care include lack of transportation, due to their inability to afford a vehicle or the lack of public transportation in their neighbourhood, lack of or inadequate health insurance, limited providers/inconvenient health care service locations and long waiting lists (Kennedy, 2005).

A major influence in African American's disuse of professional services might be the fact that since they have fewer financial resources than whites in their same income bracket, the cost sharing associated with private insurance is much more of a burden to African Americans than it is to whites (Kriegner, 2000). African Americans are more likely to be covered by Medicaid and other publicly funded insurance and twice as likely to be uninsured than white Americans. Additionally, an unreasonable percentage of African Americans work jobs that do not provide health insurance (Smedley et al., 2003). These elements contribute to the diminished use of qualified mental health professionals and services.

A national study found that 35 percent of African Americans report that racism is a major problem in healthcare, compared to only 16 percent of whites; therefore, a large factor that contributes to African Americans nonuse of mental health care is that there is greater mistrust among patients as they have previously experienced racism and mistreatment via the health care system which highly discourages the future use of professional mental health care (Diala et al., 2000). The perceived lack of quality care, the result of biased, incomplete or deficient treatment, may be attributed to the failures of providers to recognize sociocultural differences between African Americans' and white Americans' illness perception (Dana, 2002). Most deficiencies in interpretations of mental illnesses by African Americans is due to the unaligned cultural interpretations of associated symptoms with specific mental health diseases. Other factors have been linked to perceptual differences in African American's use of health care including, distrust in health care systems and knowledge of available resources (Copeland, 2005).

A quality patient-provider relationship is essential to achieving maximal outcome from a health care service, which includes patient satisfaction, adherence to guidelines, and positive health outcomes. As discussed previously, if these cultural differences are not recognized, discussed and reflected upon during treatment, the patient's outcome can severely suffer (Copeland, 2005). Specifically, language associated with specific cultures has a significant impact on how patients respond to health care services. If the language used by a provider is previewed as being disrespectful or incongruent with their culture, many patients will not return to treatment

or will resort to an alternate provider (Copeland et al, 2003). Not retaining the same healthcare provider can be detrimental to mental health as well since the specialist does not see any previous development in the patient. Alternatively, with a new mental health provider, the patient may retain/hold back any feelings/expressions due to experiences they might have had with their previous professional.

Looking to the future, some tactics have been suggested on how to close the inequity gap in mental health care use in certain ethnic populations. It is important with these programs suggested to discern between the cause of the low use of mental health services: inability to access it due to people having inadequate funds/insurance/transportation/locations of offices or because of peoples altered attitude towards professional health services due to experiences or cultured norms. One program developed suggests an arrangement that extends insurance coverage to the near-poor who need care and the implementation of quality improvement modules to be instituted in already existing mental health clinics in underprivileged urban communities (Wells et al., 2001).

Many future studies have been suggested to look at the simple issue of “how to get high-quality mental health services to Latino and African American persons?” Since it is difficult to determine, from a single interview, the extent to which a person has used services and what they have thought of their care each time, longitudinal studies should be conducted. These longitudinal studies should assess the specific factors that are most limiting in the long term which restrict utilization of healthcare, the key circumstances associated with help-seeking, as well as how to increase the reliability of services provided (Lopez, 2002). By identifying the certain matters involved in peoples underutilization of services, interventions can be formulated and developed which result in Latinos and African Americans having a greater change of showing improvement during treatment.

An intervention program for Latinos was developed, implemented and assessed in San Luis, Colorado and San Antonio, Texas to test the effectiveness of programs in improving the quality of care for depression in primary care facilities, and it proved to be quite successful. One part of the program involved administering medications and the other cognitive-behavioural therapy provided by psychotherapists. These interventions had significant effect on improving the treatment process, clinical outcome and some social outcomes, i.e. employment, for the individuals involved. The idea behind this intervention was that Latino’s make more use of their primary care services than mental health services and so by making the mental care accessible in a space where the persons were more comfortable, it increased their likeliness to use the mental health services. Training a small cohort of professionals already staffed at the primary care facilities in mental health care proved to be most beneficial for the Latino patients; by adjusting their regular primary care facilities’ professionals to treat more of their own needs, it worked within the patients previously defined comfort level. By further assessing whether interventions within existing services improves care for Latino patients, it will help researchers and care physicians identify specific ways in which services can be modified to provide the most benefit to patients (Wells, 2000). During development of these interventions, it is important to consider the cultural adaptations needed for each population being worked with to tailor the delivery of each service/specific treatment, i.e. cognitive-behavioural therapy or medicine distribution.

It is very important to study the health care disparities among different ethnic groups in America to be able to ensure equal access and utilization to health care for all individuals. As discussed, there are many social, economic and cultural differences between ethnicities that contribute to their underuse of mental health care. In the future, many intervention programs should be developed and studied to increase Latinos and African American’s use of mental health services.

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Cat Country: The Downward Spiral of a Civilization

ABSTRACT: *Cat Country*, a novel written by Lao She in 1932, focuses on the overall corruption within China during the early 20th century. The novel is categorized in the science-fiction/dystopian genre because of the eccentric outer-space setting as well as the Cat People—inhabitants of Mars who have cat heads and human bodies. Since Lao She draws on the parallels between the fictional Cat Country and his motherland through his use of incongruity and exaggeration, the novel can also be categorized as a satire. The novel targets the corruption within Cat Country's society, economy and politics; it is a criticism of China's lack of individualism, reliance on foreigners and drugs, flawed education system, overcrowded and unsanitary cities, and communism. Critics disagreed with Lao She's pessimistic, degrading view of China, stating that Lao She only wrote about the problems China was facing and not about the roots of the problems or the solutions. *Cat Country* still remains in an uncomfortable place in Chinese modern literature.

KEYWORDS: Satire, China, Cat Country, Lao She, Corruption, Communism

For decades, people have wondered about, or attempted to prove, the existence of other life forms within our universe. They ask themselves what if questions: What if life exists on other planets? What if there are aliens? What if those aliens live just like humans? The Chinese astronaut, also known as “Mr. Earth,” from Lao She's novel, *Cat Country*, makes an extraordinary discovery: life exists outside of Earth. He narrates his encounter with the Cat People, inhabitants of Mars who have human bodies and cat heads, and ends up befriend-ing one of the most powerful and richest people in Cat Country—Scorpion. During his stay, the astronaut learns more about Cat Country's people, language, religion, education, and government; however, he comes to the realization that the life he is witnessing on Mars is taking a turn for the worst, plummeting into a downward spiral. Categorized as a science fiction and dystopian novel, *Cat Country* can also be read as a satire. Lao She applies exaggeration and incongruity in *Cat Country* to depict the social, economic, and political corruption in China during the beginning of the twentieth century.

Known as one of the great writers of Chinese modern literature, Lao She wrote about the struggles and the challenges that people in China had to face during the early twentieth century. He was known to be an outsider, a non-conformist, and a “strong advocate of reforming education and politics” (Johnson). He wrote *Cat Country* when he returned to China after living abroad for nearly six years, and he published it in 1932. While teaching and writing in London, Lao She created disillusion for himself about his motherland, expecting China to flourish and become more developed by the time he came back. To his dismay, he witnessed the “political darkness, economic collapse, and natural disasters” of a dying nation, which led him to write “the most powerful and ‘bitterest’ novel in modern Chinese literary history” (Sheng 375).

To understand the satire behind *Cat Country*, one must understand the historical context. The novel was influenced by the events that occurred in China during the early 1900s: the abdication of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), the rise of the Chinese Communist Party, and the aftermath of the Opium Wars, leading to economic and political corruption (Raphals 73). *Cat Country* was published during the Republic Period (1912-1949), which was known to be the era of intellectual and political development. During that time, China was a nationalistic country, urging its people to put the country's needs before their own personal needs. Also, wars were taking place: there were fights among the warlords, military commanders who took over parts of China; protests from university students against the government; foreign invasions, most notably the Japanese, who took over China for a period of time until after World War II; and a civil war between the nationalists and the

communists. Ultimately, the communists took over China in 1949, and Mao Zedong became the ruler of the People's Republic of China ("Republican China"). Lao She wrote about aggressive landlords, rebellious students, marriage, prostitution, foreigners, military disasters, filthy cities, lack of morals, and lack of national pride (Sheng 374). Moreover, Lao She not only wrote about the corruption he witnessed first-hand, he also wrote about his prediction of the "terror and violence of the early Communist era and the chaos and brutality" that would eventually lead to his suicide in 1966 (Johnson).

Mr. Earth carefully observes the social corruption of Cat Country's society. One of the ways that the novel can be viewed as a satire is through the interpretation of She's portrayal of the Cat people as a metaphor for his attitude towards the Chinese. He generalizes Cat People as being indolent, cowardly, ignorant, and selfish. They are involved in polygamous marriages, and they heavily rely on drugs. Cat People are categorized as rich (emperor, warlords, politicians, soldiers) or poor (manual laborers, peddlers, teachers, principals), university graduates or non-university graduates, and conformists or non-conformists. But overall, the Cat People live in a bubble, refusing to take any initiative to change the way they run society or to uphold justice. They lack morals, sense of shame, confidence, and strength. According to Anfeng Sheng in his critique of the novel, he explains, "The loss of sensitivity, the lack of independent thinking, and the degeneration of life proper would lead inevitably to the extinction of the whole race" (378). Unlike the Cat People, Mr. Earth is fully aware of the country's decline and concludes that they will "bring about their own eventual destruction" (Raphals 81).

Nevertheless, Mr. Earth remains optimistic about the children; he thought that they would be the generation that will change the country for the better through their education system. However, he thought wrong because the children are filthy, immature, and uneducated, despite having an education system. Mr. Earth exaggerates his disbelief by claiming that he "saw the giant thumb of oblivion poised to crush the hopes of the Cat People...not one of them paid attention to the future of their race...all they cared about was their short-term happiness and convenience" (She 116). Students do not bother studying; they only "memorise a little of the new jargon, learn a few of the old people's crafty schemes, and then present themselves to the world as political geniuses" (161). School officials give out diplomas to the students on the first day of school, and teenagers dissect their teachers and principals for making them study and do schoolwork, which are examples of incongruity (118-119). Young Scorpion, Scorpion's son, explains to Mr. Earth about the history behind their educational system. Their "Graduate-the-First-Day Movement" allows Cat Country to have the highest number of university graduates on Mars. Students do not need to pay tuition, which saves them a lot of money, or earn a degree, which is not a required for the few jobs that the country has: teachers, officials, manual laborers, or peddlers (124-128). Earlier before, the education system was borrowed from abroad, but it was eventually abandoned after the government withdrew their budgets from educational institutions and the integrity of teachers were no longer considered valuable (Raphals 75). Mr. Earth comprehends the fact that the amoral education system is turning the young generation into animals, and he loses any faith he has for the country's future.

While the Cat Country society is disintegrating into oblivion, economic corruption takes them one step closer towards the decline of civilization. Mr. Earth notices the Cat People's obsession with drugs, specifically with reverie leaves, which are the equivalent of the addictive drug in China called opium. Scorpion, an elite cat person that Mr. Earth befriends, is a landlord who owns reverie trees, in which the reverie leaves are known to be the country's "staple of staples" (She 31). The powerful elite—"politicians, military officers, poets, and landlords all rolled into one"—is expected to plant and protect the trees. Otherwise, they lose their power. The landlords' soldiers, who are responsible for protecting the trees, are drug addicts and they often rob the reverie leaves. Because of this, the landlords appoint foreigners to guard the reverie forests (33). As the upper classes prevent robbers from taking their products, they rob and exploit "the peasants and poor city residents while they themselves [indulge] in a decadent and licentious life" (Sheng 376).

Along with drug reliance, foreigners contribute to the country's economic corruption. There is an exaggerated cat-saying that, "If a foreigner so much as coughs, five-hundred cat-troops will fall prostrate from fear" (She 75). The Cat People place foreigners on a high pedestal because they believe that foreigners are knowledge-

able, dominant, and respected. They put their trust on foreigners since they cannot trust themselves, especially when it comes to economic affairs. For instance, Scorpion and his soldiers exaggerate Mr. Earth's role of being the guardian of the reverie trees; he is also appointed to be "the direct representative of the Great Spirit" (She 57). By portraying Mr. Earth and other foreigners as "gods," Scorpion brainwashes his soldiers into thinking that they should be feared because foreigners have the rightful power to kill them if they continue to steal from the landlords. In fact, nearly everyone in Cat Country fears foreigners, and they refuse to quarrel with them since they see themselves as inferior weaklings. So foreigners are able to maintain their superior status as guardians, giving them the advantage of uniting with other foreigners in bullying the Cat People in order to "gain great profit without suffering the slightest loss" (69).

To get a better understanding of how the Cat People live, Mr. Earth visits Cat City, the capital of Cat Country, only to see a chaotic wasteland. They live in poor, unsanitary conditions. Mr. Earth exaggerates his description of the city by observing it to be "an immense open square with a row of houses down the middle, totally devoid of colour and utterly drowned in Cat People" (She 72). The city as a whole is filthy and foul smelling. Houses lack ventilation, light, windows, and doors; the Cat People have "tossed hygiene to the wind for the sake of security...a contagious disease...could sweep this entire city clean of all traces of life within a single week!" (79). Also, they do not have doctors and nourishing food. Although Cat City is one of the liveliest places that Mr. Earth has ever seen, the Cat People continue to be heedless of the wretched, poverty-stricken conditions that can assist in their downfall.

Lastly, Mr. Earth attempts to understand the history behind the political corruption in Cat Country. Within the cat society, people "make a commotion," meaning that people do certain things because everyone else is doing them. There is no sense of individualism; in ancient times, the emperor wanted the people to keep their opinions to themselves and to mind their own business. To fight back against the emperor, the Cat People created "brawls," or political parties, so they can have a say in government issues. However, the rich people who are involved in politics are ignorant of the corruption that is taking place in their country. They claim to be "for the country and for the common people," only to take money from the emperor as well as the common people (159-160). As a result, the poor become poorer and the rich become richer.

While the Cat People are involved with political brawls, completely ignoring the country's economy, Everybody Shareskysim came into existence. Everybody Shareskysim is a political theory that is very much similar to communism. It is the idea where "everyone lives for the sake of everyone else...everybody works, everybody's happy and everybody's secure. Society is a great machine and each individual is a part of the works" (She 156). The ideology advocates, "getting rid of everyone except honest-to-good peasants and workers," which meant killing off some Cat People. It also advocates, "allocating jobs on the basis of ability while at the same time equalizing compensation for all jobs," which requires a reconstruction of the country's economy and education system (162-163). Lao She then writes, "In the end the leader of the Everybody Shareskysim brawl became our next emperor!" referring to the rise of Mao Zedong and the beginning of the communist era (163-164).

Branching off of Everybody Shareskysim is another ideology called Uncle Karlskysim, which is essentially Marxism, the basis of communism: the belief of a classless society. Uncle Karl is one of the deities of Everybody Shareskysim, who is the equivalent of Karl Marx, a philosopher who came up with Marxism. Followers "burn incense and pray to Uncle Karl the Great, blithely oblivious to the fact that their Uncle Karl was one of the greatest enemies of superstition who ever lived" (She 197). Young Cat People, specifically university students, are under the influence of Uncle Karl. They support Uncle Karlskysim so much that they are willing to overthrow all authority—their emperor, fathers, and teachers—in order to obtain power and gain profit.

Rather than focusing on their education, students put most of their time and effort into politics. This creates an imbalance because the young Cat People need education in order to handle national affairs, and Lao She explains that "when they do achieve positions of power—even though they may genuinely want to save the country—they are so poorly educated that all they can do is stand back and stare at the things to be done like blank-eyed idiots." Mr. Earth finds out that the old Cat People were enthralled about the young Cat People's di-

lemma even though they are just as ignorant about politics. The young Cat People would seek advice from their elders and in return, the elders would implant their “wicked ideas” into the younger generation’s minds. In the long run, “the real directing power behind them has always remained in the hands of those wily old foxes” (161).

As for Cat Country’s reception, critics over time claimed that the novel is too pessimistic. When the novel was first published, it was “roundly criticized,” and many of the reviews seem to “reflect a lack of familiarity with satire and its inherent limitations.” Those reviews explain how the novel has underdeveloped characters or a flat plot (Johnson). Also, critics said that Lao She wrote an incorrect description about the political parties, “thus producing very bad social influences and wrong understanding of political parties, especially the Communist Party,” and She also “didn’t create any brighter, more positive images of revolutionists in his novel.” They mention that Lao She was betraying his home country by being “anti-Party and anti-people” (Sheng 383). In the novel, the author describes how the formation of political parties lead to “superficial change without any substantial reform” and how the revolutionary movements lead to violence. He emphasizes the fact that the Cat People’s lack of education correlates with the poor decisions they make for their country. Critics said that the novel failed to show the positive aspects of the political parties and the revolutions (Sheng 386-387).

Furthermore, critics not only dislike the lack of positivity on China’s political system, but also the lack of positivity on the Chinese national character. Lao She “criticized and anatomized the weaknesses in Chinese national character” through his description of the Cat People and their actions. Lao She does not put the blame on anyone for the Cat Country’s downfall other than the Cat People; they are the ones who are responsible for their own self-destruction. But critics claim that the novel only pointed out the problems, not the solutions. They said that Cat Country “did not put forward positive proposals and advice, because it found neither the roots of the problems nor a way out” (Sheng 385).

Lao She not only received bad reviews about his novel from critics, but also from himself. He said “he was dissatisfied with its balance of irony and humor, and specifically with the absence of the humor” (Raphals 76). He also said that he was unable “to find out a solution to the problems he criticized.” Overall, he considered Cat Country to be a failure, and the critics were influenced by Lao She’s self-degrading view (Sheng 382).

After Cat Country’s first publication in 1932, the novel was well received by its readers, and it was reprinted a few times from different publishers from 1933 to 1947 but afterwards, it was banned only in mainland China for thirty years because it created political problems within the new Communist society. No one in China discussed the novel during that time period in academic papers for nearly fifty years (Sheng 382). Eventually, Cat Country was republished in mainland China in 1976, at the end of the Cultural Revolution. However, it “continues to occupy an uncomfortable place in modern Chinese literature” (Johnson).

The world that Lao She lived in and the world that he created are nearly one and the same—they are both polluted by complete darkness. Lao She’s work “was a tragedy, not a melodrama with a happy ending,” yet it “charged with passion and power.” The “darkness” he captured—the controlling elite, society’s ignorance, and the country’s inability to build a secure foundation—“were meant to stimulate the muddleheaded people to action” (Sheng 385). He uses incongruity and exaggeration throughout Cat Country to satirize the social, economic, and political corruption in his motherland, right before she fell into the hands of the Communists. When people chose to not take any notice of their civilization’s downward spiral, Lao She chose to face it straight on, criticizing the country’s unwillingness to fix its weaknesses. His concern for human nature—the value and the integrity of an individual as well as the harmony among humans under one nation—encapsulates who Lao She is as a person, an intellectual, a writer, and a lover of his country.

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The Arte was a Social Institution that Helped Maintain Cultural Hegemony in Renaissance Venice

ABSTRACT: This essay explores how the Arte was a social institution that supported the culturally hegemonic dominance of the Venetian ruling class. Cultural hegemony is when the dominant group being discussed is not a nation that is exerting its power over other nations, but rather a specific class within a nation or society that exerts its dominance over other social classes within that same social system. I argue that the Arte helped maintain the dominance of the Venetian elite in two ways. The first way the Arte accomplished this was because the structure of the Arte as an institution serves to both placate and distract Venetian citizens from the fact they are an oppressed class. The system's ability to do this was coupled with the fact that Venetian citizens who participated in the Arte system believed they were more empowered than they actually were. This false belief worked to prevent Venetian citizens from attempting to gain more political rights. The second way the Arte helped maintain an unequal social order was because Venetian citizens who were Arte members both believed in, and strengthened, the ideals that normalized the inequality of the social system they were a part of.

KEYWORDS: Cultural Hegemony, Nobility, Social Order, Inequality, Myth of Venice

Introduction

Hegemony is defined as “the dominance of one group over another” and this dominance is often maintained by the hegemon “legitimizing norms and ideas” that keep it in power (Britannica). Cultural hegemony occurs when the dominating group is not a nation exerting its power over other nations but rather, a specific class within a nation or society that exerts its dominance over other social classes within that same social system (Lears, 1985, p. 568). In fifteenth and sixteenth Century Venice, the hegemon, or dominant social force in question, was the ruling Venetian noble class; it exerted its social dominance by oppressing the lower classes within Venetian society. This ruling class wielded its power and maintained its dominance by establishing ideals that normalized its elite status, and by creating social institutions that helped maintain the unequal social order it had created. The Arte was a social institution in Venetian society that helped Venetian elites maintain their culturally hegemonic dominance over the lower Venetian classes. As an institution, the Arte accomplished this by distracting Venetian citizens from the reality of their social situation, which made them complacent with their oppressed status. Additionally, the Arte contributed to ideals that legitimized the inequality present within the Venetian social system.

The Arte as a Means of Distracting Venetian Citizens from their Oppression

The Arte was a social institution that was comprised of numerous, independently operating organizations that were separated amongst professional lines and known as guilds. These organizations were made up of “all persons legally entitled to exercise a particular trade,” and each trade represented itself through its own guild (CP, 1992 p. 280). Within the Arte, there were two types of guilds: those that resembled labor unions, such as the guild of caulkers, masons and carpenters; and those that resembled trade associations in that they spoke for businessmen who were employers of labor. The first of these two types of guilds was much more common (Lane, 1973, 106). Each guild within the Arte functioned as an independently run quasi-governmental organization.

The guilds each internally regulated their specific craft or trade, held intra-guild elections, voted on issues affecting its livelihood, and sometimes even established a rudimentary social security system for its members.

The Arte made its members feel as though they had political control over their professional environment. One way that the Arte created this sense of political control amongst the craftsmen it was comprised of, was by allowing Arte members the ability to impose regulations within their specific guild. For example, in 1497 the Guild of the Charcoal bearers decreed, “Be it enacted and ordained that no porter may carry any basket of charcoal to the smiths in the parishes of San Salvatore and San Luca for [a payment of] less than 16 denari per basket; and whoever carries [charcoal] from the Ponte delle Ancore up to the Ponte dei Dadi must be paid 2 soldi [per basket]” (in CP, 1479/1992, p. 285). In this decree, the members of the charcoal guild were able to set pricing regulations that all charcoal bearers were to abide by, thereby making them akin to a governmental organization. Another example of a guild imposing internal regulations can be seen in 1539 when the guild of the boatmen of San Tomà declared that, “from henceforth the boatmen of the ferry station shall not be permitted to take more than four passengers when it is their turn at the ferry, and if they have accepted more than four they must immediately surrender the additional passengers to the boatman whose turn comes next” (in CP, 1539/1992, p. 286). Again, by imposing this regulation the guild of the Boatmen of San Toma was able to act as a quasi-governmental organization, and its members could feel as though they were authorizing change and participating in a political process.

Another way the Arte generated a false sense of political participation amongst its members was by staging voting session, much in the same way that Venetian nobles who had actual political power did. An example of Arte members voting to settle internal disputes over regulatory policy occurred in 1446 when the mercers’ guild voted. The rulebook of the mercers recorded that “said decree was passed in our chapter, they’re being fifty-three persons present. Fifty-one voted in favour and two against, in the church of San Giuliano” (in CP, 1446/1992, p. 285). Another example of Arte members voting to resolve internal matter was noted in the *Mariegola*, or rulebook of the bakers, on September nineteenth 1543. Then, “there were fourteen votes in its favour and one against, and the decree was passed” (in CP, 1543/1992, p. 289). The ability of the Arte members to vote on matters regarding their livelihood went a long way towards making them feel invested in their state and as though they had a substantive role in governing themselves.

Yet another way the Arte fostered a sense of involvement in the political process amongst its members was by creating social security systems. In 1446, the Charcoal Beaters Guild created a rudimentary social security system. In this instance, the guild decided that they “wish[ed] and ordain[ed] that, should any of [their] porters be ill and unable to work, the said porters shall be obliged to give him as alms 20 soldi every Saturday, the money to be taken from their earnings” (in CP, 1479/1992, p.285). Another example of an Arte guild establishing a social security system was when, in 1539, the guild of the Boatmen of San Tomà decreed that “When any of our brothers falls ill and cannot row his boat, the sick man shall, after four days of not being able to come and row, be entitled to send a man with his boat to the ferry until such time as he is cured of his illness, so that he can continue to work at the ferry” (in CP, 1539/1992, p. 287). The ability of Arte members to establish their own social safety nets made them more invested in the state and contributed towards their sense of ability to enact political change. They were, in a way, taking charge of their circumstances and creating observable rules that applied to themselves and their fellow guild members.

Venetian Citizens’ Lack of Control over the Arte

Even though guild members had the ability to vote and impose regulations, which makes it seem like they were helping to make important decisions, in actuality they had very little real power. The Arte did a good job of creating the illusion that its members had control over the affairs of their trade, however the Arte was thoroughly regulated and controlled by the Venetian state. The position of the Arte as subordinate to the state was a situation that was unique to Venice. Craftsmen guilds in other parts of Italy served the interests of their members, and had the power to conflict with the government, but that was not the case in Venice (Lane, 1973,

p.104). This is because Venice was a trade-driven city, and commerce was the chief concern of the Venetian government. The Venetian government was comprised entirely of the Venetian elite, and the government/elite strictly regulated trade and, unlike other States, did not tolerate any type of significant rival in that area. Therefore, any potential influence the trade and craft guilds within Venetian society might have had was stunted by the Venetian government as early as the 12th century (Lane, 1973, pp.104 -106).

The precedent of the *Arte* being controlled by the government began in the twelfth century and continued for centuries more. *Arte* was subordinate to the Venetian government magistracies and a large part of their function was to transmit the state's commands to the *Arte*'s members (CP, 1992, p. 281). This is further evidenced by the fact that the rulebooks of the individual guilds were not just to record regulations decided by the guild, but rather to house regulations imposed by the Venetian government. This phenomenon was recorded in 1419 by the Stonemasons' Guild. They wrote to the Venetian government explaining that "many of our laws made by yourselves [are] recorded in our statute book" (in CP, 1419/1992, p. 408). The "yourselves" in question referred to the Venetian government, and shows their deference to state authority, and how the *Arte* guilds were subordinate to the government.

Another way the *Arte* was outranked by the Venetian government was because it was subject to strict governmental regulation, and it lacked the power to challenge any of them. As early as 1173, Doge Sebastiano Ziani ordered that, "some distinctive crafts were organized in the sense of being subject to a particular set of rules pertinent to their kind of work or trade" (Lane, 1973, p. 105). After he ordered the creation of the *Arte*, Doge Ziani placed three justices, known as the *Giustizieri*, in charge of enforcing, "standard weights and measures and to police markets general" (Lane, 1973, p. 105). Another kind of governmental regulation imposed upon the *Arte* came in the form of the *gastaldi*. The *gastaldi* were officials who had also been appointed by the doge, and their job was to make sure that the doge received the manual labor he annually demanded. This labor was provided by some of the trade groups, mainly those with skills applicable to military endeavors, such as shipwrights and ironsmiths (Lane, 1973, p. 105).

Not only was the *Arte* created and policed by the Venetian government, but the government also established an early precedent of undermining regulations passed by *Arte* guilds whenever the government felt the regulations might make a guild too powerful. An example of this occurred in 1219 when the justices appointed by the Venetian government made it clear to the tailor's guild in particular, and to other guilds implicitly, that any attempt at unilateral price-fixing and boycotts by guilds against consumers would not be allowed (Lane, 1973, pp. 105-106). The job of these doge-appointed justices was to protect the interests of Venetian consumers, and it was carried out at the expense of the *Arte*'s ability to gain influence or power as their response to the tailor guild's actions clearly evidenced. In response to the tailor guild's attempt to become more influential, the state instated a series of basic regulations that all guilds were forced to abide by (Lane 1973, pp. 105-106).

This exchange between early trade guilds and the Venetian government clearly shows that government was willing to let the *Arte* operate uninterrupted, so long as the regulations they established and the decisions they made were sufficiently inconsequential. This early interaction also clearly set a precedent of governmental supremacy over the *Arte* that lasted well into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By doing this, the government allowed the *Arte* members to maintain a façade of autonomy while clearly not allowing them to cross any lines into effecting substantial change or amassing noteworthy power.

In fact, the government controlled the institution of the *Arte* so tightly that before a guild could even form it needed to receive permission from the State. This is evidenced via a 1543 document in which members of the Bakers guild complained about how, "their honourable lordships the Heads of the Council of Ten granted to the German assistants authority to form a brotherhood" (in CP, 1543/1992, p. 287). This complaint makes it clear that the *Arte* members respected the necessity of governmental authority to form a guild, and that if they had any problems with another guild they must seek out the government to act as mediator.

It is also important to note that the ability of the *Arte* to decree regulation via vote still by no means placed them on equal footing with the senate. *Arte* decrees were allowed to stand so long as they did not offend

the government, and were only ever allowed to do so if they concerned totally inconsequential matters. The unimportance of guild votes can be seen by comparing the scale of participation between senatorial votes and the ones held within Arte guilds. In the 1518 election to the Council of Ten, Patrician Batista Erizo won his election by getting 810 votes in his favor. After him was Francesco Foscari with 665 votes in his favor and he was followed by Francesco Donado, who received 649 votes (LSW, 2008, p.17). When the number of people who participated in this votes is compared to the number of voters in the bakers' guild (14) and the mercers' guild (53), it becomes apparent that the larger number of voters in the Senate indicates the vastly greater importance of issues being decided in the government (in CP, 1543/1992, p. 289 and in CP, 1446/1992, p. 285).

A final example of the government's strict control over the Arte is illustrated in the Venetian government's handling of the 1581 mini-rebellion of the Arsenal worker's guild. The Arsenal was such an important aspect of the Venetian state that it was usually overseen by an Oversight a patrician board (LSW, p. 245), and its importance meant that when the arsenal workers tried to rebel the Venetian state reacted quickly, harshly, and without respect for the potential legitimacy of the complaint of the guild. It was documented that in 1581 "There was a strange incident, in that the Council of Ten had given orders that the arsenal craftsmen should not be registered that day, and all the said mariners went to protest to the Collegio and complain at the news... [and] when they left the Collegio one of them, whose name was Bongorolamo, shouted, 'There is nothing for it, brothers, but to go and plunder the public granary.' At these words they all made for the storehouse at St Mark's and began to rob it of flour with great force and fury..." (in CP, 1581/1992, p.288). The government found this unacceptable and quickly and brutally crushed the arsenal worker's small rebellion. "The Heads of the Ten and the Avogadori [di Comun] sent at once to arrest them and began to prepare charges" (in CP, 1581/1992, p. 289). And "On Wednesday morning Bongorolamo was hanged. That evening the sailors' brotherhood [Scuola delli Marinen] wanted to come and give him honourable burial. But they were forbidden to do so by the Heads of the Council of Ten, on pain of the gallows" (in CP, 1581/1992, p. 290). This incident shows how the Venetian government clearly maintained tight control over the Arte's guilds.

The Arte's Very Existence as Validation of the Ideology Supporting It

The very structure of the Arte institution helped maintain the inequality of its members within Venetian society. A perfect example of how the Venetian government used the structure of the Arte to maintain the unequal took place in a 1595 Senate decree issued by the Collegio della Militia da Mar. This decree outlined that the government was going to "summon before [it] individually each bailiff or head of each craft or Scuola (whatever his title may be), and give him a note of the exact number of men which his Scuola or craft is due to send to the fleet" (in CP, 1595/1992, p. 294). Here, the government exerted its will over the members of the Arte, but in the same decree it went on to distract from its dominance. The decree continued, saying "They must explain to him that, if the craftsmen themselves wish to choose men by lottery, or wish in some other way (for example, by offering the reward of a mastership) to find volunteers who are enrolled in the craft" they were welcome to (in CP, 1595/1992, p. 294). This line exemplifies the brilliant nature of the relationship between the Venetian government and the Arte. The Venetian government issued clear, non-negotiable demands, such as their request for compulsory labor, and then allowed the Arte members to decide the minutia of the situation. The Arte members were allowed to host meetings or hold votes to decide whom to send to the government. In doing so they felt as though they were making important decisions and participating in the political process, even though they really were not. Because they held that belief, they were more likely to docilely comply with the demands of the government.

More than just the structure of the Arte made the institution a supporter of the ruling class' culturally hegemonic dominance. The Arte's contribution to ideals that legitimized the unequal social structure also played a role. In fifteenth and sixteenth century Venice, the Myth of Venice was a well-known ideological concept that touted Venice as the most perfect city in the entire world, including the way that it was governed. The idea that Venice had the perfect government was one that many Venetian citizens internalized.

An example of a Venetian citizen who fully accepted the ideal that Venice had a perfect government was the Venetian humanist Lauro Quirini, who was not a member of the ruling class. Quirini issued a fervent defense of Venice's social order in response to a critique that was written by Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini. His response to Bracciolini's accusation that the Venetian nobles were oppressive and exploitative was an adamant defense of the Venetian social order. He contended that nobility is grounded in nature (King, 1986, p. 119) and then claimed that Bracciolini "employed such intemperate learning and such immoderate language especially against the noblest nations" and that the people of Venice are "the finest peoples, worthy republics, which both are and wish to be regarded as noble" (in King, /1986, p. 120). Quirini's response shows that he internalized the aspect of the Venetian myth that claimed Venice had the most perfect government, social order, and people, and Lauro Quirini was far from the only Venetian to have accepted those aspects of the Myth as true.

Evidence of a broader internalization of the aspects of the Venetian myth can be seen in Venetian citizens' refusal to support Hapsburg Emperor Maximilian (CP, 1992, p. 262). In 1511, Emperor Maximilian of Hapsburg appealed to the people of Venice to "take up arms against the aforesaid rulers in order to free you from this unbearable oppression" as he wished to free them from, "the ancient servitude in which you, the Venetian Populo, have lived for so long" (in CP, 1511/1992, p. 271). By refusing Maximilian's offer, the Venetian citizens were supporting their own government and showing through action that they did not find it unbearably oppressive or corrupt. Many of them truly believed their government to be the most perfect government in the world. Their rejection of Maximilian's offer proves that they certainly found their own government preferable to whatever possible governmental system Maximilian might have offered them.

The Arte was not merely a symptom of the myth of Venice, in fact, the Arte's very existence contributed to the Myth of Venice. It did so just by being a social institution that seemed to promote the general interests of everyday gentian citizens. Because of this illusion, it was an institution that then could be used to help propagate the aspects of the Venetian myth that claimed Venice had the fairest government in the entire world. This was a claim that humanist George Trebizond made around the year 1440 when he wrote that the Venetian government was so great that it had even managed to, "incorporate an element which resembles popular government; in fact, they give real power to the people" in their own governmental system (in Kraye, 1997, p. 130). The fact that the vast majority of Venetian citizens didn't actually have power seemed a negligible detail to Trebizond. He helped propagate the idea that the Venetian government gave power to the people. The fact that the only real power was actually held by an elite few was lost amongst the larger, false belief that all Venetians had a say in government. As with the institution of the Arte, people bought the lie that power was being distributed, and by doing so overlooked the fact that it wasn't.

Aspects of the ideology associated with the Venetian Myth helped maintain the culturally hegemonic dominance of the Venetian ruling elite, and the Arte additionally helped maintain the ruling class' dominance by helping strengthen the myth. Clearly, the Venetian Myth and the Arte had somewhat of a symbiotic relationship. The Arte as an institution served to strengthen the Myth of Venice because Venetian citizens were willing to participate in it, despite the fact that it did not grant them any real power. It should be remembered, however, that Venetian citizens were only willing to accept such hollow power because they falsely believed that the power and representation they were granted through the Arte was actually significant. The reason they thought the Arte gave them legitimate power was, in part, because an ideal propagated by their State claimed that it was, in fact, granting its average citizens power. The State was only effectively able to propagate this ideal because its citizens actively participated in institutions like the Arte, and this involvement gave credence to the ideals the state was attempting to disseminate.

Final Thoughts

The Arte was a social institution that reinforced the cultural hegemony present within Venetian society. The Arte did so in two ways. The first way was through its structure, which served to both placate and distract its members from the fact they were an oppressed class. The system's ability to do this was coupled with the fact that

Venetian citizens who participated in the Arte system believed they were more empowered than they actually were, which is what caused their complacency. The citizens simply lacked an awareness that they should not be content in their situation. This established, yet false, belief of their own empowerment served to prevent average Venetian citizens from attempting to gain more political rights. The second reason the Arte helped maintain an unequal social order was because the Venetian citizens who were Arte members both believed in and strengthened aspects of the Venetian myth that normalized the inequality of the social system they were a part of. These two actions clearly illustrate how the Arte helped maintain the culturally hegemonic dominance of the Venetian ruling elite.

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Morgan Danna

The Evolution of Entertainment: Analyzing the Explosion of Film in Britain during the Interwar Period

ABSTRACT: Film did not gain much popularity in Britain prior to the end of World War I, despite having been invented before the interwar period. In this paper, I analyze a number of factors that led to this drastic growth in the popularity of going to the movies during the years between World War I and World War II. These include, but are not limited to, the Americanization of the British film industry, the changes in social life that occurred between the wars, and the universality of cinema. By examining the impact of each of these factors on British society, the reasons behind this explosion of film in interwar Britain become quite apparent.

KEYWORDS: Interwar Period, Picture Palaces, Americanization, Censorship

The period in between World War I and World War II, known as the interwar period, was a time of change for Britain. One massive change was the explosion of cinema, especially fueled by the development of 'talking films' in 1928 (Johnson, 1994). Despite the invention of film previous to the interwar period, this particular entertainment medium really took off between the wars due to changes in social life, the universality of cinema, the invention of 'picture palaces,' the growing relationship with the already popular American film industry, and the idealized life introduced through the screen.

A Changing Society

Social life in interwar Britain took a turn first and foremost due to the changes in the work week that occurred during this time. The working week was reduced by a massive six hours, and the 48-hour work week was thus introduced (Johnson, 1994). This change initiated an increase in family leisure time, and cinema was a perfect way to fill it. Additionally, the average family size was decreasing, which meant that less money had to be spent on necessities like food, and there was more to be spent elsewhere (Johnson, 1994). A shift in common social activities was also fundamental to pushing people towards cinemas. During World War I, restrictions were made on drinking, and these continued into the interwar period (Johnson, 1994). Not only was beer typically watered down, but taxes on alcohol were increased (Johnson, 1994). These modifications pushed people away from pubs and towards other activities.

Regardless of age, class, or gender, individuals seeking entertainment were welcomed at the cinemas, making them immensely popular. Every social class went to the theater, although they often went to different show times from one another based on changing ticket prices throughout the day (James, 2011). The movies became so universal that even the unemployed found themselves at shows, typically showing up to cheap matinees (Johnson, 1994). Women, teenagers, and the working class found the movies particularly enticing (Johnson, 1994). It was usually frowned upon for women to spend their time in pubs without the presence of a man. Because of this, they had to seek out alternative forms of entertainment, and going to the cinema was a great option for them (Johnson, 1994). Additionally, many films being produced during this time showed carefree female characters who had power in their own lives, and women were eager to watch movies that illustrated these ideas (James, 2011). Meanwhile, teenagers went to shows to watch Hollywood actors perform. These actors and actresses were very influential, and because of this, teens often began to dress and act like their favorites (Johnson,

1994). Children could be found attending shows as well. Cinema clubs were created by most large cinema chains. These clubs occurred on Saturday mornings when it was hoped that children might still have some of their weekly pocket money to spend (Gardiner, 2010). Kids gathered for special showings of kid-friendly films. Some clubs only allowed in children over the age of seven, but others were open to all (Gardiner, 2010). These cinema clubs were so incredibly popular that by 1939 there were over 700 of them (Gardiner, 2010).

The middle-class was just as enthusiastic about movies as the working class, but they often approached cinema from a different perspective. The English middle-class “embraced cinema as an art form,” and thus became the first true film critics (Miskell, 2005). Rather than using the screen as an escape from a challenging reality, they were more likely to go to the cinema and then analyze the artistic properties of movies. As a result of the appearance of film critics and intellectuals in the 1920s, journals of film criticism began to be published, including *Cinema Quarterly* (Miskell, 2005). These publications allowed film to be integrated into even more aspects of society.

Film as a Political Tool

Another prominent social group that took advantage of cinema was politicians. Cinema vans became a popular way to get people to listen to speeches given by politicians (Gardiner, 2010). The vans would be driven around, and before a film was played inside politicians would give speeches to the audience that had gathered (Gardiner, 2010). Even the films they showed worked to their advantage. They often played cartoons with propaganda messages against their competition (Gardiner, 2010). Other citizens took advantage of the popularity of film in a similar manner, such as Worker’s Film and Photo League of 1934, who wanted to use cinema as a weapon for the class struggle (Gardiner, 2010). The universal influence of film was a huge reason why it became so widespread in Britain during the time period between the wars.

The Appeal of the Physical Cinema

The cinemas themselves were another reason that film-going increased. Pre-war cinemas were typically just small converted shops (Johnson, 1994). After the first World War, however, large decadent cinemas were constructed. These buildings were aptly termed ‘Picture Palaces’ (Gardiner, 2010). They could hold 1000-2000 people and often cost 50,000-100,000 pounds to build (Pugh, 2009). The cinemas were meant to exude wealth and luxury, and to make going to the movies seem like an extravagant and desirable event. These palaces were often created with a theme in mind. The themes included underwater, Egyptian, or Chinese temples, and encouraged individuals to go to multiple showings so that they could experience each of the various cinemas (Gardiner, 2010). There were also large cinema chains that would design all their theaters to look similar, therefore solidifying and branding their image. The Odeon chain of cinemas, for instance, founded by Oscar Deutsch, had modern, minimalistic exteriors (Johnson, 1994). By 1933, Deutsch owned 26 Odeon cinemas. Other large chains that dominated the industry included Gaumont British Picture Company, which was owned by the Ostrers family, and the Associated British Cinema (ABC) created by Scottish John Maxwell, who tried and failed to take over Odeon (Gardiner, 2010). These big companies increased the popularity of film because their competitive nature influenced them to create the most ambitious and impressive cinemas, the decadence of which drew viewers to them.

The Americanization of the British Film Industry

As more and more picture palaces popped up, there needed to be a steady flow of movies to fill them and Britain was not able to do this on its own. Even the most popular hit films could not keep audiences engaged for a very long time, and had to be replaced with something equally as exciting. One way that Britain kept up with the demand for new movies was by showing American films. Although cinema was already incredibly popular in 1930s Britain, there were four times as many cinemas in America at the time (Sedgwick, 2005). During this time period, Hollywood was cranking out an incredible 50 films per year, and this helped to fill the theaters in Brit-

ain, in fact, Hollywood films dominated British cinemas (Sedgwick, 2005). Part of the reason that people were so intrigued by American films was because of the actors that performed in them. As stars gained popularity, people were more likely to go see their films regardless of the storyline or genre of the feature (Sedgwick, 2005). Because American movies were so prevalent in Britain, American actors became very celebrated. The working class audiences particularly liked Charles Farrell and Jack Holt. These men typically were found in films like *The Last Parade*, that were centered around a prince-like main character rescuing a ‘damsel in distress’ (James, 2011). The middle class, on the other hand, was fond of George Bancroft and Gary Cooper, who tended to be financially and socially dominant male characters, as illustrated by Bancroft in *Rich Man’s Folly* (James, 2011). The United Kingdom did, of course, have its own stars including Gracie Fields, Ralph Lynn, and Leslie Howard, but they did not experience the international fame of actors from the United States (Sedgwick, 2005). The “Americanization” of the British film industry helped other British media as well. Writing about Hollywood and “the film industry, with its star system, created a whole new realm of human-interest stories” (Clarke 1997, p.116). Overall, Britain’s relationship with the American film industry played a huge part in increasing the popularity of film in Britain during the interwar period through the movies introduced to British cinemas, as well as through other forms of media that glorified these films, and the actors within them.

Escapism through Movies

The idealized life that was illustrated in films also motivated more people to go to the movies during the interwar period. Films acted as an escape from reality, especially for the working class. In fact, even during worker’s strikes when money was tight, the number of people going to cinemas stayed high (Johnson, 1994). Film was a way to forget the hardships of everyday life. Comedies especially were well liked because of their light-hearted nature (James, 2011). Working class women in particular felt a special bond with the actress Gracie Fields, whom they felt they could connect with (Johnson, 1994). Her film *Sing as We Go*, which illustrated her keeping her head up and singing as the factory she worked at closed down, was immensely popular (Gardiner, 2010).

Part of the reason that films showed such a perfect vision of life was because of censorship. In 1912, the British Board of Film Censors (BBFC) was created to make sure that films did not negatively influence the working class (Johnson, 1994). The BBFC attained its credibility by using important figures like retired military men or politicians as key members, including presidents or secretaries (Miskell, 2005). Films were extensively limited during this time. They were censored for having disrespectful references to the Bible, showing sexual immorality, birth control, brothels, and using bad language (Pugh, 2009). Additionally, there could not be any sign of industrial unhappiness or realistic representations of anything negative like strikes or crimes (Johnson, 1994). The massive power that cinema had made the Board realize that it could easily be influential, potentially in a negative way. They also thought that cinema was a good resource for keeping working class teenagers off the streets (Johnson, 1994). Because of this, the Board made sure that nothing was shown that might give citizens ideas about acting out violently. Although this may seem like an extreme form of government control, it was not necessarily disliked by the general public. Many, including the aforementioned film critics of the middle-class, felt that the BBFC was keeping “silly” and “vulgar” films off the screens so that well-crafted pieces of art could be shown in lieu of them (Miskell, 2005). In their opinion, cinema “achieved respectability” because of the restrictive nature of the Board (Miskell, 2005).

The growing popularity of cinema in interwar Britain certainly cannot be attributed to just one factor. Its position as a universal form of entertainment during a time when many families suddenly had more time and money on their hands was absolutely key. Additionally, the already well-established Hollywood film industry supplied Britain with a steady flow of movies including popular growing film stars that British individuals of all classes rushed to see. Their experiences were only heightened by the magnificence of picture palaces that made going to the cinema seem like a luxurious outing. Despite the ever-present censorship of the films being shown, the perfection of life established in the movies was enough to keep everyone, from six year olds, to the unemployed, rushing to the cinema.

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Samuel Song

Garden of Earthly Delights: Monsters of the Late Medieval Tradition

ABSTRACT: *Garden of Earthly Delights*, a triptych painted in 1504, is an undisputed masterpiece created by the Dutch painter, Hieronymus Bosch. Although the painting itself is masterful, this piece is intriguing because of more than just the artistic skill it exhibits. The historical context of the painting is enormously important in understanding its true meaning. In the late medieval era, the Great Papal Schism occurred, signaling a decline in the authoritative church. Along with this change came a shifting tendency in Christian art in which biblical narratives were reimagined. These works often included monstrous beings that illustrated concern about the state of humanity under the power of the church. *Garden of Earthly Delights* is an example of just such a piece. The detailed depictions of monsters and other fantastic creatures act as a way for Bosch to voice his own doubts about the church's authority, mirroring the concerns of many others at the time of its creation.

KEYWORDS: Great Papal Schism, Hieronymus Bosch, Christianity, medieval art

Introduction

Garden of Earthly Delights was created by Dutch painter Hieronymus Bosch in 1504 and is one of the most famous and ambitious works of the late medieval era, famous for its imaginative creatures and their intertwined symbolic meanings. Standing at over seven feet tall by nearly thirteen feet wide, it is a triptych painted in oil on wood (Bosch). The central panel is a large square hinged with one narrower rectangular panel on either side; together, the three panels can fold the painting open and closed at convenience. The two outer wings, when folded together, portray the world on its third day of creation, an uninhabited Earth is composed only of rock, water, and plants, contrasting with the populous images of lustful humans interacting with God's imaginative creations in the inner three panels. The inner left panel depicts the moment in the Garden of Eden when God introduces Eve to Adam. The inner central panel, the centerpiece of the triptych, is a panorama of nude humans intermingling with monsters and other fantastical creatures in a picturesque setting, while the right panel presents a nightmarish hellscape of dark torment and damnation. This is a common characteristic of Bosch's work, in which he juxtaposes contrasting settings to "draw on older traditions while developing radically new ones" (Lynn 1009). Together, the three inner panels can read as a compelling linear narrative of past, present and future; creation, humanity, and hell.

What *Garden of Earthly Delights* is truly famous for are its elaborate details and innate symbolism that often reference to various biblical narratives and aspects of the contemporary medieval church. It is precisely this monstrous symbolism creates a scattered ambiguity in particular as to how a viewer can choose to interpret the grandiose presentation of the inner central panel. Art history scholars are divided as to whether it is reminiscent of a paradise lost or a moral warning of perilous overindulgence, but given the authoritative church's empirical decline in the late medieval era, known as the Great Papal Schism, the historical context of the painting suggests that Bosch intended it as a moral warning. Indeed, *Garden of Earthly Delights* represents a shifting tendency in Christian art in which biblical narratives are reimagined and infused with monsters to voice concerns about the state of humanity in the hands of the church. While monsters were once believed to reside beyond the bounds of human comprehension, they are now presented to reside within the roots of human temptation; once used by the church to instill faith, they are now used to voice doubts about the church's authority; furthermore, once having a presence within purely religious contexts, they become instrumental to discussing temporal matters on the state

of humanity.

Monsters: Dwellers amongst Humans

At the root of this major of shift in medieval perceptions of monsters is a reversal in an understanding of how they exist with relation to humans: while monsters were once believed to reside beyond the limits of human comprehension, they are now understood to rise from the dark depths of human temptation. Monsters throughout the medieval tradition were portrayed to “emblemize evil or serve an apotropaic function that would be appropriate within the House of God,” to be administrators of a supreme power above humans (Ambrose 99). No matter which power they serve, greater good or greater evil, they are imagined to be creatures that transcend bounds of human knowledge and comprehension, at times fascinating and at times horrific. In the context of medieval cartography, maps of oceans contained illustrations of monsters to “reflect an effort on the part of the cartographer to be accurate in the depiction of what lived in the sea” since it was the belief at the time that animals that lived on land had water-dwelling equivalents in the ocean (Waters). A unifying theme that emerges among medieval portrayals of monsters, and not simply in religious contexts, is that they are devices for hypothesizing what are unknown to humans but are believed to exist.

When portraying these unconjurable agents of a supreme being, artists of the medieval tradition are forced to draw inspiration from the natural world as they know it, to mix and match parts of various animals in an attempt to portray through visual medium how they can only imagine for them to appear, creatures with their “open mouths, wagging tongues, and contorted postures of the [figure]” (Ambrose 99). These are the monsters that will implement His judgment upon an individual’s death, whether it be to reside peaceably in heaven among the true wondrous beings of God’s creation or to be at the mercy of his most horrific creatures, condemned to an eternity of unimaginable torment and torture. Monsters in medieval Christian art have inevitably come to represent both humankind’s grandest visions of paradise and their greatest fears of damnation.

The monsters present in *Garden of Earthly Delight* display a similar range of innate and combined symbolisms, some of them fascinating and inspiring, some of them frightening and ghastly, with the slight twist that they are displayed amongst humans rather than separate from them. The inner left panel contains animals that are largely true to life with relatively few creative liberties, while the inner central and right panels far exceed the left in terms of imaginative portrayals of monsters and their relationship with humans. Despite the painting’s bright, fanciful colors and the appearance of a socially engaged atmosphere, various monsters of distinct meanings are scattered throughout the scene to represent the dangers of temptation and humankind’s capacity for sin, particularly in the procession of humans and animals in the central panel. For example, an enlarged goat, “a perennial symbol of lust since antiquity” carries several people on its back, an animal attributed with “lasciviousness and had phallic associations” (Struthers 7). Along with the goat, several other existent animals present in the central panel also symbolize lust, like the horse, deer, and bull, all of which humans ride upon in a circular procession of animals, an act that “[recalls] illustrations of witches riding enchanted beasts” (Tuttle 229). Furthermore, a “malignant” flying chimera in the background represents “witchcraft and demonology” (Tuttle 229). Laced everywhere within Bosch’s painting are creatures with that constantly entice humans with the temptation of bodily indulgence.

The central panel truly depicts as scholars describe it “a diabolical love garden presenting a pictorial demonstration of lust” (Tuttle 128). Symbols of other various sins, although in particular, lust, are scattered all over the central panel, while humans are depicted also to be engaging in activities associated with sin and over-indulgence, such as eating the fruit, caressing each other’s bodies, and leisurely idling. These nude human figures are unique in medieval art in that they are portrayed at great multitude, “hundreds of them frolicking without the least inhibition”, “in a semi-conscious state of enchantment, completely devoid of shame”, embracing this lifestyle that would easily be condemned in medieval times as sinful (Tuttle 129). The intermingling of humans with fantastical creatures and animals associated with sin creates a scene in which Bosch makes a statement that monsters live alongside humans’ capacity to sin. Bosch’s portrayal of monsters marks a distinct shift from fantas-

tical creatures representing the purely otherworldly to having roots in particularly sinful aspects of human life, particularly within the perils of bodily temptation. Given the format of the triptych as a linear narrative, a possible explanation for the presence of monsters in the central panel is that they linger as a consequence of the Original Sin, the setting of which is depicted in panel of creation on the left, further suggesting that Bosch intended to depict monsters as originating from human capacity for sin rather than an otherworldly realm. As a result of the Original Sin, humans are fated to forever live in the company of monsters that continue to wield irresistible power over them from the shadows of humanity's sins.

Monsters: The Transition from Faith to Doubt

Another trend in portrayals of monsters in late medieval art is that they have shifted from being employed as tools of the church to instill faith within lay people to becoming devices by which artists voice doubts about the church as the moral authority of humanity. Monsters in medieval art have taken kaleidoscopic forms through the years, with “remarkable artistic invention” so at liberty that they contrast from other traditional medieval art characterized by balance and proportion (Ambrose 95). From the perspective of the authoritative church, permitting these imaginative monsters within the spiritual spaces of the church served the purpose of intimidating lay people into reverence of God and his confounding powers of creation. These “monstrous mixtures offered one vehicle to negotiate the relationships between these two distinct social groups” in an era in which church office intensely sought control over lay people and their allegiances (Ambrose 99). The insertion of monsters within medieval Christian art ultimately fortified a prior established religious hierarchy in which reverence of God and the church was demanded from the lay people to preserve the preexisting order of societal power.

The use of monsters was effective because of its presentational strategies in education of medieval Christian doctrines and philosophies to a largely illiterate lay population. Depictions of monsters in various artistic mediums such as illuminated manuscripts, sculptures, and mosaics throughout church spaces “foster a participatory relationship of the viewer,” in which lay people were at times invited and at others coerced to use their imaginations to envision a supreme being with acclaimed powers of creation so great that He can bring these fabled horrific beings in art to life (Ambrose 99). It is further acknowledged that these monsters served as “antitypes to approved behavior,” moral warnings against sinful lifestyles that disobey the mandates of God (Ambrose 100). For a largely uneducated population, visual mediums were the most efficient method for spreading knowledge of the medieval Christian doctrine and restricting them from access to significant religious texts from which the church drew its power. These boundaries that defined the church's authority over laity is its advantage of literacy, as justified by “the fact that monks were avid readers and writers of verse” (Ambrose 99). The customary portrayal of monsters in medieval art can thereby be interpreted as reinforcement of an already present church hierarchy kept in place to ensure that offices of power remain in operation while continuing to exercise control over day to day lives of the laity.

In this sense, traditional depictions of monsters align with how Bosch implements them in *Garden of Earthly Delights*, but the distinguishing differences lie in who takes ownership of the artwork and what fears are expressed through these portrayals of monsters. The early medieval artist did not take ownership for his or her work; “he has left...no biographies, no theoretical treatises, and no critical works,” for the occupation of the artist who created work for the church was not respected at the time (Guilmain 33). Instead, the church took ownership of the work and displayed it in its spaces of worship for the aforementioned purposes of manipulating the loyalties of the laity. Within the anonymity of early medieval artistic ownership, the church established monsters as vehicles to bolster faith in God and submission to the church as an administrative institution of His word. Centuries later in the late medieval ages, Bosch was able to escape the church's automatic possession of his artwork when earlier artists “especially Pieter Brueghel the Elder...secularized many of Bosch's concepts” bridging the transition between the end of the Middle Ages and the start of the sixteenth century (“An Etching after Hieronymous Bosch” 41). Thus, Bosch was first able to take proper ownership of his work while early medieval artists did not share the same privilege.

Because *Garden of Earthly Delights* is freed of the obligation to preach the doctrine of church authority, Bosch is furthermore able to tailor various biblical references within his work and weave various unique symbolisms to formulate his own message. Bosch was among the earliest wave of artists to implement religious and biblical motifs for a secular audience. Both early and medieval artists portray monsters as moral warnings of sorts, but their differences lie in whether these artists were able to claim ownership of their work and whether they were able to use this ownership to craft religious symbolism to communicate what they will. While early medieval artists portrayed monsters with the intention of solidifying laity faith to God and church control, late medieval artists like Bosch were able to portray monsters with a secular twist to voice concerns for the state of humanity. Moreover, given Bosch's ironic and satirical implementation of many religious motifs for sin, especially the central panel of *Garden of Earthly Delights*, Bosch manipulates biblical symbolism to criticize and voice doubts about the church as the moral authority of the lay population. Doubt of the church as expressed by *Garden of Earthly Delights* aligns with the ongoing gradual decline of papal power in the late Middle Ages that led to the weakening of the church's reputation and credibility. Bosch's depiction of fantastical creatures in his work with the intention of conveying religious doubt marks a drastic shift in how monsters have traditionally been employed for strengthening faith in God and the church's reign of control over the allegiances of the laity.

Monsters: The Divide between Church and the State of Humanity

Finally, beyond matters of the church, monsters have left purely religious contexts and trickled into discussions on the state of humanity. While monsters have evolved through the medieval era to embody human capacity for sin and to express doubts about the church's competency as moral authority of humanity, it is also true that monsters' scope of existence has spread from religious matters into secular matters as well, especially pertaining to the perils of life's temptations. Because *Garden of Earthly Delights* contains material sensitive to the positive portrayal of the church, it was not intended to be displayed in a place of worship, a striking difference between Bosch's painting and earlier Christian artwork of monsters and the supernatural. Instead, it was displayed as decoration in the House of Nassau, the town palace of the Counts, in Brussels, Belgium, an area of residence with great bustle, visited often by various heads of state and leading court officials (Belting 71). As a standalone artwork, the triptych is quite striking, since Bosch's decorative style aimed to "[challenge] the additive nature of the triptych by imposing greater unity on the whole", choosing to link the separate panels, both interior and exterior, thematically and conceptually (Lynn 1012). Because the painting is displayed with such distinction, scholars can infer it was commissioned by a wealthy patron; it was known among Brussels's most important office holders as the "strawberry painting", referencing the fruit tree in the center panel that shelters various nude figures (Belting 71).

To reiterate a prior discussion of symbolisms within *Garden of Earthly Delights*, Bosch was careful to scatter throughout his painting numerous creatures with symbolism tied to looming temptations of sin, particularly lust. These creatures' connotations all originate from biblical tales of the Christian tradition, so already exist within a religious context. To further drive an exploration of depictions of monsters and their multitude of meanings, it is worth examining how these monsters, although originating from the Christian religion, have been reimagined by Bosch to further comment on the state of humans to make comments on humanity as a whole, outside the influence of religious doctrine. Bosch's aim to use the presence of monsters to make observations and commentary on human nature without the intention of paying laudatory worship to God is yet another indicator of the church's declining control over an artist's work and their wills to ponder temporal, secular matters.

The first piece of evidence that *Garden of Earthly Delights* is more concerned with the state of humanity over God's judgment are the throngs of nude human figures across the central and right panels of the triptych. Rather than demonstrating piety and a willingness to uphold the word and principles of a supreme power, their traditional role in early medieval art, they compose themselves leisurely, reminiscent of "illustrations of witches reveling in a state of satanic possession" (Tuttle 129). Indeed, the primary subjects of Bosch's painting are the

hundreds of humans dispersed across the landscapes, indulging their own merriment as they pleasure themselves and interact with the various mythical monsters in awe. Rather than being depicted as living pious lives according to the word of God, they are depicted to be carefree in disobeying his authority as Bosch colors his scenes with vibrant activity and social atmosphere.

To contrast with the artwork's primary concern with humanity, God, present only in the left panel as he conducts "the marriage of Adam and Eve", is drawn as a single man in a large painting crowded of humanoid figures made in his image (Tuttle 121). It is important to note that Bosch paints God only as a minor character in a work inspired by the scene of his momentous creation of humankind. God is absent from the central panel where the most debauchery occurs, and is not shown to have demonstrated grace, forgiveness, or compassion for these people as they are condemned to Hell in the right panel as they suffer eternal pain and torment. Even within the side panel where God is visible, his presence does not prevent the violent and sinister behaviors of other animals and monsters in the background, as "a repulsive three-headed bird on the bank is engaged in savage combat with two equally grotesque aquatic creatures," "a lion [kills] and is about to devour a deer", and "a horrible, bird-like monster is swallowing a frog while a cat struts away to the left holding a dead rat in its teeth" (Tuttle 119). The authority of God, as Bosch portrays, is either unable to or unwilling to stop humans, let alone animals, from indulging themselves and behaving selfishly, reinforcing Bosch's message of doubt about the true capabilities of the church or a higher existence to be able to salvage humans from losing themselves to life's temptations. It should be further noted that the left panel of the triptych, while inspired by the tale of Adam's and Eve's creation, "does not conform to the iconography of...the events from Genesis" (Tuttle 121). This departure from typical portrayals is indeed intentional, for "the monstrous creatures which abound in the left panel seem a first, clear, indication that Bosch did not expect it to be understood as a traditional depiction of the Garden of Eden" (Tuttle 120). Likewise, the central panel, while made in the image of a love garden of paradise, is not meant to be seen or interpreted as so. The human subjects of the central panel all cheerfully chase bodily pleasures in a land that is abandoned of a God, a God who is not present to lead these indulgent and unexposed humans to the enlightenment of a pious life. If Garden of Earthly Delights is indeed meant to be interpreted as a linear narrative, it is visible that His presence never has been altruistically transformative or corrective for the selfish and vicious behaviors of humans and monsters alike in the first place, and that He continues to neglect them as they suffer horrifying fates in the depths of Hell. Given the secular contexts of his painting and intended meanings, Bosch's satirical reversal of biblical motifs ultimately seems to express concern for the fate of humanity, acknowledging it as a species prone to lustful overindulgence, in a universe where God is absent and neglects to lead His creations to enlightenment when they are in need of guidance.

Conclusion

At first glance, Garden of Earthly Delights seems to be portraying a carefree paradise lost, but careful examination of its details and hidden meanings will reveal that its scenes actually communicate a moral warning against sinful lust. In addition to the contrast between the three moods of each of the three inner panels as well as the overall detailed artistry of a world in which humans and monsters cohabitate, it is a remarkable work of the late Middle Ages for its subtle yet effective reversal of traditional biblical motifs to convey a deteriorating faith in allegiance with God and the church as administrators of His word and the nuanced portrayal of the resulting existential crisis concerning the fate of humanity. Bosch implements this especially through his depiction of monsters and their innate symbolisms as visual representations of irresistible temptation, his greatest fears of an impending demise of humanity.

Garden of Earthly Delights is uniquely representative of the gradual shift in the use of monsters in medieval Christian art: monsters that were once revelatory testimonies of God's bewildering and otherworldly powers of creation have centuries later been portrayed to emerge from human capacities for sin. While they were once agents of the church to strengthen faith, monsters have become used by artists to indicate their doubts in church as the institution of moral authority. Furthermore, while monsters once existed solely within religious contexts,

they have spread their influence to help voice matters of secular concern, specifically the state of humanity. All these changes in artistic representation of monsters are indicative of the decline of power in the papacy due to the complications of the Great Papal Schism, and was reflected in Bosch's preference for portraying secular themes in his work through religious motifs as a commentary on rising societal doubts of the church's competencies. For centuries, monsters have confounded medieval artists as shocking entities of God's creation and the human imagination, as they continue to at times shroud and mystify and at others reveal and expose true facets of the human condition in relation to the world when humankind is confronted with conundrums of morality and temptation.

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The Agency of Goddesses in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

ABSTRACT: This paper examines two classical versions of the myth of the abduction of Persephone/Proserpina, the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and how these versions portray female power and agency through the central characters of Demeter/Ceres and Persephone/Proserpina. While Demeter overcomes her despair and anger and is able to challenge the patriarchal rule of Zeus and secure new honors for herself and her daughter, Ceres is subservient to her emotions and other male gods, and punishes the earth without mercy. Both Persephone and Proserpina lack agency to begin with and are at the whims of male aggression, however, while Proserpina remains voiceless and powerless throughout the myth, Persephone comes into her own as the fearsome Queen of the Underworld. Ultimately, Demeter and Persephone of the Greek Hymn to Demeter exercise more overall agency than Ceres and Proserpina of the Roman *Metamorphoses*, indicating a growing misogyny in the retelling of the myth.

KEYWORDS: : timê, agency, Ovid, Homer, misogyny

This paper examines the representation of female power and agency in the myth of the abduction of Persephone/Proserpina through comparing and contrasting the versions of the stories found in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and determining if one narrative can be considered more proto-feminist than the other. While there are a wealth of female characters in this myth to examine — Hecate and Metaneira in the Hymn and Cyane and Arethusa in the *Metamorphoses* — the primary focus is on the two goddesses central to the myth: Persephone and Demeter in the Hymn, and Proserpina and Ceres in the *Metamorphoses*. Different translations of these texts — Michael Crudden's and Helene P. Foley's translations of the Hymn, and Allen Mandelbaum's, Charles Martin's, Michael Simpson's, and A. E. Watts's translations of the *Metamorphoses* — are examined to see how different translations add to or detract from portrayals of the goddesses' respective agencies. In addition to close readings of translations of the Hymn and the *Metamorphoses*, outside perspectives on these works are incorporated to include other perspectives on the goddesses' power, including how the male figures in the story — primarily Zeus/Jupiter and Hades/Pluto — affect that power.

The plot points that this paper primarily focuses on are Persephone's/Proserpina's abduction, Demeter's/Ceres's reactions to and retaliation for the abduction, and the eating of the pomegranate seeds, as well as how the goddesses react to these events. In the Hymn, Demeter, while she despairs over Persephone's abduction, is also shown to be a cunning strategist who challenges the patriarchal reign of Zeus and deprives the gods of their worshippers, eventually succeeding in securing new honors for herself; in the *Metamorphoses*, Ceres cannot control her overpowering grief and unchecked wrath, and she punishes the earth without mercy until she discovers the truth. Where Ovid's Proserpina stays powerless and passive for the duration of her story, Persephone evolves from an innocent abducted virgin into the fearsome Queen of the Underworld with honors to match – and even surpass – her mother's. Ultimately, Demeter and Persephone of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter exercise more overall agency than Ceres and Proserpina of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

The Abduction

Though both are goddesses, the Persephone of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and the Proserpina of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are first introduced not as divine beings, but as innocent, carefree girls picking flowers

with their companions in an idyllic field. Neither are initially given names – in his article “The Rape of Persephone: A Greek Scenario of Women’s Initiation,” Bruce Lincoln points out that Persephone is referred to as *korē* (“maiden”) and Proserpina likewise is called *virgo* (“virgin”), and in this way, both texts place emphasis on their youthful nature and their readiness for marriage (224). The Hymn to Demeter especially accentuates this by calling the goddess *thalere* (“nubile” or “ripened”) and showing her playing alongside “deep-breasted” (*bathykolpos*) nymphs (224). Martin’s translation of the *Metamorphoses* highlights this with his description of Proserpina in a tunic – the garment of a child rather than the full-length *stola* of a woman – and tucking excess flowers into her bosom (V.61). However, Helene P. Foley observes in her commentary on her translation of the Hymn that these hints at Persephone’s/Proserpina’s budding sexuality are overshadowed by the emphasis on her maidenhood and innocence, making her abduction by Hades/Pluto seem all the more shocking in its violation of her agency (107).

The “collaborators” in the goddess’s abduction differ – in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Zeus is responsible for arranging Persephone’s “wedding” with Hades, and in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, it is Venus who urges her son Cupid to shoot Pluto with “Love’s hooked barb” – but both have similar overtly political motives (Mandelbaum 161). As Jenny Strauss Clay theorizes in her book *The Politics of Olympus: Form and Meaning in the Major Homeric Hymns*, Zeus’s goal is to “unite the Olympian and infernal realms” through marriage, and giving Hades Persephone – the only daughter of Zeus and Demeter and thus, an *epiklēros* (in ancient Athens, an heiress who could “not herself inherit, but transmit her paternal heritage by marriage to her closest relative”) – is the best way to accomplish this and to assure that Zeus’s power stays within his family (213). As Nanci DeBloois points out in her paper “Rape, Marriage, Or Death? Gender Perspectives In The Homeric Hymn To Demeter,” there are other echoes of ancient Greek marriage customs in the plotting of Persephone’s abduction, as neither Demeter’s nor Persephone’s consent is received – let alone required – to make the marriage legitimate and binding (248). As such, Clay argues, a feminist reading of the Hymn to Demeter paints a picture of Zeus’s political scheming “as an unfeeling exercise of paternal authority symptomatic of the male subjugation of the female” and Hades’s carrying out of the abduction as “the violent irruption of male sexuality onto the innocent female consciousness” (210).

Disturbingly, both versions of the abduction feature female involvement in engineering it and interrupting the agency of a fellow goddess. Venus’s conniving in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* is, like Zeus’s in the Hymn, largely motivated by a desire for power – “[W]hy give up on the dead,” she says to Cupid, “when we can expand our empire / into their realm?” (Martin V.537-8). What’s more, Proserpina is “bent on chastity,” and as the goddess of sexual desire, Venus is determined to not lose her influence over yet another goddess (Mandelbaum 161). In seeking to expand their power, both Zeus and Venus act through the god of the Underworld: Zeus by giving Hades permission to seize Persephone as his bride, and Venus by ordering Cupid to shoot Pluto with a gold-tipped arrow of love and fill him with desire for Ceres’s daughter. While downplayed, this female collaboration is also present in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter; Gaia grows a narcissus as “a snare for the maiden” (Crudden, line 9) and Athena and Artemis, named among Persephone’s companions, do not attempt to save her from Hades (425). Despite the power of these goddesses – Gaia is the Earth itself, and Athena and Artemis, like Persephone, are also maidens – they aid Zeus in his plotting and bend to the will of the divine patriarchy to impose upon the agency of another goddess, sacrificing their own agency in the process. Even though Venus has the agency to order Cupid to shoot Pluto with the gold-tipped arrow, Ovid demonstrates that she has few qualms about abusing it to gain power, even when it harms a fellow goddess; as such, what female agency the reader first sees is portrayed in an unflattering (and distinctly misogynistic) light.

Whether in the Hymn or in Ovid, the abduction of Persephone/Proserpina is sudden and forceful; Michael Simpson’s translation of the *Metamorphoses* highlights the startling rapidity of the event with a string of verbs in quick succession: “she was seen, loved, and raped by [Pluto]” (87). However, Foley notes that other translations of Ovid shy away from the bluntness of Simpson’s use of “rape,” preferring phrasing such as “seized,” “snatched,” or “suffering violence” (32). For the Hymn to Demeter, DeBloois and Lincoln explain that this ambiguity comes from the difficulty of translating the Greek *harpazein*, which “is used almost exclusively in archaic

Greek literature to mean the violent seizing and carrying off of someone or something,” usually during wartime pillaging (246, 225). For stolen objects, the implication of sexual assault is not there; however, DeBloois argues that “when the term is used to describe the seizing and carrying off of a person for sexual purposes, as is the case of Persephone by Hades, it is well justified” (251-2). Less ambiguous for Lincoln is the Greek *aekousan*, or, “unwilling,” which is used to describe Persephone at the moment of her abduction, stressing her plight and loss of power (225).

In both accounts of the abduction, Persephone/Proserpina calls out for help as Hades/Pluto spirits her away; in the Hymn to Demeter, she “utter[s] a piercing scream / In appeal to her father” (Crudden, lines 20-1), and in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, she attempts “[t]o reach her playmates with her piteous call – / Her mother too, her mother most of all!” (Watts 107). Both of these pleas, as linguistic scholar Deborah Beck notes, are examples of indirect speech and have no words; by restricting the goddess’s speech, both narratives deny her a voice and power of her own and demonstrate her helplessness in this situation (61-2). Her helplessness is highlighted by the fact that neither Ceres, who is far from the scene of the abduction, nor Zeus, who is sitting “apart... in a prayer-filled shrine, / And receiv[ing] the beautiful offerings made by mortal men” (Crudden, lines 28-9), respond to her cries for help.

In grief, Proserpina rips her tunic (a traditional sign of mourning), and the loss of the flowers she’d gathered in the garment makes her despair further; Ovid ascribes her tears to “her tender years and her childish simplicity” (Martin 566), but this image could also indicate the goddess’s figurative deflowering by her abductor. While the Persephone of the Hymn prays that she will be reunited with her mother and the other gods “so long as [she] gaze[s] on earth and starry heaven” (Foley, line 33), this hope cannot sustain her once she is taken into the Underworld. DeBloois views Persephone’s abduction as a symbolic death – she may be immortal, but her “marriage” to the god of the Underworld “places her in a world which is inhabited only by him and the Dead, and which is inaccessible to her goddess mother” (246). Not only is Demeter/Ceres losing her daughter to an unwanted marriage, she is losing her to death – but either way, they are separated for good.

In the depiction of Persephone’s/Proserpina’s abduction, the goddess is not presented as an empowered figure, but a victimized, innocent maiden caught up in the power plays of gods higher than her, and subtle narrative choices such as descriptions of her youthfulness and her purity, as well as her lack of direct speech, indicate her powerlessness. The reader does not see the goddess again until her fateful eating of the pomegranate seeds; the Hymn gives Persephone new agency, transforming her from a powerless maiden into a powerful goddess, but Ovid keeps Proserpina trapped and helpless, indicating the Hymn’s better portrayal of female agency and a more proto-feminist narrative. Until then, both the Hymn and Ovid turn to Demeter/Ceres, her frantic search for her daughter, and her retaliation.

Demeter’s Wrath

Upon Persephone’s disappearance, Demeter/Ceres wanders over the earth and the seas for days, frantically searching for her missing daughter with a torch in each hand. From here, the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* diverge; while Demeter discovers the truth of Persephone’s abduction and then, in Eleusis, plots to challenge the power of the gods in order to get her daughter back, the revelation of Persephone’s fate provokes uncontrolled anger and grief from Ceres, who then strikes the earth with famine indiscriminately. For Foley, these distinct reactions contribute to two very different portraits of the goddesses and how they exercise their agency: Demeter, the powerful and shrewd goddess who “challenges the patriarchal reign of Zeus and comes within a hair of entire success,” and Ceres, the wronged and mercurial mother willing to destroy indiscriminately to get her way, but who is ultimately dependent on Jupiter to get her daughter back (80).

After Hecate and Helios reveal the truth about Persephone’s abduction, an inconsolable and bitter Demeter withdraws from Olympus and, disguised as an old woman, wanders over the earth until she arrives at Eleusis and takes a position in the household of King Celeus and his wife Metaneira as a nursemaid to Demophoon, their young son. Yet, contrary to popular scholarly assumption, Clay argues that Demeter does not set aside her

grief over her daughter and her anger at Zeus while in Eleusis, but rather acts on them: not only to avenge herself on Zeus, but also to deprive the gods of their *timê*, the rightful honors conferred upon them by worship (225). Her first plan, to make Demophoon immortal, is a bold one – not only does she seek to cross the “strict lines of demarcation” dividing gods and humans, but by choosing Demophoon, a firstborn male child from a royal family, Demeter is directly challenging Zeus’s rule in a daring use of her agency (226).

However this boundary between immortals and mortals cannot be crossed, and this first plan fails after the interruption of Metaneira, fearing that the goddess is killing her son; an enraged Demeter then orders the Eleusinians to construct a temple to her and thus establish worship of her there in a speech that Beck identifies as another powerful speech act (66). When the temple is complete, Demeter puts her second, more grievous plan into motion: striking the earth with a severe famine. Scholar Roberto Nickel points out that due to the goddess’s singular power over agriculture and this shrewd exploitation of human weaknesses – and the gods’ weaknesses, for without human worship and offerings, the gods have no *timê* – this plan is much more successful (78). Had Zeus not taken notice and conceded to Demeter’s demand to have her daughter returned, the famine would have killed all humans and doomed the gods.

As Nickel notes, “the Hymn to Demeter is the only poem from the Greek oral tradition, besides the Iliad, whose narrative is structured around the story pattern of wrath, withdrawal, and return,” thus pointing to the importance of Demeter’s power and agency (60). Like the demigod hero Achilles, who refuses to fight alongside the Achaeans after Agamemnon deprives him of his “war-prize” Briseis and by refusing, allows his comrades to suffer grievous losses against the Trojans, Demeter also causes suffering amongst her fellow gods after her withdrawal following the abduction of Persephone. The departures of both the hero and the goddess result from loss of *timê*, and, following the rejection of offers of new *timê* by embassies to the withdrawn figure (the embassy of Odysseus, Ajax, and Phoenix to Achilles and the embassy of Iris and the other gods to Demeter), the return of the original *timê* – Briseis to Achilles and Persephone to Demeter – the well-being of the community is restored and all is reconciled (67). The similarity of Demeter’s arc to that of Achilles, the most famous Greek hero and greatest warrior of the Trojan War, points to not only the importance, but also the sheer power of Demeter: unusual for a woman in ancient Greece, even for a goddess.

However, there are no elements of the Iliad’s story pattern in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, save for Ceres’s *mênis*: overwhelming rage springing from the loss or violation of *timê*. Ovid highlights Ceres’s short temper in an episode where she punishes a boy who mocks her for her eagerness to assuage her thirst by turning him into a small spotted lizard before his mother, who is repaid for her kindness in giving Ceres something to drink. Ellen Handler Spitz argues in her paper “Mothers and Daughters: Ancient and Modern Myths” that in this event, Ceres is shown as a much more petulant and spiteful figure, a goddess who deals with her grief by lashing out and “reliv[ing] her own trauma in reverse by inflicting it on another woman” (413). Once she discovers Proserpina’s girdle floating on the surface of Cyane’s fountain, Ceres’s wrath, as told most vividly in Alan Mandelbaum’s translation of the *Metamorphoses*, leads her to take a drastic step further:

... She did not know as yet
 just where her daughter was, but she condemned
 all lands. She said they were ungrateful and
 unworthy of the gift of harvests she
 had given them – above all, Sicily,
 the place that showed the trace of the misdeed.
 And there, in Sicily, she – without pity –
 shattered the plows that turned the soil; her fury
 brought death to both the farmers and their cattle.
 She spoiled the seeds; she ordered the plowed fields
 to fail; she foiled the hope and trust of mortals. (165)

Unlike Demeter in the Hymn, who strikes the earth with famine with the aim of (literally) starving the gods of

their timê and thus forcing them to return her daughter to her, Ceres's actions do not constitute a plan, but a punishment. Knowing that Proserpina has been abducted, but not knowing where she is or who kidnapped her, Ceres rejects her domain of agriculture and lashes out at the lands and at humans for the simple fact that they were there, regardless of their lack of collaboration with Pluto, or even Venus and Cupid. This is not cunning, but simply cruel.

Once Arethusa reveals her daughter's fate, however, Ceres turns her anger and grief on Jupiter, going to him at once – “hair in disarray, face dark with despair, smoldering with hostility” (Simpson 90) – to demand that Pluto return Proserpina to her, saying that their daughter does not deserve a brigand and a rapist for a husband. Though Jupiter eventually relents to Ceres's demand, on the condition that Proserpina has not eaten food of the Underworld, he initially protests Ceres's claims that their daughter was even “abducted” in the first place. Jupiter refers to Pluto's actions as the result of “a lover's ardor, not an act of spite” and declares that Pluto, as lord of the Underworld and Jupiter's brother, is a more than fitting husband for Proserpina (Watts 111). Even though Jupiter does not collaborate with Pluto to plot Proserpina's abduction in the same way that Zeus and Hades do in the Hymn to Demeter, Spitz notes that the god still disturbingly shows “his own vicarious pleasure in colluding with the scene of sexual violence” and diminishing the agencies of both Ceres and Proserpina (413). Despite Ceres' importance as a goddess, she is still subordinate to Jupiter's rule and it is he, not her, that has a say in Proserpina's fate; however, Demeter directly undermines Zeus's authority and forces him to accede to her demands, showing that the goddess of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter has far greater power and agency than the goddess of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Persephone and the Pomegranate

When the narrative turns once again to Persephone/Proserpina, now the queen of the Underworld, and her consumption of the pomegranate seeds that will bind her to the Underworld, the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* diverge again. Where an unknowing Proserpina eats the seeds without intervention from Pluto, Persephone is given a single seed to eat by Hades after he promises her honors fitting of her new position. Whether Persephone eats the seed willingly or unwillingly is a mystery the poet does not unravel outright, but it is heavily implied that the goddess eats it knowing of the consequences. While the difference in events surrounding the goddess's fateful meal is not quite as drastic as those in Demeter's/Ceres's arc, these differences contribute to split character arcs for the abducted, powerless goddess: the continued passivity of Proserpina, and the newly-gained power and agency of Persephone.

Despite Arethusa's report to Ceres telling of Proserpina's position in the Underworld as Pluto's “all-powerful consort” (Martin V.679) and the “mistress of the world of shades” (Watts 110), Proserpina is still pictured as a silent, scared girl longing for the comfort of her mother. In Watts's translation, the young goddess is described as “homesick” and “apprehensive” (110), and Martin mentions that “grief and terror [are] still to be seen in her features” (V.677). Furthermore, Proserpina's innocence and naivety is stressed in this passage, as she is described as “guilelessly roaming” (Martin 709) the gardens of the Underworld and “unthinking” (Watts 111) when she plucks and eats seven seeds of the pomegranate. She does not know what this meal entails – certainly Pluto has not informed her of the binding effects of the food of the Underworld – but if she had, it's certain she would have abstained, considering her resistance to her abduction by and marriage to Pluto. Not only are pomegranates “associated with blood, death, fertility, and marriage” (in the ancient world, a bride eating food in her new husband's house indicated her acceptance of her new life with her husband), Foley notes that they are also considered an aphrodisiac (56). However, Ascalaphus, the son of an Underworld nymph, is aware of all this, and his denouncement keeps Proserpina from returning to her mother – another instance of male figures in mythology imposing on female agency. Like Ceres when faced with tragic circumstances, the “captive queen” (Watts 111) first grieves, and then takes sudden, heated revenge; as Ceres transformed the impertinent boy into a lizard, a raging Proserpina changes the unfortunate Ascalaphus into an owl, a “bringer of bitter auguries” (Mandelbaum 168). However, once Jupiter decrees that Proserpina will only spend half the year with Pluto, the goddess's

countenance instantly changes to one of childish happiness: “her expression lighten[s], and her face, which had seemed so gloomy, even to [Pluto], [shines] with joy” (Simpson 91). But despite her position in the Underworld, Proserpina is still powerless to change her situation at the end of her story – while Cyane and Ceres protest, Arethusa reports, and Jupiter bargains, Proserpina does not have any direct dialogue throughout Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, contributing to Ovid’s depiction of her as helpless, passive, and, quite literally, voiceless.

In contrast, in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Persephone gains agency in the wake of her abduction, gaining power and a voice of her own, as well as her name of Persephone. When she is abducted, she is *korē*, the unnamed maiden daughter of Demeter, but once in the underworld as Hades’s bride, she is referred to as *periphron* (“shrewd of thought” (Crudden, line 59)), indicating not only her change in identity, but also, as Foley suggests, her change in maturity (57). Hades, rather than inhibit her agency as he did when he abducted her, now seems to encourage her agency; upon Persephone’s impending departure, he promises her “rule over all living things on earth, honors among the gods, and vengeance against those who wrong her or fail to propitiate her with sacrifices and gifts” – promises which Foley notes are ones with great import (55). As the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, and as Hades’s wife and the Queen of the Underworld, Persephone will be able to link the three major domains of the ancient Greek cosmos as no other deity can; once Demeter establishes the Eleusini-an Mysteries, the religious cult to herself and her daughter centered in Eleusis, Foley points out that Persephone will also have authority over initiates into the Mysteries and will be able to fulfill the cult’s promises of ease in the afterlife (55). When she is in the Underworld, Persephone has power over the dead, and has the ability to punish and curse wrongdoers and those who refuse to give her the *timē* she is owed (Clay 252). As Hades’ wife, therefore, Persephone gains a great amount of *timē*, a shockingly large amount considering her lack of *timē* at the beginning of the Hymn.

In this light, the act of Hades giving the pomegranate seed to Persephone and sealing her fate as queen of the Underworld, which raises some questions of narrative reliability, now makes sense. Hades gives Persephone the pomegranate seed in secret, “stealthily passing it around her” (Foley, lines 372-3), but there is no mention of him forcing her to eat the seed and be bound to him until Persephone “confesses” what happened to Demeter: “he stealthily / put in my mouth a food honey-sweet, a pomegranate seed, / and compelled me against my will and by force to taste it” (411-3). Clay characterizes Persephone’s account of the eating of the seed as well as that of her abduction “charmingly verbose” and notes that while the goddess stresses her unwillingness, “she nowhere expresses anger at her abductor,” suggesting that Persephone, no longer the innocent child she once was, misrepresents the story intentionally (257). Foley supports this idea, but, in a more nuanced view of the situation, speculates that Persephone’s “gesture may be less the product of affection for her husband... than of a desire to please her mother” (130). While there is no denying that Persephone bends the truth, Foley’s interpretation of the goddess’s motives are likely accurate – after all, as a result of her becoming Hades’s wife and eating the seed, Persephone has wider authority and greater power than Demeter, despite being the younger goddess. However, Persephone’s speech is remarkable for more than her modified stories of abduction and consumption; for one, it is the longest speech in the Hymn – longer than Demeter’s, even – and it is also, as Beck notes, direct speech (72). Unlike in her abduction at the beginning of the Hymn, Persephone has a voice now and can tell her own story – whatever way she wishes to – and now, as a goddess in her own right, she will be heard.

Conclusion

The story of Persephone/Proserpina and Demeter/Ceres is one of the few stories in classical mythology focused on female relationships and female power, but between the two major accounts of the myth – the Greek Homeric Hymn to Demeter and the Roman *Metamorphoses* by Ovid – one account shows the goddesses exercising more agency than in the other. In the Hymn, Demeter, though mourning the loss of her daughter, is a calculating political player who challenges the patriarchal reign of Zeus and succeeds in securing new honors for herself as she nearly succeeds in depriving the other gods of their *timē*; in the *Metamorphoses*, Ceres cannot rein in her grief and wrath, and she devastates the earth because of it. Where Proserpina remains a passive, silent

“damsel in distress” throughout the *Metamorphoses*, unwilling yet acquiescent, Persephone evolves from an innocent and powerless maiden into the powerful and feared Queen of the Underworld with honors of her own. While the Greek account defies societal norms and expectations of restricted female agency, the Roman account reinforces them. This is not as much of a surprise once one takes into account Ovid’s body of work, which includes the *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*), unflatteringly (and aptly) referred to by Cambridge scholar Helen Morales in her book *Classical Mythology: A Very Short Introduction* as “the ultimate rapist’s charter” (88). In the first two books of this poem, Ovid uses mythological stories – such as the rapes of Io and Europa by Zeus and the rape of Sabine Women – to help illustrate his point that even the most resisting of women is susceptible to charm (“Persist and you’ll take even Penelope’s citadel,” he asserts) and secretly wishes to be seized by force (line 477). Persephone and Proserpina would certainly beg to differ.

In retelling the narrative of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter in his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid diminished the power of the two mighty goddesses revered by the Greek Eleusinian Mysteries – the mother who defied the gods themselves, and the daughter with power over life and the afterlife. To represent such goddesses as Demeter and Persephone as anything but powerful, as Ovid does, is misogynistic folly, and folly such as that needs to be corrected in future studies of women in classical mythology.

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