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Welcome

It is my pleasure to welcome you to the seventh issue of the Australian Academy of the Humanities' flagship publication, *Humanities Australia*, edited by Emeritus Professor Elizabeth Webby AM FAHA.

For almost fifty years, the Academy has been dedicated to advancing scholarship and promoting understanding of the humanities across our education and research sectors, and in the broader community. This publication is one of the ways in which we support excellence in the humanities and communicate the value of the humanities to the public.

Our Academy, one of Australia's four Learned Academies, comprises now close to six hundred Fellows: elected on the basis of the excellence and impact of their scholarship. They have been recognised for outstanding work in the disciplines of archaeology, art, Asian and European studies, classical and modern literature, cultural and communication studies, languages and linguistics, philosophy, musicology, history and religion. *Humanities Australia* draws on the ideas and inspiration of its Fellows and others in the community with interests in the humanities.

We hope you will enjoy the selection of essays, stories and poems presented here, which represent only a small portion of the range and quality of current research in the humanities in Australia.

JOHN FITZGERALD FAHA
President, Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2014–

Humanities Australia

Editor's Introduction

ELIZABETH WEBBY

Welcome to the 2016 edition of *Humanities Australia* which again aims to present a small sample of the outstanding research and writing being carried out by humanities scholars and arts practitioners in Australia and internationally. Several of the essays this year deal with interactions between the human and natural worlds, involving the hunting and collecting of animals and insects, across various times and cultures. Others deal with the hunting and collecting of information, whether in fifteenth-century Florence or contemporary Australia. This remains an essential part of humanities scholarship despite the vast difference between an illuminated manuscript and a computer database.

Those who attended the Academy's 2015 symposium at the University of Sydney had the pleasure of hearing the annual Academy Lecture given by Ian McNiven. 'The Ethnographic Echo: Archaeological Approaches to Writing Long-term Histories of Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Ritual Practices' outlines his ground-breaking study of midden mounds from the Torres Strait in the light of what he calls 'ritualised middening practices'. While archaeologists had previously interpreted Indigenous middens as little more than rubbish dumps, McNiven argues that the shrines, trumpet shell mounds and dugong bone mounds he examined had been carefully constructed and had ongoing cultural significance. As he concludes, 'Today, present generations of Goemulgal, young and old, can look upon these midden mounds and say with ancestral authority — this is who we *were*, this is who we *are*, and this is who we *will continue to be*.'

In marked contrast, Peta Tait's 'Dressing for War and Unnatural Poses: Human–Animal Acts at the Turn of the Twentieth Century' describes a cultural practice that thankfully has now almost died out — the training of wild animals for performance in circuses and other forms of popular entertainment. As she demonstrates, this was at its height in the early years of the twentieth century: 'Animals were caught up in a chain of economic transactions emblematic of a determination to exploit nature, often through force. Countless animals were hunted, trapped, transported and traded for profit to English, European and American menageries and zoos.' While wealthy hunters still go to Africa to shoot lions and other animals, this is increasingly condemned and certainly no longer justified on scientific grounds.

Some hundred years earlier, the advancement of science was also the justification for the extensive collecting of exotic insects described by Deirdre Coleman in 'Insect Itineraries: From Sierra Leone, West Africa to Sydney, New South Wales'. In this case, wealthy Englishmen were the collectors, employing men like Henry Smeathman to brave the dangers of hunting for insects in equatorial Africa. Smeathman sent specimens to entomologist Dru Drury for inclusion in his three-volume *Illustrations of Natural History.* After Drury's death in 1803, many of his insects

(above)
Academy Secretariat, Canberra, Australia.

COURTESY AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF THE HUMANITIES

were purchased by Alexander Macleay and brought with him to Sydney in 1826, where they remain in the University of Sydney's Macleay Museum. As Coleman concludes, 'That these insects, valuable in large part because of the risks of looking for them, would travel, in the end, within cabinets and across continents to Australia speaks to their high scientific, cultural and social meanings in the rarefied world of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collectors.'

In their 'Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici's Amazing Adventure', Nerida Newbigin and Kathleen Olive take us further back in time, to around 1450 when a Florentine goldsmith, Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici, 'began work on a *summa* of his readings in the form of an account of his journey to the Holy Land in the year 144–.' As the authors explain, this was a collection of a different kind, an illustrated manuscript bringing together information from various sources, dealing in turn with the history and geography of Florence, the journey from Florence to Alexandria in Egypt and the holy sites of Egypt, Sinai, and Palestine. In an amazing adventure of their own, Newbigin and Olive had the task of transforming the latter's PhD thesis on the manuscript into a two-volume edition to be presented to His Holiness Pope Francis on the occasion of his first official visit to Florence, on 10 November 2015.

This issue also features essays by two Fellows of the Academy who currently hold ARC Laureate Fellowships, larger research grants that allow for the undertaking of ambitious projects. In 'Simply a Hypothesis? Race and Ethnicity in the Global South', Warwick Anderson outlines the process by which he came to expand his earlier studies of the sciences of 'whiteness' in Australia into a 'historical inquiry into patterns of racial thought across settler societies of the southern hemisphere, a study comparative in method and style, transnational and inter-colonial in scope.' Funding for postdoctoral research associates enabled the identification and translation of archival material from southern hemisphere countries, written in French, Spanish, Portuguese and German as well as English, with the aim of transforming 'research in the history of science and racial thought, lending it southern inflections, sometimes an Australian accent'.

In his 'The Prosecution Project: Investigating the Criminal Trial in Australian History' Mark Finnane describes another ambitious Laureate project designed to ask: 'What happened to the criminal law after its introduction to Australia? How were its processes of prosecution and trial shaped by the colonial context? And what kind of legacy for contemporary criminal justice was left by those colonial transitions?' As with Anderson's project, a large team of researchers is involved, though in this case not all are academics. As well as providing access to digitised archival records of Australian criminal trials from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, the web portal built by Finnane's team allows people carrying out genealogical and other historical research to annotate material in the database.

It is a pleasure to also include here the recent Trendall Lecture given by a distinguished American academic, Carole E. Newlands, from the University of Colorado Boulder. 'Becoming a "Diva" in Imperial Rome: Ovid and the Problem of the "First Lady"' looks at the question of how it was possible for a mortal woman to become a Roman goddess. It examines 'the crisis in female representation occasioned by the novel emergence of women of power and influence … in Roman public life' under Augustus (31 BC–AD 14) and Tiberius (AD 14–AD 37), with a particular focus on the work of the poet Ovid.

We are again delighted to be able to feature work by two of Australia's leading writers. Michelle de Kretser's story 'Life with Sea Views' offers wry but also chilling glimpses into the troubled recent history of her birth country, Sri Lanka, anticipating some of the material in her prize-winning novel *Questions of Travel* (2012). David Malouf's two poems, from his most recent collection *Earth Hour* (2014), like much of the material in this issue, look at interactions between humans and the natural world. The title poem, indeed, concludes with an image of the 'midden, our green accommodating tomb'. ¶

ELIZABETH WEBBY AM FAHA,
Editor, Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2009–

» DAVID MALOUF

(above)

Cyanotype

PHOTO: LISA LAMPLEY <HTTPS://FLIC.KR/P/9NT6RA> CREATIVE COMMONS (CC BY 2.0) <CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/2.0/>

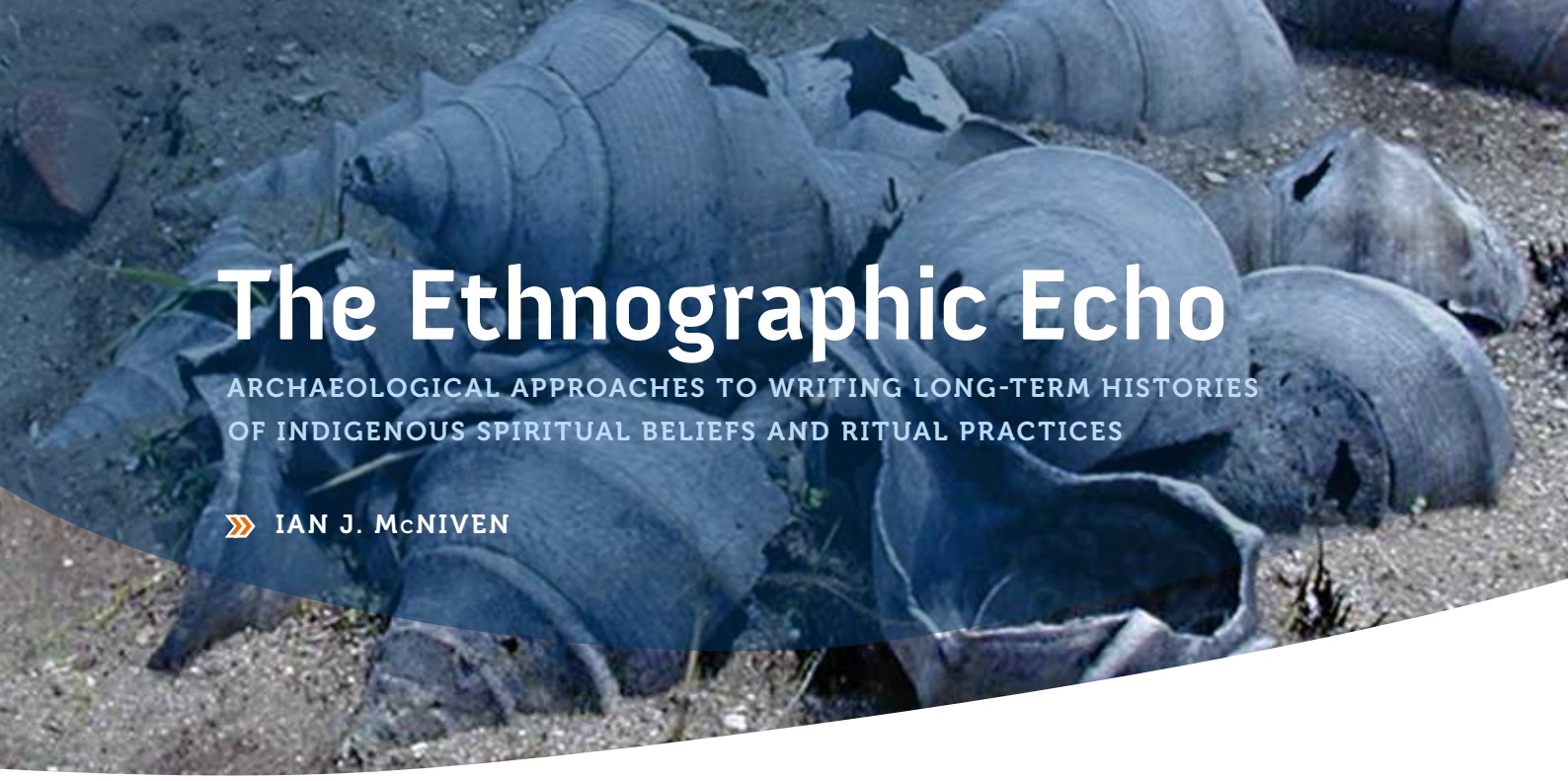
DAVID MALOUF AO FAHA is internationally recognised as one of the world's finest and most versatile contemporary writers. He has published many prize-winning novels, collections of poems, short stories and essays, as well as opera libretti and a play. In 2015 he became the *Australian Book Review*'s inaugural Laureate and in 2016 received the Australia Council Award for Lifetime Achievement in Literature.

PHOTO: © CONRAD DEL VILLAR

Earth Hour

It is on our hands, it is in our mouths at every breath, how not
remember? Called back
to nights when we were wildlife, before kindling
or kine, we sit behind moonlit
glass in our McMansions, cool
millions at rehearsal
here for our rendezvous each with his own
earth hour.

We are feral
at heart, unhouseled creatures. Mind
is the maker, mad for light, for enlightenment, this late admission
of darkness the cost, and the silence
on our tongue as we count the hour down — the coin we bring,
long hoarded just for this — the extended cry of our first coming
to this ambulant, airy
Schatzkammer and midden, our green accommodating tomb.



The Ethnographic Echo

ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO WRITING LONG-TERM HISTORIES OF INDIGENOUS SPIRITUAL BELIEFS AND RITUAL PRACTICES

» IAN J. McNIVEN

This paper explores the potential for Australian archaeology to comprehend the hidden complexities and constructed historical dimensions of the archaeological record of Indigenous Australians.[1] These constructed historical dimensions go to the core issue of how we not only write, but more fundamentally conceive of, the archaeological history of Indigenous Australians over the past 50,000 years. This concern leads me to ask the following question — Are there properties of archaeological sites that provide clues as to how Indigenous Australians in the ancient past both conceived of, and constructed notions of, historical and trans-generational time? I believe these properties do exist but in ways that require us to reconceptualise the archaeological record, move out of our comfort zone and enter worlds of object materiality, agency, and temporality very different to what we are familiar with in the West. Armed with the right theoretical frameworks, I also believe that archaeologists have the capacity to glimpse these properties and so bring us a little closer to understanding how unfamiliar peoples of the unfamiliar past lived their lives and historically constructed their world.[2] In essence, my approach calls for archaeologists to re-envisage many archaeological sites as deliberately historicised places and the intentionalised result of cumulative depositional practices that explicitly referenced past practices to structure future practices.[3] I will spend the rest of this paper attempting to justify these beliefs by focusing on the *ritualisation of life* in relation to one particular type of everyday occupation site type dominated by shellfish food remains and known by archaeologists as shell middens.[4] While in most cases, Australian Indigenous shell middens appear as layers of shell eroding from coastal sediments, across many parts of northern tropical Australia shell midden mounds are found which can be over 10 metres in height and contain thousands of tonnes of shells (fig. 1). Peter Hiscock notes that incremental accumulation of these mounds was regulated by seemingly enigmatic 'cultural rules' of shell discard.[5] My paper will more broadly conceptualise the ritualised and embedded historicity of these cultural rules in the context of midden mounds of Torres Strait in far northeast Australia and what I call 'ritualised middening practices'.

(above)
Detail of Fig. 9, p. 14

EDUCATION OF AN ARCHAEOLOGIST

My recognition and understanding of the long-term histories of 'ritualised middening practices' occurred after I was introduced to the ceremonial and ritual maritime world of Torres Strait Islanders in 1996. This came six years after my PhD which focused on the Aboriginal archaeology of the Fraser Island region of coastal southeast Queensland.[6]

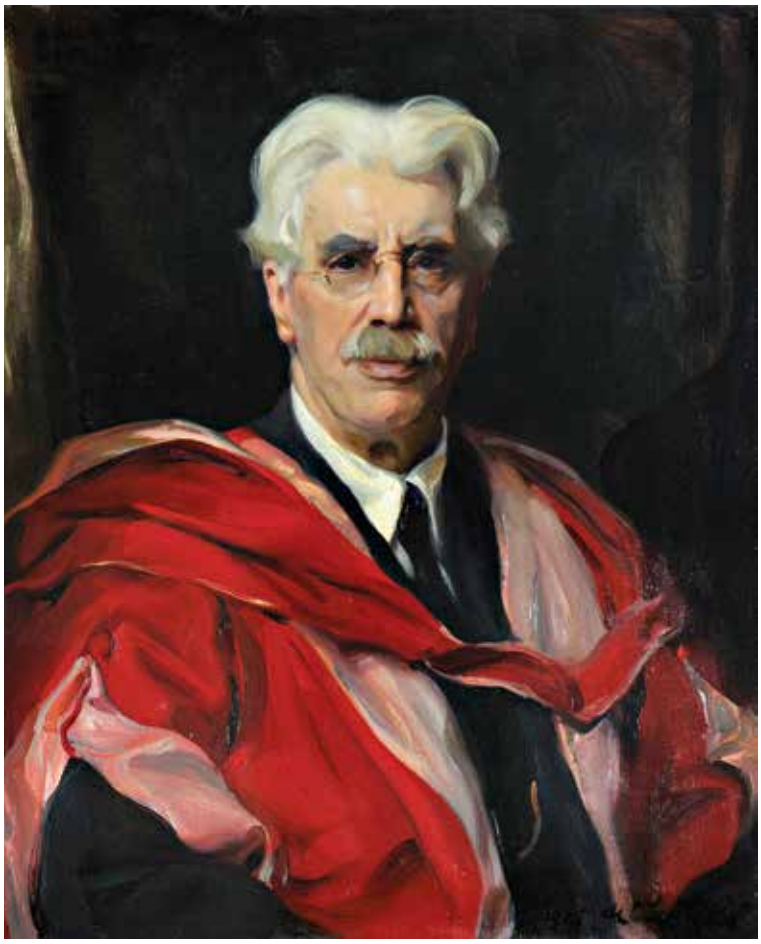
Following a 1980s undergraduate immersion in processualism and the scientific turn of what became known in the USA as the New Archaeology in the 1960s and '70s, my PhD research focused on shell middens and what they could tell me about the antiquity of regional subsistence practices and settlement patterns. My approach was in tune with what other coastal archaeologists were doing around Australia in the 1980s and what most Australian coastal archaeologists continue to focus on today.[7] But overseas, and particularly in the United Kingdom, the late '80s and early '90s saw a new post-processualist approach to archaeology spearheaded by people such as Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, and Chris Tilley.[8] Post-processualists re-conceptualised the place of objects and material culture from one of simply reflecting society to one of actively expressing, constituting, and generating society. No longer seen as passive, material culture and many archaeological sites were now seen as having been structured by agency, so that they were empowered, either intentionally or unintentionally, to act back to structure cultural practices. In this guise, the archaeological record is not so much a record, fossil repository, or representation of the consequences of past behaviours, but an active component and material dimension of behaviours with agency for ongoing engagement. A consequence of this re-conceptualisation was that ceremonial and ritual practices, relegated by processual archaeologists as epiphenomena and peripheral to the development of cultural laws of environmental adaptation, were now seen as being as important as the so-called core issues of subsistence and settlement. Although I was initially unconvinced by these early post-processual proclamations, my interest in anthropology and increasing interactions with Aboriginal people made me wonder if I was missing something in my approach to coastal archaeology.

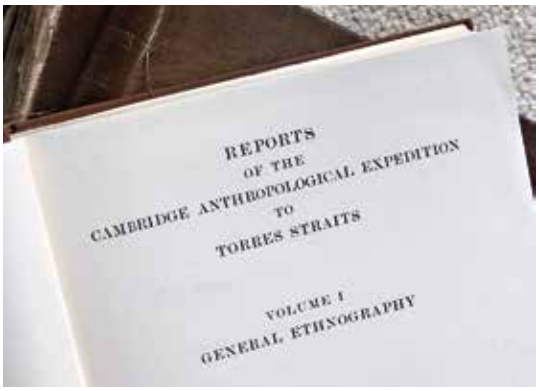
My approach to coastal archaeology and marine specialisation went through a paradigmatic shift after visiting Torres Strait at the invitation of two anthropologists — Judith Fitzpatrick, who specialised in Torres Strait Islander culture, and John Cordell, an expert on customary marine tenure and editor of the 1986 seminal text *A Sea of Small Boats*. Judith and John wanted me to work with them on a project, sponsored by the region's Island Coordinating Council, to document management issues associated with cultural heritage sites across the islands of Torres

(below)

Fig. 1. Aboriginal shell mound at Imbuorr, Weipa area of far north Queensland, dating to the past 3000 years.

COURTESY MICHAEL MORRISON





(above)

Fig. 2. Alfred C. Haddon, Reader in Ethnology, Cambridge University, aged 70. Painting by Philip Alexius de László, 1925.

BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE MASTER AND FELLOWS OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

(above right)

Fig. 3. The author's well-used copy of the *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits,* published 1901–35.

COURTESY IAN McNIVEN

Strait.[9] At the time, my knowledge of Torres Strait Islander culture and sites was pretty basic. Yet even in the early stages of my research into the region I was confronted with the fact that what I had come to understand as classic archaeological expressions of ancient coastal peoples — namely shell middens — was rather limited in terms of defining the specialised maritime culture of Torres Strait Islanders. Three domains of information were critical in this regard. First, Torres Strait Islanders have largely escaped the onslaught of colonialism and dispossession seen across much of Aboriginal Australia.[10] As such, they have continued to live on their ancestral islands and maintain their specialised maritime culture and identity, a process of cultural continuity recognised legally with successful native title claims across their islands and traditional sea territories. Here, a specialised maritime culture is not limited to archaeological inference but remains a living entity. On any day in Torres Strait you can see myriad expressions of maritime culture and identity, ranging from hunting of dugongs and turtles, fishing, and collection of shellfish, to singing, dancing, and representation of marine totems in linocut prints and on tombstones and sports clothing.[11]

Second, there are the six volumes and 2300 pages of the *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* assembled by Alfred Haddon and his team between 1901 and 1935 following fieldwork in 1888 and 1898 (figs 2–3).[12] These volumes represent the most detailed corpus of ethnographic information on a group of Indigenous Australians from the nineteenth century. Here the rich cultural lives of Torres Strait Islanders are laid out in graphic detail. I was particularly taken by the complex ceremonial and ritual dimensions of Torres Strait Islander culture documented by Haddon and his team, and people's spiritual relationship with the sea. I was intrigued to learn that many of these ceremonial and ritual dimensions involved physically-constructed sites such as shrines of shells and bones that would preserve archaeologically. Clearly, the specialised maritime culture of Torres Strait Islanders was not focused on shell middens as were the maritime cultures researched for my PhD. Indeed, I was somewhat dismayed by Haddon's dismissive comment on Torres Strait midden sites: 'Unfortunately, I was unable to discover anything concerning the archaeology of the Torres Straits Islands. I did not see any shell mounds, although I looked for such. I consider it improbable that much will ever be found to illustrate the former condition of the people.'[13]

The third domain of information that influenced my thinking related to previous archaeological research in Torres Strait. I learned that I was not the first archaeologist

in Torres Strait to be confronted by what in essence was the paradigmatic challenge of reconciling the then focus of Australian coastal archaeology on subsistence practices and midden sites with the vast array of ceremonial and ritual sites associated with marine subsistence specialisation presented by Haddon's ethnographic accounts. My predecessor was Barbara Ghaleb who, working under the supervision of David Harris of University College London, undertook PhD research on fish remains excavated from huge midden deposits associated with the ancestral village site of Goemu on Mabuyag Island, located in the central western part of Torres Strait.[14] Goemu middens were not your usual midden deposits. When Barbara Ghaleb and David Harris mapped the site in detail in 1985, they recorded midden deposit over an area of two hectares (fig. 4). Significantly, some 2 per cent of the village area featured around 100 discrete midden mounds. While most mounds were circular, a metre or two in diameter and less than 30 centimetres in height, a number of low linear mound features up to 35 metres in length were also present (fig. 5). Excavations by Ghaleb and Harris focused on the mounded middens, specifically circular midden Mound 87 and the linear mound complex located at the northern end of the village. Bottle glass at the base of Mound 87 suggested construction after European contact. Radiocarbon dating of the linear mounds suggested formation within the past 600 years. The mounded middens contained what would be considered typical midden materials for Torres Strait — shells, cooking stones, stone and shell artefacts, and bones of dugong, turtle, and fish.

Ghaleb had immersed herself in Haddon's Torres Strait volumes and was keenly aware of the rich ceremonial and ritual life of Torres Strait Islanders. Frustratingly, Haddon, who had himself visited Goemu village in 1898, made no mention of the midden mounds. Yet Ghaleb sensed that there was something, to use her phrase, — 'out of the ordinary' — about the mounded middens at Goemu.[15] She went on to state that 'it does not seem unreasonable to view (some of) the midden features … as representing loci of past ceremonial activity in addition to economic activities'[16] and concluded that 'it seems conceivable that many of the … discrete mounds may represent past "shrines" which symbolised some sort of power or magic'.[17] Ghaleb found it impossible to say anything more about the ceremonial nature of midden mounds at Goemu because she was, in a sense, in a theoretical no man's land: no other archaeologists in Australia or elsewhere had attempted to account for such 'out of the ordinary' midden mounding practices. Indeed, when I began my archaeological research in Torres Strait in 1996, the theoretical ground had developed little since Ghaleb completed her PhD. At the time, I did not pursue this theoretical issue as I had other immediate concerns. But ten years later I returned to Goemu to undertake my own set of excavations of midden mounds, armed with a new set of theoretical ideas that allowed me to make

(below)

Fig. 4. Southeast coast of Mabuyag Island and the ancestral village site of Goemu (centre), 2008.

COURTESY IAN McNIVEN

Fig. 5. Midden Mound 73, Goemu village, Mabuyag, 2008.

COURTESY IAN McNIVEN

(above)

Fig. 6. *Ubarau zogo* shrine for *wangai* fruits, Iama (Yam Island), central Torres Strait. Photo by Alfred Haddon, 1898, N.23057. ACH2.

COURTESY CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

fundamentally new insights into what I would term 'ritualised middening practices'.

First, I must describe how I gained an archaeological understanding of the ritualised middening practices of Torres Strait Islanders. This came about as a result of my unfolding realisation that not all food remains were discarded into domestic village midden deposits. For at least the past 400 years, certain bones and shells with robust materiality were kept separate and incorporated into specially-constructed ritual sites with constructed historical dimensions for long-term remembrance and engagement. These ritual sites fall into three categories — *zogo* shrines, trumpet shell arrangements, and dugong bone mounds.

ZOGO SHRINES

Throughout the six volumes of the Cambridge Anthropological Reports, Haddon makes numerous references to a class of ritual site known as *zogo*.[18] *Zogo* sites are small shrines mostly comprising clusters of large marine shells and stone cobbles, with occasional figurative stone carvings of anthropomorphic or zoomorphic form. *Zogo* shrines were typically associated with spiritual forces and beings, with specific shrines dedicated to specific types of activities such as increasing or decreasing garden productivity, either directly by controlling the production of specific crops (e.g. bananas, yams, and fruiting trees) or indirectly by controlling nourishing rains and crop pests such as rats. Other *zogo* shrines were associated with the capture of marine animals such as turtles and dugongs. While most *zogo* shrines were located on islands, some were also set up in the sea on coral reefs and were associated with wind-making, making fish fat, or ensuring an abundance of crayfish, giant clams, and spider shells. The shrines were

(right)

Fig. 7. Partly ripe *wangai* fruit, Burar islet, central Torres Strait, June 2014.

COURTESY DAVE FELL

engaged and activated on a situational, needs basis, by community members through ritual specialists (usually men) employing prayers, incantations, libations, and offerings.

My first introduction to *zogo* shrines beyond the pages of Haddon's volumes occurred in 1999 when I visited the community of Iama (Yam Island) in central Torres Strait. According to Haddon, on Iama was located a *zogo* shrine known as *Ubarau zogo* (fig. 6). Haddon was taken to this shrine by his friend and senior cultural advisor Maino, who informed him that the shrine was associated with ensuring the productivity of local *wangai* fruit trees. *Wangai* fruit was a critical food source for Central Islanders, especially towards the end of the dry season when freshwater and food sources became dangerously low (fig. 7). So *zogo* shrines associated with maintaining the productivity of *wangai* trees were serious business and critical to survival on the precarious sandy cays of central Torres Strait.[19]

One hundred and one years after Haddon's visit, I was taken to the *Ubarau zogo* shrine by a senior local woman who informed me that the site had been relocated by the community to avoid impact from recent airstrip redevelopment. The anthropomorphic stone figure with its distinctive head, eyes, and arms, clearly visible in Haddon's 1898 photograph, remains at the shrine, as do numerous edible reef shell species, including giant clam, trumpet, spider, and trochus shells, all available from the island's fringing reef.

A week after visiting *Ubarau zogo* I visited the community of Warraber, a sandy cay also located in central Torres Strait, approximately 35 kilometres south of Iama. Although Haddon did not visit Warraber, I was aware from more recent publications that the island also featured an important *zogo* site for *wangai* trees.[20] On the second day of my visit I was taken to the shrine. Although I could not see any stone figures at the shrine, it did include a number of granite cobbles. This *wangai zogo* shrine also featured a diverse array of hundreds of coral reef shells, including giant clams, trumpet, spider, baler, and trochus shells — all key marine foods and all incorporated into a ritual installation and not discarded into a midden deposit. While it was clear from Haddon's records that these shrines were well over 100 years old, more specific insights into their antiquity would require radiocarbon dating of shells. Because of cultural sensitivities, such dating has not yet taken place. This contrasts markedly with archaeological research undertaken on trumpet shell arrangements and dugong bone mounds across western Torres Strait.

(above)

Fig. 8. Participants in the death dance held at Pulu *kod* ceremonial site. Sketch by Alfred Haddon, from Alfred C. Haddon, 'The Secular and Ceremonial Dances of Torres Straits', *Internationales Archiv Für Ethnographie,* 6 (1893), 131–62.

(above)

Fig. 9. One of nine *bu* shell arrangements at the ceremonial *kod* site on the sacred islet of Pulu, western Torres Strait, 2001. Scales in 5 cm and 1 cm units. This shrine was made mostly in the nineteenth century.

COURTESY IAN McNIVEN

(above right)

Fig. 10. Thomas Mene (left) and Matthew Paipai (right) mapping a *bu* shell arrangement at the ceremonial *kod* site on the sacred islet of Pulu, western Torres Strait, 2001.

COURTESY IAN McNIVEN

TRUMPET SHELL ARRANGEMENTS

Large trumpet shells up 50 cm in length, known as *bu* across many parts of Torres Strait, were used by Torres Strait Islanders as a source of food and as trumpets.[21] Haddon observed on various islands that *bu* shells were gathered together into special arrangements at men's ceremonial areas known as *kod* sites. I was first introduced to this site type in 1996 when I was fortunate enough to be taken to the famous ceremonial *kod* site on the sacred islet of Pulu, located off the west coast of Mabuyag Island and literally around the corner from Goemu village. In 1898, Haddon was carefully escorted by senior members of each of the major totemic clans of Mabuyag to the sacred *kod* site. Haddon was informed that the most important ceremonies of the Goemulgal, the people of Mabuyag Island, were performed here until missionaries put an end to such practices in the 1870s. These ceremonies included boys' initiations, community mortuary ('death dance') ceremonies, turtle-hunting magic, war dances, and ritual preparation of skulls taken in headhunting raids (fig. 8). Apart from detailed notes, Haddon also made drawings of the *kod* site and photographed its numerous ritual installations, including rock art, to create the most comprehensive archive of ethnographic recordings for any nineteenth-century Indigenous ceremonial site in Australia.[22]

Key among these recorded ritual installations were a series of *bu* shell arrangements (fig. 9). Remarkably, within minutes of arriving at the *kod* site in 1996, it was clear to me that very little had changed since Haddon's visit in 1898.

The two best documented *bu* shell arrangements were described by Haddon as 'shrines' and called Koey Math and Moegi Math. In local language, *koey* means 'big' and *moegi* 'small', references to the two major moieties and associated clan groupings of the Goemulgal people. Immediately it is clear that these shells, that biographically have already been food and then trumpets, were incorporated into shrines representing the dual social organisational structure of the community. But the shrines also had another purpose: it was here that men made the woven baskets into which skulls taken in headhunting raids were placed and housed in the nearby sacred skull cave. Other *bu* shell arrangements at the *kod* site also occur in pairs and appear to similarly reference the dual moiety system of the Goemulgal.

So how old are these *bu* shell shrines at the Pulu *kod*? In 2001 I teamed up with the Goemulgal community, along with archaeologist Bruno David and anthropologist Judith Fitzpatrick, to undertake a detailed archaeological assessment of the form and age of various features of the *kod* site and to determine when this community ceremonial

complex was established (fig. 10). Small, naturally dislodged, fragments of nineteen *bu* shells from seven *bu* shell arrangements were sent off for radiocarbon dating. Results indicate that, overall, the *bu* shells continuously span the past 400 years from the 1600s through to the 1800s. Significantly, most *bu* shell arrangements had a range of dates, revealing that each shrine was not constructed in one go but was continuously added to over one or two centuries. Thus, while some shrines were dated to the 1600–1700s, others dated to the 1700–1800s. In this sense, the shrines were always a 'work in progress', slowly growing as different generations of Goemulgal added new *bu* shells. Just as the Goemulgal community was always a work in progress, with each generation of community leaders holding communal ceremonies to help maintain community solidarity and identity, so too the *bu* shell shrines had ever-emergent historical properties. As such, I would argue that the *bu* shell arrangements were not simply a 'representation' of the Goemulgal dual moiety system, but indeed an integral part of its ongoing historical 'expression'. This intimate relationship between *bu* shells and community structure, identity, and cohesiveness helps explain why the Goemulgal community over the past century have continued to look after and preserve the *kod* site. By preserving the *kod* site they are in essence preserving themselves, past, present, and future — it materially, symbolically, and historically expresses who they are.

DUGONG BONE MOUNDS

On my first trip to the ceremonial *kod* site on Pulu I was not only introduced to *bu* shell arrangements but also to dugong bone mounds. Haddon recorded two ritual installations or shrines at the *kod* site that contained thousands of fragments of dugong bone — they are Koey Sibuy and Moegi Sibuy. As with the *bu* shell arrangements, the bone mounds similarly referenced the dual social organisational structure of the Goemulgal and remain fully preserved to this day. In 2001, at the request of senior shrine custodian Cygnet Repu, a senior member of the *kaigas* (shovel-nosed shark) clan on Mabuyag, we jointly mapped and excavated Moegi Sibuy to see what it contained and to determine its age (fig. 11). Our mapping revealed over 5000 fragments of dugong bone on the surface and an over-representation of ear bones — which in dugongs are the size of a billiard ball. I was informed that the ear bones had special ritual significance, were referred to as 'radar bones' and used to communicate with dugongs as a form of hunting magic.[23] Our excavations revealed a 35 cm deep and dense deposit of carefully stacked dugong bones, dominated by ribs and skull bones, including a level with three carefully arranged dugong skulls. From the number of ear bones, the remains of roughly 250 dugongs went into making Moegi Sibuy. Radiocarbon dates indicate that the lower sections of the mound began forming around 400 years ago, with the upper sections added around 200–300 years ago. As with the *bu* shell arrangements, the Moegi Sibuy bone mound also was formed over time and perhaps over a couple of centuries.

To gain further insights into how much dugong bone the Goemulgal community was

(below)

Fig. 11. Cygnet Repu excavating Moegi Sibuy dugong bone mound, at the ceremonial *kod* site on the sacred islet of Pulu, western Torres Strait, 2001.

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Fig. 12. Dabangay bone mound on Mabuyag Island during excavation, 2004 (left: Andrew Costello; middle: Jen Breach; right: Terrence Whap, senior member of the *dhangal* or dugong clan).

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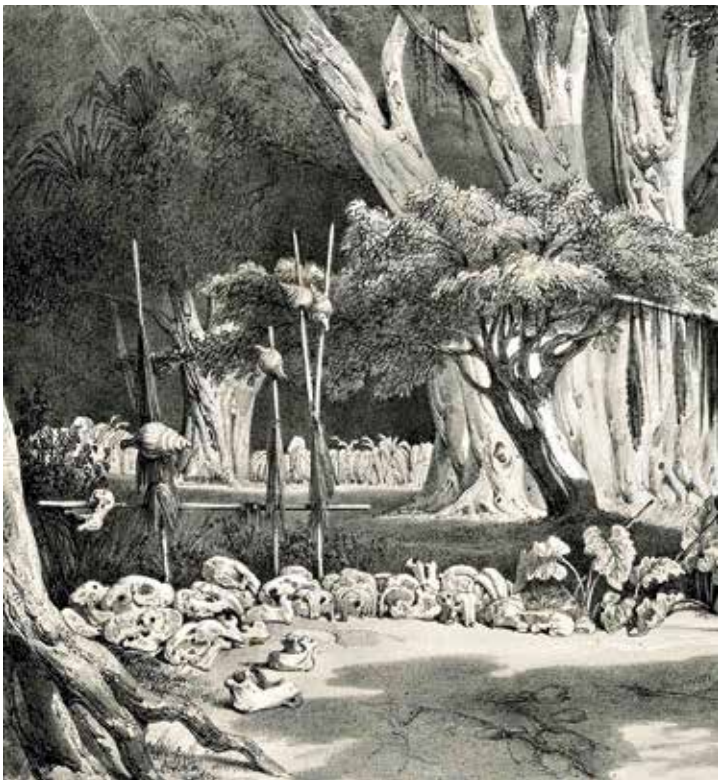
putting into ceremonial dugong bone mounds and not into village midden deposits, in 2004 I excavated another dugong bone mound, this time at the ancestral village site of Dabangay, located on the northeast coast of Mabuyag Island (fig. 12). The Dabangay bone mound is nothing short of spectacular. Our excavations, in conjunction with Terrence Whap, a senior member of the *dhangal* (dugong) clan on Mabuyag, revealed over one metre of densely packed dugong bone (fig. 13). Embedded within the thousands of bone fragments were four separate levels with carefully arranged dugong skulls. Again, as with Moegi Sibuy bone mound at the Pulu *kod* site, dugong ear bones used in hunting magic rituals were well represented in the bone assemblage. Altogether, 115 ear bones were recovered from our excavation pit, which when extrapolated to the rest of the 40 cubic metres of bone making up the mound, suggested that a staggering 10,000–11,000 dugongs are represented in the site.[24] Radiocarbon dating of the base of the mound indicated that, like Moegi Sibuy mound on Pulu, it began forming around 400 years ago, with continual additions made until missionary impact in the late nineteenth century.

Haddon had little to say about the dugong bone mounds of Torres Strait Islanders. He was aware that the French explorer Jules Dumont d'Urville recorded extraordinary mounds of dugong bones on Tudu, a sandy cay in central Torres Strait, in 1840 (fig. 14).[25] Following his own fieldwork in 1888 and 1898, Haddon stated that 'Dugong and turtle skulls and bones were formerly, and often still are, massed in heaps or placed in rows by the Western Islanders; this was done for ceremonial purposes … or merely to keep count of the number of animals caught in any one season'.[26] Clearly there is much more to dugong bone mounds than keeping hunting counts. At the ceremonial *kod* site on Pulu, dugong bone mounds, like *bu* shell arrangements, were part of the ceremonial expression of Goemulgal social organisation and specifically the community's dual moiety clan grouping system. The bone mounds were also a key repository for dugong ear bones used in hunting magic rituals and I argue that such buried ear bones continued to have ritual efficacy in attracting dugongs to hunters. Even though dugong hunting was and remains exclusively a male activity, dugong meat feeds the entire community and is a high-status food central to feasts associated with important community events. As such, all community members, male and female, young and old, have an association with the bones that went into the incremental construction of these special mound sites.

Most importantly, the special treatment of dugong bones reveals that they were not considered simply as rubbish once their role in



(below)

Fig. 13. Section wall of excavation pit within Dabangay bone mound showing dense deposit of dugong skull and rib bones that accumulated between c.400 years ago (bottom) and c.100 years ago (top). Scales in 10 cm units.

COURTESY IAN McNIVEN

(left)

Fig. 14. Ceremonial dugong bone mounds with ribs and skulls, Tudu, central Torres Strait, recorded by the Dumont d'Urville expedition in 1840, from Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage au Pole Sud et dans l'Oceanie. Atlas Pittoresque. Vol. 2*, (Paris: Gide et J. Baudry, 1846), Plate 189.

meals for the community was over. The bones, focusing on the ribs used in cooking and meals, the skull bones and, especially, the ear bones used in hunting rituals, remained symbolically active and required special treatment. In a sense, the bones were never discarded but were carefully arranged, stacked, and curated in mound sites where they took on a new and active symbolic role for hunters and for the community as a whole. Indeed, I have conceptualised dugong bone mounds as a 'community of bones' that embodied the ongoing emergence of Goemulgal social organisation and cohesion.[27] Thus, dugong bone mounds and Goemulgal society had co-emergent properties, whereby each ritual addition to a bone mound was both expressive and generative of Goemulgal social structure, cohesion, legitimacy, and long-term historical continuity.

GOEMU RITUALISED MIDDENING

With these insights into the active incorporation of food remains such a shells and bones into ritual installations such as *zogo* shrines, *bu* shell arrangements, and dugong bone mounds over the past 400 years, it is time to return to the ancestral village site of Goemu on Mabuyag Island. There, in the late 1980s, Barbara Ghaleb documented mounded middens that appeared at the time to be singularly 'out of the ordinary' and potentially of a ceremonial nature. It is now clear that the mounded middens at Goemu are not 'out of the ordinary' since certain types of food remains such as dugong bones were treated in special ways and ritually placed into specialised mounded deposits that took on broader social and ceremonial functions within the community. So Ghaleb correctly identified the process of mounding as of ceremonial significance. But are there other ritualised features of the middens at Goemu apart from mounding that also contributed to their communal ceremonial status?

The key issue to explore here is whether or not mounded midden deposits at Goemu also fall within the category of ritualised deposits with constructed historical dimensions as seen with *bu* shell arrangements and especially with dugong bone mounds. From a compositional point of view, Ghaleb noted that the mounded midden deposits she examined contained typical midden materials such as bones, shells, artefacts, and cooking stones. In her words, 'there is little about the composition of these discrete raised midden deposits to suggest anything other than their being piles of refuse from past Islander meals'.[28] What Ghaleb did not appreciate was that the dugong bone component of the middens was greatly diminished because many dugong bones, especially ribs and skulls, had been deposited

(below)

Fig. 15. Mabuyag Island residents contemplating the Square B midden mound archive at Goemu village created by their ancestors 950–1000 years ago.

COURTESY IAN MCNIVEN

elsewhere in ceremonial bone mounds. Furthermore, the random arrangement of dugong bones in mounded middens contrasted markedly to the highly curated way many bones were carefully stacked and arranged in bone mounds. Different skeletal element ratios and arrangements were carefully and deliberately used to ensure that mounded middens were compositionally and structurally different to bone mounds. Put another way, the constructed distinctiveness of bone mounds relied upon the constructed distinctiveness of mounded middens, and vice versa.

But what of middening practices at Goemu village before 400 years ago and before the tradition of dugong bone mounds? My excavations at Goemu in 2005 included sampling of the linear midden mound feature at the southern end of the village (fig. 15). Designated Square B, the 1 m x 1 m excavation pit revealed a 20 cm deep, dense, midden deposit radiocarbon dating to between 950 and 1000 years ago and thus well before the tradition of dugong bone mounds.[29] As with more recent midden mounds at Goemu, this linear mound feature contained bones of dugong, turtle and fish, shells, artefacts, and cooking stones. What made this older midden deposit special however were the remains of dogs and people. Six isolated human teeth (complete and fragments) and twelve isolated dog teeth (complete and fragments) were found scattered through various levels of the midden. Both the dog and human teeth are represented by incisors, premolars, and molars, but not canines, from upper and lower jaws. I believe that people carefully selected these isolated teeth and deliberately placed them into the midden deposit. No other middens excavated across western Torres Strait have revealed such teeth. Yet there is something even more curious about the human teeth. All are from children under twelve and represent a mixture of deciduous and permanent teeth. In all cases, phase of eruption indicates definite or probable premature extraction. While it is technically possible the teeth were surgically removed from living children, it is more likely that the teeth were removed post-mortem. All of the dogs' teeth are from adults and again probably represent post-mortem extractions.

Clearly there is something unique and special about these teeth — but what is it? Dogs are pets in Torres Strait Islander society and every dog belongs to a particular household and family. With children the association with particular households and families is obvious. I argue that the dogs' teeth and the children's teeth were deliberately incorporated into the Square B linear midden mound to intimately associate this feature with a particular household and family that resided at Goemu village around 1000 years ago.[30] As such, through the process of referencing and remembering the dead, the midden mound was not a pile of rubbish but a carefully constructed amalgamation of items, mostly associated with marine foods, which had an immediate and ongoing association and relevance for a particular household and family over a series of generations.[31] The fact that this midden mound continued to feature in the Goemu village-scape virtually unchanged for a 1000 years indicates that its ancestral significance echoed down through the generations and over the centuries. Multiply this single mound by 100, the number of mounded middens that occur across the surface of Goemu village, and you start gaining an appreciation of the scale, complexity, and importance of midden mounding in the social lives of village residents.

CONCLUSIONS

My understanding of coastal archaeology, marine food remains, and midden sites has come a long way since I did my PhD in the Fraser Island region in the 1980s. My Torres Strait experiences over the past 20 years have shown me that being an Indigenous maritime specialist involves much more than marine diets and middens as secular deposits of marine food refuse. Barbara Ghaleb started the conversation in Australian archaeology about the potential ceremonial significance of mounded midden deposits with her PhD research at Goemu village. Archaeological investigation and associated radiocarbon dating of *bu* shell arrangements, dugong bone mounds and mounded middens created by the Goemulgal people of Mabuyag and their ancestors reveal that the role of marine foods

within this Torres Strait Islander community extended well beyond mealtimes. We now know that the significance of shells and bones associated with marine foods was not finished once their role in provisioning meals was over. Indeed, the role of these items within Goemulgal society had only just begun and would continue not only for years but for generations and centuries. As such, these food remains never lost their biographical dimensions, with all members of the community, men and women, young and old, having unbroken and ongoing social and historical relationships with the contents of these middens. Is it, then, appropriate to refer to the food remains as refuse and rubbish? Indeed, did a concept of rubbish exist amongst the residents of Goemu? As I noted in 2013, 'The existence of highly visible midden mounds across the village indicates that certain food by-products such as shells and bones were not considered useless, worthless and unwanted material to be hidden away and forgotten. Indeed, such materials were treated as what may be the antithesis of rubbish — retained, valued, curated, displayed and remembered'.[32]

As an enduring and direct physical marker of marine foods, shells and bones materially embodied not only food that physically sustained community members but also all of the complex social and gender relationships that went into the procurement, preparation, and consumption of food items. Indeed, such food practices were not simply reflections of social and gender relations but also important expressions of such relationships that were central to the way the Goemulgal conceived of themselves in the continual unfolding of life, culture, and identity. In this sense, food remains such as shells and bones were deeply social, biographical, and historical. The fact that these materials were incorporated into specially constructed mounded features and ritualised deposits reveals a desire to capitalise on their robust materiality, to preserve and remember these social, biographical, and historical relationships in a public setting within a village-scape for all to see and appreciate. Yet the creation of these special mounded deposits was, like society and community themselves, an ongoing historical process and always a work in progress. In this sense, more than simply reflecting or expressing society, ritualised midden mounds and bone mounds were socially and historically generative. That is, mounded features were constructed by the Goemulgal of Mabuyag Island to authorise and legitimise the *past* (by following cultural rules of deposition) and to authorise and legitimise the *future* (by acknowledging the ongoing agency of the mounds).[33] Put more poetically, mounded features were social anchors to the past and social beacons for the future. Built for trans-generational longevity, these features projected an ethnographic echo into the past which would come back and normatively structure and constrain future cultural practices central to Goemulgal identity. In essence, these cumulative mounded deposits as biographical archives possessed a deliberately constructed historicity that explicitly referenced the past and present for the future. That is, the long-term history contained within these mounded deposits was not the inadvertent result of multiple depositional events. Rather, these mounds were constructed as long-term history with each person who deposited new materials cognisant of previous depositional events and mindful of adding a new layer of history. Today, present generations of Goemulgal, young and old, can look upon these midden mounds and say with ancestral authority — this is who we *were*, this is who we *are*, and this is who we *will continue to be*. ¶

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1. This article is an edited version of the Annual Academy Lecture delivered in Sydney on 27 November 2015 as part of the Australian Academy of the Humanities' 46th Annual Symposium, 'Intersections: Time, Materiality and the Humanities'. Special thanks to Robin Torrence and Annie Clarke for the invitation to participate in the symposium.
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7. Peter Hiscock, Chapter 9 in *Australian Coastal Archaeology*, ed. by Jay Hall and Ian J. McNiven (Canberra: ANH Publications, Department of Archaeology and Natural History, RSPAS, The Australian National University, 1999); *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Australian Island Pasts: Late Pleistocene to Historical Perspectives on Australian Island Use*, ed. by Ian J. McNiven and Sean Ulm (*Quaternary International*, special issue, vol. 385, 2015).
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DRESSING FOR WAR AND UNNATURAL POSES

Human–Animal Acts at the Turn of the Twentieth Century[1]

» PETA TAIT

Performance with animals greatly expanded during the nineteenth century to include exotic animals from far-flung colonial regions such as lions and elephants. By 1900, in popular lion acts, male trainers costumed as soldiers exemplified military discipline and scientific precepts, while female lion trainers in long day dresses were considered emblematic of psychologies of kindness. Yet the new animal training regimes were the same for both types of acts. Nineteenth-century tamer-handling acts within menagerie cages had been superseded by trained acts with minimal bodily contact, conveying mastery over nature as well as care of nature. Acts with male trainers remained connected with African safari hunting and thereby also with scientific collecting — all three activities appealed to the American President, Theodore Roosevelt — and acts with female trainers belied the repetitive discipline that trained captive lions out of instinctual behaviour.

This essay considers the cultural significance of prominent examples of trained human–animal acts and safari hunting during the transition from taming to training at the turn of the twentieth century. An imitative military costume had become standard in lion and tiger acts as the male trainer dressed for war demonstrated the new science of animal training that proclaimed gentler treatment in ironic contradiction of the soldier's outfit. The female lion trainer offset her noticeably unconventional identity by casually posing in everyday dress with her arm around the lion's neck as if with a pet.

(above)

Fig. 1. 'Julius Seeth and his Forest Bred Lions', poster by Friedlander, 96.5 x 95.3 cm.

PHOTO: COURTESY P. TAIT (TIBBALS DIGITAL COLLECTION)

MILITARY AESTHETICS

When Hagenbeck's trainer, Julius Seeth, appeared with 21 lions at the long-awaited opening of the London Hippodrome in 1900, he was costumed in quasi-military dress. Hagenbeck's trainers had risen to prominence wearing evening dress, now even their acts had succumbed to the prevailing aesthetic of army dress.[2] Hagenbeck's had become well known in London for acts that demonstrated reliable obedience and false compatibility between animals in close proximity to other species that they were known to attack in the wild. With the advent of well-trained animal acts during the 1890s, largely developed by the Hagenbecks' trading business in Germany, and Frank Bostock's menagerie business in England, a big cat act in particular manifested both direct and indirect associations with the military and the geography of colonial empires.[3] The military costume conveyed dual but paradoxical impressions of implicit force and well-regulated discipline to maintain submission.

Although Seeth's act was completely different to earlier tamers' cage acts of haphazard aggressive confrontation, it could still be aligned with a topical allusion to current events in several ways. The issue of *The Times* which reviewed Seeth's act also contained news about the Boer war and African colonies where European nations had deployed their military forces.[4] Territorial acquisitions by Germany and England in East Africa encompassed areas with large numbers of wild animal species such as those in Seeth's act. The reviewer thought the whole program was excellent but Seeth's 'forest-bred lions' were said to be 'the sensation of the evening' and were received very enthusiastically with numerous curtain calls. The reviewer praised the way Seeth brought on 21 lions 'with a quiet confidence which compels admiration, which though the situation excites some trepidation, makes the great beasts do his bidding with perfect docility'. In the act Seeth is the 'the hero' and his 'frame is certainly cast in the heroic mould'. The lions are compared to dogs answering to their names. 'If occasionally one snarls or claws at his trainer, Herr Seeth smiles and pats his nozzle, or if kindness is wasted, chases it round the ring with the whip.' The trained animal act was so well controlled that antagonism from African lions received kindly gestures of understanding; the movement sequence and the use of the whip would have been part of the rehearsed show.

Captain Jack Bonavita, wearing a military-style costume in a quiet act, was called a 'hero' by the American Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt when attending Bostock's show at the Pan-American Exhibition in 1901 in Buffalo and praised for his 'pluck'.[5] While the soldier's costume was indicative of broader costuming trends in the circus, the image of the soldier that underpinned the newer trained animal acts was especially associated with heroism.[6] The thick material of the uniforms usefully provided the trainer/presenter's skin with some protection from incidental scratches. But perhaps this militarisation of human identity in big cat acts was also a covert response to political events, while also implicitly responding to the popularity of war shows, including those touring with indigenous warriors after the 1870s. Certainly it reiterated the social esteem of the nineteenth-century soldier and firm beliefs about the social value of militarisation, as well as the century's legacy of war dramas on theatre stages and circus war re-enactments with horses and elephants.

In his reflections on human advancement in the nineteenth century, its successes and failures, social thinker Alfred Russel Wallace vividly criticised 'militarisation' as a curse that held his society back, particularly because 'the vampire of war' between nations and the 'war-spirit' prevailed and escalated in the second half of the century.[7] He described Europe as a vast military camp with greater numbers of military personnel than ever before. Performance aesthetics reflected this society.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, some species of large exotic animals could be, like horses earlier and with comparable rhetoric about gentleness in training, reliably trained for performance, although the animals were put through regimes of conditioning that seemed quasi-military. There was a transition from taming to training in big cat and other animal acts; from a generalised hit-and-miss, physical handling and pushing to strictly regulated, complex routines of obedience with

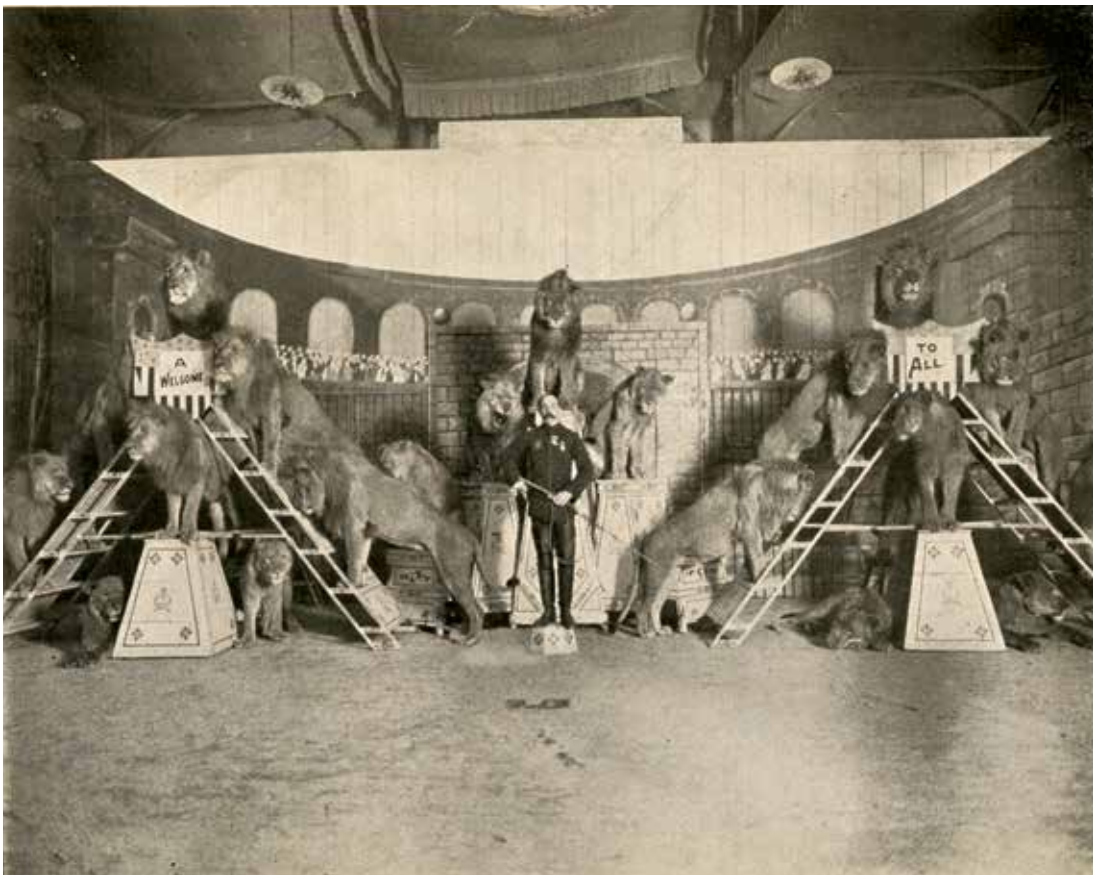
minimal handling. Importantly, the principles of training removed any physical shoving of the big cats during the best of these acts, with the trainer carrying sticks, poles and other props for visual effect and to cue animals, only making contact when absolutely necessary. Trained animals responded to verbal and visual cues, including the body position of the presenter and the other animals.

Older menagerie cage acts with a willing but inexpert handler who often had to provoke a relaxed group of lions to react were replaced by shows in which animal groups predictably moved on a cue that was often not seen by the spectators. The animals seemed to willingly take their seats on pedestals in a graduated pyramid formation. As well, a small number of the trained animals proved amenable to executing a sequence of complicated movements that delivered impressive physical feats. Animals were reasonably cooperative in these acts and movement was guided by a standard set of cues that could be learnt and given by different presenters. The animal performers learnt the routine so that it was often delivered with minimal instruction. While the dominant businesses by 1900 were exemplified by Hagenbeck's and Bostock's shows in Europe and the USA, it was the Hagenbeck trading business, directly connected to its entertainment business, that eventually became synonymous with milder methods of conditioning the movement of exotic animals with rewards and coaxing; this happened after Hagenbeck's engaged an ex-Bostock employee.[8] The point here is that these trained gentler acts were created within a small interconnected network of trainers and it is likely that specialised knowledge was passed on, a process not so apparent for the earlier nineteenth-century tamer acts.

In the Hagenbeck business, brothers Carl and Wilhelm began developing circus acts after 1887 with male presenters wearing formal attire and they would become highly successful over the next fifty years, selling or hiring out the complete finished act. Initially Carl was able to select a small number of animals who proved especially cooperative and suitable for training to achieve what were understood as gentler and caring methods. Other trainers had less choice and had to work with the available animals, although there was far greater knowledge with big cat species — if not with elephants — of the need to avoid the use of forceful methods in the initial training.

While trainers passed on knowledge to each other, rumours abounded about how training was achieved. These included notions that a trainer had to enter the cage for the first time naked in order to be smelt, or that lions were drugged or hypnotised.[9] But the 'secrets' of animal training were actually greatly improved methods of animal care due to closer observation and understanding of a species, and recognition of distinctive animal personalities. Nonetheless, in training from the 1890s, a lion was often restrained in an iron collar and chain while he or she got used to having a human presence in the cage. A chain was needed as lions could bite through rope, and George Conklin even put gloves on a lion's paws and used a muzzle.[10] While whip-cracking could be discarded, big cats could be given a strong tap on the nose, which was sensitive, with a light stick or buggy whip if they misbehaved, and this practice continued. It was trainers who also mentioned some of the performance subterfuge used in older menagerie acts, such as the smell of ammonia to rouse lions.[11] Trainers responded to public scrutiny and changing social expectations by advocating training with rewards, but they generally avoided mention of punishments and the initial use of bodily restraints.[12]

Trained animal acts increased in number once training techniques were standardised. For example, Willy Peters worked for Bostock's during the 1890s and trained 36 tigers and 100 lions.[13] Peters presented them running around and, for the act's finale, the big cats jumped over him and blocked each other's passage. Bostock's trained by first letting animals play around the trainer. Next Peters had them 'begin to run around the ring at top speed, but at his word of command they pulled up suddenly on their haunches, turned around and set off running in the opposite direction'.[14] Dangerous chasing action in a small cage was replaced by controlled fast movement in a larger new arena cage, and this was repetitively rehearsed. Peters trained a tiger to shake his hand, a second



tiger to embrace him and a third to roar and snarl. He trained some to perform as if fighting him or as obediently submissive, and this dual division of ferocity or docility in trained styles continued throughout the twentieth century. Trained ferocity, however, was often perceived as a continuation of nineteenth-century menagerie-tamer acts in which the tamer appeared to be embattled, often firing a weapon. Fighting acts with trained animals in the circus after the 1890s were, in most instances, highly orchestrated routines.

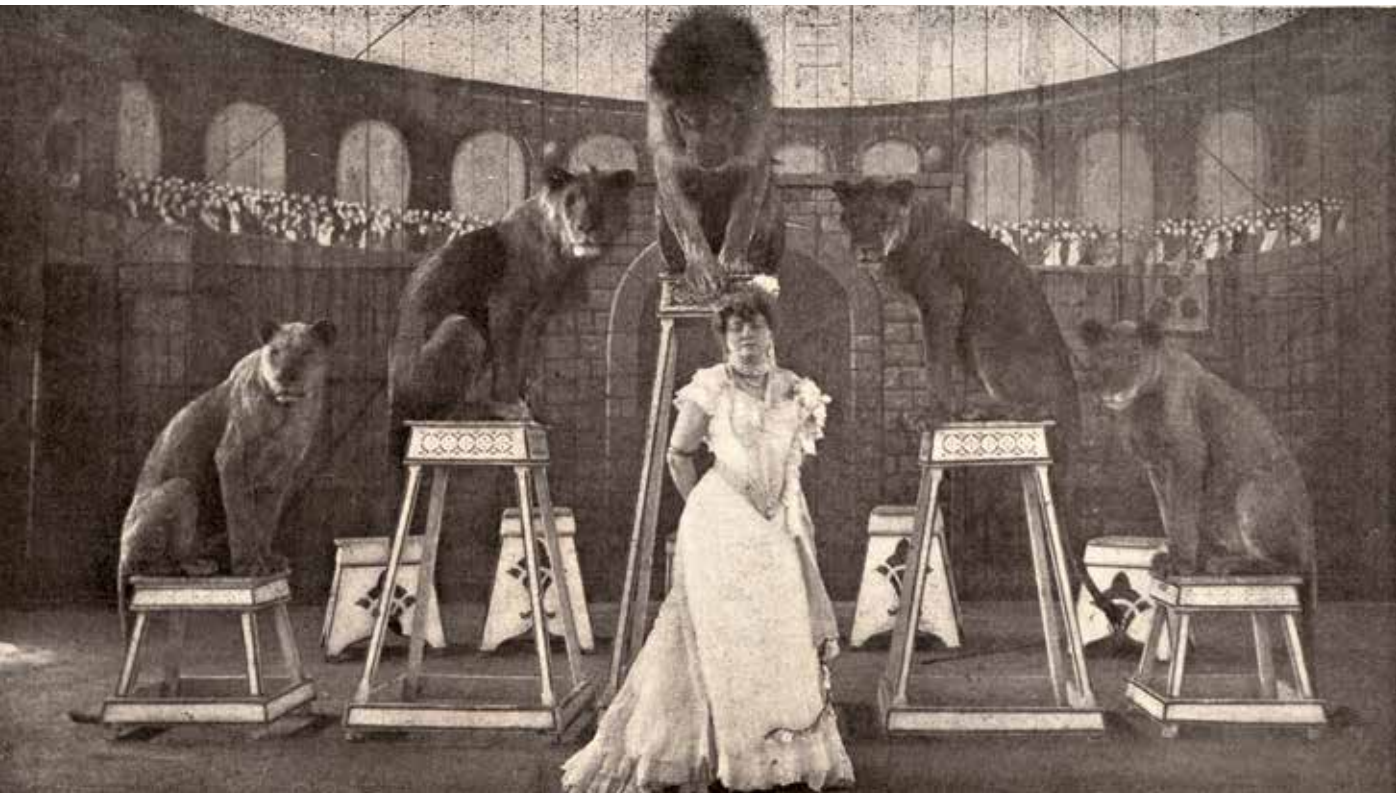
By the early 1890s there was an increasing number of other trained animal acts in circus programs: white doves landed on an apparatus held by an elegant female trainer in evening dress and instrument-playing shiny seals balanced objects on their noses. Seals and sea lions were first trained by Captain Joseph Woodward in the 1880s and these acts were further developed by the Judge brothers.[15] John Tiebor coached a sea lion for two years before exhibiting him, and Albert Rix from Hagenbeck's took three years to teach a seal to stand on one flipper.[16] Big cats were not necessarily even the most dangerous animal performers to train. Bears were considered extremely difficult to work with, although street acts with brown bears long preceded the invention of the early modern menagerie and circus. Polar bears were introduced into acts, and were possibly first developed as a speciality by Wilhelm Hagenbeck. The popularity of novel animal acts created demand, but highly trained animals were expensive to acquire because training was time-consuming and only a small number of animals cooperated in the presentation of complex feats in the act.[17]

Trained big cat and elephant groups could be fully integrated into the circus ring program by 1900, with human performance identities ranging from military conquest to older *faux* native origins. Richard Sawade, a leading trainer with Hagenbeck's, performed until 1919 in a signature fanciful costume of an Indian rajah, suggesting mysterious powers, and cueing tigers to leap from pedestal to pedestal and pose in tiered groupings.[18] Sawade was accorded honorary membership of the (British) Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.[19] Hagenbeck's reputation for a gentler approach was legitimised in this way. Official

(above)

Fig. 2. 'The towering of the kings', photograph by Hall from Frank Charles Bostock, *The Training of Wild Animals* (New York: Century, 1903), p. 26.

PHOTO: COURTESY P. TAIT (PUBLIC DOMAIN)



(above)

Fig. 3. 'Madame Pianka and her class'

PHOTO: COURTESY P. TAIT (PUBLIC DOMAIN)

recognition that the newer training approaches were encouraging humane methods in animal care was indicative of a major shift in social responses when compared to how nineteenth-century animal acts in the menagerie were staged and interpreted, especially as big cats could now be viewed by the public away from their small cages. The animal acts that left menagerie precincts gave a distinct, often false, impression that they had moved beyond the harsh treatment of animals over decades.

Regardless of whether a presenter adopted softer costuming or a uniform, by the early twentieth century animals were trained in similar ways to be either quietly obedient or noisily confrontational. The militarised aesthetic heightened the impact of the animal act and trainers readily adopted the uniform of warmer climates and remote geographies, an outfit also worn on safari. Since some trainers were ex-soldiers, the costuming had the added effect of eliding the distinction between animal training for performance and military training for battle. But a presumption of violent action was subsumed into the display of preparatory discipline.

These militarised acts represented a culmination of a parallel expansion throughout the nineteenth century of travelling shows presenting exotic wild animals and the hunting practices to obtain them. The latter reached an almost incomprehensible scale by the end of the nineteenth century. Animals were caught up in a chain of economic transactions emblematic of a determination to exploit nature, often through force. Countless animals were hunted, trapped, transported and traded for profit to English, European and American menageries and zoos. Those purchased by travelling menageries continued to be transported and moved from place to place, often advertised with the rhetorical pretext of educational and scientific benefit. With the exception of big cats, regularly born in captivity by 1900, most trained acts continued to present animals who had been hunted and captured from the wild.

CLAWS AND LACE

Madame Pianka (Charlotte Bishop) worked for Bostock and toured in the USA. A photograph, 'Mme Pianka and her Class', shows five lions placed in a graduated pyramid formation, standard for a trained act at this time (fig. 3). They sit on pedestals of varied height behind Pianka standing with her back to the lions,

dressed in a full-length elegant white dress. There are five lower pedestals, suggesting that the lions moved between these pedestals during the act. Pianka's act started with the lions walking in and climbing on to pedestals. In one part she fired a gun with blanks and in another she put her arm around a lion's neck in a 'natural pose'. Of course this was a completely unnatural pose but the familiarity and casualness of the human and animal posed together suggested interspecies friendship and implied that the lion had become a pet.[20] Bostock's book on training includes another studio photograph showing Pianka without the lions, wearing a white dress with a train at the back and a large hat, and carrying a white parasol as if attending a garden party (fig. 4). In one incident, a swipe from a lion's paw tore Pianka's long dress, and cut into her skin, causing bleeding. At the beginning of the act, she had taken into the arena cage a bunch of red roses from an audience member; a lion who had not reached his pedestal sprang forward at the roses, catching Pianka with his paw. The roses were a new addition to the cage environment and attracted attention, possibly because of the smell and/or the colour. Pianka threw the roses down, the other lions sprang to look and then went back to their pedestals, and she continued her act to its end. She fainted from her injury when she got offstage.

The full-length, full-skirted, fashionable dress of the female presenters may have offset some criticism but it put them at greater risk of incidental accidents; what was worn was also of special interest to the lion performers. An account of the preparation for a photographic session with Pianka and the lions sitting on their pedestals revealed that this was extended over three days. Over the nights before the photographic session commenced, Pianka had made a new dress of white that Ellen Velvin described as 'organdy, pretty and dainty enough for a fashionable tea-party'.[21] When the photography was due to start, the lions did not want to enter the arena, as if they knew that it was not a regular performance. Velvin continued, 'Trying to rouse them the trainer [Pianka] touched one lion lightly with the whip. He struck at the whip gently with his paw, as though to put it out of the way, his claws caught in the light dress and the whole skirt was nearly torn to shreds'. The dress was repaired and the posing resumed, except that this time a lion reached out to touch a new bow Pianka had put in her hair. Clearly the new additions to the costume were of considerable interest to the lions. An attendant or trainer outside the cage flicked a longer whip at the curious lion, who took this as his cue to get down off the pedestal as happened in the routine towards the end of the act. The other lions followed him and they would not return to the pedestals, assuming that they had done the act for the day. When the photographic posing was resumed on the third day, the lion at the top of the pedestal pyramid again tried to reach out with his paw to touch Pianka's new bow, and this was captured by the camera (fig. 3).

Female performers experienced the same problems as males when an element in the

(below)

Fig. 4. 'Madame Pianka', photograph by Chickering from Frank Charles Bostock, *The Training of Wild Animals* (New York: Century, 1903), p. 85.

PHOTO: COURTESY P. TAIT (PUBLIC DOMAIN)

environment was varied even slightly and the animals reacted with curiosity or adversely. On another occasion the cage for Pianka's act had been lost and she had to perform in a smaller one, which upset the lion performers. A lioness, who was usually compliant, refused to go into the performance cage. Pianka 'coaxed, ordered, and flicked her whip' without effect, and Bostock intervened to 'insist on obedience'.[22] The lioness obeyed and went through her routine but Bostock admitted that his confidence made him careless. When he flourished his whip, the mate of the lioness leapt six metres, jumped on him and lifted Bostock up in his mouth. Pianka was holding a revolver with blanks and fired two blanks close to the lion who responded out of habit to the sound and dropped Bostock. The firing of blanks was the cue for coming closer and, combined with Pianka's other cue for the stunt when she draped her arm around the lion's neck, the lion's resistance dissipated and he took up his accustomed sitting position. A regular feature of a trained lion act with female presenters and trainers, this sitting action on cue had been especially useful on this occasion.

LION TRAINER CLAIRE HELIOT … WAS PHYSICALLY STRONG ENOUGH TO CARRY A FULLY GROWN LION, SICCHI, ACROSS HER SHOULDERS

A PSYCHOLOGY OF KINDNESS

Lion trainer Claire Heliot was described as being 'frail but fearless', 'mild and gentle', in a 1905 *New York Times* feature article.[23] Actually, she was physically strong enough to carry a fully grown lion, Sicchi, across her shoulders, and to manage another rebellious lion. Such descriptions reveal illogical responses to a female trainer working with lions. In the article, about Heliot's appearance at the New York Hippodrome, she was also labelled a 'timid sentimentalist'. The lions, however, were deemed murderous and the article began by saying that the lions would not hesitate to kill her. The article specifies the instincts and sentiments of the lions at length so that, by association, Heliot's gentle, mild 'sentiments' are made to seem instinctive. An act with a female trainer was not appraised as a calculated demonstration of human will exercised over animals who had been conditioned to overcome their instincts and behaviour. Instead Heliot was attributed instinctive reactions like the animals; as a female, she would somehow have a civilising effect on them.

Heliot was perceived as being kind to the lions who complied accordingly. Was it simply the expectation that female trainers and presenters would be kinder? Heliot explained that lions have effective memories and '[i]f you are good to lions, they will be good to you. Be positive with them, dominate them, but do not strike them'.[24] Certainly, she did not use force to train, in keeping with the ideal new training practice.

Heliot was unusual because there is no easily traceable link to someone even indirectly connected with Hagenbeck's or Bostock's until later in her career. She expressed a love of lions, explaining that they were beautiful to look at, and said she had been encouraged by a zoo director who observed her regular visits there as a teenager.[25] Her ambition in 1906, however, was to save enough money to retire to a country property in three years, suggesting economic reasons for undertaking the act, although her retirement was also attributed to an attack in Copenhagen when a lion bit through her leg. Heliot was the stage name of Klara Haumann (Huth) from Leipzig, the daughter of a government postal official and the granddaughter of a minister of religion. In April 1897 she created a sensation in Leipzig when she performed at the zoo assisted by two male attendants, and she later toured widely. She toured England with ten lions and two large hounds and performed at the London Hippodrome in 1901. The male attendants may have been socially protective of Heliot's reputation as well as keeping a defensive watch for sudden or subtle movement pre-empting attack. The touring act included a simulation

of a dinner party scene, with the lions seated at a table to be served raw meat by Heliot. The meat-feeding scene was less mentioned in the USA although Heliot explained in detail how she started training lions by hand-feeding them and this definitely continued. By 1905 Heliot's act had as many as fourteen lions who performed behind a four-metre-high spiked arena barrier to music from *Carmen*. Heliot was described patting the lions and lightly touching the nose of one with a leather whip, although she also carried a steel rod. Three photographs accompanying the 1905 New York Times article, however, show Heliot encouraging two lions to walk on a raised platform and a third female to mount a rolling barrel, and her posing with an arm around the neck of a male lion. Again, this pose contradicted the regimented training used over time to achieve it.

The climax of Heliot's act involved a feat in which she carried a ten-year-old lion, Sicchi, on her shoulders as she left the performance. This was part of the act in 1905 in New York and in 1906 in Chicago as part of 'A Yankee Circus on Mars'. It involved draping the 159 kilogram Sicchi across her back and shoulders, probably achieved by lifting the animal performer off an elevated platform onto her shoulders. Heliot explained that she started this with the young Sicchi, and her strength grew as he gained weight. This type of trick was pioneered by Captain Bonavita for Bostock's (fig. 6) and Julius Seeth with Hagenbeck's and achieved by a handful of leading trainers.[26]

The feats in Heliot's act physically demonstrated control and she was compared to Seeth; in a biblical reference, she was also billed as 'The Lady Daniel' and wears a Romanesque shift with bare arms in one photograph. But she mostly performed in the long dresses that were the fashion of the time, including one made of white satin. In one incident when a lion, August, bit her so blood spurted over the white dress, Heliot drove the lions back to their cages, bound the wound with a handkerchief, and waited for a doctor to arrive to clean the wound to prevent poisoning, the greatest risk for human presenters. In New York in 1905 a lion's claw became caught up in the lace of her dress; he became disturbed when he could not extract it and she was wounded.[27] In 1906, Velvin noted that Heliot made a clear distinction between a deliberate lion's bite and accidental scratches, which were frequent, with her skin covered in deep scars from these. Heliot claimed that lions in her act would not bite her because she hand-

(left)

Fig. 5. Claire Heliot in (un)natural pose.

PHOTO: COURTESY P. TAIT (PUBLIC DOMAIN)

(above)

Fig. 6. 'Captain Bonavita carrying a lion weighing five hundred pounds', photograph by Hall from Frank Charles Bostock, *The Training of Wild Animals* (New York: Century, 1903), p. 238.

PHOTO: COURTESY P. TAIT (PUBLIC DOMAIN)

fed them, and even a particularly antagonistic lion did not bite her. Velvin observed how Heliot 'would take a small piece of meat, and telling each lion to open his mouth would put it inside with her fingers'.[28]

Statements attributed to Heliot suggest that she felt responsible for the welfare of animals. Certainly, animals were not accorded subjective agency, and Heliot was quoted in the *New York Times* article explaining that animals such as an elephant reveal how 'a divine order of things has given his soul into the keeping of man'. This was a well-established belief: humans had a moral duty to provide for animals and to improve brute natures. But Heliot's diary entries explain that, while she loved the lions in her act, she was creating performance, so contradicting gendered perceptions of an instinctual female nature. Her protective strategies during the act were a steel rod, a whip and a quick exit through the cage door; she had to delay a performance when the whip went missing because one of the dogs had taken it.[29] During a performance, when the lion August was in a bad temper, she had to threaten him with the steel bar, and a 'pretty curly-haired little girl in the front row cried, "Why don't you push him, lady?" It made me laugh'.[30] The expectations arising from simpler nineteenth-century tamer acts lingered, with misleading assumptions that lions could be easily touched.

It took Heliot two years to develop a fully trained act, first spending hours in the cage with the animal performers, and then teaching them to respond to names and eventually to verbal cues. On tour, a troublesome lion was often omitted from the act for a period. Heliot was concerned that they would hurt each other in fights, and Sicchi had a habit of taking the mane off any other lion put into his cage. But in the 1905 *New York Times* article, Heliot's capacity to work with the lions was attributed to nurturing sentiments, with a quote from Heliot about the accidental scratches on her skin being due to the playfulness of the lions supporting this notion. The lions were described in emotive language as embodying 'violence, rage, fearlessness, hatred, power, a wicked shrewdness, the impenetrable expression of a sphinx, and the instinct for murder [... and having] no virtues that are without passion'.[31] A snarling reaction, with the lions putting their ears back, was said to have received conciliatory overtures from Heliot,

which were interpreted as being coquettish. The article claimed that aggressive lions did not appreciate her adoration of them, but they were nonetheless involved in a 'beautiful psychology'. While this recognises how human psychologies might manage human–animal relations, it reinforces older nineteenth-century notions about management through kindness and a polarisation between animal aggression and human trust and moral responsibility. James Sully noted that, although 'Animal or Comparative Psychology' as the study of animal minds had become a separate field by the 1890s, emotional ambiguity in animal expression and the 'region of animal instinct' remained 'a psychological puzzle'.[32] Nonetheless, a human psychology of emotions prefigured the contradictory status of the female trainer, since kind emotions and caring could be attributed to females while the science of animal training with unemotional repetitious training behaviour and calculated mental manoeuvres went unrecognised.

Heliot raised the profile of female big cat trainers in the USA. She returned to southern Germany when she retired from performance, and was reported working as a hairdresser in 1930.[33] Even though trained acts with female performers were recognised as utilising aspects of animal psychology through care and kindness, they were not also attributed an ordered repetitive approach to physical training or an educational function. A female trainer's interactions with the animals were seen as based on intangible, socially ascribed emotional attitudes rather than careful observation and knowledge of species behaviour that might constitute a so-called scientific approach.

HUNTED NATURE

At the turn of the twentieth century a sizable number of exotic animals in trained acts had still been hunted and captured from the wild. In 1892 a reasoned rejection of menagerie 'wild-beast shows', along with the idea that captive animals enjoy their lives because they are fed, included the longstanding accusation that animal shows for entertainment did not advance human knowledge.[34] Regardless, menageries and zoos presenting living 'specimens' faced increasing competition from

(left)

Fig. 7. Roosevelt on safari.

PHOTO: COURTESY P. TAIT (PUBLIC DOMAIN)

natural history collections of dead specimens, claiming a direct educative purpose for hunted animals killed and preserved in the wild.

Despite associative connections between animal species in menageries and those displayed in museums, observation of live animals was not the same as viewing dead specimens. Public interest in the taxidermied animal body expanded throughout the nineteenth century as viewing opportunities, formerly the prerogative of scientists and private collectors, increased. Even though living animals logically seemed to offer more scope for study, large collections of dead specimens came to represent an advancement in science. The dead species in museum displays of substantial size reconfigured longstanding patterns of exhibition and colonial expansionist activity—museums also stored countless numbers. Although this 'exhibitionary complex' modelled rationality, its trajectory reached back to ad hoc curiosities on display.[35]

The protective sentiments now widely proclaimed by animal trainers to offset scrutiny over cruelty can be contrasted with an apparent absence of such sympathy in the hunting of animals under the pretext of supporting the natural sciences. The latter seemed to perpetuate the uncaring attitudes of imperialistic trade in contrast to the marked change in values from forceful menagerie handling to careful training. Nineteenth-century philosopher Henry Salt rejected the way big-game hunters indulged in 'murderous masculinity' and yet deemed themselves to be civilised.[36] Regardless, a lack of sentimentality over animal deaths in the process of hunting specimens alive or dead transferred to modern scientific collecting, and the identity of hunter and professional scientist was somewhat fused in the early twentieth century.[37]

The scale of hunting expeditions continued to increase with hunting as a narrative of dangerous adventure marking a man as 'virile'.[38] Safaris were attracting influential figures with sizable public profiles and/or political power as exemplified by the expeditions of Winston Churchill and Theodore Roosevelt.[39] Roosevelt was also a high-profile spectator of trained lion acts. An ex-military man, after serving his two terms as President of the USA, Roosevelt went on an African safari, justifying it by a scientific purpose (fig. 7). Departing on 23 March 1909, he was undoubtedly the most famous of the safari hunters in the early twentieth century. Roosevelt had a reputation in the natural sciences thanks to the major national parks created under his presidency and his commentary about preserving the habitat of wolves and pumas.[40] He ostensibly travelled to Africa to obtain specimens for natural history displays at the Smithsonian Museum, taking his son, Kermit, who had a camera. They travelled to Mombassa in British East Africa (Kenya) by boat from Italy. Their entourage of 73 tents and 200 porters, the largest expedition of its kind at that time, went inland by train and stayed at well-established colonial properties in east Africa, venturing southwards over seven months, albeit camping in style. A smaller group continued on to Uganda by train on 18 December 1909 for two months of hunting white rhinoceros and giant eland, and then went through the Sudan and Egypt.

The animals Roosevelt sought were '"in order of priority: lion, elephant, rhino, buffalo, giraffe, hippo, eland, sable, oryx, koodoo, wildebeest, hartebeest, warthog, zebra, waterbuck, Grant's gazelle, reedbuck, and topi"'.[41] The hierarchically grouped species denoted hunting prowess and most of them became dead specimens. Three naturalists were employed by the Smithsonian for the expedition so that what might have been considered a 'private junket scheme was transformed into a full-fledged scientific expedition'.[42]

To warrant the label of 'naturalist', a hunter needed to observe exotic animals in their habitat — alive. There was some criticism of the impact of hunting on wildlife numbers, which led Roosevelt to justify his position in private communication. He denied that he was a 'game butcher' and proclaimed 'the chief value of my trip to consist of the observations I was able to make upon the habits of the game, and to a lesser extent, of the birds, smaller animals and the like'.[43] In exacting detail he wrote about killing a lion:

> I was sighting carefully [...] he galloped at a great pace, he came on steadily — ears laid back, and uttering terrific coughing grunts [...] The soft-nosed Winchester bullet

had gone straight through the chest cavity, smashing the lungs and the big blood vessels of the heart. Painfully he recovered his feet, and tried to come on, his ferocious courage holding out to the last; but he staggered, and turned from side to side.[44]

A hunter's right to kill large numbers of animals was being questioned at that time, if not a hunter's right to shoot in this way.

Roosevelt had been impressed by Captain Bonavita's act with lions. Trained acts with live animals were a major influence because they were widely seen, in turn encouraging interest in safari practices. But though there was praise for the bravery and courage of the trainer combined with expectations of gentle care for animals in captivity, these sympathetic attitudes did not transfer into safari hunting, which was devoid of animal-centred emotional impositions. As entering the cage with the lions was not really an option, someone with the resources to be backed by skilful hunters and adept locals set out to test himself — and later herself — carrying a state-of-the-art gun and coming face-to-face with a live wild animal. The legacy of publicised safari hunting and human–animal acts with trainers visibly dressed for war — war against other species — continues in the twenty-first century though no longer with a scientific pretext. ¶

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1. This essay draws on the author's book, *Fighting Nature: Travelling Menageries, Animal Acts and War Shows* (Sydney University Press, 2016).
2. For a history of Hagenbeck's business see Nigel Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Zoo* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 2002).
3. Frank Bostock, *The Training of Wild Animals* (New York: The Century Co., 1903).
4. *The Times* (London), 16 January 1900, p. 4. Subsequent quotes are from this review. The 'steel grills' enclosed the ring but were lifted with 'hydraulic rams' to let the lions into the ring. The newspaper also covers the events of the Boer war and has a brief note on food shortages among the 6000 inhabitants of the 'German Colonies' in east Africa on the same page as the review.
5. Captain Bonavita was the stage name of John Gentrer. See Bostock, *The Training of Wild Animals*, p. 218 (also pp. 37–40, 43–44, 78, 136, 197–98, 200, 211, 217–20, 238); John Turner, *Victorian Arena: The Performers. A Dictionary of British Circus Biography*, vol. 1 (Formby, England: Lingdales Press, 1995); vol. 2 (Formby, England: Lingdales Press, 2000), p. 12 (Bonavita); See Joanne Carol Joys, *The Wild Animal Trainer in America* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1983), pp. 28–32 (p. 30). For the list of Bonavita's films, see <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0093844/> [accessed 1 February 2016].
6. Harriet Ritvo, 'Destroyers and Preservers: Big Game in the Victorian Empire', *History Today*, January 2002, 33–39 (p. 33). Safari hunting in the colonies provided 'recreation, status symbol and para-military training'.
7. Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Wonderful Century: Its Successes and its Failures* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1898), p. 331.
8. See Peta Tait, *Wild and Dangerous Performances: Animals, Emotions, Circus* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 21. This is a history of trained big cat and elephant acts in the twentieth-century circus and the opposition to them, and describes the influence that Darwin's work on animal emotions had on key trainers.
9. Paul Eipper, *Circus: Men, Beasts and Joys of the Road*, trans. by Frederick H. Martens (New York: Junior Literary Guild, 1931), p. 115. This was a longstanding accusation. Also see Hugues Le Roux and Jules Garnier, *Acrobats and Mountebanks*, trans. by A. P. Morton (London: Chapman and Hall, 1890), p. 146.
10. George Conklin, *The Ways of the Circus*, set down by Harvey W. Root (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1921); Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Lions 'N' Tigers 'N' Everything* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1928), pp. 17–18, 31.
11. Clyde Beatty and Earl Wilson, *Jungle Performers* (London: Robert Hale, 1946), pp. 131–33.

12. Accusations that big cats were declawed or otherwise deformed seemed to be avoided rather than addressed, as if mention of this practice was counterproductive and unacceptable to the public and might raise suspicions.
13. A. H. Kober, *Circus Nights and Circus Days* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1931), pp. 103–4.
14. Ibid., p. 104.
15. Carl Hagenbeck, *Beasts and Men*, trans. and abr. by Hugh S. R. Elliot and A. G. Thacker (New York: Longman Green and Co., 1909), pp. 144–5.
16. Fred Bradna, as told to Hartzell Spence, *The Big Top: My Forty Years with the Greatest Show on Earth* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 209.
17. Antony Hippisley Coxe, *A Seat at the Circus* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1980), pp. 145–46. Coxe specifies that Hagenbeck's 1890s mixed-species act cost nearly £300; in 1897 an untrained polar bear cub would fetch £30–35 and a trained bear £100, but costs increased ten-fold after World War II.
18. Eipper, *Circus: Men, Beasts and Joys of the Road*, pp. 112–14; Lorenz Hagenbeck, *Animals Are My Life*, trans. by Alec Brown (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1956), p. 85.
19. Kober, *Circus Nights and Circus Days*, p. 112; Hagenbeck, *Animals Are My Life*, p. 92.
20. Bostock, *The Training of Wild Animals*, pp. 157–58, 85, 229. The detail of Pianka's act comes from a description of an attack on Frank Bostock.
21. Ellen Velvin, *Behind the Scenes with Wild Animals* (New York: Moffat Yard & Co., 1906), p. 63.
22. Bostock, *The Training of Wild Animals*, p. 157.
23. Pendennis, 'Claire Heliot: Most Daring of Lion Tamers', *New York Times*, 29 October 1905, (SM)1.
24. Claire Heliot, 'Diary of a Lion-Tamer', *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, 41, September 1906, 463–8 (p. 466); includes diary entries.
25. Heliot 'Diary of a Lion-Tamer', p. 467; Kober, *Circus Nights and Circus Days*, p. 109; Turner, *Victorian Arena*, vol. 2, p. 55; also see Deidre Jackson, *Lion* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), pp. 63–4.
26. Tait, *Wild and Dangerous Performances*, pp. 108–46.
27. Velvin, *Behind the Scenes with Wild Animals*, p. 57.
28. Ibid., pp. 74–75.
29. Heliot, 'Diary of a Lion-Tamer', pp. 463–4.
30. Ibid., p. 463.
31. Pendennis, 'Claire Heliot: Most Daring of Lion Tamers', (SM)1.
32. James Sully, *The Human Mind: A Text-Book of Psychology*, vol. 1 (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1892), p. 21.
33. Turner, *Victorian Arena*, vol. 2, p. 55. The likely source of this information is Kober, *Circus Nights and Circus Days*, p. 109.
34. Henry Salt, *Animals' Rights: Considered in Relation to Social Progress* (Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania: Society for Animal Rights Inc., 1980 [1892]), pp. 49–50.
35. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 72–73.
36. J. A. Mangan, and C. MacKenzie, 'Imperial Masculinity Institutionalized: The Shikar Club', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25:9 (2008), 1218–42 (p. 1220).
37. See Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions* (New York: Routledge, 1989).
38. Joseph Sramek, '"Face Him Like a Briton": Tiger Hunting, Imperialism, and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800–1875', *Victorian Studies*, 48:4 (2006), 659–80 (p. 659), citing John MacKenzie on virile masculinity; William Storey, 'Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898–1930', *Journal of World History*, 2:2 (1991), 135–73 (p. 137).
39. Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990 [1908]), see chapter 'On safari'.
40. Velvin, *Behind the Scenes with Wild Animals*, pp. 187, 204.
41. J. Lee Thompson, *Theodore Roosevelt Abroad: Nature, Empire and the Journey of an American President* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 14, 34, shot with three big game rifles, and also pp. 10, 29. Also see Iain McCalman, 'Teddy Roosevelt's Trophy: History and Nostalgia', in *Memory, Monuments and Museums*, ed. by Marilyn Lake (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006), pp. 58–75.
42. Thompson, *Theodore Roosevelt Abroad*, p. 10.
43. Ibid., p. 10, citing a letter, 25 June 1908, to Edward North Buxton, President of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire.
44. Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: An Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist* (London: John Murray, 1910), pp. 190–91.

THE PROSECUTION PROJECT

INVESTIGATING THE CRIMINAL TRIAL IN AUSTRALIAN HISTORY

» MARK FINNANE

I

The Prosecution Project[1] had its beginnings in a paper on an obscure murder case. Not one of Australia's famous trials, it deserves to be better known.

In 2009 I was doing archival work in the State Records Office of Western Australia, looking for materials related to the nineteenth-century criminal prosecution of Aboriginal defendants for crimes committed against other Aborigines. This was not where I had started, in an inquiry into responses to violence in Australian history. The Australian historical literature on violence involving Indigenous people is almost entirely preoccupied with the national shame, the story of the violence done to the original inhabitants of the country during dispossession. This is a story whose narrative has been recounted in numerous histories and fictions, in a variety of media and for diverse places across the Australian continent and its islands. But what struck me in the early years of my research on Australian homicide was not just the relative absence of inter-racial killings resulting in criminal trials but also the relative frequency of colonial prosecution of Aborigines for killing other Aboriginal people. This was and remains an uncomfortable topic, but one that turned out to have some important ramifications for our understanding of what it meant to say that Australia had been settled under British law. In a study of the long history of contests over criminal jurisdiction in Australia Heather Douglas and I concluded that the practice of criminal law, found in the evidence of prosecution, judgment and sentencing, was always more pluralist than the presumption of a single criminal law had imagined.[2]

Yet those archival searches also turned up the unexpected. Following up the indexed reference to the trial in 1898 of one Pompey for the murder of another man Nipper in the Eastern Kimberley I discovered that this was in the first place an error. The man prosecuted in a criminal trial in Perth was not Pompey, who was a potential witness in the case, but another named Wonnerwerry. And this was no killing whose context of cultural reference was likely to be found mainly within an Indigenous circle, to be understood in the oft-reported language

(above)

Attacking the mail, bushranging, N.S.W. 1864, by Samuel Thomas Gill. Chromolithograph, 19.8 x 25 cm.

PHOTO: NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA, NLA.OBJ-139537074[8]


A THRILLING NEW TALE BEGUN IN THIS NUMBER.

THE BANNER OF TRUTH.

A Weekly Record of Passing Events, and

POLICE NEWS

Nº 9. MELBOURNE, JANUARY 20, 1877. ONE PENNY.

PLUCKY CARLTON GIRLS ARRESTING A THIEF.

(above)

Plucky Carlton Girls arresting a thief (*Police News*, 1877).

PHOTO: STATE LIBRARY OF VICTORIA, PN20/01/77/00[3]

of the time as 'tribal murder', or 'savage customs'. For tangled up in the prosecution of Wonnerwerry was that of his employer, who had been arrested and charged with him by an independent-minded police constable in the remote outpost of Wyndham.

This employer just happened to be Jeremiah ('Galway Jerry' as he was known) Durack, a member of the famed pastoralist family. Durack featured occasionally in an icon of Australian pioneer literature, *Kings in Grass Castles* (1959),[3] by his niece Mary, and a little more in a later volume *Sons in the Saddle* (1983),[4] where his murder in 1901 by other Aboriginal employees led to another trial of those accused. What Mary Durack studiously avoided was an inquiry into the process by which Jerry in 1898 managed to escape entirely from his prosecution for homicide, after his employee, Wonnerwerry, was convicted on a similar charge. As I have explored elsewhere, these events, richly documented in the archives, constituted an exemplary 'politics of prosecution'.[5] They prompted questions about the organisation of justice on Australian frontiers, about the reach of law into remote areas, about the influence of powerful people on legal proceedings, about the justice of outcomes.

For me another question followed — was such a case an outlier, or were there others like it? And how would we know? One way of approaching those questions would be the time-honoured one followed by historians, that of case study, achieving understanding through a method attentive to the detail of institutional arrangements as the context for the interactions of players on the small stage of their daily encounters. Through such an approach we can go a long way to appreciating what it meant to be brought to trial in colonial Australia, and what followed from that process. In the following pages I develop such a case study. Later I explore what we might learn by broadening the scope, stepping back from the day-to-day to look at an entire system in action, over long periods of time, and using methods that lend themselves to the use of new technologies, and even new research communities.

II

In April 1865 the New South Wales Chief Justice Sir Alfred Stephen arrived in the southern town of Goulburn. The judge was on circuit, accompanied by the colony's Sheriff and a court officer known as the Clerk of Arraigns. Also attending were two barristers, one of them the 31-year-old William Charles Windeyer, a future judge himself, prosecuting for the Crown; the other was prominent counsel R. M. Isaacs, also a member of the New South Wales Parliament. Isaacs was on hand to take up the cases of those who could afford a defence lawyer, or to be assigned to defence by the court in the trial of a capital case. Some defendants would be referred to these barristers by one of the three local solicitors present in court that day. The Supreme Court sitting in circuit was regularly reported as the assizes, on this occasion as the Goulburn Assizes, a term that called up the English origins of the colonial legal system. The reception of English law into the colonies is a common theme in case law and legal histories. But there was also a cultural transmission. It can be described in terms of the ceremonial and architectural forms that attended the establishment of legal authority in colonial cities and towns.

By the 1860s Goulburn was not only an episcopal seat but an assize town — one day it would have the buildings that proclaimed that fact. In 1847 it had become the main assize court for the Southern District jurisdiction of New South Wales, taking over from 'the dull little village of Berrima', as one scribe put it.[6] The opening of the first assizes in Goulburn had occasioned a large demonstration: 'Long before His Honor approached the town, an immense number of gentlemen in carriages and on horseback, met His Honor, and escorted him to his lodgings, at Mandelson's, the Goulburn Hotel'.[7] This was a ritual transmitted from eighteenth-century English assize towns, where the judges had arrived in the kind of splendour that expressed their authority, their majesty.[8] In 1847 the courtroom in Goulburn was makeshift, a part of the police station, pending the building of a modest new court in 1848 and its replacement in 1880 with a very grand edifice that still stands. The principal fault in 1847 was said to be that it was short on room for 'the bystanders and witnesses'.[9]

In colonial times, those who could not make it to court to witness the quarterly spectacle of the assizes could nevertheless expect to read all about it later. The court was a public space, a theatre for entertainment as much as justice, and reporting its business filled many pages of the myriad papers of the colonies. Major cases, or just curious ones, produced voluminous stories, syndicated, cribbed and plagiarised in other newspapers within and across colonial boundaries.

Before the stories commenced at Goulburn on Monday 24 April 1865 there were other preliminaries. One was the reading by the clerk of arraigns of Her Majesty's proclamation against vice and immorality, a tedious document read at the opening of each assizes, whose title suggests its burden. On this day the Chief Justice followed the reading of the proclamation with a lengthy discourse of his own, on the crisis in the interior that had led to the Felons Apprehension Act. This was a piece of emergency legislation directed against bushrangers, a statute which allowed them to be declared as outlaws and so able to be taken alive or dead. It enabled a constable to establish immunity from prosecution in a fatal encounter with such an outlaw.[10]

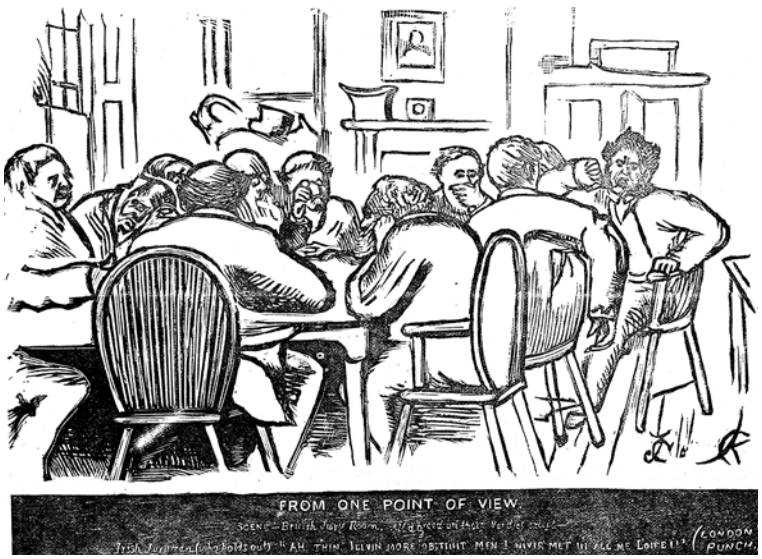
For Stephen the necessity of alerting the district to the new statute was also to be found in the evidence of local sympathies with bushrangers. The Chief Justice had tried many bushrangers and had a well-deserved reputation for the harshness of his sentencing.[11] His earlier experience of such trials had led him to recommend a change in the law to facilitate the prosecution of those found to be harbouring criminals. The result was legislation that increased penalties from 2 to 15 years for such harbouring, as well as easing the burden of proof.

Stephen's address was a discourse on the state of the country, in the midst of a crisis of authority. He reached back to the Burrangong (Lambing Flat) riots as the symptom of declining values. Near Young in 1861 white miners had ferociously attacked Chinese diggers, seeking to drive them off the goldfields. The Chinese had been protected by a local squatter, who allowed those fleeing the rioters to camp on his land.[12] The New South Wales police had been centralised in the aftermath of the riots. In 1863 their ineffectiveness in the face of an outbreak of bushranging became a major political headache for the liberal government of Charles Cowper.[13] Cowper lost office but bushranging continued, as did criticism of the police. Stephen in 1865 was their defender; they were with 'few exceptions... highly intelligent, faithful, zealous, active, and gallant public servants'. Their energies were sapped by the lawlessness of the rural regions that harboured the bushrangers, and against

(below)

The jury room, 1877 (*Police News*, 1877).

PHOTO: STATE LIBRARY OF VICTORIA, PN18/08/77/00[2]



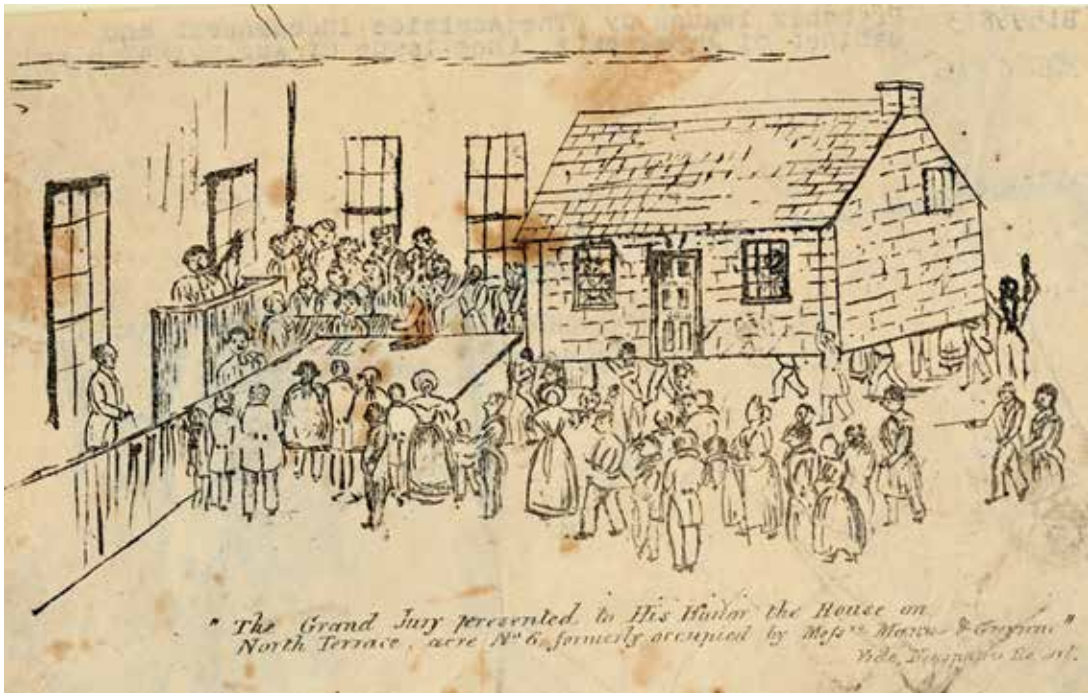
which the emergency legislation of 1865 was in part directed. A symptom of the defiance of law and order had been jury nullification evident in the fact that the rioters of 1861 had been mostly acquitted at trial: and so 'the mob which commences with one illegal act, impelled by whatever object, soon rushes into other excesses, and ends by breaking open prisons, and burning or pillaging a city'.[14] For Stephen bushrangers and their protectors were not the only enemy; so also were those who shirked the responsibilities of the jury, or failed to assist the authorities in the prosecution of criminals.

This was stirring stuff, delivered to a small courtroom in a rural town of post-goldrush New South Wales, population no more than about 4000. The Chief Justice was addressing his comments less to the potential objects of the law's repression than to those in whose interests it was deployed. He was also anxious that the new statutory powers of police and the courts not be undermined by thoughtless appeals to the liberty of the subject, or declamations 'that a man cannot be made moral by an Act of Parliament'. These measures, both just and merciful in their provisions, were also entirely 'in accordance with the principles of our ancient English law'.[15]

It is however one thing for chief justices and learned writers to discuss the principles of our ancient English law, and another for those who enter into court to be judged by them. It was the role of chief justices in the colonies to determine the fate not only of those who might be threatening to burn down the city, but of those who had just run foul of the criminal law in its more mundane aspect. And so, having finished his address to the inhabitants of the southern districts, the Chief Justice was brought to the business of the assizes.

III

Sitting over four days, Sir Alfred Stephen was presented with indictments for offences ranging from common assault to embezzlement, from receiving stolen property to armed robbery,



(above)

Trial in progress, Dubbo, New South Wales.

PHOTO: STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, AT WORK AND PLAY – 05117[4]

(right)

The Grand Jury. Political cartoon, Adelaide, 1841.

PHOTO: STATE LIBRARY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA, B+15998/3[5]

from infanticide to murder, from bigamy to arson. The defendants included the 'native born' and the immigrant, an Aboriginal bushranger and two Chinese gold miners, nineteen men and six women. In the crowded courtroom the jury complained from the start of the poor amenity, especially the 'filthy state' of the jury room. On the Saturday the court moved its business to the hall of the mechanics institute, in consequence it was said of the 'unhealthy state of the court-house'.

Procedure was also adaptable to the circumstances of a court which had not sat in this place since the previous October. When James Winderbank was brought up on a charge of stealing eleven gallons of brandy some six months earlier, a solicitor asked for an adjournment; he had been retained just ten minutes before by the accused and so had not had an opportunity to prepare a brief for counsel. When the case was resumed later in the day a barrister was present to defend the accused. At once he showed his hand by challenging police evidence of statements made before a caution had been issued. The judge overruled the objection, though not without voicing disapproval of 'constables making questions of prisoners to entrap them'.[16]

Like police interviewing prisoners, judge and jury were not always clear about the boundaries of their own decision-making. After Charles Petersen was convicted of attempted rape on a girl under the age of ten (a capital crime if it had been rape), the Chief Justice sentenced the prisoner to three years' hard labour on the roads. The following day however, he had Petersen brought into court again. On consulting the statute Stephen had found that the minimum sentence for the crime was five years. The prisoner was advised from the bench that if he behaved himself well the judge would recommend early release after three years. More predictably, juries were frequently puzzled by legal conundrums. Faced with the prospect of sending Mary Holland to gaol for killing her infant child by drowning, both judge and jury strived to find exculpation in her state of mind. After leading the jury in that direction Stephen had later to clarify their uncertainty about the state of the law on a matter that preoccupied many Victorian experts: 'it had been held by the

(above)

Court room, Cobar, New South Wales.

PHOTO: STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, AT WORK AND PLAY – 05648[7]

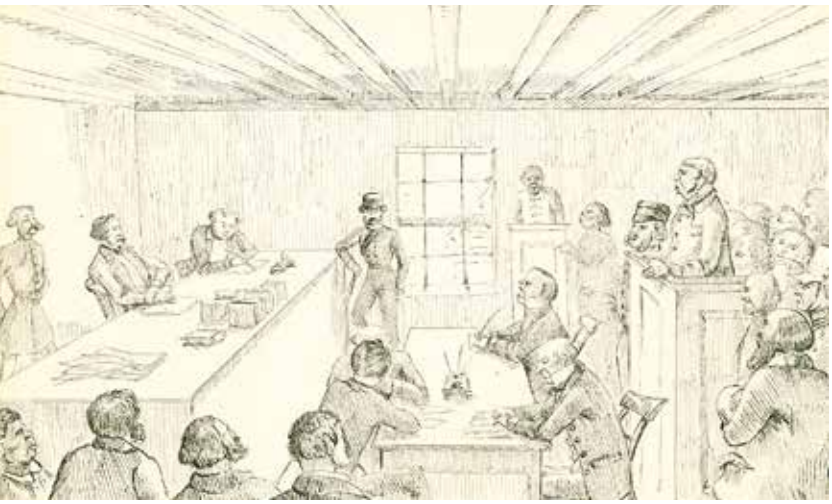
English judges that every person committing an offence was held to be in his right mind unless the contrary were proved'. [17]

English judgements were not the only point of reference for the Chief Justice. After listening to a three-hour address by counsel appearing for a man being tried on a capital charge of robbery and wounding, Stephen reminded the jury of their duties to society. Mr Isaacs had urged the jury that if they had any reasonable

(left)

Sir Alfred Stephen, Chief Justice of New South Wales (State Library NSW).

PHOTO: STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, A4363061



(above)

Charles Lyall: Courtroom scene, Victoria, c. 1854.

PHOTO: STATE LIBRARY OF VICTORIA, H87.63/2/7B[6]

doubt about the prisoner's guilt they should acquit. There were numerous conflicts of evidence in the case, even over the man's identity, but Stephen would have none of it. The Chief Justice cited the case of 'Peckham tried at Dublin in 1862'; the Irish court had held that counsel for the defence could not bring up other cases 'where through mistaken identity innocent persons had suffered'. He admitted the possibility of wrongful conviction but the risk of wrongful acquittal was greater; 'there have been mistakes, and many serious mistakes, but he thought they were in acquittals and not in convictions'.[18] With this strong direction the jury convicted, though not without a three-hour deliberation of their own.

If the voluminous record of court proceedings that one finds in the colonial newspapers is any kind of index, then we can be sure that the law meant quite a lot to colonials. The familiarity with which the players in these court dramas are depicted highlights the fact that legal relations of authority and subordination, of those who decided and those who were decided for, were also social relations. When we read these reports in the detail that they demand, are we seeing also evidence that the law's presence in colonial society was one more akin to an older common law tradition of the kind that David Lemmings has suggested was waning in England from the early nineteenth century, increasingly replaced by the instruments of a centralising state, displacing the lawyers with the rule of bureaucrats deploying their statutes and regulations?[19] The colonies may have been exemplary Benthamite experiments at one level but the remnants of legal rights and forms still exercised a powerful sway.

IV

But if such legacies of law and authority are readily uncovered in the records of colonial Australia what can we say of their fate? Criminal law is only one of the domains of law's empire. But for what it says about a society's norms and boundaries, about the relations of law and authority to the lives of common people, it is a very important one. Yet we know surprisingly little about the transitions from the world of the circuit court in a colonial town to the forms of contemporary criminal justice that seem less visible today. The Prosecution Project seeks to provide us with the means to learn more about those transitions, to do so in a way that broadens understanding of the history of crime and punishment, and to add to the stock of knowledge of Australian social histories in a way previously unimaginable. Its possibilities are enabled by approaches deploying new technologies and an expanded conception of the research community in order to explore some not-so-new questions with some methods tried and tested in other disciplines, if less often in the practice of historians.

The questions include some touched on earlier. What happened to the criminal law after its introduction to Australia? How were its processes of prosecution and trial shaped by the colonial context? And what kind of legacy for contemporary criminal justice was left by those colonial transitions? Those questions in turn may be addressed through specific histories that track key features of the criminal justice process — the relative decline of the jury trial as the most common resolution of prosecution of serious crime, the outcome of more common use of guilty pleas; the increasing duration of those trials that did take place, an effect of burgeoning rules of evidence, and the expanding role of professional investigation and growth of forensic sciences; the changing status of legal subjects (Aborigines, children, women); the shifting responsibilities of prosecution authorities, including police and public

prosecutorial officers; the impact of public policy on penal options and judicial discretion, a story that entails the end of capital and corporal punishments as well as the growth of a diverse array of other penalties; the shaping of the criminal trial as a cultural event, a process that has always entailed both the self-conscious performance of roles within the court as well as the representation of these in newspapers and other media; and of course the trial as an emotional event, one in which public as well as private expectations of justice and fairness may take a roller-coaster ride, with reverberations in the public world that enlarge the significance of these quite discrete events.

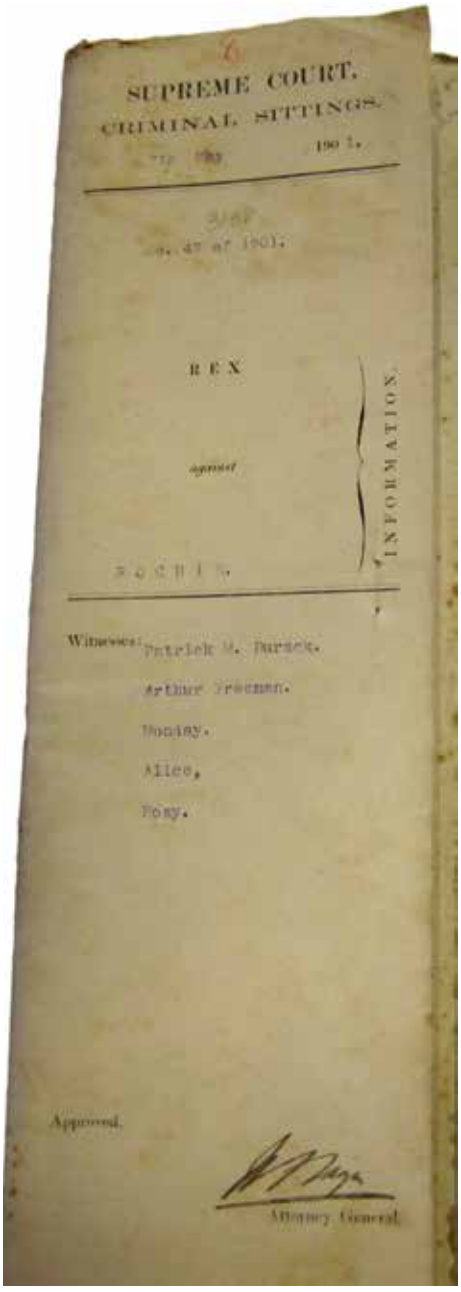
The conventional method for approaching such histories has been textual and contextual. The powerful institutional weight of the apparatus of law exercises its own influence on the way in which the history of criminal law is written. The trial, its antecedents in investigation and preparation of briefs of evidence, and its outcome in judgment and sentence, perhaps mediated by appeal, is above all a linguistic event. And so the history of the criminal law has to hand a ready array of textual materials, the (nevertheless select) record of past cases above all, the volumes of statutes and jurisprudence, the transcripts of proceedings.

What matters for the institutions of law, however, does not exhaust the scope of legal history or its significance in the life of publics and communities as well as individuals. Nor by any means does it exhaust the archive that law leaves. The law libraries are filled with the reports of judgments, but it is in the archives of courts, and the record of their proceedings in newspapers, that we find the materials also needed to answer the range of questions the Prosecution Project seeks to address.

V

The scope of the criminal justice archive is formidable. It ranges from the registers of cases brought before courts, through the preparatory records of investigation and prosecution offices, to the record of trial proceedings (largely a twentieth-century development) and the publication of outcomes in various forms — before we even come to the voluminous records of prisons with their own technologies of tracking and documenting lives of those within their domain. Some idea of the challenge of comprehending such an archive is evident in the now completed digitisation of the Old Bailey Proceedings, originally published from 1674 for public edification and extending to 1913.[20] The text archive now runs to some 200 million words — for one court, admittedly an important one, though accounting for only one-fifth of the convicts transported to Australia.

In the past such archives have been mined primarily by sampling, whether systematic or simply exploratory. Some dimensions of criminal


SUPREME COURT.
CRIMINAL SITTINGS.
REX
against
INFORMATION.
Witnesses: Patrick D. Durack.
Arthur Freeman.
Monkey.
Alice,
Foxy.
Approved.
Attorney General.

(left)
Indictment – R v Rochie for killing of Jerry Durack, 1902.

PHOTO: STATE RECORDS OFFICE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA, CONS 3473/3138

justice processes have been assessed through official statistics, better for some jurisdictions than others, and always limited by the principles of selection operating at the point of their collection and collation. Official statistics are also anonymous, de-identified, and so we generally know much more about the convicts, their origin and their life-course than we do about any of the later generations of offenders.

To address these shortcomings the Prosecution Project approaches its task through a collective research effort aimed at reconstructing the criminal justice archive from original materials but in a way that enables new investigations. A brief outline below identifies the scope of the project and its approach.

The first aim of the project is to build an archive of all higher court appearances of those people brought to trial from the middle of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. We propose to do this as far as possible for the six principal criminal jurisdictions in Australia, that is, the six States of the Commonwealth with their colonial predecessors. From that very large database, researchers (the Prosecution Project research team in the first place, others in the longer run) will be able to draw their own samples for more intensive inquiry.

The feasibility of this process is enabled by the generally robust survival rate of Australian court records, especially various kinds of registers of the court's business. In Western Australia for example, the criminal court registers date from less than a year after the establishment of the Swan River settlement. They were maintained first as a record of the Quarter Sessions sittings held from 1830 and continued in the same format (indeed in the same book) from the establishment of the Supreme Court in 1861. The consistency of the record is impressive; much the same information is available for the 1960s as for the 1830s. No bureaucracy is perfect however; the difficulty of communication between the Perth metropole and its remote outposts in the Kimberleys and elsewhere meant some records for outlying courts were never formally entered in the Supreme Court registers. Fortunately for this investigation another bureaucracy fills much of the gap — the Western Australia Police Gazettes provide another rich source

No	Defendant	Crime or Offence charged	Day of Com.t	Day of Trial	Judgment	Sentence	Remarks
1	George Balguerizon	Larceny		1st Octr 1830	Guilty	14 Days Imprist & once publicly whipt 50 Lashes	Whipped at Cart's tail in Fremantle
2	Tom Brown	Simple Larceny		10th Jany 1831	Not Guilty	- - - - - -	forthwith discharged
3	Paul Lockyer	Simple Larceny		Same	Guilty	1 Cal. Mo. Impt with H. L.	
4	Robert Wall	Larceny on River		4th April 1831	Not Guilty	- - - - - -	forthwith discharged
5	Mahonie a Lascar	Larceny		Same	Not Guilty	- - - - - -	forthwith discharged
6	William Harrison	Simple Larceny		Same	Guilty	4 Cal. Mos. Impt with H. L.	
7	Charles Spencer	Larceny		Same	Guilty	2 Cal. Mos. Impt with H. L.	
8	John Philip	Burglary		Same	Not Guilty	- - - - - -	Convicted Same for an Assault and sentenced to 4 Cal. Mos. Impt with H. L.
9	Richard Brown	Burglary		Same	Not Guilty	- - - - - -	Remanded on [illegible]
10	Richard Brown	Assault, Comt in [illegible]		Same	Guilty	6 Mos. Imprist with H. L.	[illegible]
11	William Green	Arson		Same	Not Guilty	- - - - - -	forthwith discharged

(right)

The first trials, Swan River 1830–1: Court of Quarter Sessions.

PHOTO: STATE RECORDS OFFICE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA, CONS 3422/1[9]

of information on trial outcomes. Other jurisdictions present the same mix of excellent survival rates for some kinds of registers with occasional unevenness of coverage or format. Nevertheless we were confident at an early stage about the feasibility of collecting significant and continuous records of these courts in the six Australian States.

Another aim of the project is to enable this data collection to be accessible to a group of researchers, exploring different questions perhaps, but able to make use of these longitudinal sets which would be maintained as a legacy of the work of the original research team. This ambition also entails the development of a method of data collection that would be flexible enough to cope with a variety of data sources as well as facilitating data entry from a number of different locations.

In meeting the challenge of collecting data from a variety of sources, the project builds on the tremendous capacity for data collection and data sharing enabled by digital technology and the internet. A collaboration between database and web designers located in Griffith eResearch Services and the research team resulted in the development of a web portal facilitating data entry at any computer linked to the Internet. The process involves the mass digitisation of archival records, producing individual images (for example, of a court register page), which are opened in a web browser by the user. From this image ('zoomable' as needed) the user enters the accessible information into the forms of a structured database (names, trial dates, offence, pleas, verdict sentence, etc). The data is maintained in a relational database, with the full dataset accessible currently by the research team, and some information (for example, names, trial dates, offences) searchable through a public website. In the longer term we will be able to produce datasets accessible to the wider research community through federated archives of the kind promoted through ANDS (Australian National Data Service).

The approach adopted here builds on the already very significant products of digital humanities research in Australian institutions, as well as international projects. The Old Bailey Online was an inspiration — though the record of one court only, within a single jurisdiction. Founders and Survivors, the digital record of Tasmanian convicts, a formidable product of Tasmanian researchers working with the State Library and a volunteer community, was another guide.[21] The world-leading initiative of the National Library of Australia's collection of digitised newspapers, freely searchable through the Trove search engine, is an indispensable condition of the research capacity of the Prosecution Project database.[22] So too is the more recent initiative of AUSTLII, the open access Australian legal information database, to develop its Legal History Libraries, including historical statutes and case law.[23] In parallel with the Prosecution Project the Digital Panopticon (based in the UK and funded through the Arts and Humanities Research Council)[24] is also building large datasets of nineteenth-century British criminal justice records; there are plans for the two projects to share and link data (for example, in tracking the life-courses of those transported to Australia and later appearing in colonial courts).

VI

These have not been the only products of the digital world to shape the design of the Prosecution Project. The growth of family and community histories, often with their own very active data collection projects, has increased the value of the kind of records that criminal justice researchers must access. This development is potentially of great research use, but from the researcher's point of view, also brings its own hazards. One is the risk of public records being licensed for commercial use, frequently enabling their digitisation and even indexing but typically in ways that put much information behind a paywall, or constrain its use in other kinds of investigation. The focus of genealogical research is above all on individuals and families, while other kinds of social and economic research demand more flexible approaches to the use of this kind of data. For this reason the Prosecution Project seeks to enable a broader approach to data collection of the criminal justice records, retaining data on names of individuals (subject to the privacy or access constraints of various jurisdictions and kinds of records), while also collecting the

extensive supplementary data contained in the records, for later research use.

In this context the Prosecution Project has accessed the enormous potential of volunteer communities engaged in genealogical and other historical research, 'citizen historians' we might call them. Again the project takes its lead here from the practices of other projects, including the burgeoning world of citizen science (in which for example environmental data is collected through individuals using their own digital devices), as well as the volunteers who daily contribute in their thousands to the digital correction of transcripts of the Trove newspaper collections. By designing a data collection system accessible through the internet the Prosecution Project has joined such projects in expanding the community of those engaged in our research. Late in 2014 we enabled those outside the research team to start the work of data entry on archival images we supply through the web portal. So far more than 300 volunteers have been added to the project, registered from locations all around Australia, with some international. These volunteers are now making daily contributions to a database with the potential to tell them and others more about hitherto unknown events in Australian history. With their aid, the capacity of the database to tell us about criminal justice processes and outcomes also increases the more rapidly.

VII

The Prosecution Project started life as a relatively discrete research enterprise, focused on a particular set of questions about the criminal trial in Australian history. Those questions remain central and will be addressed in the way common to historical research, through articles, chapters, books, perhaps a museum exhibition, possibly even audio or visual documentaries.

Along the way, however, the project is throwing up other kinds of questions and answers about the conduct of historical research and its possibilities in Australia.

One is the value of collaborative research. In our case Australian Research Council funding, matched with significant co-investment by Griffith University, especially in the development of IT infrastructure, has enabled the establishment of a project team of research fellows, postgraduate students, and research support staff, located both on and off campus. The co-location of the on-campus researchers is by itself a stimulus to the development of new research agendas, collaborative learning of new methods, techniques and approaches. The long-term productivity of this kind of collaboration of course remains to be demonstrated by future outcomes. But, in contrast to the generally individualised work practices of historians, this project already offers a productive model for future historical research in areas where such collaboration makes sense.

The second is the way in which the project has enabled outreach to a community of users, of citizen researchers, who mostly have limited previous contact with the academy, though often much experience with cultural institutions such as libraries and archives. For these people the process of historical investigation stems mostly from a very personal motivation about a family or community's history. But, recognising the value they have themselves received through the resources built by genealogical researchers before them, they bring to the Prosecution Project a new energy and considerable additional capacity.

Finally, the experience of working on the Prosecution Project and with colleagues on other projects such as the Digital Panopticon and Founders and Survivors, draws attention to the very great potential of digital technologies, the publication and circulation of images, the development of large datasets, the design of new modes of publishing research outcomes, including visualisation of data, and the delivery of such. But in a research environment where humanities and social sciences continue to be the poor cousins of the other sciences, the need for this potential to be matched by significant infrastructure investment remains pressing. A digital research project that relies on the fast (preferably very fast) and secure transmission of data-hungry archival images, whether of court records or newspaper articles, reinforces the need for a national infrastructure that can support the research

being opened up by the new technologies. We should be wary of lazy public commentary on the National Broadband Network (NBN) which sees it as largely a tool for delivering media entertainment. Humanities research is just one of a large number of areas of innovation that depend on fast, secure and affordable digital communication, an indispensable condition of an enterprise like the Prosecution Project. ¶

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18. *Goulburn Herald*, 29 April 1865, p. 3. The prisoner William Corcoran was sentenced to death, later commuted to hard labour for life, the first three years in irons: *New South Wales Capital Convictions Database, 1788–1954* <http://research.forbessociety.org.au/record/2406> [accessed 14 January 2016]. The Irish case was mistakenly reported here, whether by Stephen or by the reporter: it was in fact the case of Thomas Beckham (not Peckham), tried at Limerick (not Dublin) with another for the murder of a landlord. The murder and trial were widely reported in the Australian newspapers, e.g. a long report in the *Illawarra Mercury*, 22 August 1862, p. 3.
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20. *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913* <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>
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23. <http://www.austlii.edu.au/>
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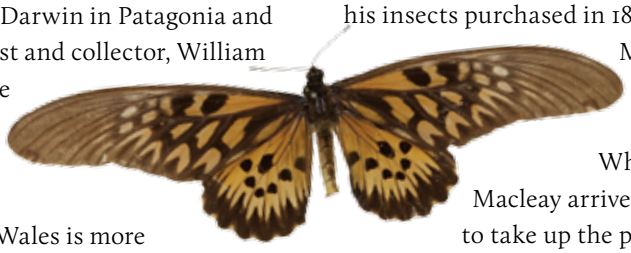
Insect Itineraries

FROM SIERRA LEONE, WEST AFRICA TO SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES

» DEIRDRE COLEMAN

There are two lice and a flea in the Macleay Museum at the University of Sydney. How tiny and insignificant, we might think, but these are highly prized specimens because of the people who collected them. The 'when' and 'where' of their capture add to their historical, scientific and cultural value. The flea was collected by Charles Darwin in Patagonia and given to the naturalist and collector, William Sharp Macleay, in the 1830s. The lice are even older, and the story of how they came to New South Wales is more complicated. They were collected in the South Atlantic Ocean near the Cape of Good Hope by Johann Reinhold Forster and his son George, naturalists on Cook's second voyage. In Forster senior's journal on board *HMS Resolution*, in an entry for 24 October 1772, we read of the killing of a wandering albatross and a description, *inter alia*, of two lice taken from its body — one male, one female. So how did these tiny lice travel to New South Wales? And what do their itineraries tell us about the acquisition and display of insects in the circuits of empire, crossing the globe alongside other specimens and commodities, including both free and enslaved peoples? We know that the Forsters, along with Captain Cook, sold specimens and artefacts to Sir Ashton Lever, a passionate collector and impresario who was so bankrupted by the scale of his purchases that he opened a natural history museum in London's Leicester Square, with admission available to anyone who could afford the fee. Unfortunately the museum's revenue did not keep pace with Lever's passions, so bankruptcy and dispersal followed, with several lots of his insects purchased in 1806 by Alexander Macleay (1767–1848), father of William Sharp Macleay.



When Alexander Macleay arrived in Sydney in 1826 to take up the post of colonial secretary, the lice travelled with him. Sixty years old and a passionate entomologist, Macleay had served as the Secretary of London's Linnean Society for 27 years from 1798 to 1825. In addition to the lice he brought with him approximately 60,000 entomological specimens, believed to be the finest private entomological collection in Europe at that time. His butterflies, moths and beetles, acquired at auctions in London for large sums over many years, are of great scientific and historical interest, but there is little documentation about them, and identification can be difficult. In 1888, Macleay's nephew donated the family's enormous collection to the University of Sydney, and the lice were lost from view until 1984, when they were rediscovered by one of the museum's curators.[1] Since Alexander Macleay

(above)
Detail of Fig. 9, p. 49

(right)
Detail of Fig. 8, p. 49

never missed an opportunity to purchase items from either bankrupt or deceased enthusiasts, many more valuable insects await rediscovery at the University's Macleay Museum. In 1805, a year before the auction of Lever's collections, another entomologist Dru Drury (1725–1803) provided Macleay with an unparalleled chance to embellish his cabinet with spectacular exotics and rare type specimens. Drury was a wealthy silversmith who paid collectors all around the world to procure insects for him. He was particularly covetous of African insects because of their rarity in English cabinets, but there was one trophy insect that he desired above all, the African Goliath beetle, one of the largest insects ever seen in eighteenth-century Europe. A single specimen, found floating in the river Gabon in equatorial West Africa, was brought to England in 1766 and sold to the anatomist William Hunter. This beetle, *Goliathus goliatus*, now sits in a cabinet in the Hunterian in Glasgow, dwarfing its companions (fig. 1). Hunter was generous, opening his collection to all curious naturalists and even

(top)

Fig. 1. William Hunter's Goliath beetle, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, UK.

PHOTO: D. COLEMAN

(below left)

Fig. 2. Hand-coloured illustration of William Hunter's beetle specimen, *Goliathus goliatus*, by Sydney Parkinson (1745?–1771). Gouache on vellum; 32 x 25.5 cm.

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(below right)

Fig. 3. Moses Harris's drawing of William Hunter's Goliathus, dated 1767, from Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History*, vol. 1, Pl. XXXI.

COURTESY QUEENSLAND MUSEUM PHOTO: GEOFF THOMPSON

(above left)

Fig. 4. *Goliathus drurii*

(above right)

Fig. 5. *Goliathus drurii*, matching Plate XL from Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History*, vol. 3.

lending the Goliath to various friends and artists. Sydney Parkinson (c. 1745–1771) was one of several artists to make a coloured drawing of it before embarking with Joseph Banks on the *Endeavour* in August 1768[2] (fig. 2). Moses Harris, the foremost entomological artist of his day, also figured this beetle, in 1767. But by a somewhat underhand route his exquisite hand-coloured plate ended up in the first volume of Drury's three-volume set, *Illustrations of Natural History* (1770, 1772, 1782) (fig. 3). Accompanying Harris's illustration was Drury's story of how the beetle had arrived in England. When Hunter saw that his prize specimen had been figured without his permission, or even any acknowledgement that he was its owner, he was very displeased, commenting that Drury had behaved 'in a way which he should not have expected'.[3]

The chicanery of passing off the Goliath as his own was not enough for Drury; he must own one himself. To this end in the late 1760s he furnished travellers to West Africa with prints of the beetle, urging them to show the pictures around to the natives and entreating them to find a specimen. None was forthcoming, however, principally because the Goliath was not a coastal insect, as thought, but an inland one. Drury's luck changed in 1771 when Henry Smeathman (1742–86), a self-taught naturalist, volunteered to travel to the West African coast. Basing himself on the picturesque Banana Islands off the southwest tip of the Sierra Leone peninsula, Smeathman collected specimens far and wide for a wealthy group of London-based naturalists. The chief movers of this African expedition were Drury, the young Joseph Banks (just returned from the first Cook voyage), and the Quaker physician John Fothergill. In 1775 Smeathman succeeded in locating and sending to Drury his very own Goliath beetle, named *Goliathus drurii* and figured on Plate XL in volume 3 of *Illustrations of Natural History* (1782). In 1805, at Drury's auction, this beetle cost the enormous sum of £12. 1s. 6d.[4] Long presumed lost, a lectotype[5] of *Goliathus drurii* has been found in the Macleay Museum, Sydney (figs 4–5). Other Goliathus beetles in the Macleay Museum appear to have come into the collections after 1838. One is a *Goliathus regius*, the other a *Goliathus cacicus* (figs 6–7). There are, however, other important African insects in the Macleay Museum collected by Smeathman and figured by Drury in the third volume of *Illustrations* (1782). These include Africa's largest butterfly, the magnificent and elusive giant African swallowtail, *Papilio antimachus.* This rare specimen, which Drury (truthfully) boasted had a wingspan of 'near eight inches and a half', was given pride of place as Plate I of volume 3, its outstretched wings bursting beyond the plate's perimeters (figs 8–9). Although my visit to the Macleay Museum was a brief one, with the help

(far left)

Fig. 6. *Goliathus regius*. The assigned location of Delagoa Bay, east Africa, is incorrect.

(left)

Fig. 7. *Goliathus cacicus*

of Curatorial Assistant Robert Blackburn we identified two more of Smeathman's African insects. One is a potential type specimen of *Mecynorrhina torquata*, described by Drury as a 'splendid and exceedingly rare' beetle which had flown on board a ship at Sierra Leone and was then 'taken on the awning on the following morning' (figs 10–11). The other is a lectotype moth identified as *Saturnia lucina* on Drury's Plate XXXIV, subsequently renamed *Bombyx lucina*, *Brahmaea lucina*, and most recently *Dactyloceras lucina* (figs 12–13).[6] In 1788 Drury boasted of his exotic insects that they were not just unique but 'in the highest and most exquisite state of preservation'.[7] Sadly, the same cannot be said of these insects today, but they are nevertheless in astonishingly good condition when we consider that they are nearly 250 years old and have been subject to a complex web of sales, loans, gifts, donations and exchanges.

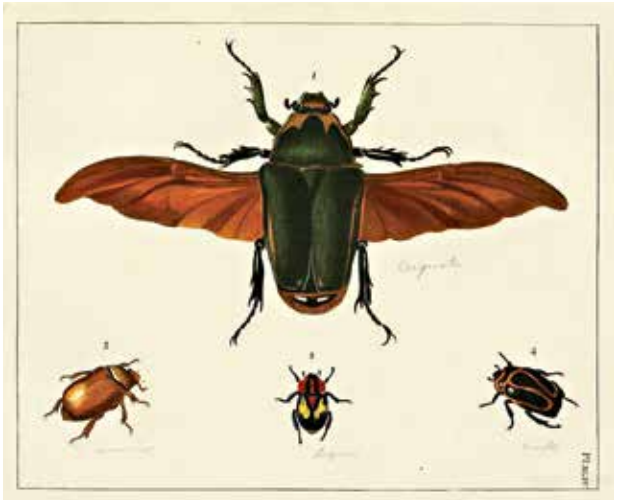
In 1920 the President of the Linnean Society of New South Wales lamented the 'fragmentary history' of Alexander Macleay's collection, especially the scant details regarding the insects' acquisition. Notable is his omission of West Africa from his long list of origin countries, such as Brazil, India, North Africa, Australia, and the West Indies.[8] The fact that these African insects, many of them valuable types, have been completely overlooked may account for their good condition, but their long lives are also testimony to Smeathman's skills as a collector. Fly-catching in the tropics was (and still is) an extremely tricky and frustrating business. The preservation of insects in wet and humid conditions involved the painstaking removal of all moisture to prevent decay and discolouration. This was followed by the challenge of getting the specimens back to England in tolerable condition. Unless the collector travelled on

(below left)

Fig. 9. *Papilio antimachus* matching Plate I from Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History*, vol. 3.

(below right)

Fig. 8. *Papilio antimachus*



(above left)

Fig. 10. *Mecynorrhina torquata* in the Macleay Museum

(above right)

Fig. 11. *Mecynorrhina torquata*, matching Plate XLIV from Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History*, vol. 3.

shipboard together with his boxes, the immense labour of collecting, preserving and packing the specimens could be lost in a moment. All it took was a ship captain's ignorance or the carelessness of sailors; and of course a rough sea often demanded the jettisoning of excess cargo. Also important was the location of the boxes on shipboard. When it came to the transport of plants, for instance, the 'putrid penetrating steam' of a ship's hold meant that the boxes needed to be kept well away from hatches which, when opened, too often proved fatal to all living things'.[9] As this sinister description of the hold suggests, the greatest obstacle to Smeathman's fly-catching success lay in the despatch of his boxes from Africa on slave ships. As the Quaker Fothergill explained to Linnaeus, these slave ships were laden 'with the wickedest of cargoes — men torn from everything that makes life worth while'. Venting his strong anti-slavery views, Fothergill described how the ships travelled to the West Indies via the Middle Passage, then back to England, a journey that involved long delays in which 'everything dies'.[10] There could be no guarantee of safe delivery at the journey's end. Drury too fretted in letters about his precious and valuable cargo, imagining it 'sweating in its voyage round by the West Indies',[11] a voyage which on average took two months. But in the end it was of course the 'practical naturalist' himself who ran the greatest risks.[12] Although Smeathman's expedition was potentially a lucrative one, with high prices driven even higher by the rivalry and acquisitiveness of his London-based sponsors, fly-catching in the tropics often demanded the ultimate price. For this reason, only the most intrepid of naturalists would travel to a perilous disease environment such as the hot and humid West African coast. As Drury himself conceded, it was a shocking fact that the value of specimens was high precisely because of the 'exceedingly unhealthy' countries from which they came — places where collectors 'perished by the severity of the climate'.[13] Remarkably, after four years off the coast of Africa and then another four years in the West Indies, Smeathman returned to tell the tale of his eight years in the tropics.

The rediscovery of Smeathman's African insects in the Macleay Museum brings into conjunction the serendipitous historical connection between the two settlements of Sierra Leone and Botany Bay, with debates focusing on which place would be preferable for settling freed black slaves, and which for convicted white felons.[14] The literal and metaphorical entanglement of the delicate bodies of African butterflies, moths and beetles with those of slaves was very much on Smeathman's mind when he first arrived on the African coast in 1771, a time of unprecedented growth in British slavery.[15] In a letter to Drury, Smeathman jokes about the odd, foppish figure he cut amongst the hardened traders all around him — a flycatcher with nets, pins, pocket boxes, and (most unwelcome) anti-slavery sentiments. Unlike the brutal collectors of human souls, Smeathman figured himself as a romantic Cupid in pursuit of Psyche: exquisite butterfly and apt emblem of the soul. But the flycatcher did not take long to adjust to the

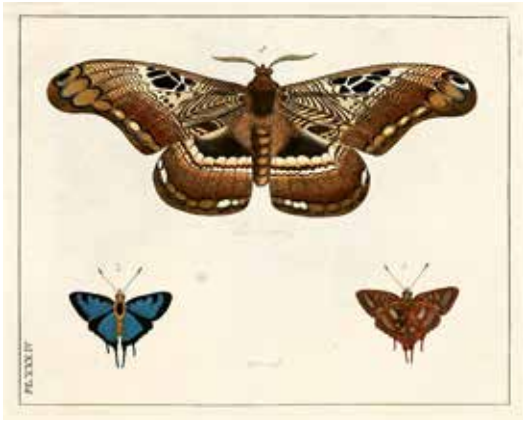
prevailing ethos and economy of the coast. We see him building a house on the Bananas and marrying several times into the local mulatto trading dynasties. He also played golf and whist with the traders on Bunce Island, a British slave factory up the Sierra Leone River, taking charge of the slavers' bush picnics and excursions. When eventually the work of collecting on the mainland grew too dangerous for his health, and the preservation of specimens in the tropics too utterly exasperating, he stayed closer to home on the Bananas, rearing pigs, sheep, goats and fowls, and growing a garden for the provisioning of slave ships. He even considered slave trading himself, joking in a letter to Banks, who was quite unfussed about slavery, that he might turn into 'a dealer in souls as well as a merchant of butterflies and nettles', adding that the young botanist who had arrived to help him could 'turn some of his studies under Dr. Linnaeus to an advantage in examining whether some specimens of the Primates here, will be likely to meet with an agreeable reception from the collectors in our Colonies'.[16] The prospect of trading in the souls of men rather than butterflies, and the likening of West Indian slave-owners to natural history collectors, probably raised a smile from Banks, not least because the joke was a learned one, taking its cue from Linnaeus's controversial arrangement of homo sapiens amongst the apes and monkeys.[17]

If Smeathman's life and letters bring out the close connections between Linnaean natural history, collecting, and slavery, Drury's *Illustrations* dramatise the impact of Linnaeus on the pictorial representation of specimens. Gone are the lavish, baroque illustrations in which insects appear in their various metamorphoses, crawling or flying amidst the plants they feed upon.[18] Instead, Drury's insects are described, arranged, and named according to the new Linnaean system, with the plates organised formally in a grid pattern, as can be seen here in volume 3, Plate XIII, depicting the *Heliconiidæ* (fig. 14). This new format of systematic display projected the insects as primarily scientific specimens, organised according to their genera. If such an arrangement enhanced Drury's professional identity as a serious collector in command of the most up-to-date classificatory systems, he nevertheless wanted to give his readers more than just the insect's anatomical description and 'external figure'. The decontextualised artefact which had come to dominate networks of circulation and exchange might suffice for local insects, whose habitats were known or easily accessible, but more textual information was needed to reanimate the exotic, i.e. foreign, insects in which he specialised. This predilection ran counter to the general trend of most eighteenth-century taxonomists and collectors. Even the geography of specimens was neglected, with Linnaeus and Johan Fabricius using the vague descriptor 'In Indiis' to designate either the West or the East Indies. From the start of his entomological career, Drury was keen to avoid vagueness by restoring his exotic insects to their habitats. For instance, the 'Catalogue' of his 11,000 insects carefully noted the localities of many of his specimens. The fact that so many collectors were incurious about their insects struck Drury as a missed opportunity for enhancing the value of their collections.

Drury took advantage of Smeathman's return to England in 1779 to offer his purchasers something new with his third volume: the natural histories of his African insects based on patient, eye-witness observation and detailed knowledge of specific

(top left)

Fig. 12. *Bombyx lucina*



(left)

Fig. 13. *Bombyx lucina* matching Plate XXXIV from Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History*, vol. 3.

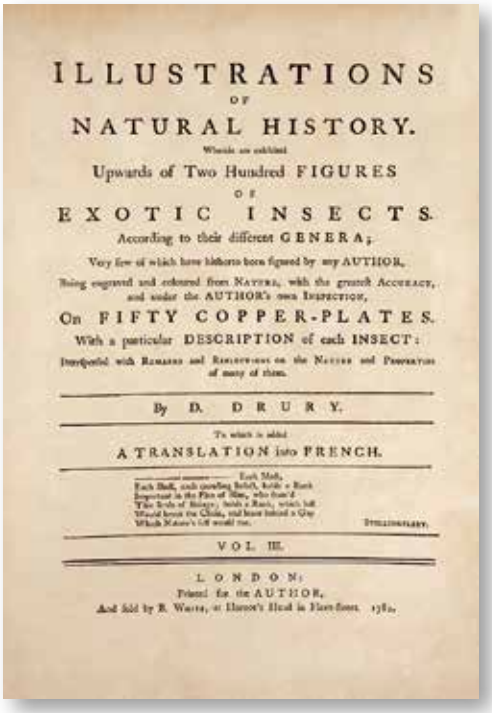
(above)

Fig. 14. *Heliconiidæ* from Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History*, vol. 3, Pl. XIII.

COURTESY QUEENSLAND MUSEUM PHOTO: GEOFF THOMPSON

localities and habitats. Such natural histories, Drury wrote, 'can only be known to those living on the spot, and who have speculation enough to observe them'. To this end he dedicated twelve pages to a section entitled 'Remarks on the Insects, contained in this work, communicated by Mr. Henry Smeathman'.[19] These remarks regarding the insects' 'manners', 'economy' and geography are poetical as well as informative, with certain species of butterflies described as 'congregating in the paths, and in the thick shade of a forest, ten or a dozen in a circle round a little puddle or moist spot'. While these butterflies might prefer the most 'gloomy recesses' sheltered from the breeze, others, like the *Heliconii*, delighted to 'bask and sport as much as possible in the sunshine, retiring towards sunset, in great crowds, to particular bushes'. These sun-loving butterflies were very difficult to catch during daytime because of the intense heat, but they could be found 'in great numbers in those places, where they breed', near towns and in open and cultivated spots such as old rice plantations or cassava grounds.[20] Because West Africa, especially its interior, was *terra incognita*, such mini-narratives of Smeathman's wide-ranging adventures through ancient forests and across savannahs were highly engaging. Also of interest was the larger story of his 'cramped and embarrassed' circumstances in West Africa, and the general hostility of those 'assiduously engaged in the sole pursuit of wealth', i.e. the slave traders.

Volume 3 of Drury's *Illustrations* (fig. 15) reflects the global reach of European voyaging as well as the new knowledge generated by travel in the late eighteenth century. As a lover of entomology, Drury's personal quest was to figure and describe insects from all parts of the globe — Africa, the Caribbean, South America, and Asia — insects which had never before been seen in Europe. He was also keen to collect nondescript antipodean insects. In the last few years of his long life, Drury provided John William Lewin with financial backing and all the collecting apparatus he needed for his expedition to New South Wales, just as he had done thirty years earlier for Smeathman's expedition to Africa.[21] The international networks of correspondence and exchange which underpinned such ambitious global collecting can be seen in Drury's Letterbook where he cajoles his collectors in the field to


ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
NATURAL HISTORY.
Wherein are exhibited
Upwards of Two Hundred FIGURES
OF
EXOTIC INSECTS
According to their different GENERA;
Very few of which have hitherto been figured by any AUTHOR,
Being engraved and coloured from NATURE, with the greatest ACCURACY,
and under the AUTHOR's own INSPECTION,
On FIFTY COPPER-PLATES.
With a particular DESCRIPTION of each INSECT:
Interspersed with REMARKS and REFLECTIONS on the NATURE and PRESERVATION
of many of them.
By D. DRURY.
To which is added
A TRANSLATION into FRENCH.
VOL. III.
LONDON:
Printed for the AUTHOR,
And Sold by B. White, at Horace's Head in Fleet-street. 1782.

(right)

Fig. 15. Title page of vol. 3 of Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History*.

COURTESY QUEENSLAND MUSEUM PHOTO: GEOFF THOMPSON

ever greater efforts, and schemes and colludes with his rich friends to get the best price for the specimens collected. With others such as Joseph Banks and John Fothergill, Drury was bent on pursuing his own little piece of immortality, even if that sometimes meant resorting to dishonest means in the process. Nor was this only a man's game. The Duchess of Portland, Britain's richest woman, contributed £100 to Smeathman's expedition in its second year, so keen was she to build on her already substantial collections of shells, corals and beautiful butterflies.[22]

Today the Banana Islands are a remote tourist destination, but in the 1770s these picturesque islands were at the heart of slave embarkation. Wherever possible ship captains would avoid bringing their vessels too close to the continent's unhealthy, mangrove-studded coast with its big rolling surf, preferring to anchor more safely at off-shore islands, with their healthier air and cooling breezes. This history can be seen at Kent beach, the nearest point on the mainland to the Bananas. While a slave-master's house is now a local school, the grimly dark slave hole underneath is a reminder of the dreadful holding conditions awaiting slaves brought down from the interior to the coast. Small boats would then ferry them across to the Bananas, just as the boats now ferry tourists. There is also at Kent beach an extensive slave yard with some remnants of the perimeter walls and several ornate gateposts at the main entrance. Everything is crumbling away for want of archaeological work so that, in time, nothing will remain of this slaveyard. The slave factory on Bunce island, where Smeathman played golf and whist with the traders, is also very ruinous, although American funds have recently helped preserve what is left. Of the enslaved Africans themselves, shipped from Sierra Leone, there are few material remains. Fear of ship uprisings meant that most were taken on board naked, apart from meagre strings or strips of cloth for modesty's sake. This meant that very few personal goods crossed the middle passage. When so much has been lost, the survival of the frail bodies of insects collected from the West African slave coast prompts us to wonder about what these memorials of the past might mean. That these insects, valuable in large part because of the risks of looking for them, would travel, in the end, within cabinets and across continents to Australia speaks to their high scientific value in the rarefied world of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collectors. But the insects also point beyond themselves, to their fraught journeys across the middle passage. This lends them symbolic weight so that we too, like Drury and Fothergill, are haunted by their proximity to the suffering of so many Africans, captured and transported into the ownership of a new type of colonial collector. ¶

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Historical taxonomy is a time-consuming and complex field, especially for the non-entomologist humanities scholar. For their specialist knowledge and for their enthusiasm, I would like to thank Geoff Thompson, Collection Manager, Insects, Biodiversity Program at the Queensland Museum and Robert Blackburn, Curatorial Assistant at the Macleay Museum.

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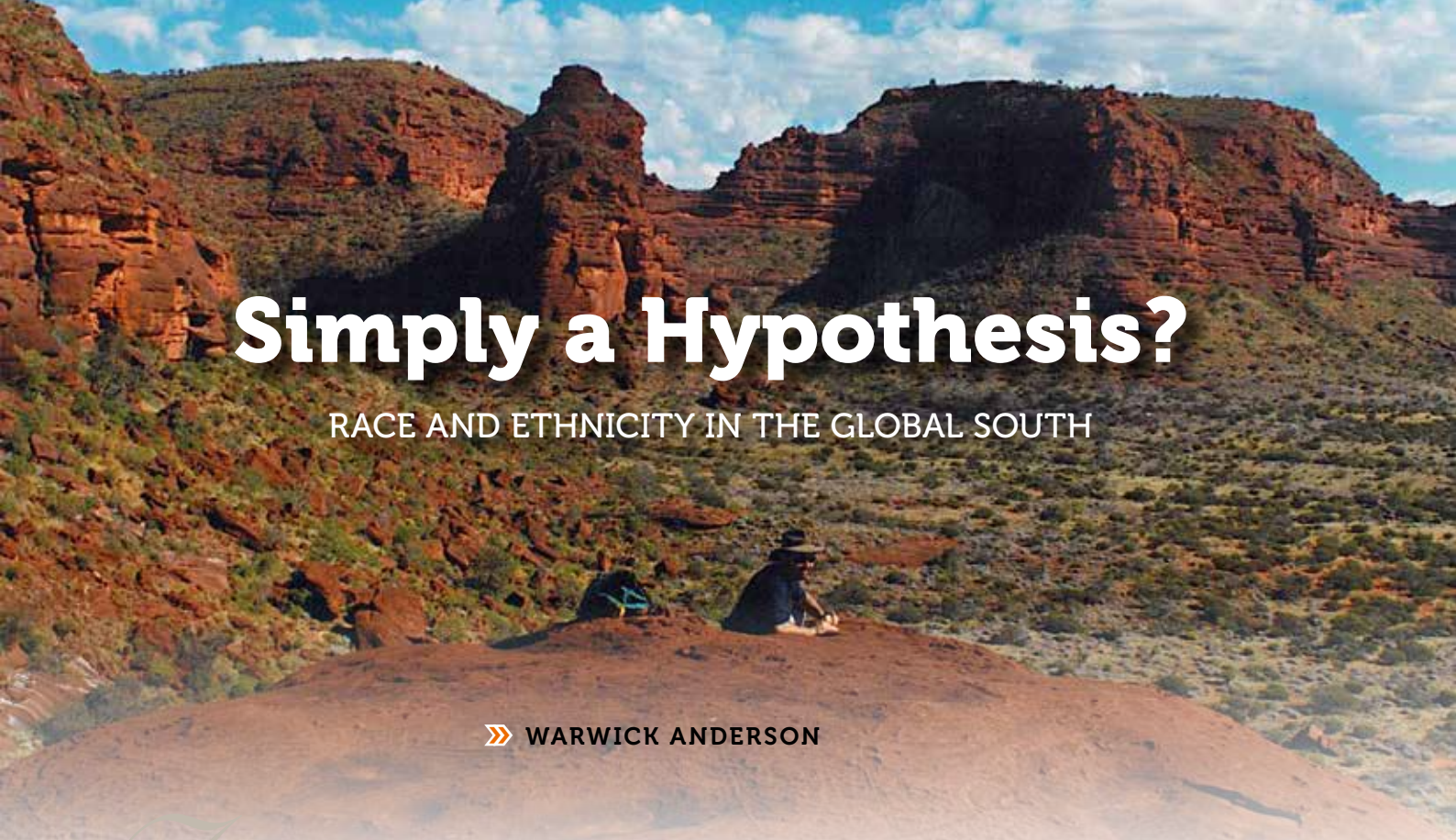
1. See Ricardo L. Palma, 'Two Bird Lice (Insecta: Phthiraptera) Collected During Captain Cook's 2nd Voyage Around the World', *Archives of Natural History*, 18: 2 (1991), 237–247. For the neglect of the Macleay collections in the twentieth century, see Robyn Stacey and Ashley Hay, *Museum: The Macleays, their Collections and the Search for Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 42–46.
2. Parkinson had easy access to the specimen because he lived in Queen's Head Court, very close to Hunter's house in Windmill Street; see E. Geoffrey Hancock and A. Starr Douglas, 'William Hunter's Goliath Beetle, *Goliathus goliatus* (Linnaeus, 1771), Re-visited', *Archives of Natural History*, 36: 2 (2009), 218–230. See also their earlier 'Insect collecting in Africa during the Eighteenth Century and William Hunter's

Collection', *Archives of Natural History* 34: 2 (2007), 293–306.

3. William Hunter, quoted in Hancock and Douglas, 'William Hunter's Goliath Beetle…', p. 221.
4. See J. O. Westwood, *Illustrations of Exotic Entomology: Containing Upwards of Six Hundred and Fifty Figures and Descriptions of Foreign Insects, Interspersed with Remarks and Reflections on their Nature and Properties,* 3 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1837), I, p. 55.
5. A lectotype is a single specimen that is the name bearer of the species.
6. When Drury first published, entomology was a simpler science than it is now. Over time the identity of many of his insects have been 'corrected', with changes to the genus happening quite regularly in many taxa. More information on the Lucina moth can be found at <http://www.zobodat.at/pdf/Galathea_17_0189-0197.pdf>.
7. Quoted in Westwood, *Illustrations of Exotic Entomology*, I, p. vii.
8. See 'The Society's Heritage from the Macleays', in *The Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales for the year 1920* (Sydney: The Sydney and Melbourne Publishing Company, 1920–21), vol. XLV, p. 570. The stunning section on entomology in Stacey and Hay, *Museum: The Macleays, their Collections and the Search for Order*, does not include many African insects, apart from a Goliath and a whistle cricket which Linnaeus used to name the species.
9. See John Ellis, *Directions for Bringing over Seeds and Plants, from the East-Indies and other Distant Countries, in a State of Vegetation: Together with a Catalogue of such Foreign Plants as are Worthy of being Encouraged in our American Colonies, for the Purposes of Medicine, Agriculture, and Commerce. To Which is Added, the Figure and Botanical Description of a New Sensitive Plant, called Diona Muscipula: or, Venus's Fly-Trap* (London: L. Davis, printer for the Royal Society, 1770), pp. 1, 7, 9, 15, 17.
10. John Fothergill to Linnaeus, April 1774, in *Chain of Friendship: Selected Letters of Dr John Fothergill of London, 1735–1780*, ed. by B. C. Corner and C. C. Booth (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 409.
11. Drury to Smeathman, 20 Nov 1772 (p. 254), *Dru Drury Letterbook*, 1761–1783, Entomological Special Collections, Natural History Museum, London, call number SB.f.D.6.
12. For the distinction between the scientific and the practical naturalist, see Anne Laurine Larsen, 'Not Since Noah: The English Scientific Zoologists and the Craft of Collecting, 1800–1840' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 1993), p. 44.
13. Quoted in Westwood, *Illustrations of Exotic Entomology*, I, p. vii.
14. See Deirdre Coleman, *Romantic Colonization and British Anti-Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
15. See Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade, 1740–1807', in *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery,* ed. by David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz and Anthony Tibbles (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), pp. 46–48.
16. Smeathman to Banks, 12 April 1773, from Uppsala, Uppsala University Library, Wallers manuskriptsamling; The Waller Manuscript Collection, gb-01577.
17. Many found the classification of humans with *Mammalia* offensive. Thomas Pennant rejected Linnaeus' system altogether on these grounds, complaining 'my vanity will not suffer me to rank mankind with *Apes*, *Monkies*, *Maucaucos*, and *Bats*, the companions Linnaeus has allotted us even in his last System'; see his Preface to *History of Quadrupeds* (London: B. White, 1781), pp. iii–iv.
18. For a well-known instance of baroque illustration see Maria Sibylla Merian's *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium* (Amsterdam: the author and Gerard Valck, 1705).
19. Dru Drury, *Illustrations of Natural History*, 3 vols, (London: B. White, 1770; 1773; 1782), III, pp. xv–xxvi.
20. Ibid., III, p. xxii.
21. Lewin set off for New South Wales in 1798, and in 1805 published *Prodromus Entomology. Or, a Natural History of the Lepidopterous Insects of New South Wales*. For more on Lewin, see Richard Neville, *Mr J. W. Lewin: Painter and Naturalist* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2012).
22. For the Duchess of Portland's collecting activities, see Beth Fowkes Tobin, *The Duchess's Shells: Natural History Collecting in the Age of Cook's Voyages* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).



Simply a Hypothesis?

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

» WARWICK ANDERSON

I can't say that it's typical of the discipline, but I do know that after I finish a research project I like to move on to something different, whether in time or place or method. On the few occasions I feel compelled to return to a historical topic, it's because some new, and often surprising, perspective or approach acts on me like a lodestone. So it was when around 2010 I proposed the research programme that came to be embedded in my application to the Australian Research Council (ARC) for a Laureate Fellowship. I felt the need to reframe and extend my earlier studies of the sciences of 'whiteness' in Australia, which had begun as long ago as the 1980s and culminated in the publication of *The Cultivation of Whiteness* in 2002.[1] At the time of my ARC application, my colleagues thought the grant-writing exercise probably futile, since so few humanities scholars had succeeded in adapting their proposed research to the science model supposedly favoured in that scheme. But I had trained in medicine and done a little scientific research, so believed I knew the tricks, subterfuges and disguises that might get me past any doorkeepers. Additionally, I thought I had an irresistible proposal — but then, don't we all. It meant returning to the topic of my first book — back to a subject that had acquired new aspects and fresh appeal, or so I imagined, while I had been distracted, and diverted elsewhere. Now was the moment, I told myself, to look again at ideas about race in the southern hemisphere, this time from new angles, different standpoints.

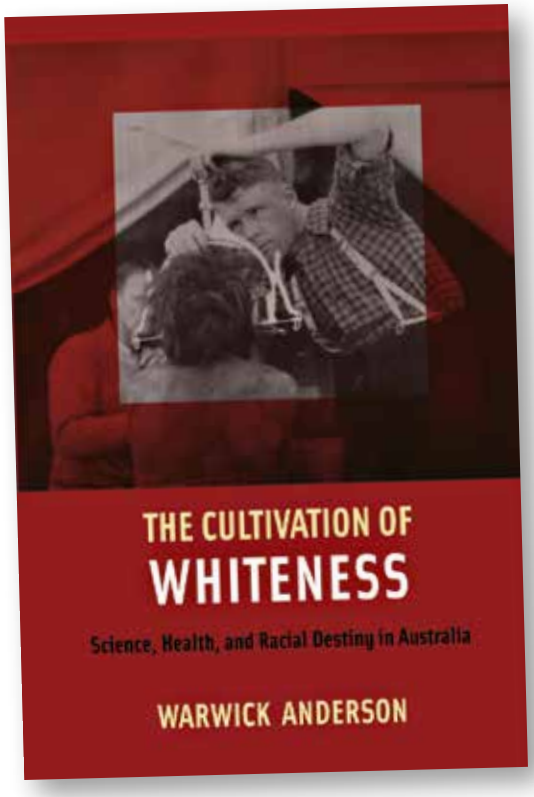
Each published book grows up differently and follows a distinctive life course. I saw *Cultivation of Whiteness* as a novel analysis of the co-constitution of racial science and the imagined virile, white Australian nation. It was an attempt to represent Australia as a site of knowledge-making about human and environmental difference, and not just a place that received all its ideas from elsewhere, or served as a data mine for North Atlantic savants. It was a critical archaeology of the sciences of whiteness in this country; an attempt to situate scientific knowledge-making in the white nation. Accordingly, a junior historian of science in the United States complained that the monograph had failed to address 'real' race science, which, so it seemed, took place only along the North Atlantic littoral.[2] When a senior cultural historian at Berkeley claimed dismissively over dinner that there was never any 'positive' science of whiteness in the United States, unlike exceptional Australia, I insisted his views indicated the failure to recognise the implicit whiteness of the unmarked subjects of much biomedical research in his own country. (American biological and biomedical sciences still await a critical historical study equivalent to *Cultivation of Whiteness*, though recent

(above)

Fig. 1. Anderson conducting research for *Cultivation of Whiteness*, Palm Valley, Central Australia, 1999.

PHOTO: ROSEMARY ROBINS

signs suggest they are catching up.) Ordinary readers in Australia were more astute: they saw more clearly why the book mattered. A leader of Australia First denounced me as a 'race traitor' — an old school, rinky-dink phrasing that pleased me though my infamy proved disappointingly evanescent.[3] The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Adelaide surprisingly offered an apology to Aboriginal people over the scientific research revealed in *Cultivation of Whiteness*. (If only 'impact' had counted back then!) More pertinently, perhaps, Tim Rowse reproved me in a perceptive review for not making any comparisons with racial thought in New Zealand and the Pacific — an observation that shook me out of the national niche I had so deliberately and pragmatically occupied.[4] Thus, as *Cultivation of Whiteness* moved about in the world, gaining a life of its own, its reception taught me more about what sort of book I had written — and how it might be done differently.



The Laureate Fellowship research proposal crystallised suddenly in discussions following a lecture I gave in Rio de Janeiro early in 2010. I could tell you the hour, if not the minute, when it was formulated. My hosts had asked me to talk about my earlier inquiries into racial thought in Australia, so I focused on the last chapter of *Cultivation of Whiteness*, concerning the scientific rationalisation for administrative proposals in the 1930s to 'absorb' biologically mixed-race Aboriginal people into white Australia. Heeding Rowse's advice, I also considered scientific arguments in interwar New Zealand for the 'amalgamation' of Maori and Pakeha. My audience in Rio was puzzled. 'You are talking about Anglo settler societies', someone pointed out, 'yet these are Latin race formations'. Another interlocutor sketched the apparent similarities of racial thought and policy between Australia and Argentina, and between New Zealand and Mexico, during the same period. 'How can this be so?' she asked. That's an intriguing question, I thought — strong enough, perhaps, to justify a Laureate Fellowship proposal. I spent most of the long flight back to Sydney, skirting the South Pole, pondering racial conceptions and formations across the southern hemisphere.

It frustrated and irritated me that so much of our 'southern' intellectual history was based on facile diffusionist models, not unlike those prevailing in theories of 'modernisation' and 'development'. The history of ideas in Australia, especially those ideas deemed scientific, still seemed to replay an aggressive cold-war Atlanticism: science often was presented as a derivative discourse, or at most a minor language, in the southern hemisphere. It was this abiding sense of irritation that had prompted me to reconstruct, and in a sense re-place, the history of concepts of human and environmental difference in the settler society, to situate knowledge-making about race in the national story — but I may have been too rigorous in enforcing the quarantine barrier. 'What about south-south intellectual connections?', I now wondered. Could one discern a general southern-hemisphere distinction in racial thought in the twentieth century, or at least regional gradations in racial sensibilities and practices? What did we really know about southern intellectual currents? As I wrote at the time:

(above)

Fig. 2. Cover of *Cultivation of Whiteness* by Warwick Anderson, (Duke University Press, 2006).

For hundreds of years, the southern hemisphere has been the scene of intensive biological and sociological investigation of the nature of human difference. Well into the twentieth century, physical anthropologists were meticulously measuring thousands of people to determine their racial character; human biologists, emerging in the 1920s, applied evolutionary and ecological theories to understand the adaptation of southern peoples to their environments; and after World War II, biological anthropologists increasingly conducted genetic surveys across the global south. These biological inquiries into what it means to be human generated scientific debate around the world; reshaped and challenged ideas about race; and informed national policies concerning Indigenous peoples, race mixing, and selective immigration across the southern hemisphere. Yet today we know little about these scientific activities. As a result, the recent historical forces shaping human identity in the global south — and elsewhere — remain somewhat obscure.[5]

Throwing caution to blustery austral winds, then, I proposed a critical historical inquiry into patterns of racial thought across settler societies of the southern hemisphere, a study comparative in method and style, transnational and inter-colonial in scope. Even more unguardedly, I frequently substituted

(above)

Fig. 3 White Australian scientist and Aboriginal man in the central desert of Australia, 1930s.

COURTESY NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA, CECIL JOHN HACKETT PAPERS, MS 9580

'global south' for southern hemisphere in this prospectus, partly as a less clunky designation, but mostly because it drew attention to certain political and economic configurations, a particular historical composition, and avoided geographical pedantry. As it happened, this heuristic — for that is what it is — proved less controversial than I expected. Later still, we brazenly incorporated it in the shorthand name for the project: Race and Ethnicity in the Global South, or REGS.

Like a proper scientist, I began with a working hypothesis: I claimed that human biology might look quite different when viewed from southern perspectives. What did this mean? Well, it could be said that the conventional — for my purposes, North Atlantic — history of ideas about race and human difference in the twentieth century was pre-occupied with fixed racial classifications or Mendelian typologies, policies of racial separation and segregation, hard-line eugenics, and condemnation of race mixing. Of course, such concerns and enthusiasms could be found also in southern settler societies, especially in parts of northern Australia, and in South Africa after the 1930s. But I wondered if we might detect, too, greater (even if piecemeal and scattered) southern interest in racial plasticity, environmental adaptation, blurring of racial boundaries, endorsement of biological absorption of Indigenous people, and tolerance of the formation of new or blended races. In other words, should we continue to confine more dynamic and flexible 'Latin' views of human difference to South America? 'Although white privilege would be maintained in the Global South', I wrote, 'its conceptual framework, institutional structure, and even perceptual boundary often varied'.[6] It struck me as a useful research question, even if I ran the risk of appearing to imply some sort of geographical or regional essentialism, or suggesting that our racism somehow was less nasty than their racism. But claims depending on 'standpoint' or situated knowledge always delicately need to skirt essentialist speculation; and the historicising of race requires special care to avoid any sort of exonerative declension. And, after all, I was postulating a hypothesis, a stimulus to rigorous inquiry — a question, and not the definitive answer. The Laureate Fellowship might provide the ideal laboratory in which to test such a hypothesis.[7]

I felt I was being pulled up one of those vast Pacific swells, which Herman Melville described so evocatively. The wave of critical postcolonial scholarship pushing us to situate knowledge, provincialise Europe, think of Pacific historicity, treat Asia as method, and locate southern theory, was carrying me along.

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My interest in such dispersive logics derived in part from discussion back in the 1990s with Greg Dening, Dipesh Chakrabarty and Patrick Wolfe (among others at the Institute for Postcolonial Studies in Melbourne), conversations that had led me to advocate, in a series of manifestos, the postcolonial study of science.[8] My focus in these programmatic tracts had been on Asia, but now it seemed timely to think more generally about the global south.[9] Thus the current drew me toward the recent work of my colleague at Sydney, Raewyn Connell, who was urging us to consider the global south as a site for theory in the social sciences.[10] It led me to read more carefully the South Asian subaltern histories and to look at efforts by radical Latin American scholars to destabilise geopolitical intellectual dominance.[11] Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, among others, made me think again about comparative, transnational, and oceanic histories, and how one might not so much sketch the global colour line as restore the global colour palette, revealing particularly its disingenuous and meretricious tones and variations.[12]

During the previous decade, while in the United States, various obligations and commissions had dragooned me into reflecting on comparison-making and comparability.

Reluctantly, I began to participate in Ann Laura Stoler's bold and provocative effort to examine intimacy and sentiment in United States (US) history from postcolonial perspectives. Although I admired Stoler's deftness in combining anthropological insight and sensibility with historical method, I initially was wary of her structural or typological approach to comparison. Grumbling, I chose to compare practices of racial hygiene, reproductive regimes, and classificatory schemes at the Culion leper colony, in US-occupied Philippines, and a 'half-caste' children's home in outback Australia. Somewhat sententiously, I wrote:

> Elsewhere I have argued for the tracing of genealogical ties between imperial center and colony, and between colonies, rather than resorting to the collection of apparently unrelated homologies. Comparison of different models has often proven idle and unrewarding. What does it mean if one thing happens to look like something else? What does it tell us about cause and effect, about historical agency? Yet it now appears that a comparative study of sites as different as settler Australia and the Philippines under the American colonial regime can help us understand processes as elusive as the creation of national subjects — provided we hold constant our focus, that is, so long as we find a sensitive and specific 'sampling device'.[13]

I concluded my chapter in *Haunted by Empire* with the hope that I had 'demonstrated that a taxonomic gaze allows one to discern patterns and relationships that otherwise would remain obscure. Even so, such a gaze still seems to me a distancing, imperial optic — and therefore one we should use with caution.'[14] In the Laureate Fellowship project I was proposing mostly genealogical or historical comparison of racial thought and practice across the southern hemisphere, that is, tracing historical figures as they moved about intellectually, making comparisons and speculating on human and environmental difference. But through working with Stoler, and sometimes against her, I had

(below)

Fig. 4 Anderson with Masasa and Fore people, Okapa, Papua New Guinea, 2003.

PHOTO: THOMAS P. STRONG

also come to appreciate the value of static or modal comparisons, assays of cognate political rationalities in seemingly separate places, such as Latin America and Australasia. (The sort of 'surprising' comparison that Benedict Anderson engaged in, especially in *Under Three Flags* and *The Spectre of Comparisons*, also was appealing to those of us interested in Southeast Asia.[15]) As it turned out, further historical inquiry often showed that the apparent intellectual estrangement or separation of the southern continents was illusory, and such typological or taxonomic or serial (as Ben Anderson would put it) comparison was redundant. In any case, the proposed research would become fundamentally a reflection on different styles of comparison-making and the protocols of historical comparability.

In setting up a 'laboratory' it's important to allocate work carefully, or at least to look as though one knows how to assign tasks. I proposed to recruit a number of postdoctoral research associates (PDRAs) who would identify and, in effect, translate the various imperial and postcolonial paper trails across the southern hemisphere in the twentieth century, encompassing Spanish, Portuguese, and German archives — while I concentrated on Anglophone and Francophone materials. Eventually, so I thought, we would come together to compare and connect such vernaculars of human biology and dialects of difference. Thus the project might also serve to overcome some of the linguistic limitations of much Australian historical writing. Thinking like a scientist, I regarded the Laureate fellowship principally as a means of expanding our scholarly repertoire, or building research capacity — that is, as a way to develop a productive laboratory in which we could train new researchers to discover previously obscure historical patterns. Therefore it was necessary to structure the project around the cultivation of fresh fields of scholarly endeavour and the mentoring of early-career researchers— without heaping further laurels on the chief investigator's over-laden brow.

Like books, Laureate Fellowships take on a life of their own once they are hatched. From the moment I received my laureate lapel pin in Melbourne (which a colleague unkindly remarked made me look like a Rotarian), the research programme started to shift shape and take on unanticipated incidentals and appurtenances. So much depended on the recruitment of PDRAs and other affiliates. As it happened, expertise on Australasia, Latin America, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia abounded, whereas we received few applications from historians versed in Indian Ocean, South Asian, and African circuits of knowledge. Perversely, perhaps, most applicants came from North America and Europe. We went with the flow, as it were. During the past three years or so, we've held conferences and workshops on racial thought and Pacific futures; comparative racialisations in Southeast Asia; south-south connections, especially between Latin America and Australia; and Lusophone racial conceptions across the global south. We are planning further symposia on the genetic exploration of Australasia and the Pacific, on race mixing, and German racial thought in the Pacific. We've hosted visiting scholars, arranged public lectures, and set up a first-book workshop. Fortunately, two efficient and engaged administrative assistants made sure stuff happened: Rod Taveira, now a lecturer in the US Studies Centre at the University of Sydney; and for most of this period, James Dunk, who recently submitted his PhD thesis in history. Our intellectual activities have given rise to a score of articles and five or more book manuscripts (including my long-delayed 'global' historical study of the scientific investigation of mixed-race populations in the twentieth century). Additionally, we are still busy turning the conference proceedings into special issues of journals and essay collections.

Since we have eighteen months to go, it's premature to evaluate the whole fellowship programme. There's talk, for instance, of funding a postdoctoral fellow for a year to begin to repair our neglect of the Indian Ocean and southern Africa. There's time for another conference, another colloquium, another subsidiary project, and certainly more integrative, informal discussions. Necessarily, our coverage has been unsystematic and partial, perhaps even fragmentary, revealing what we don't yet know as much as explaining what we do know — we keep lighting out

into new territories before settling old ones. As in most team efforts, recurrent problems of coordination and alignment can challenge coherence — though maybe a sort of contrapuntal narrative, or a mosaic of knowledge as William James put it, is more faithful to our sources.[16] In any case, we keep managing to generate new research careers and propel people into pioneering scholarly trajectories — almost too successfully, as it's been hard to retain PDRAs for more than a couple of years. Miranda Johnson now teaches comparative Indigenous histories at Sydney; Ricardo Roque has a tenured position in Lisbon; Christine Winter earned an ARC Future Fellowship, leading to a professorial research fellowship at Flinders University; and Sebastián Gil-Riaño will soon be an assistant professor at the University of Pennsylvania. I could go on, but evidently the Laureate Fellowship has begun, though multiple intellectual itineraries and diverging routes, to transform research in the history of science and racial thought, lending it southern inflections, sometimes an Australian accent. It seems, at least, a good beginning.[17]

Some fifteen years ago, the local reception of *Cultivation of Whiteness*, with its absorption into contemporary debates about Australian racism, both surprised and intrigued me. Unexpectedly, I became involved in a minor skirmish on the margins of the history wars, and I felt exposed and poorly equipped.[18] But like many veterans, I now recall those battles with a frisson of nostalgia and a pervading sense of regret for lost youth and clarity and drive. I suspect such moments of public engagement have passed for most of my generation, as accumulated laurels immobilise us, or as we meander toward retirement — even if the struggle continues. Racism abides in our communities, but its manifestations can be subtle and specific and disconcerting. It seemed to me from the beginning that this Laureate Fellowship research programme should function as a kind of historical sampling device or search engine, locating and examining the various ingenious and slippery forms of racial thought and practice in southern settler societies and their environs. We need to understand our particular racisms, especially the enigmatic ones, so we know what to look for and guard against. And we need to train new generations of humanities scholars to betray racial codes, artfully. ¶

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1. Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), reprinted in the United States by Basic Books (2003) and Duke University Press (2006). See also Warwick Anderson, 'Traveling White', in *Reorienting Whiteness*, ed. by Leigh Boucher, Katherine Ellinghaus and Jane Carey (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 65–72.
2. Elizabeth Green Musselman, 'Review of Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia*', *Isis,* 95 (2004), 497–98.

3. Warwick Anderson, 'Confessions of a Race Traitor', *Arena Magazine,* 30 *(*August 1997), 35–36.
4. Tim Rowse, 'Review of Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia*', *Australian Book Review*, 241 (2002), 15. Another prompt was *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race*, 1750–1940, ed. by Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2008).
5. Warwick Anderson, 'Racial Conceptions in the Global South', *Isis,* 105 (2014), 782–92 (p. 782).
6. Anderson, 'Racial Conceptions', p. 783.
7. This framing of the proposal proved useful in responding to an assessor who disagreed passionately with many of my premises, which he took to be conclusions: I could write in the rejoinder that his fervour clearly indicated the importance of the topic, and confirmed the need to *test the hypothesis*. (I say 'he' because the assessor was readily identified.)
8. See Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas, 1774–1880* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980); Greg Dening, *Beach Crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures, and Self* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Patrick Wolfe, 'Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race', *American Historical Review*, 106 (2001), 866–905.
9. Essays in this vein include Warwick Anderson and Vincanne Adams, 'Pramoedya's Chickens: Postcolonial Studies of Technoscience', in *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies,* 3rd edn, ed. by Edward J. Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska, Michael Lynch and Judy Wajcman (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 181–204; and Warwick Anderson, 'From Subjugated Knowledge to Conjugated Subjects: Science and Globalisation, or Postcolonial Studies of Science?', *Postcolonial Studies,* 12 (2009), 389–400, 'Asia as Method in Science and Technology Studies', *East Asian Science, Technology and Society Journal,* 6 (2012), 445–51, and 'Postcolonial Science Studies', in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences,* 2nd edn, ed. by James D. Wright (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), pp. 652–57.
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11. In particular, Fernando Coronil, 'Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories', *Cultural Anthropology,* 11 (1996), 51–87; and Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
12. *Connected Worlds: History in Trans-National Perspective*, ed. by Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2006); and Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
13. Warwick Anderson, 'States of Hygiene: Race "Improvement" and Biomedical Citizenship in Australia and the Colonial Philippines', in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. by Ann Laura Stoler (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 94–115 (p. 111).
14. Anderson, 'States of Hygiene', pp. 111–12.
15. Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2005), and *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World* (London: Verso, 1998). As Benedict Anderson put it, 'the most instructive comparisons are those that surprise' ('Frameworks of Comparison', *London Review of Books*, 38 [21 January 2016], 15–18, p. 18). See also Warwick Anderson and Hans Pols, 'Scientific Patriotism: Medical Science and National Self-Fashioning in Southeast Asia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 54 (2012), 93–113.
16. 'Life is in the transitions as much as in the terms connected' (William James, *Essays in Radical Empiricism* [New York: Longman, Green and Co., 1911], p. 87). See also Warwick Anderson, 'Edge Effects in Science and Medicine', *Western Humanities Review*, 69 (2015), 373–84.
17. Many postgraduate students and research affiliates have also contributed to the success of our research programmes, too many to list here.
18. On the Australian history wars, see Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003); and Bain Attwood, *Telling the Truth About Aboriginal History* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2005). For my views on the related international 'science wars', see Warwick Anderson, 'Waiting for Newton? From Hydraulic Societies to the Hydraulics of Globalization', in *Force, Movement, Intensity: The Newtonian Imagination and the Humanities and Social Sciences*, ed. by Ghassan Hage and Emma Kowal (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2011), pp. 128–35.

Life with Sea Views

» MICHELLE DE KRETSER

They lived in a brown house on a green hill. At twilight bats swooped through lighted rooms and the little girls shrieked and covered their heads with their arms.

Beyond the fields lay the railway line, curving along the coast. While they slept under mosquito nets, cotton nighties tangled about their thighs, the night mail whistled round the bend. Limbs in flight, they dreamt of journeys (the promise of leaving, the sadness of arrival).

***

The tennis court was next to the railway station, separated from it by a grey-gone-green wall. Girls in white uniforms and pipeclayed tennis shoes ran about, hitting out with heavy wooden racquets. From time to time, they came to a halt: 'Our ball, please? Could we have our ball, *please*?' And someone, waiting for a train, would throw it back to their voices.

Halfway through a set, Monique looked up and saw that the sky had turned indigo. The sun still blazed overhead, an orange disk, slightly flattened and translucent like a sweet sucked thin.

Beyond the railway line was the sea. You couldn't see it, but you knew it was there: salt, secret, waiting for you like time.

***

Ned arrived late, after his parents had given up hope. He was a beautiful child, all dimples and lashes. Unable to do otherwise, the girls adored him. But sometimes Estelle seethed, whispering 'You are the fruit of withered loins' in her brother's ear. Then, overcome, she would kiss him until he grew bored and tugged away.

***

They never played under the palm trees because there was a little girl who did and a coconut fell on her head and her brains came out through her nose.

***

Monique learnt the cello, piano and violin. She liked the violin best, because it was her father's instrument. He had belonged to the municipal orchestra until a new conductor arrived and asked him to resign. As the only left-handed

(above)

Another Day in Paradise IV (Koh Phi Phi)

musician, he was spoiling the symmetrical bowing of the string section.

Estelle excelled at Speech & Drama. Her Quality of Mercy took first prize in the inter-school competition and her picture appeared in the local paper. She had a small mole near the corner of one eye, like a tear. Her favourite colour was crimson, which is not suitable for a young girl.

***

The electricity faltered and failed. While they waited for candles, Ned plunged his hands into the ice-box and then, coming noiselessly up behind Estelle, closed cold fingers around her throat. It was a long time before she would speak to him again.

***

Rosemarie S was Captain of Games and had ropy, light-brown hair. Monique suddenly realised she could not do without Rosie, trailing her around at recess with a small group of the similarly afflicted.

She climbed the hill, books tied with a buckled strap and balanced in the crook of her arm. She had stayed late, for hockey practice. Rounding the bend, she came upon Father pitched head-first into a clump of oleanders. The soles of his shoes had worn thin on the instep, where his weight rolled over when he walked. Just like Ned's.

Rosie gave Monique her hanky, chain-stitched with a blue R. Ripples spread through the lower forms and Claudine G. said loudly that everyone had known about that black woman from the fishing shanties.

***

Money had to be set aside for Ned's education, there was never any question about that. But they had to let three servants go.

***

The girls stood side by side on the beach with their skirts tucked up, and waves sucked at the sand beneath their bare feet. They swayed deliciously on the curved rim of the world.

***

The magistrate's daughter fell into the road when the rickshaw puller stumbled in a pothole. She landed on her head, but picked herself up, climbed back in and continued on her way. That evening she complained of a headache and asked for an Aspro. Then she lay down on the cement floor and died. The rickshaw puller got nine years.

The gardener's wife jumped down a well. That was the usual way among women of that class. Handy, cost nothing, didn't involve blood.

Ned, walking barefoot on the lawn as he was not supposed to do because of hookworm, felt a squishiness beneath his toes. He had trodden on a chameleon lying there on the grass with its inside outside.

***

Gordon L smiled at Monique during choir practice. They were both invited to a party, with dancing on the lantern-hung verandah and frangipani scenting the night. When he called at the house, he sat on the left-hand side of the sofa. Monique sat on the right-hand side and Monique's mother sat between them.

Shortly afterwards Gordon L qualified as a civil engineer, married a girl with buck teeth and took up a post in the interior.

***

Sundays as interminable as the view from the verandah.

***

The cost of living was what came of ignorant villagers voting for people who didn't even wear suits.

***

Monique's certificates from Trinity College, London hung above the piano, next to the photograph of the Queen. After school and all day on Saturdays children came and went from the house, dropped off by chauffeurs or toiling up the hill with violin cases and music under their arms.

Estelle said that she hoped whoever wrote *Für Elise* was still answering for it.

***

Ned was sent to board with relatives. Everyone stood weeping on the platform. But the decent schools were in the capital, ninety-nine miles away.

Ned couldn't eat a hardboiled egg if shelling had left even the tiniest imperfection on its surface. Nor would he accept marrow that had been cooked, extracted from the bone and spread glistening on toast. There were many such difficulties, relayed by his aunt in tight-lipped letters.

***

The monsoon brought a cyclone that lashed the south. Tiles blew off the roof, and rain overflowed from basins placed hazardously throughout the house. The shantytown flooded. A tidal wave was feared. They sat on the verandah looking out over the swollen grey expanse of sky and sea, straining to make out the invisible horizon. What would they do if it reared up to embrace their hill? Where can you hide from so much water?

***

There was a Grow More Food campaign. Buses carried Ned's class to paddy fields where the boys stood ankle-deep in muddy water, splashing each other and pulling out the weeds that sprouted between the tender shoots of rice. A government official rushed around trying to minimise the damage. Finally he retreated to the shade. Encouraging the urban young to appreciate farming was one thing, but in his opinion the farmers weren't enjoying it much.

***

The nuns ran a hostel in the capital. When Estelle left there was a floating sensation in Monique's chest. As if her heart had worked loose from its moorings, was riding anchorless on the tide.

***

His aunt detected 'cheap liquor' on Ned's breath.

***

So many rooms that no one entered.

***

Monique, at the station to farewell friends, saw a tall, good-looking stranger leap onto the platform before the train had quite come to a halt. He advanced on her party with a smile, running his hand through his curls: why, it was Ned.

She was troubled by a dream in which she hurried after her father down unfamiliar streets hemmed in by huddled houses. But when he turned around she saw a man with coarse dark features, whose thick-wristed hands shot out towards her.

***

Everyone who could leave was going.

Islands are the places you set out from. Continents are where you arrive.

***

Estelle came home for Christmas wearing an electric-blue pantsuit. 'Come back with me,' she pleaded. 'Three months to get your shorthand-typing certificate and then you'll be set.'

Their mother wouldn't leave her room, not even when Ned wanted to carry her out onto the verandah for the fireworks. She pressed her hand to her pintucked bosom and murmured that it would only be a matter of time. They sat around her bed, listening to distant explosions.

'There's a band every night at the Coconut Grove,' said Estelle, 'there are cocktails and foreigners.' 'I'm not staying,' said Estelle dabbing perfume behind her ears, 'and you wouldn't either, if you had any sense.'

***

Ned failed his varsity entrance for the third time. It was decided he would apply to the railways. The problem with the railways, as everyone knew, was drink. On the other hand, there was the pension.

***

She learnt to sleep lightly. Her mother often rapped on the wall, wanting a different arrangement of pillows or to be helped to the bathroom.

Afterwards, Monique would go out onto the verandah. Gradually, the sea detached itself from the coast, a different blackness. Sometimes there were ships, their lights like coded messages far out towards the horizon.

***

Estelle's engagement ring was an opal because of Harry being Australian.

***

There were young foreigners everywhere, with too much dirty hair and shapeless clothes. One of them tipped a boy from the shanties a hundred for running an errand. Some fellow from the market set up four bamboo poles on the beach, slung palm thatching over them and called it a restaurant. Next thing he was making money hand over fist. That class of person has no shame.

Now at night there was a string of coloured bulbs on the beach. Laughter. That music they liked drifting up the dark hill. Monique drew her housecoat close around her shoulders. People were right to call it disturbing.

***

Further down the coast was a palm tree with two heads. It was so tall that it was visible from the verandah, its twin heads like enormous feathery flowers swaying above the distant, uniform green.

That year lightning struck the tree one night, splitting its trunk and bringing it crashing onto the railway tracks. So that the next morning it was gone, the skyline jolted into difference.

***

There were few visitors now. The hill was daunting and so many people could no longer afford a car. The nuns still called, of course, hardship was no more than they expected; and Father André, roaring up on his dusty motorcycle.

***

A flimsy blue airletter came every fortnight if the Emergency hadn't disrupted the post. Estelle's writing was neat, spiky, illegible. It took a day or more to puzzle out a letter in its entirety. Even then, obscurities remained: 'lamingtons', 'nature strip'.

Ned turned up now and then. He would sit by his mother's bed in the shuttered room, holding her hand and telling her about the places he had been to on the trains. He could always make her laugh, with his stories of jumped-up stationmasters and the explanations people offered for travelling without a ticket. He kept the bottle on the verandah and slipped out from time to time.

After one of these visits, their mother asked Monique if she had noticed Ned's hands. It was the only time they ever mentioned it.

***

The shantytown was bulldozed one morning. The new hotel was rising slowly within its bamboo scaffolding and the shanties were an eyesore.

***

At the musical evening Corinne V. disgraced herself by breaking down halfway through her piece, that Chopin prelude in E minor. The child was hopeless, not a musical bone in her, she never practised and sat there slapping sulkily at mosquitoes when you tried to explain anything. No wonder she didn't get through the exam. But parents don't see it like that, of course, they blame the teacher.

How many pupils did that leave?

***

Estelle wrote that 'things hadn't worked out' with Harry. Hadn't worked out! But she had

met someone called – could it be Sloven? – and promised to send a cheque as soon as she was 'back on her feet'.

***

Four headless bodies washed up on the beach. One of them was a woman; you could imagine what the soldiers had done before they'd finished with her. Not that you could blame them for cracking down after those suicide bombs in the city.

***

The ward had once been painted an insipid green. Hospital green, thought Ned, that was what his mother called that colour. People lay on iron beds and also on straw mats on the floor in between. There was the smell of bedpans, and of the meals brought in for patients by their families. A pair of wasps building a nest high in one corner of the ceiling flew in and out through the barred window.

Damp and other things had drawn islands and continents on the green wall. If he tried he could make out the outline of a ship, the old kind with three masts. It reminded him that when he was a boy he had hung entranced over maps, dreaming of sailing to Australia. Funny how things you'd thought you'd forgotten were only stored away, waiting to swim into the light. Like opening a battered old chest with brass corners and coming on treasure kept safe, while the sea whispered and plucked.

There were dolphins on the wall and snakes as thick as a man's arm, with dragon heads. He pulled the coverlet closer. He was the boy on the bowsprit. They were sailing towards the horizon.

***

Claudine G. wheezed all the way up the hill in her too-tight red shoes to say that her cousin, over on holiday, had 'run into' Estelle. Monique hadn't mentioned that her sister was living in sin with a Communist, had it slipped her mind? Apparently Estelle hadn't even been wearing mourning, although it had been only a few weeks after Ned.

All this while occupying the best chair, helping herself uninvited to another biscuit and drinking three cups of tea (four spoons of rationed sugar apiece).

***

'Father,' she called, weak with longing. But then he turned around.

***

Tourists stopped coming just when the hotel was completed. It stood vast and echoing, a ghost ship stuck on the reef of history. Slime spread up the sides of its empty swimming pools. Waves smashing against rocks sent spray arching through broken windows. The developer had hanged himself alongside the chandelier in the dining-room. No one went near the place after dark.

***

There were days when she woke to find that the sea had seeped in while she slept. Sea music washed through her, advancing, retreating, a rush followed by a swirl. She picked up her violin and tried to keep pace with it. The man selling snake beans was staring at her. She counted her change carefully, still humming.

***

In her good poplin dress, carrying an umbrella to protect her complexion, she picked her way down the main road. They kept her waiting thirty-seven minutes. The manager upended his plump little palms to signify apology and helplessness. What about the land, she asked, holding a chain-stitched handkerchief to her lips. He reminded her gently that it had already been sold.

***

The neighbours sent their servant to say her sister would be ringing back in ten minutes. 'What is there to stay for now?' asked a voice that was nothing like Estelle's. 'We'll send your ticket,' said the voice, 'Stefan will fit out the bungalow for you.' The neighbours' children nudged each other and giggled in the doorway. Somewhere a woman was crying, saying if only they hadn't been away when the news about Mother.

***

The new flats had taken a lopsided slice out of the view. But at night you could still stand on the verandah and imagine the whole hill floating out to sea, houses, oleanders, telephone poles, its cargo of sleeping people rocking dreamily on the swell.

***

It was obvious from her clothes and the way she hovered on the edge of the verandah that she was a common village woman. She began explaining that she had done her best, but the man she was going to marry didn't know about the boy, and anyway it was only right for him to be with his own people.

He stood beside his mother, clinging to her hand. He was wearing navy-blue shorts and a clean white shirt, and clutched a brown-paper parcel. At length he lifted his head, and Ned's eyes peered up at Monique.

***

Father André was in violation of the dusk-to-dawn curfew, so the soldiers poured kerosene over him and set him alight.

***

Now in the dream she was on a complicated journey that took her through a series of smaller and smaller rooms until she stepped through a window and found him waiting for her, a wild sky and creeping water.

Waking, she slid her tongue over her lips and tasted salt.

***

The envelopes gathered in a brass tray on the hall table. When the rains came she opened some of the letters and folded them into paper boats. These she launched from the edge of the verandah into the overflow from the gutter, consigning them to light and change.

***

She had spoken to the boy once, to order him off the lawn. He was frightened of her smell and of the knotted purple veins on her skinny white legs. He kept to the back part of the house, where the cook slipped him slices of mango sprinkled with chilli.

He had not really been asleep when the noise woke him. At first he was afraid, because he had told himself in the daytime that the house must be haunted. But there was bright moonlight in the curtainless room, so after a while he crept to the window. He was just in time to see her go past, her violin under her chin, her left arm bowing.

Long after she had gone out of sight, he could hear the music wavering up the hill. Then the night mail came whistling round the bend.

END

MICHELLE DE KRETSER FAHA began publishing fiction in 1999 and her novels have won or been shortlisted for many international and Australian awards. *Questions of Travel* (2012) won the Prime Minister's Prize for Fiction and the Miles Franklin Award and was chosen as Book of the Year in both the NSW and WA Premier's Literary Awards. The story included here won the 1999 *Age* short story competition.

Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici's Amazing Adventure

» NERIDA NEWBIGIN AND KATHLEEN OLIVE

On 10 November 2015, Florence hosted the Council of Italian Bishops and the first visit to the city of His Holiness Pope Francis. To mark the occasion, the Florentine Curia offered to His Holiness a remarkable gift: a facsimile edition of the *Codex Rustici*, together with a critical edition prepared by two Australian scholars, Kathleen Olive and Nerida Newbigin, of the University of Sydney. The subsequent launch of the volume, in the Florentine Baptistery on 28 November, brought to an end an epic journey.

Some time around 1450, a Florentine goldsmith, Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici, began work on a *summa* of his readings in the form of an account of his journey to the Holy Land in the year 144–. His education was fairly typical of that of an ambitious artisan and guild member: he could read and write in Italian, he knew enough Latin to follow the mass and, like so many of his generation, he was a voracious consumer of *volgarizzamenti* of the classics of hagiography, theology, philosophy, history and geography, as well as of pilgrimage accounts and the works of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. He remained largely untouched by the renascence of classical philosophy and letters, fuelled by the rediscovery of Greek and Roman texts

(left)

Folio 1r. The first four days of Creation: a series of circles inscribed first with the spheres; the separation into day and night; the separation into heavens above and earth below; and the separation into land and the waters below.

ALL MANUSCRIPT PHOTOS: ANTONIO QUATTRONE. COURTESY CASA EDITRICE LEO S. OLSCHKI & THE SEMINARIO ARCIVESCOVILE MAGGIORE, FLORENCE

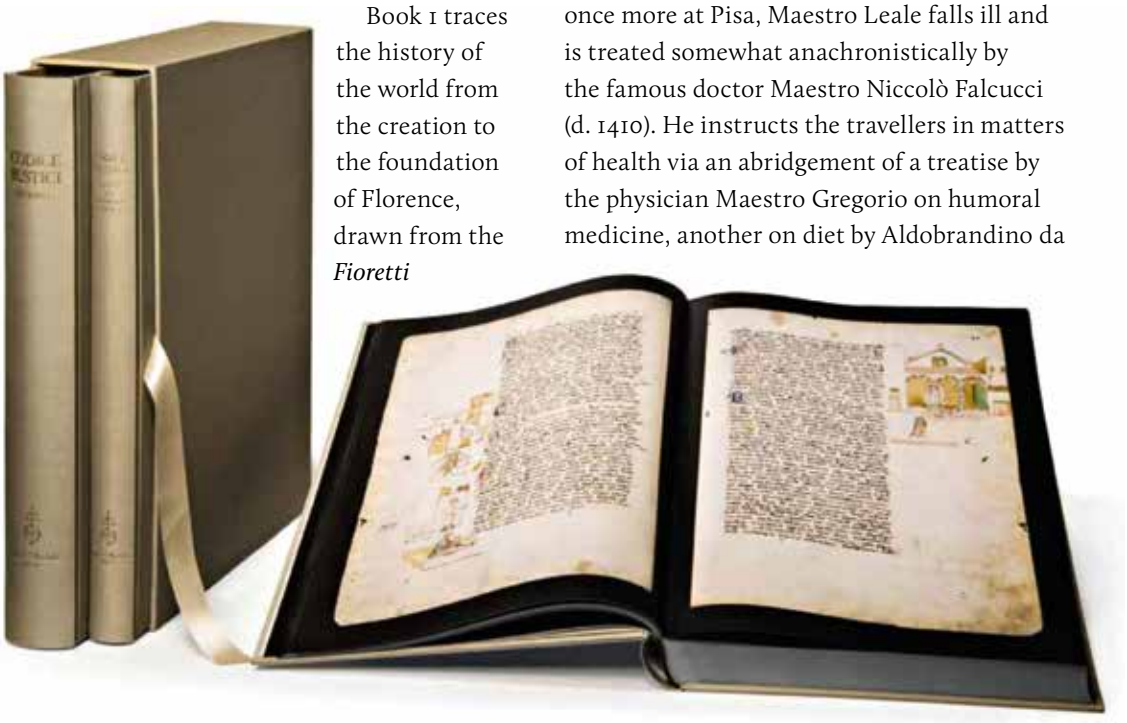
and the arrival of scholars and ideas from Constantinople; his culture was based instead on the certainties of late-medieval lay piety.

Marco di Bartolomeo called his work by many titles in the course of its writing. It is (with variations) his *Dimostrazione dell'andata o viaggio al Santo Sepolcro e al monte Sinai—Guide to the Journey or Voyage to the Holy Sepulchre and to Mount Sinai*. He divided it into three parts. Book 1 maps the history and geography of his beloved Florence; Book 2 recounts his journey from Florence to Alexandria in Egypt; and Book 3 describes the holy sites of Egypt, Sinai, and Palestine. Onto that narrative scaffolding Marco then worked his other readings.

When it was 'complete', Marco had at least two copies made. One he kept for himself, and he continued to work on it until very close to his death in 1457. This is the copy now in the Seminario Arcivescovile Maggiore in Florence, known as the *Codice Rustici*. Some time before 1804 it was stolen from the Vignali family, and in 1812 'rescued' from a street stall by the rector of the seminary, Monsignor Antonio Dell'Ogna. Since then this large manuscript has lived in the Rector's study, and waited patiently to see the light of day. The codex measures 418 × 290 mm and consists of 281 folios; largely because of its size, it has defied attempts to describe it, to categorize it and above all to publish it. But this is the story of that journey.

Book 1 traces the history of the world from the creation to the foundation of Florence, drawn from the *Fioretti della Bibbia*, Giovanni Villani's *Cronica* and Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto* and a multitude of other sources. It then lists, quarter by quarter, churches and monasteries and convents, male and female, then hospitals, then religious institutions outside the city gates. And for each of those religious foundations Rustici describes the treasury of merit provided by its patron saint, drawing from Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* in its Florentine translation. Their lives and their miracles all embellish his description. To the first thirty folios — half of Book 1 — he added coloured marginal drawings, which have been plundered by legions of historians of Florence's art and architecture ever since.

In Book 2, Rustici and two companions (an allegorical Maestro Leale, Servite friar, and a Florentine wool merchant, Antonio di Bartolomeo Ridolfi) set out for Pisa, but having discovered that their ship has already sailed, they go instead to Genoa to find another. This narrative ruse allows Rustici to copy much of Petrarch's description of the Tyrrhenian coast in his *Itinerarium Syriacum*, which was similarly based on classical sources rather than his own experience. For good measure he copies part of a portolan — the list of distances between ports on which a portolan chart was based — in order to introduce cities that he would not be visiting, and to bring in a quick description of England and Ireland. Arriving once more at Pisa, Maestro Leale falls ill and is treated somewhat anachronistically by the famous doctor Maestro Niccolò Falcucci (d. 1410). He instructs the travellers in matters of health via an abridgement of a treatise by the physician Maestro Gregorio on humoral medicine, another on diet by Aldobrandino da



(right)

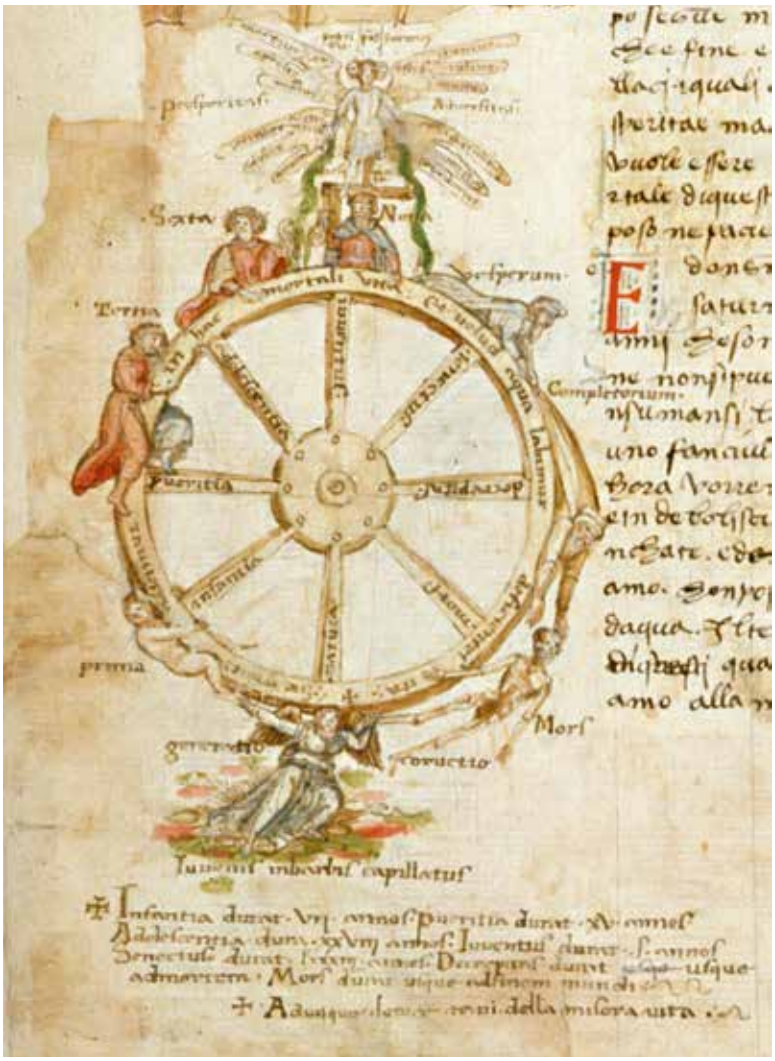
Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici, Codice Rustici. Libro intitolato Dimostrazione dell'andata o viaggio al Santo Sepolcro e al monte Sinai. 1: *Facsimile*; 2. *Saggi*, ed. Elena Gurrieri; *Edizione critica*, ed. Kathleen Olive and Nerida Newbigin. (Florence: Olschki, 2015)

Siena, and one on conception and pregnancy by Giacomo Della Torre. With the body thus prepared for the journey, Rustici turns to the soul, and the pilgrims are instructed in matters of Christian doctrine, sin, confession and sacraments. Their passage past Rome is the occasion for a life of St Alexius, a garbled abridgement of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and an *Art of Rhetoric*, filtered through Bono Giamboni, and a list of popes and emperors derived from Martinus Polonus and extended to the reign of Calixtus V. Cuma is the excuse for two excurses on the sibyls and prophets; Taranto in southern Italy occasions a much emended and augmented discussion of tarantulas and the effects and cures of their bites, even as the phenomenon of tarantism was evolving.

From Alexandria onwards, Rustici takes up a new work. The *Libro d'Oltramare* (1346) of the Franciscan pilgrim Niccolò da Poggibonsi is his principal source for all the physical aspects of his pilgrimage — appearance of the holy places, characteristics of the local people, where to stay, taxes, bribes, and how to hire camels. But around the places of that narrative Rustici weaves the hermits of the *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, a life of Mohammed from Jacobus de Voragine's life of St Pelagius (Pope Pelagius I, r. 556–561), the stories of the Old Testament, and finally, in Jerusalem, the gospel narratives associated with each of the shrines he visited.

(below)

Folio 1v. God rests on the seventh day. Below, the city of Babylon in Chaldea and the tower built by Mabello (that is, the Tower of Babel). The wall of the city wraps around the text, the hanging gardens flourish outside them.



(above)

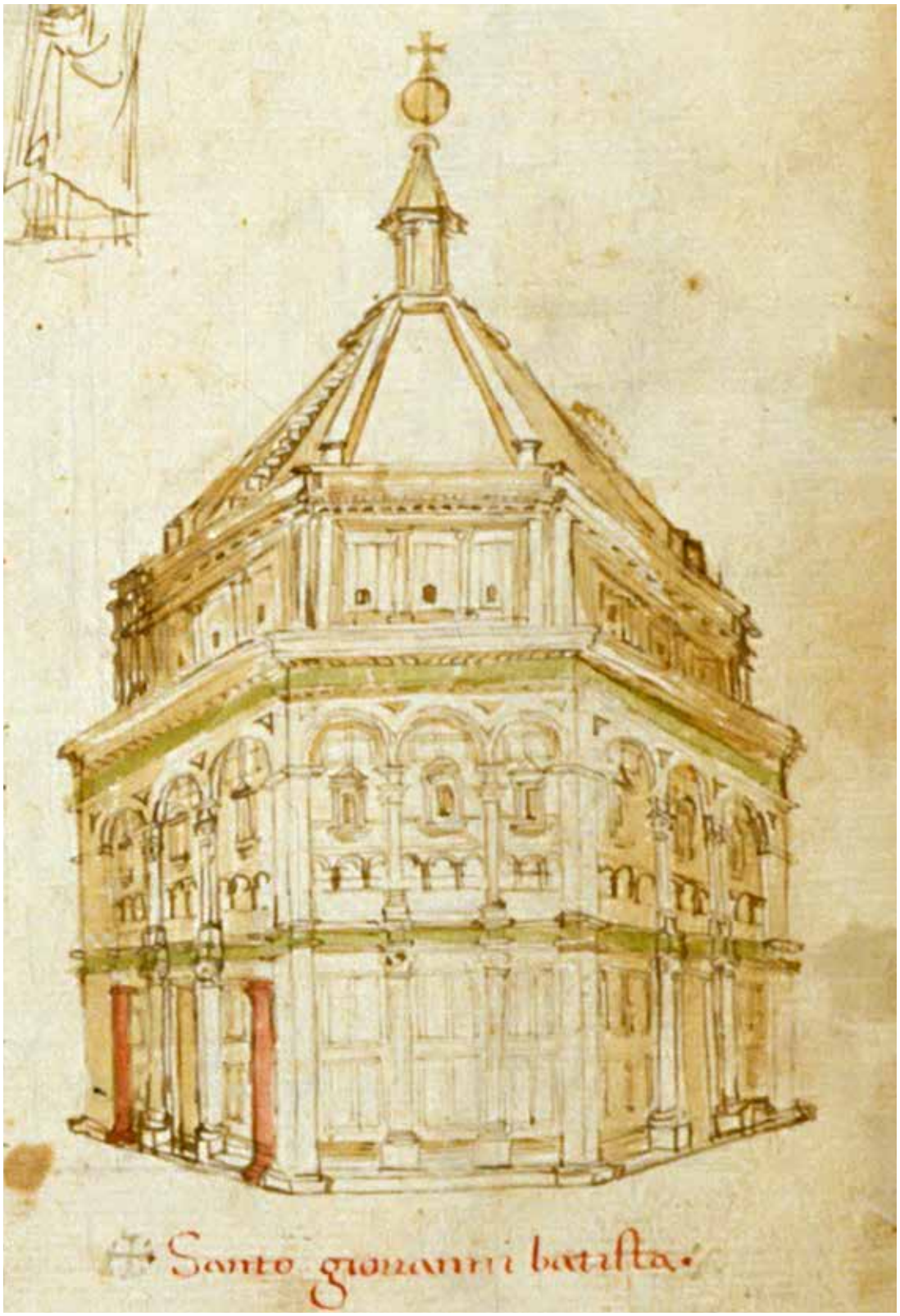
Folio 4v. A wheel of Time and Fortune, superimposed with the canonical hours and the seven ages of man.

He creates for himself a huge theatre of memory, and onto each locus in that theatre he places part of the Christian narrative.

Late in his life, Rustici added to his codex, in his own hand, abridgements of two more thirteenth-century *volgarizzamenti*: Zucchero Bencivenni's *Trattato de la Spera* and Piero de' Crescenzi's *Trattato di agricoltura* (he had now acquired a country villa). The one author who influenced Rustici the most was the Greek cosmographer and astronomer Claudius Ptolemeus. Ptolemy's *Geographia* had arrived in Florence in the 1390s, complete with its twenty-six maps. It was translated into Latin (but not yet into Italian), and Rustici's references to the maps are such that we conclude he had seen them. They were revised and reproduced in Florence, and he strives to visualise his journey in the context of those maps. When he reaches the top of Mount Sinai, he looks all around him and names — from Ptolemy's map — the lands to the north, south, east and west. From Ptolemy, or his exchange of ideas with people who could read Ptolemy in Greek or Latin, Rustici understood that the earth was a sphere, that the poles were cold, the equatorial regions hot, that the winds of the northern hemisphere were reversed in the southern hemisphere. He cannot have begun to imagine Australia, nor that one day two 'studiose australiane' would be working under the 'stars of the other pole', as Dante called them, to make his life's work known.

Between Kathleen's PhD in the early 2000s and 2013, the internet — Google, archive.org, HathiTrust, Google Books, academia.edu and innumerable databases and digitisation projects — had made it possible to identify Rustici's sources not just to the level of Cicero, Boethius and Petrarch, but down to the finer detail of which *volgarizzamento* of his authors. Rustici would have loved the internet. In many ways his use of incompetent translations of bad manuscripts (his source for Petrarch's *Itinerarium Syriacum* is exemplary) resembles the worst kind of research cobbled uncritically together from internet sources. Rustici copied from the 'manunet' and often copied nonsense, trusting that the authority of the name would compensate for any deficiencies of the text. His manuscript constitutes a new witness — albeit scrambled — to the manuscript *traditio* of dozens of texts. Identification of the vernacular sources often caused us to backtrack on our proposed emendations. In his list of popes, for example, Rustici records that Pope Sabinian (r. 604–606) died 'opresato da molti muli' (beset by many mules, fol. 140v). A quick check of Martinus Polonus confirmed that 'muli' should have been 'mali', and the 'good pope was beset by many ills', but we found a related codex in the Riccardiana Library, MS 1939, that likewise read 'muli'. Rustici copied 'muli' not by accident but by intention, and mules were the cause of Sabinian's death.

Nerida Newbigin's initial interest in the *Codice Rustici* was sparked by the illustrations that have made the codex famous. Her work on Florentine religious drama motivated her to look at its descriptions and drawings of churches and monasteries, and she was disappointed to find none that related to

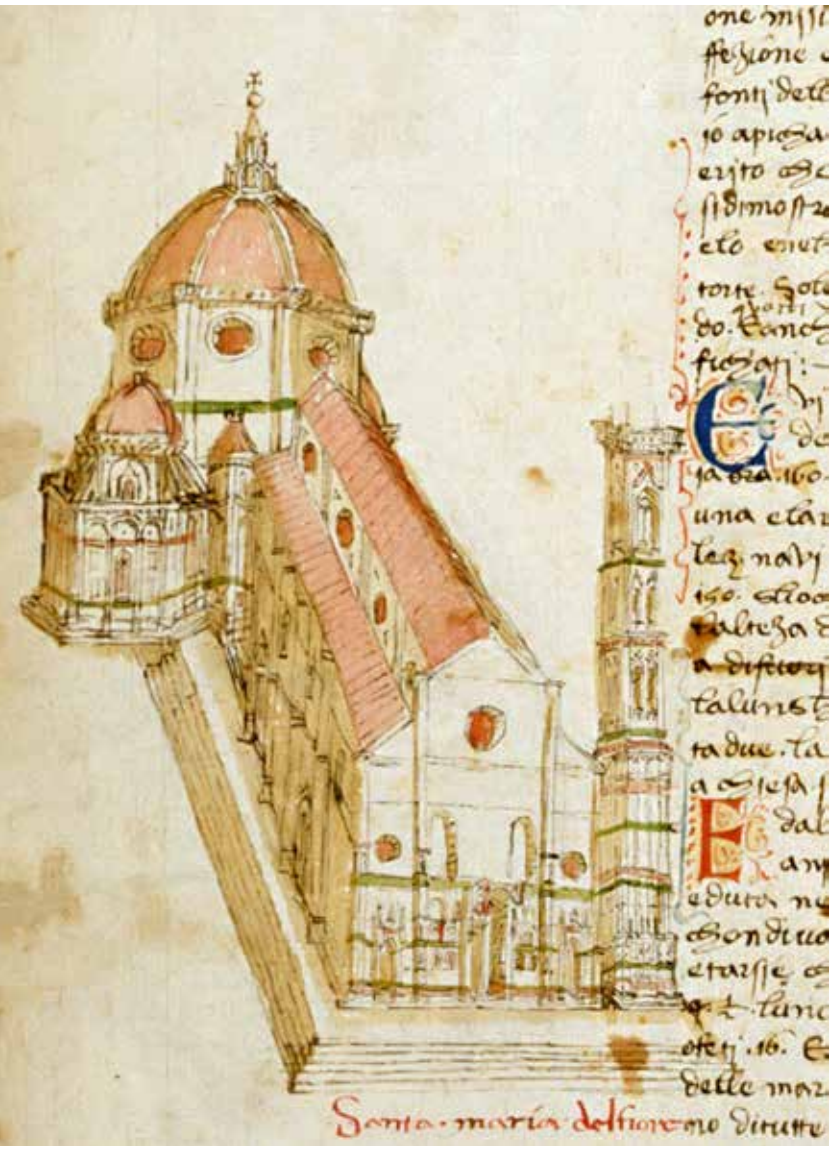


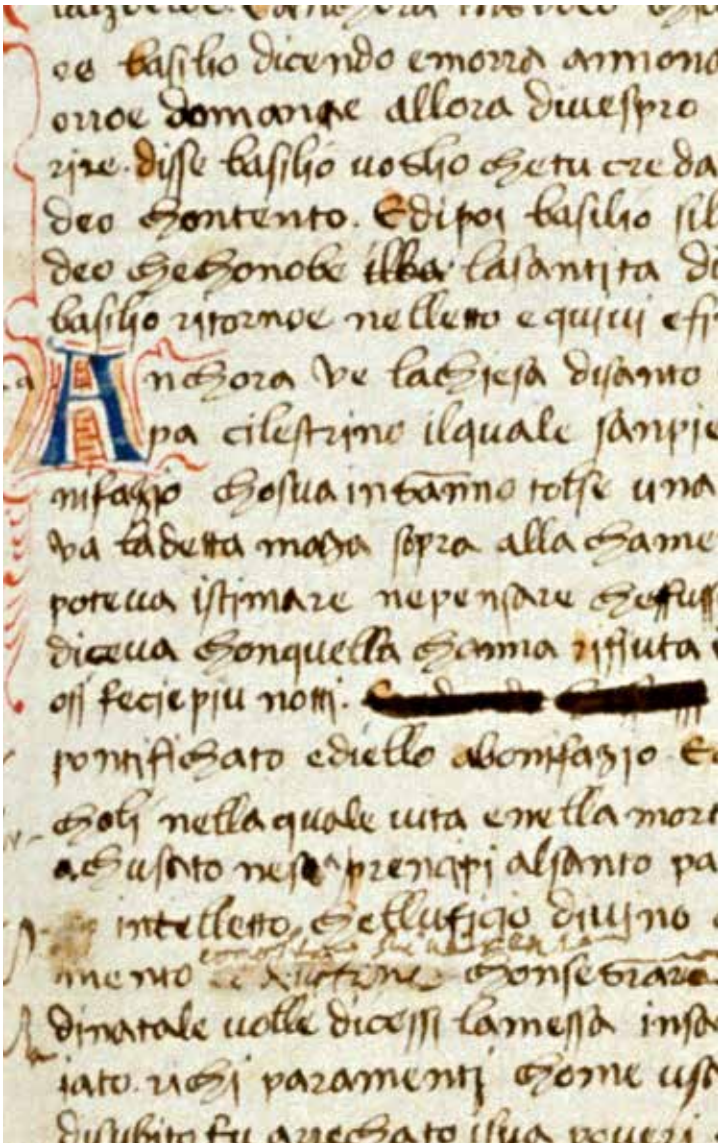
(left)

Folio 8r. The Baptistery of San Giovanni Battista, from the northeast. The porphyry columns on either side of Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise were a gift from the city of Pisa in 1117.

her plays. Nevertheless, curiosity, some research money found under a stone, and the assistance of Professor Riccardo Bruscagli of the University of Florence, led her to ask for a colour diapositive film of the whole jealously guarded codex.

Other projects intervened, as they do. But at the right moment, Kathleen Olive, who had been the University of Sydney's first student to study in Florence on exchange, came asking for a suitable manuscript-related PhD topic. It wasn't love at first sight, and Professor





(above)

Folio 8v. The Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, consecrated with great pomp in 1436, and Giotto's belltower. Arnolfo di Cambio's facade was stripped away in 1587 and the present Gothic Revival facade was completed only in 1887 after a series of competitions in the 1860s.

Bruscagli opined — probably rightly — that the manuscript was 'too long to give as a thesis', but for four years from 2001 to 2004 Kathleen toiled over the manuscript, over archival documents that fleshed out Rustici's life, his family, the women whose fortunes kept him afloat, and above all his sources. Her three-volume thesis consisted of an annotated transcription with introduction and commentary. The next stage was to prepare a critical edition, with notes in Italian.

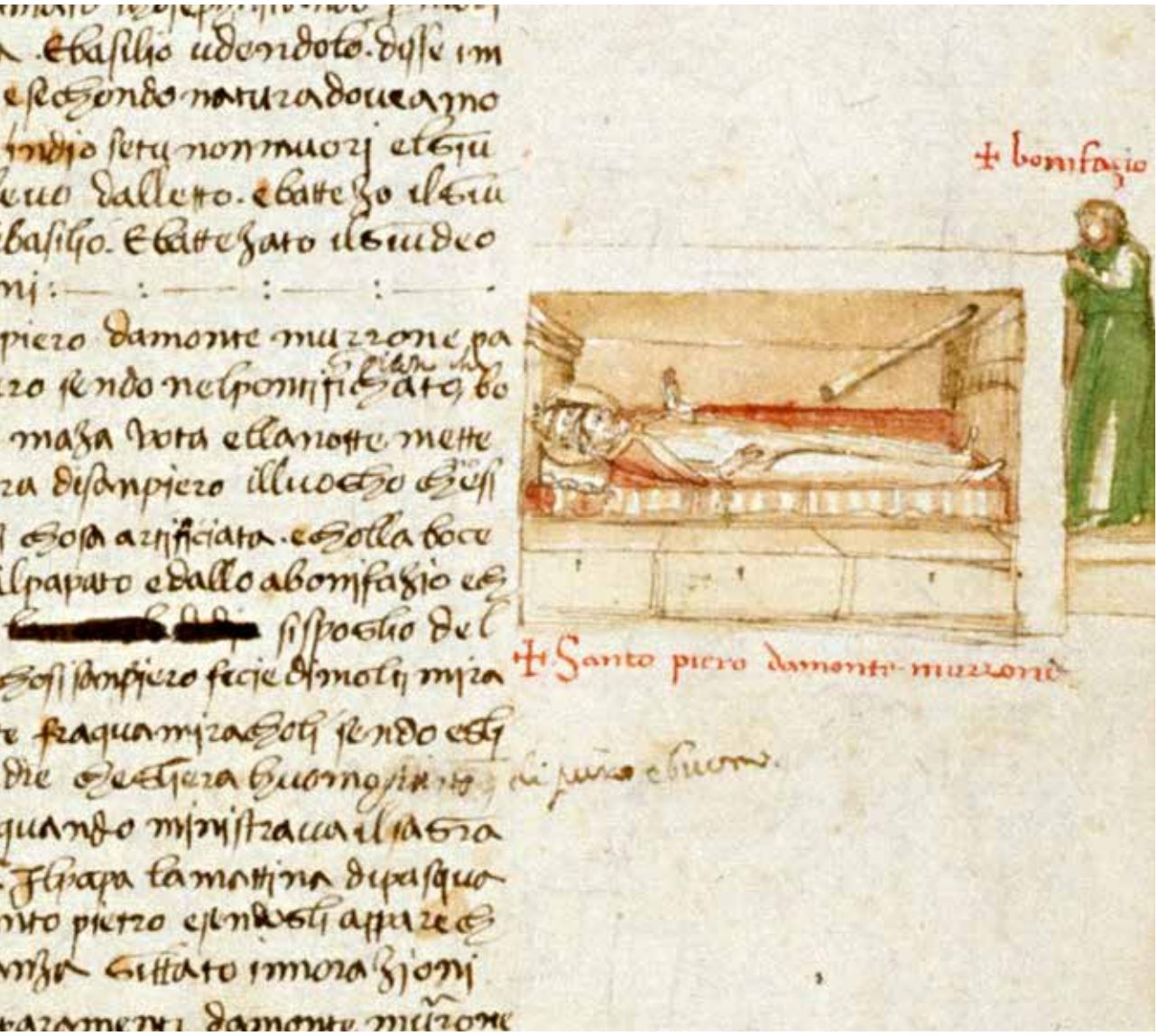
Talk of publication had already begun. From the beginning, the librarian of the seminary, Elena Gurrieri, had spoken of a facsimile with edition, but the global financial crisis severely damaged the bottom line of the Italian banks that traditionally fund such cultural activities, and Kathleen and Nerida were skeptical about whether any source of funding would be found. Dottoressa Gurrieri was incurably optimistic, and just to be prepared, Kathleen and Nerida had the microfilm digitised and started thinking about how to transform the transcription into an edition.

In September 2013 we received the good news that the Ente Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze was providing the first tranche of what would be a very large subsidy, and publication would go ahead with a very precise and very real deadline: the first visit of His Holiness Pope Francis to Florence, on 10 November 2015. Kathleen added nights and weekends on the manuscript to her day job as a researcher, writer and tour leader with Academy Travel; Nerida, now retired from the University of Sydney, put the *sacre rappresentazioni* on hold and threw

herself into the whole process of checking and re-checking the transcription, the edition and the footnotes.

In the course of various meetings with Elena Gurrieri, who co-ordinated the project, the historians of art, architecture, political and religious history, who contributed essays to Volume 2, the publisher Daniele Olschki and ourselves, the publication grew. The volume with the essays and critical edition of the text would be the same size as the facsimile of the manuscript. The layout would be in two columns, with a textual apparatus and footnotes on each page, an enormous challenge for our editor and our typesetter. This meant that once we started submitting final copy at the beginning of April 2015, we could not go back and change anything substantial. And even as we were finalizing text in Book 3, proofs were being delivered for Book 1. For the Italians, the sacrosanct summer break intervened, but for the Australians proofing and indexing continued; then on 4 September it passed out of our hands into those of the printers.

Daniele Olschki, like us, had not let the absence of guaranteed finance limit his vision of what the volume would be. After various mock-ups, and in conjunction with the printer, Varigrafica of Viterbo, he determined the final format. The facsimile volume, printed on art paper, required a special printing process that dried each colour with ultraviolet light to stop the colours bleeding; the book blocks were sewn, trimmed, backed and rounded. Then, to harmonise the appearance of the two volumes, they were sent to Brescia in northern Italy to



(above)

Folio 13r. The church of San Piero da Montemurrone in Via San Gallo 66 is not depicted, but to illustrate the life of Pietro Murrone, the hermit who became Pope Celestine V and later abdicated, Rustici shows him asleep in his bedchamber, while his successor Boniface VIII whispers to him through a speaking tube, urging him to abdicate. Text is crossed out and in the margin the seminary's rector, Antonio Dell'Ogna, has written: 'No credence is to be given to this story of Boniface, for the author who wrote it was ill-informed'.

(above)

Folio 28r. The church of Santa Maria degli Alberighi was suppressed in 1783. The Virgin is shown on a rug, playing with the child, with her book on her lap and her yarn winder next to her.

have gold leaf applied uniformly to the top edge. From there they travelled south again to the binder IMAG, near Salerno in southern Italy, where wooden boards and leather headbands were attached and the volumes covered in pearl grey silk from Germany, and placed in a beautifully constructed box. The finished product tips the scales at 15 kg.

When the time came for the presentation to the Pope, we were not present. A list of official gifts was published in Florence's daily paper *La Nazione* and these were exchanged between papal and episcopal secretaries, but a splendid launch followed, with a twenty-minute video[1] where the work of the 'due studiose australiane' was duly acknowledged. The hundreds who assembled in the Baptistery, from all estates and every part of Florentine public and private life, made us more aware than ever of how central the codex is to Florentine identity as a city devoted to God, to culture, to language, and to education as a path to self-fashioning. It has been an enormous privilege to have been part of the process, and the recipients of such generous patronage.

Collaborations are hard work and the path is not always smooth. Kathleen would still be sitting on an unpublished thesis if Elena Gurrieri had not been determined to see the codex published in a handsome form, and we are deeply indebted to her. Kathleen's thesis was the starting point of this project and she stayed with it joyfully all the way to the end. And for the next stage, an annotated English translation of Book 1 for publication by the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies in Toronto, she has been awarded a publication subsidy by the Australian Academy of Humanities. ¶

(top left)

Nerida Newbigin and Kathleen Olive with their author's copies.

PHOTO: COURTESY N. NEWBIGIN

(bottom left)

The launch of the volumes in the Baptistery on 28 November 2015. Further presentations were made to the Custody of the Holy Land in Jerusalem on 13 February 2016 and in the Vatican on 17 May 2016.

PHOTO: COURTESY N. NEWBIGIN

(opposite)

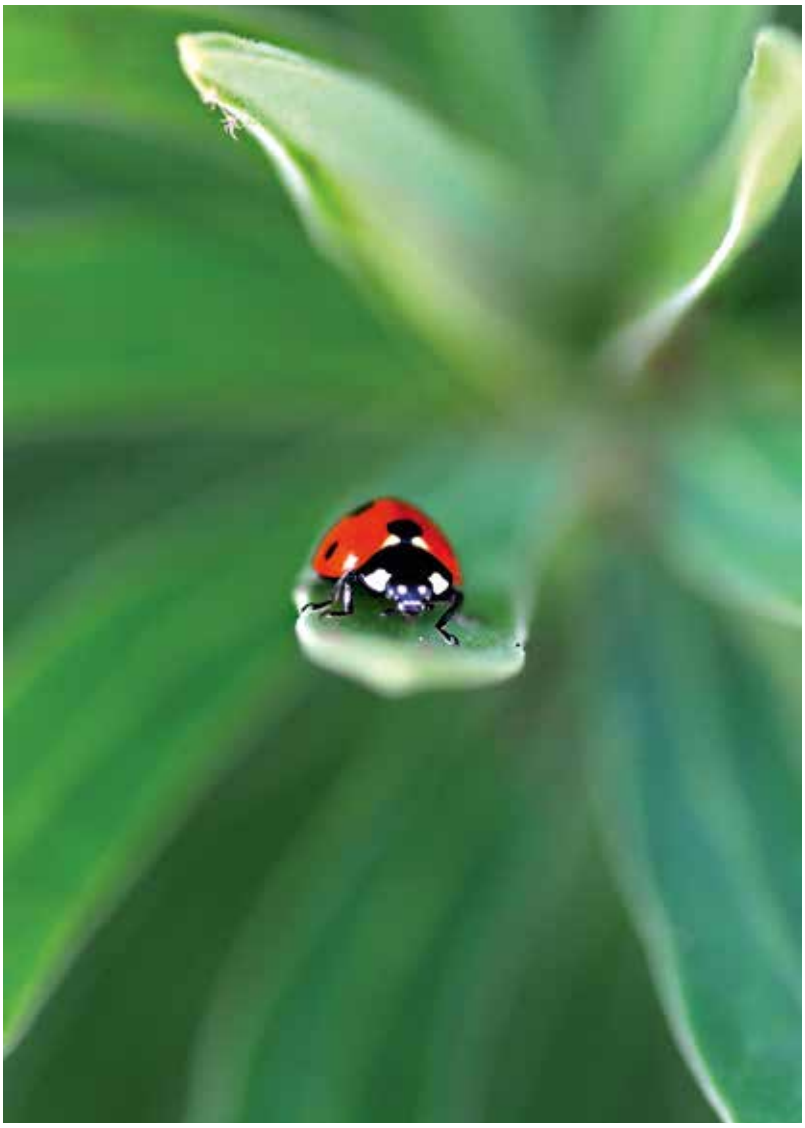
Folio 107v. Rustici illustrated the section on diet with sketches of plants and animals, taken not from his source – we did not find any illustrated copies of Aldobrandino da Siena's *Santà del corpo* – but from his own experience. Aldobrando's text derives ultimately from Arabic sources, and includes plants of which Rustici has no experience, for example galanga, cumin, cubeb (*Piper cubeba*), cardamom, and turmeric (*Cucurma zedoaria*), which are illustrated with three blades of grass or not at all. Others, such as galanga (*Alpinia galanga*), saffron (*Crocus sativus*), both local and imported, cloves (*Syzygium aromaticum*; in Italian 'chiodi di garofano'), aniseed and nutmeg are easily recognised, even when the caption does not align with the image.

NERIDA NEWBIGIN FAHA taught Italian language and literature at the University of Sydney from 1970 until her retirement in 2008. Since then she has divided her time between Italy and Australia and is engaged full-time on research. Her recent publications include *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (with Barbara Wisch), Philadelphia, St. Joseph's University Press, 2013. She is now preparing a monograph on the religious drama of fifteenth-century Florence.

KATHLEEN OLIVE's PhD (University of Sydney, 2004) consisted of a diplomatic edition with commentary of the *Codex Rustici*, and she has published essays with *Renaissance Studies* and Brepols. She has taught courses on the history and culture of Italy at the University of Sydney and Western Sydney University. Kathleen currently works as a writer, researcher and tour leader for Academy Travel, Sydney, leading cultural tours to Europe and the United States.

1. See a link on the Codice Rustici's web page at <http://www.olschki.it/codice-rustici-facsimile/> [accessed 1 February 2016].

» DAVID MALOUF



Ladybird

PHOTO: KEV CHAPMAN <HTTPS://FLIC.KR/P/DSSHC6> CREATIVE COMMONS (CC BY 2.0) <CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/2.0/>

Ladybird

Childhood visitors,
the surprise of
their presence a kind of grace.

Kindest of all the ladybird,
neither lady
(unless like so much else

in those days disguised
in a witch's spell) nor
bird but an amber-beadlike

jewel that pinned itself
to our breast; a reward for
some good deed we did not

know we'd done, or earnest
of a good world's good will
towards us. Ladybird, ladybird,

fly away home, we sang,
our full hearts lifted
by all that was best

in us, pity for what
like us was small (but why
was her house on fire?), and sped her

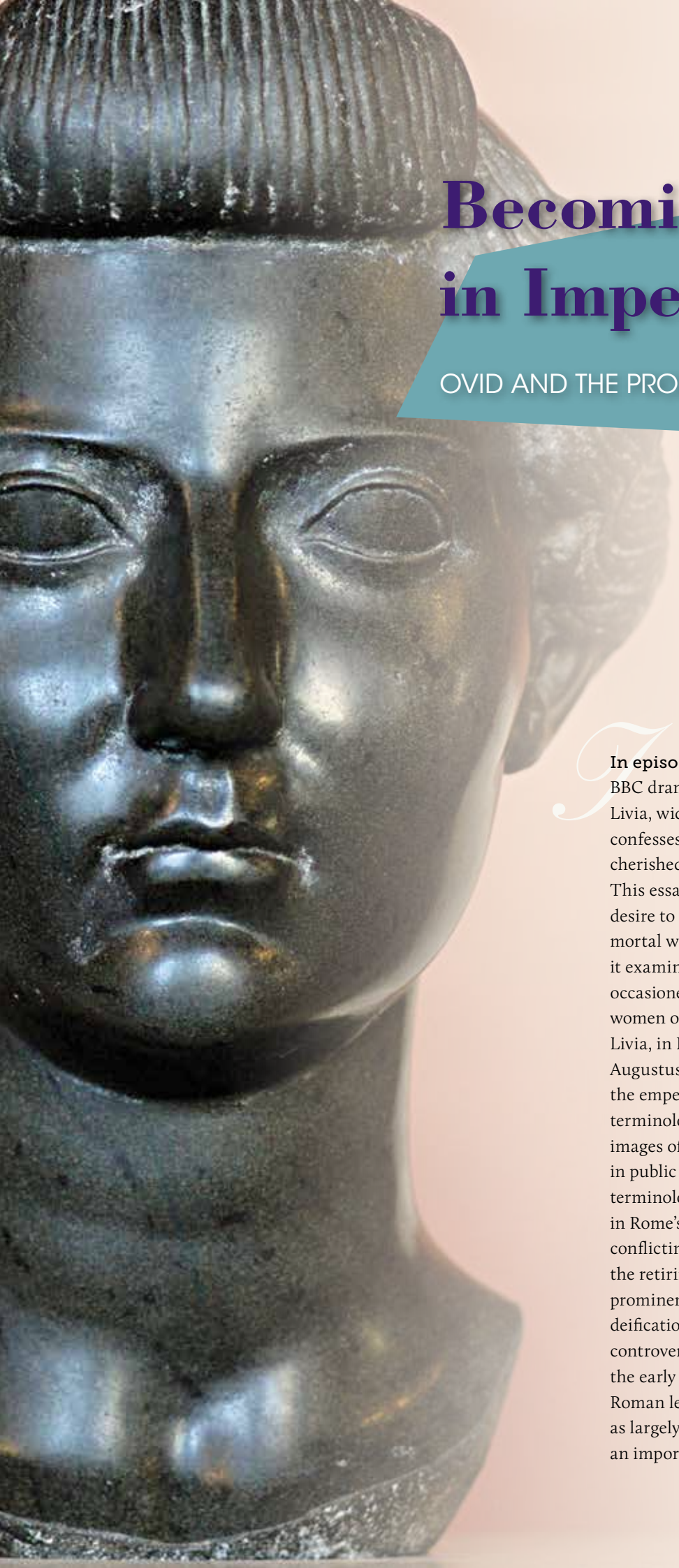
on her way with the same breath
we used to snuff out birthdays
on a cake, the break and flare

of her wings the flame that leapt
from the match, snug
in its box, snug in our fist under the house

that out of hand went sprinting
up stairwells, and stamped and roared
about us. Ladybird,

mother, quick, fly
home! The house, our hair, everything close
and dear, even the air,

is burning! In our hands
(we had no warning
of this) the world is alive and dangerous.



Becoming a 'Diva' in Imperial Rome

OVID AND THE PROBLEM OF THE 'FIRST LADY'

» CAROLE E. NEWLANDS

In episode seven of *I Claudius*, the celebrated BBC drama on imperial Rome, the empress Livia, widow of Rome's first emperor Augustus, confesses to her grandson Claudius a long-cherished wish: 'I want to become a goddess'. This essay explores the background to Livia's desire to become a *diva*, the Latin term for a mortal woman who was deified. In particular, it examines the crisis in female representation occasioned by the novel emergence of women of power and influence, particularly Livia, in Roman public life during the age of Augustus (31 BC–AD 14) and that of her son, the emperor Tiberius (AD 14–AD 37). Fresh terminology attempted to convey positive images of elite women's newly important roles in public life; at the same time, however, this terminology reflected persistent tensions in Rome's patriarchal society between two conflicting paradigms of Roman womanhood: the retiring, traditional matron and the active, prominent spouse. The ultimate honour was deification, one of the most distinctive and controversial features of Roman religion in the early empire. Deification of prominent Roman leaders has been treated in scholarship as largely a masculine phenomenon, but it was an important female phenomenon too. Livia's

path to becoming a *diva* was a contested one. During her lifetime she wielded a wide range of traditionally masculine powers throughout the empire; however, in her deified image she appeared as wife and mother. Such an image served ultimately to maintain the patriarchal authority of the dynasty founded by Augustus and Livia, the Julio-Claudians. In death but not in life, Livia provided the model for future wives of emperors, a model, moreover, that continues to shadow debate on the public representation of women today.[1] Through the career of Livia, we can observe how gender became an important tool of imperial politics.

Becoming a *diva* in imperial Rome, therefore, needs to be understood in terms of social dynamics, gender asymmetry, and social and political change. I begin with some background on Roman women and the changes that occurred after the collapse of the Roman Republic, when power became concentrated in the hands of one man, Augustus. My particular focus is the work of the contemporary Augustan poet, Ovid (43 BC–AD 17), the brilliant author of the epic poem *Metamorphoses*. Ovid was closely involved in imperial court politics; in AD 8 he was exiled without recall by Augustus for his poetry and some unmentionable political error.[2] Ovid writes more about Livia and the question of deification than any other surviving writer of his lifetime, not only reflecting the tensions and biases that underpin the new representations of elite women, but also helping to forge the discourse.[3] I end by looking at a different type of *diva* to the one fostered by imperial cult. Ovid's calendar poem the *Fasti* provides a number of different models for female deification. In particular, his descriptions of Anna Perenna's cult and her paths to deification do not conform to the family-based imperial ideal. Ovid's treatment of female deification reflects the political tensions between the poet and the imperial family that exiled him as well as the changing face of Rome itself under Augustus, when gender came to play a key ideological role in dynastic politics.

First then, some background to the unprecedented phenomenon of Livia and the new, sometimes tentative, terminology developed for her.

CREATING NEW MODES OF FEMININE REPRESENTATION

In 56 BC, during the latter years of the Roman Republic, the distinguished Roman orator Cicero, defending his friend Caelius in court, claimed that the case really concerned the machinations of Caelius' former mistress Clodia, a woman of an ancient, distinguished family. When he sarcastically referred to her as 'mulier non solum nobilis sed etiam nota' ('a woman not only noble but also well-known', *Pro Caelio* 31), what was biting about this remark was the adjective 'nota', for 'well-known' was the last thing a Roman woman of the late Republic — even one from a particularly prominent family — should be. Domestic virtues of modesty, decorum and devotion to a husband, along with moral rectitude, were the prescriptive ideals for a Roman matron. To be known for these qualities was a mark of honour; to be *well* known was suspect. Certainly, Roman history documents several occasions when women took collective action in public life; they also played an important, again collective, role in the religious life of the state.[4] Livia's individual prominence in the state was something new.

Livia and other highly connected women in the Augustan family, such as Augustus' sister Octavia, broke boundaries for women in many ways. Although women, elite or not, never held public office in any period in Rome,[5] these imperial women nonetheless took an active, though extralegal, part in public affairs and exercised male privileges. Removed by her husband early on from the traditional male tutelage over women's affairs, Livia had considerable independent wealth that allowed her to act as a major patron and benefactor at home and abroad.[6] She and her sister-in-law Octavia built and dedicated temples and other major buildings; they had buildings named after them, which was unprecedented for Roman women. The Porticus Liviae no longer exists, but the entrance to the Porticus Octaviae, named after Augustus' sister, still stands. According to ancient sources, a splendid marble colonnade enclosed a spacious area that included two temples and a library; here the general public could stroll, converse, and enjoy

(opposite)

Fig. 1. **Livia Drusilla, wife of Emperor Augustus**, by unidentified artist, ca. 31 BCE. Basalt, Roman artwork, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

PUBLIC DOMAIN VIA WIKIMEDIA COMMONS, <HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE%3ALIVIA_DRUSILLA_LOUVRE_MA1233.JPG>

the outstanding art on display.[7] Such buildings transformed Rome into a sophisticated, cosmopolitan city after decades of civil wars; they also helped construct the image of the women of the imperial family as religious, devout, cultured, and powerfully wealthy. Moreover, portraits of the leading women of Augustus' family appeared in public art and architecture, granting them unprecedented visibility.[8] During the Republic, women, with rare exceptions, had not been honoured with public statues; female portraits were intended for private, domestic space. Livia was the first woman to be systematically represented in Roman public portraiture.[9] The honour of riding in a special carriage known as the 'carpentum' allowed Livia to be on the move in the public world of generally masculine affairs.

Such transgression of gender norms was balanced, at least in part, by the accommodation of women of the imperial family to domestic conventions. The family was central to Augustus' vision of a new, reformed Rome. His moral and social programme was based on the common belief that moral corruption was a major factor in the collapse of the Roman Republic and its dissolution in civil wars.[10] Through controversial legislation, Augustus attempted to encourage marriage and child-bearing among freeborn Roman citizens.[11] Women's domestic virtues were regarded as inseparable from civic virtue and thus as crucial to the wellbeing of Rome.[12] Since Augustus' family was head of state, private and domestic virtues were intertwined with dynastic and public needs.

Given the significance of the family in Julio-Claudian political thought, Livia was a key figure in Augustan image-making. She was not only the emperor's spouse; she was also the mother of two sons by a previous marriage, one of whom, Tiberius, became Augustus' heir in AD 4, thereby exalting Livia to even greater prominence. In her public devotion to husband and family she modelled ideal female behaviour, albeit through non-traditional means such as public art. The building that bore her name, the Porticus Liviae, enclosed a temple to Concordia, the personification of marital harmony.[13] Her early statuary portrait type, of which numerous examples survive, projected not sensuality but modesty and restraint; her hair is tied back neatly in a bun (fig. 1).[14] She conveyed the virtues that Augustus wished to promote in his moral legislation: marital fidelity and chastity.[15] Livia bridged the private and the public spheres by her association with these key domestic and civic virtues.[16] Symbolically, she guaranteed the continuity of the family that represented Rome.

Her exceptional position in the state was also marked in text and image by her close association with Roman state goddesses, in particular Juno and Ceres, Roman goddesses of marriage and procreation (even although she remained childless by Augustus), and Vesta, goddess of chastity and a pivotal deity of the Augustan regime;[17] Ovid refers to Livia as 'Vesta of chaste mothers' (*Pont*. 4.13.29).[18] Livia's public image was thus largely accommodated to socially accepted norms, while her associations with Roman state goddesses linked her to the divine.

This crossing of the boundary between the public and private realms occasioned, however, extreme charges against her, recorded in the historical tradition.[19] These persist today in the popular imagination where, despite scholarly efforts, Livia is largely regarded as a wife and mother characterised by ruthless ambition.[20] We must remember that the family life of her husband Augustus was plagued by tragedy. His two grandsons and heirs (by a previous marriage), Gaius and Lucius, died young; his daughter Julia was exiled on the charge of adultery. Livia's powerful position in the Augustan family worked against her reputation. In major historical sources Livia became the focal point of blame for Augustus' dynastic troubles, playing the villain of this tragic script. The historian Tacitus (c. AD 56–c. AD 117) and the imperial biographer Suetonius (c. AD 69–AD 122) insinuated that Livia was a schemer, and possibly even a poisoner and murderess, who stopped at nothing to ensure that her biological son Tiberius, and not Augustus' grandchildren by his daughter Julia, became emperor. As Tacitus tersely described her, 'Livia, as a mother a curse on the state, as a stepmother, a curse to the house of Caesars' (*Ann*. 1.10). According to Suetonius, Caligula called her 'Ulixes stolata', 'Ulysses in drag' (Suet. *Cal.* 23.2), a witticism that expresses

gendered anxieties that Livia's true nature was that of a ruthless, scheming man disguised, however, in the Roman *stola*, a long dress that indicated a woman of high rank. Tacitus and Suetonius wrote almost a century after Augustus' death in AD 14. For contemporary literary representations of Livia, we can turn to Ovid, whose poetry shows that Livia was a key focus of Augustan ideological image-making; in the honours she was both granted and denied, and in the terminology used of her, we can discern the debates surrounding the crafting of a new language of feminine power.

LIVIA AND OVID: THE NEW TERMINOLOGY

While Ovid is a significant source for Roman imperial cult and female deification, his approach to Livia is admittedly shaped by his bitter experience of political exile. His interest in Livia has often therefore been interpreted as flattery, designed to secure his recall from dismal conditions on the frontier of the Roman Empire at Tomis on the Black Sea.[21] However, the ambivalence that Ovid demonstrates in his exile poetry towards the emperor Augustus as both his executioner and possible saviour is also present, if more subtly, in the language he uses of Livia.

Ovid is the only Augustan poet to refer to Livia by name.[22] He first does so in the *Art of Love* (published 2 BC), where he provocatively suggests that Livia's new Porticus in Rome is a stylish place to pick up girls (*Ars* 1.71–2). In exile, he seeks her support from afar through the intercession of his wife, who had stayed in Rome.[23] But apart from references to Livia by name, there was no ready-made terminology for her unprecedented public status as wife of Augustus and, after AD 4, mother of his heir Tiberius. For instance, Livia is commonly referred to as 'empress', but that is a modern term; there was no Latin equivalent. The word 'imperatrix' is rare and appears only once in the classical period, when it is used ironically by Cicero (apparently of Clodia) to mean an emasculating 'female commander' (*pro Caelio* 67); only in Late Antiquity is the word used in the sense of 'empress'.

'Princeps' was the title chosen by Augustus to describe his unprecedented position as sole head of state. The word means 'leading man', and it smoothed over the reality of Augustus' autocratic powers. For Livia, Ovid gives us the term 'femina princeps', 'the woman princeps', or 'the leading woman'. He uses the term twice, both times in a letter to his wife about Livia. In the first instance he writes, 'femina… princeps | te docet exemplum coniugis esse bonae' ('the "woman princeps" teaches you the example of a good wife', *Tr.* 1.6.25). The startling, oxymoronic novelty of the term is somewhat offset by Livia's representation as the model of the ideal spouse. Ovid later describes Livia in similar terms as 'femina sed princeps' (*Pont.* 3.1.125). Here, as Jenkins suggests, the insertion of 'sed' ('but') between 'femina' and 'princeps' expresses the tension between the (formally) powerless woman and the powerful concept of an Augustan 'princeps'.[24] The term 'femina princeps' suggests how exceptional Livia's position was — and also how paradoxical: how

(above)

Fig. 2. Roman silver denarius showing on the obverse: AVGVSTVS DIVI F(ilius) [Augustus, son of the divine (Julius)] and on the reverse: M SANQVI–NIUS IIIVIR [Marcus Sanquinius, triumvir], by unidentified artist, 17 BCE. 2 cm, transfer from Classics Department to CU Art Museum, University of Colorado Boulder, 2014.06.412.

could a woman, traditionally confined to the domestic sphere and subordinate to men in the gender hierarchy, be a 'princeps', that is, 'first' in state? Thus the term 'femina princeps' suggests a sort of gendered hybridity. At the same time, the bipartite term expresses uncertainty about whether the two parts of the equation are unequal in weight; perhaps for that reason the term did not catch on. It appears elsewhere only in one anonymous work, the *Consolation of Livia,* which is probably close in time to Ovid's poetry but may postdate it.[25]

Ovid also addresses Livia with the honorific title 'Julia Augusta'. After Augustus' death in AD 14, Livia was made joint heir with Tiberius and was officially adopted into Augustus' family with the new name of Julia Augusta (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 101; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.8.1). This was an unprecedented honour. Never before had a man *adopted* his wife, even posthumously.[26] By birth, Livia belonged to the Claudian family. But through her new title, Livia was connected directly with the Julian family, which traced its ancestry back to the goddess Venus. The title Julia Augusta recalled Augustus and served as a constant reminder of the ultimate source of Livia's power and position. At the same time, Livia could now emphasise her exceptional status as wife of a *divus*. She was appointed head of Augustus' divine cult, a priestly role that prepared her own path to receive divine honours.

Ovid is the first writer to refer to Livia as Julia Augusta; the particular context strongly suggests the possibility of her deification. In his poem the *Fasti*, which he revised throughout his period of exile (AD 8–AD 17), the prophet Carmentis predicts that, 'just as I shall one day be consecrated at eternal altars, | so shall Julia Augusta be a new divine power' (*Fasti* 1.535–6). Though not a household name now, Carmentis was an ancient goddess of Republican Rome, important enough to have her own 'flamen', or special priest; she had an altar in the centre of Rome near the Capitoline Hill.[27] She appears in Vergil's *Aeneid* 8 (333–6) and Ovid's *Fasti* (1.471–2) as the mother of Evander, the wise, virtuous king from Arcadia who, as a refugee, created a settlement on the site of the future Rome. But unlike Vergil's Carmentis, who is a nymph (and thus already divine), Ovid's Carmentis is a mortal woman who predicts both her own eventual deification and that of Livia (535–6). Barrett claims that in this passage Ovid makes an extravagant expression of adulation towards Livia and 'throws restraint to the winds'.[28] But Ovid enters the deification debate cautiously. The reference to Livia's probable deification is couched not in Ovid's own words but in the essentially non-committal form of an ancient prophecy spoken by Carmentis. Still, Ovid suggests that deification of mortal women had ancient roots; according to his *Fasti*, Carmentis, Evander's mother, was deified before the foundation of Rome.[29] With this invented story, Ovid presents the idea of female deification as not foreign to Roman practice, linking it moreover to Rome's noble origins and thus establishing a precedent for Livia.

FOR OVID'S CONTEMPORARIES, FEMALE DEIFICATION WAS GENERALLY REGARDED AS TRANSGRESSIVE AND FOREIGN.

For Ovid's contemporaries, female deification was generally regarded as transgressive and foreign. Admittedly, Velleius Paterculus, writing in the reign of the emperor Tiberius (AD 14–AD 37), praises Livia as 'ementissima et per omnia deis quam hominibus similior femina' ('a most distinguished woman, and in all respects more like the gods than humans', Velleius 2.130.5).[30] Yet this apparent praise hints at the dangerous nature of Livia's extralegal position in the state; 'a woman more like the gods' is someone who has far exceeded her mortal limits. The powerful Egyptian queen Cleopatra had claimed divinity, but for the Romans she was a dangerous enemy of the Roman state. Velleius may be hinting at the controversy over Livia's possible deification. Although on Augustus' death in AD 14 the Senate voted significant honours for Livia, Tiberius vetoed most of them; he seems to have feared that her

power base, significantly expanded under the generous terms of Augustus' will, threatened his supremacy. According to Tacitus, Tiberius made gender an excuse by declaring that 'women's privileges needed to be kept within bounds', thus publicly insisting on her identity as a subordinate woman, not as a dangerous rival for power.[31] Upon Livia's death in AD 29 Tiberius also refused to consider her deification, even although the Senate wished it.[32] It was not until she was long dead and no longer a threat that Livia's deification could safely occur; in AD 42 the emperor Claudius, Livia's grandson, finally granted her that honour.

What then were the qualifications for becoming a goddess in Rome?

DEIFICATION IN ROME

First, some background to deification at Rome.[33] Did the Romans really believe their rulers could become gods? There is much evidence in elite literature of scepticism and debate over deification in general.[34] In the course of Rome's earlier history no Roman had been deified apart from Romulus, the founder of Rome and its first king; no human being had been the object of sacred cult between him and Julius Caesar. But in the first century BC deification was in the air, so to speak, as Rome absorbed new ideas from its expanding empire. Hellenistic and Egyptian royalty had long been regarded as gods in their lifetime as well as after death.[35] Philosophers imputed divine qualities to exceptional beings. Cicero's *Republic* is a key work that promotes the idea that worthy Romans could deserve immortality.[36] For instance, in its sixth book, Scipio Africanus, hero of the second Punic War, appears in a dream vision to his grandson to give counsel that, through exceptional service to one's country, the soul could achieve immortality.[37] Thus the idea of rulers becoming gods grew out of a religious and intellectual background in which it was understood that certain exceptional individuals had, at the very least, divine qualities in them.

There was also a political impetus to imperial deification. Julius Caesar was proclaimed a god after his assassination. His deification was politically expedient for his heir Augustus; as Ovid puts it at *Met.* 15.761–2, Julius Caesar had to become a god so that Augustus could after death become one too. As a god-in-the-making, Augustus could thus legitimate his one-man rule and his establishment of a dynasty. Deification was not granted while he was living, though citizens could privately worship the emperor at their individual discretion.[38] Deification was a posthumous honour, and was not automatic upon an emperor's death; it had to be ratified by the Senate in a formal process. Following the senatorial decree, an official cult of the new deified emperor was set up with a temple and priests. The title 'divus', used of a human being who had been made a god, as distinguished from the permanent 'dei' ('gods'), was added to the name.

The deification of Julius Caesar was the founding moment for Roman acceptance of deification. In 44 BC, at the funeral games for Julius Caesar, a comet shone brightly in the sky for seven days. According to Augustus' own account, preserved in Pliny's *Natural History* (*Nat.* 2.23.94), the people interpreted the comet as a sign that Caesar's soul had risen to heaven and that he had become a god. Capitalising on popular belief, the Senate officially decreed Caesar a *divus*; a star was added to his bust in the Forum, as seen on the reverse of this Augustan coin (fig. 2). The apotheosis of Julius Caesar provided Augustus 'a direct ticket to divinity'.[39] Prior to Caesar's apotheosis, merit was the main basis for deification. For instance Romulus, the chief 'historical' precedent for a Roman ruler attaining divinity, was a man of outstanding virtue and 'the guardian of his country' (Cicero, *Republic* 1.64).[40] With the Augustan dynasty, political reasons emerged as crucial factors too.

But how about women? As we have seen, female deification was particularly controversial in a paternalistic society like Rome. The notion of female deification actually occurs a year before Caesar's comet, in an extraordinary series of letters Cicero wrote to his friends on the death of his beloved daughter Tullia in 45 BC.[41] Utterly bereft, Cicero writes of his therapeutic plans to deify her and establish a cult by building a shrine filled with artworks that would honour her and her intellectual gifts.[42] These plans were met with resistance

(above)

Fig. 3. **Intervention of the Sabine Women** by Jacques-Louis David, 1799. Oil on canvas, 385 x 522 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

PUBLIC DOMAIN VIA WIKIMEDIA COMMONS, <HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:THE_INTERVENTION_OF_THE_SABINE_WOMEN.JPG>

and lack of comprehension by his friends. The idea that a mortal woman could become a goddess was a threat to the stability of the gender hierarchy on which Roman society was established; moreover, Cicero's model of the learned woman would not catch on for imperial deification. Nor of course was there a political motivation to deify for the sake of creating and authorising a dynasty.

OVID AND LIVIA: BECOMING A DIVA

Let us now turn back to Livia and Ovid. As the first Roman to be made a god, Romulus, Rome's founder, was the prototype for imperial deification.[43] There were, however, no historical Roman precedents for the deification of a mortal Roman woman. As we saw, in the *Fasti* Ovid probably invented the idea of deification

for Evander's legendary mother Carmentis. In his epic poem the *Metamorphoses* he again invents a historical precedent for Livia with his unique story of the apotheosis of Romulus' wife Hersilia (*Met*. 14.829–51). This narrative follows directly after his account of the deification of Romulus, thus forming the book's climactic end.[44] As founding figures, Romulus and Augustus were closely connected in contemporary ideology. Ovid's pairing of Romulus' apotheosis with that of Hersilia suggests that he is establishing a precedent for Livia's deification by emphasising her right to join her deified spouse. Ovid's description of Hersilia's apotheosis, moreover, suggests her link with the Julian family (*Met*. 14.846–8): 'A star fell from the sky to earth; her hair burning with its light, Hersilia departed into

the air with the star.' The portent of the falling star and Hersilia's fiery hair connects her with Julius Caesar's comet which, in Ovid's account in the following book, shone with a burning hair-like trail, a sign of apotheosis (*Met*. 15.848–50).

Hersilia's deification, moreover, is represented as a political act associated with the Augustan ideal of conjugal harmony. She is granted the extraordinary honour of deification not for her sexual attractiveness, as often happens in Greek myth, but for her love and loyalty. When Romulus disappears into the heavens, Ovid declares, 'she wept as a wife for her lost husband' (*Met.* 14.829). Devotion to her husband earns her a place in the stars, by his side (*Met*. 14.849–51): 'The founder of Rome welcomes her with familiar hands and changes her name along with her body and calls her 'Hora', who now as a goddess is yoked with Quirinus (the deified Romulus)'. Ovid thus makes the idea of female deification palatable. With Romulus in charge of Hersilia's change of body and name, she stays subordinate to her husband; 'she was a most worthy wife for Romulus the man and now likewise for Romulus/Quirinus the god' (*Met.* 14.833–4). As Sara Myers points out, the idea of the 'worthy wife' is the sort of conventional sentiment about women one finds on Roman epitaphs.[45]

The invention of Hersilia's apotheosis was, nonetheless, a bold move on Ovid's part. Prior to his invention, tradition seems to have held that Romulus found a new, divine wife in heaven, just as Hercules on his apotheosis left behind a mortal wife, Deianira, for the divine Hebe.[46] Interestingly, Ovid's Hersilia has another, less gender-bound, role in Roman history. According to *Fasti* 3.201–33, Hersilia was a Sabine woman who married Romulus after the infamous 'rape of the Sabine women'. She stopped the war between the new Roman husbands and the angry Sabine fathers by intervening with a delegation of women on the battlefield, an event depicted in David's famous painting (fig. 3).[47] Like a general before a fight, Hersilia makes a speech arousing the women's morale (*Fasti* 3.205–14), and her plan succeeds in making peace between the rival male parties. In the *Fasti* Hersilia steps out of normative gender roles for women; her plan is both 'bold and dutiful' (*Fasti* 3.212). While she crosses the line into masculine space, she does so to make peace. There is no mention here of her eventual deification, however. In *Metamorphoses* 14 her appearance as the devout rather than the outspoken wife is a more diplomatic model of female deification for Rome. Indeed, there is some evidence that Hersilia was believed to have introduced marriage customs to Rome.[48]

Ovid's nuanced approach to imperial female deification suggests that this topic was a sensitive one, not only because the practice seemed foreign but because it transcended conventional gender roles. However, in his poetry written from exile, Ovid several times represents Livia directly as a figure with divine qualities and stature. For instance, he writes that every day he worshipped silver statuettes of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius (*Pont.* 2.8.1–10).[49] Notably, Ovid includes Livia along with the men, in fact using the same phrasing to describe Livia as he used of Hersilia at *Metamorphoses* 14.851; Livia too in the form of a divine image is 'yoked' ('iuncta') to her husband and son (*Pont*. 2.8.4). Thus even as he exalts Livia as part of the imperial trio of rulers, he also accommodates her to her conjugal and genealogical roles. Ovid's depictions of Livia overall suggest the inscrutability of Livia's authority, and the difficulty of finding adequate terms for her powerful but unofficial position in the state.

Some scholars have interpreted Ovid's hints of Livia's divinity as subversive. In particular, several times in his exile poetry Ovid associates Livia with Juno, the powerful consort of Jupiter and Roman goddess of marriage and childbirth, and hence a favourite portrait type for Livia.[50] After Augustus' deification, Livia as Juno edged dangerously close, perhaps, to the mythological tradition of divine consorts. For in literary tradition, Juno was extremely volatile and a rival in power to her husband. At *Pont*. 3.1.114–18 Ovid writes that Livia possesses the character of Juno and alone was found worthy of her husband's bed. The comparison lent itself to possible irony, given Juno's reputation for cruelty and anger against her serially adulterous spouse; the Olympian gods in general formed a slippery, hyperbolic point of comparison for mortal rulers.[51] As Garth Tissol has argued, hyperbole is a feature of Ovid's

exile poetry, and is often double-edged.[52] Such a divine comparison can honour Livia while also suggesting her potential, like Juno, for either clemency or anger. Ultimately, Ovid's poetry reveals the impossibility of writing about Livia in an uncontested way.

When Livia was finally deified by the emperor Claudius in AD 42, her exceptionalism was curbed. In accordance with Roman commemorative practices for married couples, she was honoured as Augustus' spouse, not as a powerful public figure in her own right. Her cult was joined to that of Augustus in the same temple;[53] Claudius struck coinage to celebrate the event that showed both deified husband and deified wife, 'Divus Augustus' on the obverse, 'Diva Augusta' on the reverse, counterparts but not equals. Like Ovid's Hersilia of *Metamorphoses* 14, as 'diva' she joins her spouse. Claudius' closest blood links were with Livia, his grandmother. Because of his various infirmities, Claudius had not been expected to become emperor. Livia was chiefly important to him as the genealogical founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[54] Her deification legitimated his rule and gave it divine sanction; it also demonstrated his devotion both to his grandmother and to the social and political ideals represented by the emperor Augustus. Probably too Romans by this time could more easily accept Livia as a 'diva' both because she was no longer a political threat, and because, during the first century AD, Rome had become a global, cosmopolitan superpower, more accepting of the foreign habit of deifying monarchs.

Livia was not the first imperial woman to be deified in Rome. The emperor Caligula, with great extravagance, deified his sister Drusilla on her death in AD 38;[55] her cult was short-lived, however.[56] Unlike Caligula, Claudius was cautious in his deification of Livia.[57] He emphasised that Livia was part of a sacred family, not an individual; otherwise she had little political value.[58] This approach to female deification became the norm when apotheosis became more routine in the second century AD; Livia provided the model for future imperial 'divae'.[59] For instance, in Rome the base of the column of Marcus Antoninus Pius (emperor AD 138–161) shows his apotheosis and that of his wife Faustina.[60] Faustina died twenty years before her husband in AD 140, but not until his death and deification was she too shown as deified.[61]

The associations of the term 'diva' in imperial terminology were thus quite different from what they are today. Becoming a 'diva' in imperial Rome may seem perhaps not very exciting or glamorous. The woman who became a 'diva' was a respectable wife who showed loyalty to her imperial spouse. (In Greek myth, by contrast, divine rape, rather than marriage, was often the route to the stars.) Yet Ovid's *Fasti* also offers other models of female deification that have little to do with the family writ large as the state. His poem reveals the diversity of early Roman religion and the multitude of female deities who played important cultural roles in Rome's history. In conclusion, I look briefly at one such goddess, Anna Perenna. She is of particular interest as a mortal woman who earned deification not because of marriage, but because, according to Ovid, of a political act. The account of her cult and deification is by far the longest in Ovid's poem. Moreover, her festival fell on a key date for the Julian family, the Ides of March.

ANNA PERENNA

Today the Ides of March is closely associated with the assassination of Julius Caesar, and the Shakespearean warning, 'beware the Ides of March'! In the *Fasti*, however, Ovid chooses to highlight the rather bawdy festival of Anna Perenna and the origins of this goddess (3.523–696); Anna is given one hundred and seventy-four lines, Caesar's assassination and subsequent apotheosis fourteen (3.697–710). The two events could not be more different, the one associated with a new imperial god, the other with an ancient, Republican goddess.

Ovid describes the festival of Anna Perenna as an outdoor event where couples of all ages let their hair down with sex, heavy drinking, dancing, and licentious songs (3.525–30):

> The common people come and scattered all over the green grass they drink and lie down each with his partner. Some rough it under the sky, a few pitch tents, for others a leafy hut has been made from branches; some,

when they've set up reeds as sturdy pillars,
have stretched out togas and put them on top.

People get a bit too tipsy and by evening's end they are staggering home:

When they return they are staggering
and are a spectacle for people to behold;
I recently ran into the procession; a drunk
old man was being pulled along by a drunk
old woman (539–42).[62]

The image of the drunken old woman dragging along a drunken old man is far from Augustan standards of proper behaviour, especially since women were rarely allowed 'to take the lead' — or to drink wine.[63] Later in his account of the festival Ovid tells us that on this day young girls could sing bawdy songs (675–6).[64] The festival has a carnivalesque quality in that social proprieties are inverted in a period of licensed freedom, including freedom of speech.[65] The contrast between the two different events on the Ides of March makes this a highly charged date in Ovid's calendar poem.

Among Augustus' many powers was oversight of the Roman calendar, which Julius Caesar had reformed by putting the months into alignment with the solar year.[66] Augustus altered the calendar by adding many new festive days honouring himself and the family. As Mary Beard has argued, the calendar (Roman 'fasti') was not simply a record of measurements of Roman time; it was also a religious and political instrument for shaping Roman cultural memory. It was thus a key element, often controversial and changing, of Roman identity;[67] we might think of Australia Day, for instance. Roman calendars were not like our calendars, hung on interior walls, but were public monuments, carved in the Augustan age in gleaming marble as symbols of their importance to the state. By using the calendar as an ideological instrument, Augustus could publicly display that Rome was no longer Republican but Augustan in place and time.[68] In contrast, in his poetic *Fasti* Ovid explores a distinct, multifarious view of Roman identity and time. Exiled for his earlier, racy poetry, Ovid joins the Augustan discourse on religion and time, but he does so to comment on and critique Augustus' autocratic regime.

In antiquity, Anna Perenna was generally believed to be Roman goddess of the year (Latin 'annus') and of new beginnings in spring, and thus also of fertility.[69] Ovid emphasises instead that she was originally a mortal woman, and invents two explanations of how she became a goddess. The first, which need not detain us here (3.545–654), involves an invented, parodic sequel to Rome's national epic, the *Aeneid*, in which Augustus' ancestor, Aeneas, appears in an unheroic light in a triangular relationship with his wife and Anna, here identified with the sister of Aeneas' former lover, Dido queen of Carthage. The second, which Ovid seems to favour — 'it seems close to the truth', he comments (3.661–2) — associates her with democratic freedoms (3.661–74). He draws on a historical occasion, though the role of Anna seems to be his invention. In 493 BC the plebeian class revolted against the elite by leaving Rome and occupying the Mons Sacer ('Sacred Mountain'), a few miles distant, until the elite agreed to let them have their own representatives, two tribunes of the people (Livy 2.32–33). According to Ovid's *Fasti*, Anna was an old woman from the town of Bovillae (about ten miles from Rome) who gave the famished plebeians home-baked cakes. When peace was made a statue was erected in her honour and she was made a goddess. On the Ides of March, a day associated with the assassination of Julius Caesar and the symbolic end of the Roman Republic, the route to female deification is provocatively connected with populist, Republican sympathies.

Scholars have wondered why Ovid made this elderly Anna come from Bovillae, a small town south of Rome near the Alban lake. I suggest that this is because Bovillae had a major connection with Julius Caesar and his family. The town was an offshoot of Alba Longa, which was believed to have been founded by Iulus, son of Aeneas. The Julian family had their family shrines at Bovillae, and special games and festivals were held in their honour. After Augustus' death, Tiberius erected a public shrine to the deified emperor in AD 16.[70] On the Ides of March, a day associated with the making of a new imperial god, Julius Caesar, Ovid provocatively promotes from the Julian heartland a Roman 'diva' of a

very different stripe. The stories Ovid tells about Anna Perenna remind us of the importance of traditions of feasting, song, love, and liberty of speech as key aspects of Roman cultural identity.

We know from a recent archaeological find in Rome that the cult of Anna Perenna continued to be celebrated well into the fourth century AD.[71] At some point, however, the date of her festival was changed from the provocative Ides of March to June, and the cult moved to a point three miles away from the imperial centre, with its major civic monuments.[72] Thus the tensions that can be traced in Ovid's text between a populist female cult and an elite male ruler cult seem to have been officially recognised by the physical and temporal removal of Anna Perenna by the imperial government. Archaeology and epigraphy thus give us a clearer sense of the audacity of the poet's highlighting of Anna Perenna in his calendar poem on the Ides of March, written at a time when family and marriage were central to the official notion of the Roman *diva*. (Interestingly, Anna's spirit lives on in the southern hemisphere today as the inspiration for an award-wining southern Australian red wine, Anaperenna [*sic*]).[73]

To conclude, Ovid was writing at a time when the notion of female deification was still fluid. From his poetry we get a sense of contemporary debate over female deification as an important, if controversial, part of imperial image-making. Livia lived to see her exceptional powers enhanced by Augustus and curbed by her son; her career highlights the important role that gender played in the evolution of imperial court politics. Ovid's calendar poem the *Fasti* also provides several examples of female deification which do not conform to the family-based model and do not have spousal counterparts. Apart from Anna Perenna, Carmentis — the mother of Evander who prophesies Livia's deification at the start of the *Fasti* — is the first of several mortal, if legendary, women in the *Fasti* who become 'divae'. Ovid calls her 'doctae', 'learned' (499); her very name recalls the Latin word 'carmen', 'poem'. At the start of the *Fasti* Carmentis offers a model for female deification that harkens back to Cicero's Tullia: eloquence and learning can also provide the route to the stars. The power of the emperor and his spouse was closely tied up with aspirations to immortality; but it was the poet, whose works are still read today, who ultimately had the authority to confer that immortality and shape the lasting cultural memory of Rome. As Ovid writes in exile, 'If it is permitted to say this, gods too are made by poetry | and their great majesty needs the poet's voice' (*Pont*. 4.8.55). ¶

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1. The model was not, however, firmly established until the later first century AD, after the perceived excesses of various imperial women and their spouses.
2. Ovid gives two reasons for his banishment to the Black Sea, 'a poem and an error' (*Tr*. 2.207). The poem was almost certainly the risqué *Art of Love*; the error seems to have been connected with the imperial family, but beyond that is mere speculation.
3. See Kenneth Scott, 'Emperor Worship in Ovid', *TAPA*, 61 (1930), 43–69.
4. Nicholas Purcell, 'Livia and the Womanhood of Rome', *The Cambridge Classical Journal*, 32 (1986), 78–105 (pp. 82–5). On highly controversial examples of highborn Roman women who assumed unofficial public roles in the disintegrating world of the late Roman

Republic, see T. Corey Brennan, 'Perceptions of Women's Power in the Late Republic: Terentia, Fulvia, and the Generation of 63 BCE', in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, ed. by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 354–66.

5. John Crook, 'Feminine Inadequacy and the Senatusconsultum Velleianum', in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, ed. by Beryl Rawson (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 83–92.
6. Male guardianship was removed at the same time for Octavia, in 35 BC; see Dio 49.38.1. On Livia's role as benefactor and patron see Purcell, p. 87; Antony Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 195–9.
7. See Pliny, *Nat.* 34.31; 35.114, 139. Also S. B. Platner, 'Porticus Liviae' and 'Porticus Octaviae', in *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 423, 427.
8. Statues were first voted for Livia and Octavia in 35 BC, during Augustus' ascendancy to power; see Dio 49.38.1.
9. Elizabeth Bartmann, *Portraits of Livia: Imagining the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. xxi and passim. On the iconography of Livia, see also Susan E. Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 75–142.
10. See Catharine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 163–8.
11. See Peter Davis, 'Ovid's *Amores*: A Political Reading', *CPh,* 94.4 (1999), 431–49 (p. 435).
12. Kristina Milnor, *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 43.
13. See Kathryn Welch, 'Velleius and Livia: Making a Portrait', in *Velleius Paterculus: Making History*, ed. by Eleanor Cowan (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2011), 309–34 (pp. 322–5).
14. See Bartmann, *Portraits of Livia*, p. 38.
15. See Wood, *Imperial Women*, p. 103.
16. See further Welch, 'Velleius and Livia'.
17. Ceres was Livia's most widespread, and most politically innocuous, divine evocation; see Bartmann, *Portraits of Livia*, pp. 93–4.
18. See also Ovid, *Met.* 15.864–5, who names the goddess as 'Caesar's Vesta', installed among the imperial household gods; Geraldine Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 71; Alessandro Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 137–40; Bartmann, *Portraits of Livia*, pp. 94–5.
19. Purcell, 'Livia', p. 85.
20. See Purcell, 'Livia', pp. 79–80; Wood, *Imperial Women,* p. 87; Bartmann, *Portraits of Livia*, p. 42; Gerturde Grether, 'Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult', *AJPh*, 67.3 (1946), 222–52.
21. See Scott, 'Emperor Worship'.
22. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti*, p. 130.
23. See Barrett, *Livia, First Lady*, pp. 192–5.
24. Thomas E. Jenkins, 'Livia the Princeps: Gender and Ideology in the *Consolatio ad Liviam*', *Helios*, 36 (2009), 1–25 (p. 17).
25. See Jenkins, 'Livia the Princeps'.
26. See Brian Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 22.
27. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.32.2.
28. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady*, p. 194.
29. Carmentis' origins are obscure. See Franz Bömer (ed.), *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1958) on *Fasti* 1.471, p. 55.
30. See Welch, 'Velleius and Livia'.
31. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.14; Suetonius, *Tib.* 50.
32. Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.2. On Tiberius' restrictions on his mother's power see Grether, 'Livia and the Imperial Cult', pp. 233–6.
33. The bibliography is extensive. Fundamental is Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire,* 3 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1987–2005). See also John Scheid, 'To Honour the Princeps and Venerate the Gods', in *Augustus*, ed. by Jonathan Edmonson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 275–99, especially pp. 295–99. On official Roman procedures for deification see Gwynaeth McIntyre, 'Deification as Consolation: the Divine Children of the Roman Imperial Family', *Historia*, 62 (2013), 222–40 (pp. 222–3).
34. On elite scepticism see Denis Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 109–10; Spencer Cole, 'Elite Scepticism in the *Apocolocyntosis*: Some Qualifications', in *Seeing Seneca Whole*, ed. by Katharina Volk and Gareth D. Williams (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 175–82.
35. See Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration,* pp. 4–7.
36. On the importance of Cicero's *Republic* in late Republican thinking about apotheosis, see Spencer Cole, 'Cicero, Ennius, and the Concept of Apotheosis at Rome', *Arethusa*, 39 (2006), 531–48.
37. Cole, 'Cicero', pp. 545–6.
38. See the succinct discussion of emperor worship in *Ovid Epistulae Ex Ponto I,* ed. by Jan Felix

Gaertner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 12–14.

39. Bill Gladhill, 'Gods, Caesars and Fate in *Aeneid* 1 and *Metamorphoses* 15', *Dictynna*, 9 (2012), 2–17.
40. See Cole, 'Cicero', pp. 534–45.
41. On the importance of these letters for understanding the process of female deification, see McIntyre, 'Deification as Consolation', pp. 231–3.
42. See *ad Att*. 2.18; Han Baltussen, 'A Grief Observed: Cicero on Remembering Tullia', *Mortality,* 14 (2009), 355–69.
43. See *Ovid Metamorphoses Book XIV,* ed. by Sara Myers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 200–202. A competing tradition held that Romulus was murdered by senators; Ovid refers only to Romulus' deification, the tradition that was politically important to the ruling family
44. See Marleen B. Flory, 'The Deification of Roman Women', *The Ancient History Bulletin* (*AHB*), 9.3/4 (1995), pp. 129–30.
45. Dio 56.5.5; Myers, *Metamorphoses XIV*, pp. 208–209.
46. See Ennius, *Annales* 100.
47. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.45–46.1 offers a more muted version of the story. See also Cicero, *De Republica* 2.13; Livy 1.13. I am indebted to Reina Callier's discussion of Ovid's two Hersilias in 'Missing Persons: Character, Context, and Ovidian Poetics' (doctoral thesis, University of Colorado, 2015).
48. Myers, *Metamorphoses XIV*, p. 209
49. See also *Pont*. 3.1.161–4; *Pont*. 4.9.105–12.
50. Wood, *Imperial Women,* pp. 9–10; Grether, 'Livia and the Imperial Cult', pp. 228–9.
51. See for instance Patricia J. Johnson, 'Ovid's Livia in Exile', *CW*, 90 (1997), 403–20 (pp. 414–17); Stephen Hinds, 'First Among Women', in *Amor: Roma. Love and Literature*, ed. by Susanna M. Braund and Roland Mayer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 123–41.
52. *Ovid: Epistulae Ex Ponto Book I*, ed. by Garth Tissol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 16–18.
53. See Dio 60.5.2; Suetonius, *Cl.* 11.2.
54. See Flory, 'Deification of Roman Women', pp. 133–4.
55. See Dio 59.11.2–3.5; Suetonius, *Cal.* 24.
56. On Caligula's promotional use of his family see Gwynaeth McIntyre, 'Constructing a Family: Representations of the Women of the Roman Imperial Family', *Acta Patristica et Byzantina*, 21.2 (2010), 109–120 (pp. 110–113). Later the emperor Nero was criticised for deifying his wife Poppaea; her funeral pyre was loaded with more perfumes than Arabia could produce in one year (Pliny *Nat*. 12.41.83). Although, unlike Livia, but like Drusilla, Poppaea was venerated in her own temple, her cult too was short-lived. See Patrick Kragelund, 'The Temple and Birthplace of Diva Poppaea', *CQ,* 60.2 (2010), 559–68.
57. Dio 60.5.2; Suetonius, *Cl.* 11.2.
58. Flory, 'Deification of Roman Women', p. 134.
59. Grether, 'Livia and the Imperial Cult', pp. 251–2.
60. Platner, 'Columna Antonini Pii', p. 131.
61. See Barbara Levick, *Faustina I and II: Imperial Women of the Golden Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
62. Translation, slightly adapted, from Ann Wiseman and T. Peter Wiseman, *Ovid: Times and Reasons: A New Translation of Fasti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
63. T. Peter Wiseman, *Roman Drama and Roman History* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), pp. 68–9, suggests that prostitutes took part in the festival since Ovid mentions couples camping out under togas for shelter, and only elite males and prostitutes wore the toga.
64. T. Peter Wiseman, 'The Cult Site of Anna Perenna: Documentation,Visualization, Imagination', in *Imaging Ancient Rome*, ed. by Lothar Haselberger and John Humphrey (*JRA* Suppl. 61), 51–61 (p. 59), suggests that formal competitions in song and dance may also have been part of the festival.
65. See Carole Newlands, 'Transgressive Acts: Ovid's Treatment of the Ides of March', *CPh*, 91 (1996), 320–38.
66. See Denis Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007).
67. Mary Beard, 'A Complex of Times: No More Sheep on Romulus' Birthday', *PCPhS*, 33 (1987), 1–15.
68. Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar*, p. 189.
69. See Macrobius 1.12.6; also Martial 4.64.16–17, with Wiseman, 'The Cult Site of Anna Perenna', pp. 59–61. Ovid also briefly offers four other possibilities at 3.657–9: she is a moon goddess, the goddess Themis, the goddess Io, or a nymph who gave the infant Jupiter his first food.
70. See Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 5–7; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.41.
71. Marina Piranomonte, 'Anna Perenna a dieci anni della scoperta', *MHNH*, 9 (2009), 251–64; Wiseman, 'The Cult Site of Anna Perenna'.
72. A fourth century calendar, the *Fasti Filocaliani,* records the date of the Anna Perenna festival as 18 June. See also Stephen J. Heyworth, 'Roman Topography and Latin Diction', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 79 (2011), 43–69.
73. The vintner, Ben Glaetzer, claims on his website to have been directly inspired by the Roman 'diva'.

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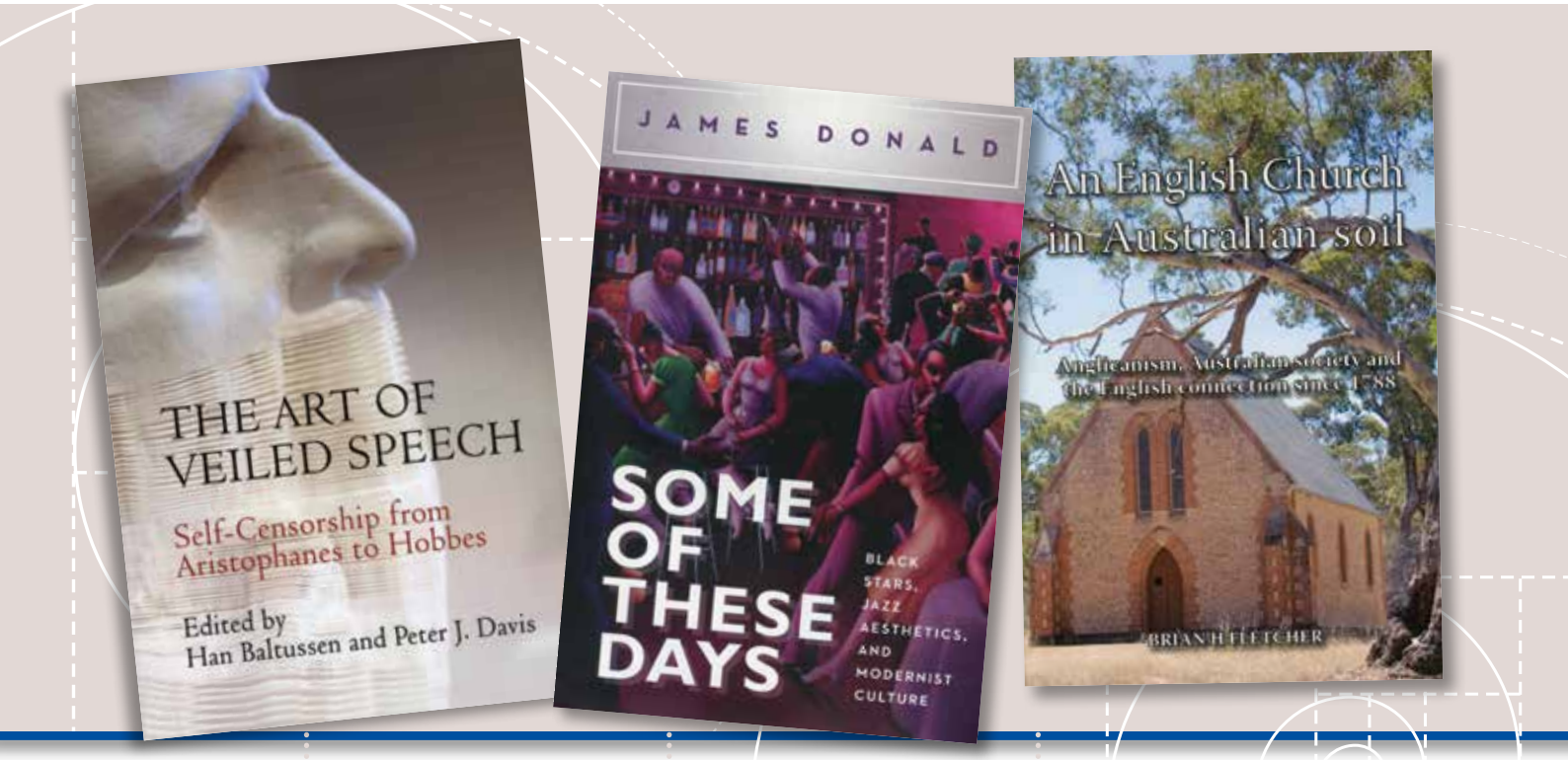

Han Baltussen and Peter J. Davis (eds)
The Art of Veiled Speech: Self-Censorship from Aristophanes to Hobbes
(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015)
*Donated by Han Baltussen
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James Donald
Some of These Days: Black Stars, Jazz Aesthetics, and Modernist Culture
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2015)
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Brian H. Fletcher
An English Church in Australian Soil: Anglicanism, Australian Society and the English Connection Since 1788
(Canberra: Barton Books, 2015)
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Geoffrey Lancaster
The First Fleet Piano:
A Musician's View (2 vols)
(Canberra: ANU Press, 2015)
*Donated by Geoffrey Lancaster AM FAHA

Kerrianne Stone and Gerard Vaughan (eds)
The Piranesi Effect
(Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2015)
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