The Undergraduate Scholar welcomes submissions from current Indiana University students in all areas of study. Papers of any length are accepted, but submissions should have implications broader than an individual assignment or course. The entries are judged by the undergraduate editorial staff based on attention to mechanics, style, content, clarity, and contemporary appeal. The staff reserves the right to edit submissions for clarity but also welcomes the author’s participation in this process. The Undergraduate Scholar also accepts artwork, including prints, photographs, paintings, and works in other media. To submit a paper to The Undergraduate Scholar, students should e-mail their work as an attachment to: undergraduate.scholar@gmail.com.

The paper should be in a Microsoft Word document and include a title page with the student’s name, faculty advisor, local address, permanent address, phone number, and email address. If electronic submission is undesirable, entries consisting of one hard copy and one disk copy can be dropped off at or mailed to:

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Dear Reader:

People from around the world with eclectic interests and diverse areas of study make up the Indiana University student body. Some of us are involved in scientific research or participate in community service events, while others join business fraternities or play and compose music. Yet, we are all interwoven by a common goal. Every semester, we persevere through large loads of homework and late-night studying to broaden our minds and expand our education. The Undergraduate Scholar aims to connect the campus even further by taking a few threads of the work that has been accomplished this year and sharing it with the Indiana University community. Whether it be a short paper on Renaissance art or a senior dissertation on biochemistry, each paper has the potential to allow students to learn about a subject outside the parameters of their own majors and lets students gain insight into what others around them study each day.

The Undergraduate Scholar staff is pleased to present the following student essays. Throughout the semester, the staff has worked diligently to bring the issue to its current form and we hope these papers display the diversity of learning embodied by our undergraduate student body.

Happy reading!

Sireen Yang
Coordinator, The Undergraduate Scholar
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A Developmental Dialogue: Common Roots and Interplay in Medieval Jewish and Arabic Music

Rose Fraser
Music historians rarely discuss Jewish music predating the nineteenth century. The main reason for this is that music in Judaism was and remains largely an oral tradition. Few examples of written Jewish music before the 1800s exist. However, music was evidentially central to Jewish communities, both in religion and daily life, because it was a subject discussed frequently by important religious figures. These discussions and opinions were recorded in treatises or commentaries. Combined with contemporary studies by eminent scholars in music and Judaism, these works provide some foundation for the study of Jewish music in Europe’s ancient and medieval periods. Some curious conclusions and connections can be found, but perhaps the most interesting is the close relationship of early Jewish musicians with their Arabic neighbors.

Communication between the two cultures was most prevalent in Eastern Europe in the eighth through tenth centuries and later in Islamic Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This relationship can be demonstrated by examining commonalities found in early treatises from both cultures, such as the *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, written by Rabbi Sa’adiah Gaon in the ninth century, and a similar text from the Muslim world: the *Epistle on Music*, written by the tenth-century secret Arabic brotherhood Ikhwan al-Safa (The Brethren of Purity) in Baghdad.¹ The epistle contains surprising similarities to Rabbi Sa’adiah Gaon’s views on musical philosophy and practice. When these two original sources are combined with the exhaustive folkloric studies on Jewish music by A.Z. Idelsohn, Emanuel Rubin, Israel Adler, and other Jewish historians, as well as with rabbinical commentary from various historical periods, the significance of these similarities is revealed. Early Jewish and Arabic musical traditions shared roots in ancient Greek philosophy and were part of a strong cross-cultural dialogue, which is evident in writings by philosophers of the time, and by modern scholars of both cultures.

Perhaps the best introduction to the use of Greek philosophy in early Jewish music can be found in A.Z. Idelsohn’s *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*. As Idelsohn notes about the earliest Jewish music in Egypt, “Music was regarded as sacred and was credited with its own ethos – its divine power.”² The concept of ethos, defined as one’s ethical character, grew to have a strong relationship with music in ancient Greek philosophy.³ The Greeks believed both music and the human soul were governed by numerical relationships, and thus, music could affect the soul directly.⁴ Music in certain modes could inspire passion, grief, anger, and a range of other emotions. It could also inspire changes in behavior, and for this reason Plato believed music, whether it was made either in a casual setting or for the sake of pleasure alone, was dangerous to society.⁵ In a comparable manner, both Jewish and Arabic cultural leaders in the ninth and tenth centuries seemed to have come to the conclusion that music could affect human character. As the brotherhood Ikhwan al-Safa wrote in their
tenth-century *Epistle on Music*:

…the matter which is the subject of every art that is practiced with the hands
is composed of natural bodies, and its products are all natural forms, except for
the matter which is the subject of the musical art, which is entirely composed
of spiritual substances… In effect, melodies which are composed of notes and
rhythms (*aswat wanaghamat*) leave an impression on the soul.\(^6\)

The brotherhood goes on to cite melodies and rhythms that inspire resolution in hard
circumstances, ease the pain of hard labor, and bestow courage. They even go so far as
to claim that some music could “cause hatred to arise between tribes, and […] incite
them to kill.”\(^7\) These statements have direct parallels in Aristotle’s *Politics*, in which he
discusses the effects of specific musical modes on human emotion:

[Melodies] contain in themselves imitations of ethoses; and this is manifest […]
so that people when hearing them are affected differently and have not the same
feelings in regard to each of them, but listen to some in a more mournful and
restrained state […], and with the greatest composure to another, as the Dorian
alone of the harmoniai seems to act, while the Phrygian makes men divinely
suffused; for these things are well stated by those who have studied this form of
education.\(^8\)

Though the Ikhwan al-Safa are less specific about which modes cause each feeling, the
ideas are nearly the same. Muslim philosophers clearly had access to ancient Greek
works of musical philosophy, as can be seen in the second chapter of the *Epistle on
Music*, which begins “Know my brother […] that all the arts were invented by the
Greek philosophers thanks to their science.”\(^9\) Additionally, Arabic contemporaries
of the Ikhwan al-Safa, including the philosopher al-Farabi, directly referenced works
such as Aristotle’s *Politics* in writings such as al-Farabi’s ninth-century *Philosophy of
Plato and Aristotle* and the *Large Book on Music*.\(^10\) The brotherhood’s description
of music’s power is likely an application of Aristotle’s ideas to their own observations in
Muslim culture.

Jewish theoreticians built on Greek views in a similar way. The tenth treatise,
“Concerning how it is most proper for man to conduct himself in this world,” in
Sa’adiah Gaon’s *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* offers a tenth-century Jewish perspective
on the concept of ethos.\(^11\) Though Sa’adiah discusses mostly rhythmic, rather than
melodic, modes, his discussion of their individual effects on human emotion is as
confident as that of Aristotle, and is more specific than that of the Ikhwan al-Safa. He
connects each mode to a particular emotion or behavior it stimulates, among them
“the impulse to rule and dominate,” “courage and boldness,” and “submissiveness.”\(^12\)

This concern with the effect of music on the listener is important for several
reasons. According to both the *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* and the *Epistle on Music*,

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\(^6\) See the *tenth-century Epistle on Music* for more on this.

\(^7\) The brotherhood goes on to cite melodies and rhythms that inspire resolution in hard
circumstances, ease the pain of hard labor, and bestow courage. They even go so far as
to claim that some music could “cause hatred to arise between tribes, and […] incite
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\(^12\) This concern with the effect of music on the listener is important for several
reasons. According to both the *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* and the *Epistle on Music*,
music has the power to improve or weaken the human condition. The examples given in each text of melodies and their effects are unmistakably reminiscent of the texts of Aristotle and Plato, leading to the conclusion that each tradition was building on the work of Greek musical philosophers. This conclusion establishes a clear common ground between Muslim and Jewish musical thinking of the time.

To explore the implications of this common heritage, it is essential to understand that the philosophies on music and emotion of the medieval Muslim and Jewish cultures were inseparable from the biological theory of humourism. This theory postulated that four humours—blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm—comprised the substances that fill the human body. Systematized by Hippocrates, humourism held that a balance between the four elements was necessary for health. Imbalances could cause changes in mood as well as in physical well-being. Music was believed to stimulate certain humours, causing an increase in one or more to the detriment of the others. This change resulted in emotional and behavioral effects, similar to the Greek notion of the malleability of one’s ethos. In the Epistle on Music, the brethren clearly states that “to each humour, to each nature, corresponds a rhythm and a melody.” This statement echoes Sa’adiah Gaon’s discussion of the eight rhythmic modes and their emotional effects in the Book of Beliefs and Opinions. He explains the effect of each mode by citing the type of humour (or humours) it is believed to stimulate. Thus, while music can have a destructive emotional effect, this belief also means that, as Shiloah Amnon observes, “the correct use of music at an appropriate time has a healing influence on the body.”

The idea of music as a healing force is also found in several works by the famous rabbi, physician, and philosopher Maimonides (1135-1204), including Eight Chapters and the Epistles to al-Afdal. Maimonides writes:

If the humour of black bile agitates him, he should make it cease by listening to songs and various kinds of melodies, by walking in gardens and fine buildings, […] and by things like this which delight the soul and make the disturbance of black bile disappear from it.

These beliefs among Jews and Arabs led to the use of music in hospitals for the mentally handicapped. Some asylums, such as one in Adrianople, now modern day Edirne, on the border of Greece and Turkey, even retained permanent positions for musicians. As Michael W. Dols describes: “There was a provision in the endowment of Bayezid’s hospital in Edirne for three singers, and seven musicians. […] They played six different melodies, and many of the insane were reported to have been relieved by this ‘nourishment of the soul.’” This practice is a surprisingly early example of what we know today as music therapy.

The common Greek roots of Arabic and Jewish medicinal belief were an offshoot of a more general conviction that music was a science, and that as such it was as worthy of study as other sciences, particularly astronomy, mathematics, and
natural science. In the second treatise from Sa’adiah’s ninth-century *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, he discusses the acquisition of knowledge by man and states that sensation is the source from “whence all sciences are derived.” In the tenth treatise of the book, he discusses classes of sensations – color, touch, sight, and musical sound. The Ikhwan al-Safa are similarly systematic in their classification of types of sound, and in their descriptions of its effects. In emphasizing a scientific approach to the study of the effect of music on an individual, Sa’adiah, the Ikhwan al-Safa, and other Jewish and Arabic philosophers of his time may have laid the foundations for the adoption of the Greek quadrivium into scientific philosophy and education. The quadrivium, as discussed by the Italian philosopher and logician Boethius in the fifth century, was a group of four mathematical disciplines in the seven liberal arts. They consisted of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and harmonies – or music. The brotherhood Ikhwan al-Safa in tenth-century Baghdad also allied music very closely with the movement of the spheres and other heavenly sciences, and all three traditions (Greek, Muslim, and Jewish) believed strongly that as a mathematical science, music could be best discussed in numbers. This philosophy permeated medieval Europe and was the primary system of educational division in universities, such as that of Bologna, throughout the Middle Ages.

In addition to musical philosophy, there was also interaction and mutual inspiration between Jewish and Muslim musical traditions in the practice of music theory. In the ninth and tenth centuries, both Sa’adiah Gaon and Yusuf Ya’qub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi, an early Islamic philosopher and scientist, describe the same eight rhythmic modes that were in use throughout the medieval period in both cultures. They were intended as a foundation on which improvisation and variation could occur. A strict comparison by the modern scholar Shiloah Amnon between Sa’adiah’s description of the eight modes and a version from al-Kindi’s work *Risala* shows only subtle differences. The rhythms are described in the same words, but Sa’adiah includes associations to the four humours as discussed above. Whether Jewish or Muslim thinkers began the tradition of the eight rhythmic modes is unclear, but it is likely that both communities borrowed material from each other, adapting it to the needs of musical or scientific practice. Similarly, Arabic musical modes bear significant resemblance to some melodic modes used in synagogue practice for particular portions of scripture. The Arabic *Hedjaz* mode, as discussed by Idelsohn, with its augmented second between the second and third notes of the scale, is very similar to the *selicha* (pardon) mode used in the Jewish temple for prayers of request, petition and mourning:

Figure 1: Melody in Arabic *Hedjaz* mode.
The same term in Arabic for musical mode, *maqam*, was used both by Jews and Arabs in the Middle Ages. Although not enough evidence exists to prove that the development of Jewish song was influenced by a quarter-tone system, A.Z. Idelsohn maintains:

(1) the four [most popular Arabic] scales just described are those on which practically all Jewish song is based; (2) that in the Orient the Jews sing in those scales, using the quarter-tone steps of their neighbors, while (3) the Jews of the Occident employ the same scales with steps of the semi-tone system.

The similarity between the Arabic and Jewish modes, like the similarity between their beliefs regarding music and emotion, might be linked to the study by Jewish philosophers’ study of Greek ideas. The modes of the Arabs and the Oriental Jews, especially in their use of quarter-tones, display a technique clearly linked to Greek music theory.

Jewish and Arabic musicians and music theorists interacted perhaps most closely in medieval Spain, where for nearly a thousand years, Muslims, Jews, and Christians lived in close proximity to each other in relative peace. Jews and Muslims in eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe shared a love for poetry, which came to have a significant effect on musical practice in the area. Similar to the French troubadours and the German minnesinger, Jewish poet-musicians known as *paytanim* flourished under Arabic rule in Spain. *Paytanim* played important roles as bilingual communicators: they expressed their religious thought in Hebrew, but also wrote secular poetry in Arabic. This was not as shocking a dichotomy as it might be in a Jewish community today, for until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most Jewish musical method—and indeed, the original copy of Sa’adiah’s *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*—was written in Arabic. The *paytanim* wrote *piyyutim* (singular *piyyut*), poems largely of a religious nature, written to be sung rather than read. Most *paytanim* were equally comfortable writing in both Hebrew and Arabic, and their songs absorbed traits from both cultures. The religious ideology and philosophy—often, the songs contained allegories or stories with religious morals—were Jewish, but many of the styles and poetic meters were Arabic. Many *piyyutim* were used in religious service, and the more popular ones were passed down in oral tradition and are still sung today in synagogues around the world.

The use of Arabic poetry eventually led to the use of Arabic melodies, particularly song forms popular among the Muslims, in Jewish music. One example
is the “girdle-song,” so named because its pseudo-ABA form had shorter lines in the B section, making for a girdle-shaped block of text when the song was written down. The use of secular forms and melodies in Jewish service was highly contested in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and many rabbis tried to outlaw it, believing it distracted from the service. Among these individuals were Isaac al-Fasi, Yehuda of Barcelona, Chiya ben Sherira ha-Gaon, and to some degree Maimonides, who permitted Arabic poetry in the service, but did not approve of secular music.

Other rabbis, however, felt that the popularity of these monophonic, strophic song forms had potential to increase enthusiasm for religious song. In The Book of the Pious, Yehudah Hadassi wrote, “If you cannot concentrate in prayer, search for melodies, and if you pray, choose a tune you like. Then your heart will feel what your tongue speaks; for it is the song that makes your heart respond.” This debate continued all the way through the Middle Ages and early Renaissance in Europe. One Jewish composer, Israel Najara, took advantage of the printing processes available in the sixteenth century to publish a collection of his own religious songs intentionally set to Arabic melodies. In it, he explains his intention of “preventing the mob from singing profane and vulgar folk-songs in the above-named languages, and […] winning over the people through the deceit of giving them their favorite tunes.” Though their use was fraught with conflict, the performance of these new poetic forms and their more intricate melodies required more musical talent than the simpler style of ancient Jewish prayers. This led to the creation of the role of chazzan (cantor) — a precentor, or leader of synagogue music.

The use of piyyutim in services flourished under the guidance of these trained musical leaders, and they often composed their own, or set new religious poetry to a tune that would be familiar to their own congregation — not unlike the sixteenth-century Lutheran practice of contrafactum, or setting religious words to secular tunes, during the development of the chorale genre. The role of the chazzan in the synagogue increased in importance until the solo recitation of the cantor became the chief part of the service. The influence of the increased importance of musical beauty in religious service, begun with the piyyutim in the sixth century, expanded across Europe in the Middle Ages. The Christian churches also adopted the practice of adding a cantor to their podiums for services; eventually this role was taken over by the choir. However, the responsorial nature of choir singing, inspired by piyyutim and other synagogue song, remained and is still in practice today.

The lack of written musical evidence makes it difficult to study the relationships of early Arab and Jewish musicians to each other and to the Greeks. However, the writings of philosophers make comparisons and conjectures possible. Music was an essential part of Jewish and Arab cultures in both religion and society, but it is not often recognized how much their musical philosophies had in common. Early writings of cultural leaders such as the Brethren of Purity depict the esteem both cultures had for Greek ideals, establishing common ground in the roots of Arabic and Jewish music. Furthermore, the influence of these musical ideas led to a
substantial social impact with its uses in music therapy and to the rise in popularity of the view of music as a science (or part of the quadrivium). These beliefs were widespread in the Middle Ages, not just among Muslim and Jewish cultures, but in Europe as a whole. The importance of classical theories to Jewish and Muslim musicians in the medieval period might even be said to have preempted the Christian musical preoccupation with the Greeks during the Renaissance. Though Jews and Arabs did not begin experimenting with polyphony and notation until well after the Christians, the interplay of musical ideas, genres, and practice between the two cultures deserves much more attention than it is often given.

Endnotes

6. The Epistle on Music of the Ikhwan al-Safā, trans. Amnon Shiloah (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University and the Council for Culture and Art), 12.
12. Ibid.
13. The conclusions drawn in this paragraph are based on observation of the similarities between Sa’adiah Gaon, The Book of Beliefs and Opinions, 402-5; and The Epistle on Music, 12-30.

16. Ibid.
17. Epistle, 25.
20. Maimonides, Eight Chapters, quoted in ibid., 72
21. Shiloah, 75.
23. Sa’adiah Gaon, 89.
27. The Epistle on Music, 36.
28. Alan B. Cobban, English University Life in the Middle Ages (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999).
30. Ibid., 274-6.
31. Idelsohn, 30.
32. Rubin and Baron, 135.
33. Idelsohn, 26.
35. Ibid., 58.
36. Emanuel Rubin and John H. Baron, Music in Jewish History and Culture (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2006), 89.
37. Rosenblatt, Introduction to The Book of Beliefs and Opinions, xxvi.
38. Rubin and Baron, Music in Jewish History and Culture, 89.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 91.
42. Ibid., 100.
43. Ibid., 94.
44. Ibid., 94.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Idelsohn, 362-3.
49. Ibid., 106-107.

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Safeguarding the Endangered: How Bilingual Education Can Minimize Language Loss in the United States

Tess Kuntz
Loneliness is a universally understood and lamented emotion. Painful as it may be, everyone experiences it at some point in his or her life. For most, though, it is a passing sentiment, one that may last a week, a month, or even a few years, but rarely lasts forever. For those who have the unfortunate distinction of being the last surviving speaker of their language, loneliness takes on a uniquely permanent form. This is not to say that these speakers are unable to communicate with others using language; most of them are fluent in at least one other tongue. But they do lack the ability to share something that is central to their identity. Languages carry with them much more than arbitrary phonetic and orthographic symbols for concrete items. In addition to the systems of sounds and grammar specific to each individual language, they also contain their own collections of ideas, connotations, priorities, and cognitive processes that distinguish them from all other languages. Tragically, languages die on a regular basis. It is indeed a natural process, just as the extinction of any animal species may be. However, society plays a great role in the set of languages that become endangered, the rate at which they die, and the probability of recovery. Because of the extent of this problem and its social ramifications, society has an obligation to preserve these languages, and bilingual education is the most effective starting point for the language revitalization process because it has the potential to result in the development of many other social features that promote language diversity.

Linguists struggle to count the languages of the world due to such problems as distinguishing between “language” and “dialect,” so keeping track of language loss is proportionally more difficult. Quantifying historic language loss is even more problematic, as such changes were not charted until recently. Indeed, linguistics had not been firmly established as a science at all until the 1920’s, when the first language-related professional society and scholarly journal were created. Then, after World War II, linguistics became a popular field, with notable figures such as Noam Chomsky entering the scene. Before this era, the study of language was primarily anecdotal, though it is known that languages did die before this period. Three hundred and twelve languages have been in some way identified in North America in the past 500 years, and 65 of these had become extinct by 1930, before their spoken form could be recorded. Thus, it is evident that language loss is by no means an unprecedented phenomenon.

Although there is no doubt that language loss has been taking place for many centuries, the rate at which the process transpires has been increasing over the past 100 years. Endangered languages exist in all parts of the world. There are at least 5,000 languages that are being used in the world today, but 90 percent of those languages are spoken by just 4 percent of the world’s population. This means that 96 percent of the population of the entire world speaks only the 50 or so most common languages. Additionally, of the 5,000 languages used throughout the Earth, half are
expected to either die or come extremely close to extinction within the next 100 years. North America is one of the regions with the highest rates of language death. While there are still about 175 indigenous languages in use in the United States, all but 20 of these have been classified as moribund. Moribund languages are those that are spoken only by adults who no longer actively teach them to their children, which implies that they will become extinct within the next generation or two. Additionally, only one-third of all American Indian and Alaska Native languages are spoken on a regular basis in the homes of their speakers, further evidence that they are headed for extinction. These statistics demand immediate action.

In very few places is the problem more severe than in North America, where unknown numbers of indigenous languages have disappeared since European arrival on the continent. According to Rogers, Palosaari, and Campbell, three major factors bear a large part of the responsibility: the small number of speakers, shifts from one indigenous language to another due to tribal reassignment, and pressure to attain strong English proficiency to facilitate economic advantage. The first is inevitably going to lead to some language loss; it is not likely that a language will remain alive if only a small number of people speak it. The other two factors are largely due to imperialism. Many of the tribal changes that have occurred throughout the United States result from such legislation as the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which allotted specific pieces of land to the Native Americans in configurations that were completely arbitrary to the Native Americans’ tribal divisions. Further, the status that English holds in the United States, which is akin to a de facto national language, discriminates against those who do not speak English. As a result, people who speak indigenous languages feel compelled to learn English so they will be more qualified for economic opportunities from the perspective of most employers in the United States. It is clear that the imperialistic role the European-oriented United States government has assumed over Native Americans throughout its history has served as a catalyst for language death.

The question remains whether it is worthwhile to try to save languages that are in danger of being lost. Even if the loss of indigenous languages does result from discriminatory policies, many argue that it would be a waste of funds and resources to try to preserve them because they are of no practical purpose. However, languages have far more value to the human race than simply providing a means of communication. On the contrary, they carry great cultural value. As National Geographic reporter Wade Davis, who has conducted research among a number of small indigenous communities throughout the world, notes in his talk on endangered cultures, “A language is a flash of the human spirit; it’s a vehicle through which the soul of each particular culture comes into the material world.” There is no denying the fact that language and culture are inextricably intertwined. Considering the rapid downward path in which language diversity in the United States finds itself, it is incumbent on this generation to do what it can to save those languages that can still be salvaged.

There is no consensus on a precise solution to language loss. In David Crys-
tal’s book, *Language Death*, the author proposes six factors that can help reverse and/or reduce language loss: heightened prestige of the endangered language within the dominant society; increased wealth of speakers of the endangered language relative to dominant society; increased legitimate power of endangered language speakers in the view of dominant society; strengthened presence of the endangered language in education; written literacy of the endangered language, and usage of electronic technology by the endangered language speakers. The first three revolve around making the endangered language more powerful within the community, while increased power would only be a byproduct for the three latter factors. Crystal suggests that all of these potential solutions should be used in conjunction with one another. While that would be ideal, it is unlikely that all of these things could occur within a community simultaneously, so it is necessary to determine which steps should be taken toward language revitalization in the United States.

While increasing the social influence of both the languages and status of Native Americans is certainly a noble goal, concrete means of achieving this end are hard to find. Crystal proposes usage in the media as one of the best ways to increase the prestige of the language. In the case of the United States, however, Native Americans live in a system in which they are supposed to have a right to decide how much they want to associate with the United States and how much they want to leave under tribal control (although this choice is certainly limited by the United States government). At least partially as a result of this policy and/or the attitude of separation that is reflected by this policy, Native American culture does not frequently make its way into mainstream culture in the United States. This could change, but it would require a fundamental change in the way Native Americans’ role in mainstream American culture is perceived. Additionally, Fernando, Valijärvi, and Goldstein conducted a mathematical analysis of the potential for success of different revitalization programs. According to their model, increasing the prestige of a language in the public realm is only strongly effective when used in combination with other programs. Thus, it does not seem that trying to increase the public status of an endangered language is the best starting point for the revitalization process of indigenous American languages.

Crystal also offers literacy as a solution to language loss. It is certainly true that, by the permanent nature of the written word (as opposed to the transience of speech), literacy makes languages more viable. Generally, it is beneficial for endangered languages to be recorded on paper and for literacy to be promoted among the speakers. But for those languages that do not have a writing system, outside influences would be necessary in order for them to produce one. Allowing this type of interference may be preferable to not having a writing system at all, but it may unintentionally undermine the self-empowerment of the community of the endangered language. Since power has proven to be such a mighty influence in the subjugation of languages that are now endangered, any action that may take away from the power that indigenous communities are trying to re-establish carries substantial risk. Assuming the
literacy program that would be put in place would attempt to help create a writing system and then leave it up to the community itself to determine how it wants to use it, it could be of great benefit to the people. The problem is that externally controlled programs like this have a tendency to take their role to too great an extreme.

While Crystal notes technology can be an effective tool in language revitalization, there are great obstacles to its usage for Native Americans as well. New technologies are not accessible to those who cannot afford them. Therefore, the indigenous languages cannot be used online on any large scale because the majority of the speakers do not have such capabilities. Ultimately, the relationship between the prestige of the endangered language in the society and its usage in technology is cyclical: technology can be a great stepping-stone to higher status, but the speakers are unable to use technology until they have the money to pay for it (which typically correlates with higher social prestige). Therefore, technology has the potential to serve as a facilitator of language revitalization after other methods have already established the language to some extent, but it is unlikely that it will be the instigator of the revitalization.

Finally, Crystal also promotes using the education system to preserve endangered languages. He notes that an endangered language’s place in schools is irrelevant if there is not also communication in the language in children’s homes. This is true, as the home is where children develop their native tongue, and there is no way that usage in society will persist if usage in homes does not. Nonetheless, Crystal posits that education is vital to the maintenance of endangered languages because schools provide an excellent forum for practicing communication and for learning about the cultural background of the language. People are far more likely to feel pride in and therefore want to attach themselves to a language if they feel a sentimental relationship to the culture with which the language is associated. The utility of the education system in language revitalization is supported by Fernando, et al.’s mathematical model, which shows that adding a formal teaching component to other language revitalization programs dramatically augments their effectiveness and that the sheer number of people who speak the language is proportional to its potential for survival. Since using a language throughout a school system will consequently increase the number of people who speak the language, this discovery also validates the worth of education. Thus, it is clear that education has great power to reduce language loss.

Like this element of Crystal’s analysis, my proposal for language revitalization is education-based. Education is the best solution to language loss for a number of reasons. First, education contributes to the development of all of Crystal’s other proposals for an endangered language. By the very act of integrating the language into schools, the endangered language takes on a larger role within the formal public sphere, raising its own prestige. Additionally, the speakers will be better prepared for an education that is based on their native tongue than one that forces them to use the majority language. Consequently, parents will feel more comfortable teaching their
children the endangered language in the home because they will know that it will assist them in their pursuit of education. Receiving this benefit to their education, the children will likely go on to hold power in their communities and to advance their own wealth, which will in turn advance the status of the language further. The students will also develop their written and technological literacies in their native language while in school, which will encourage permanency for the endangered language. By promoting all of the other factors that have been proposed as solutions to language loss, integration of the endangered language into the educational system can play a pivotal role in its restoration.

Unfortunately, there are a number of obstacles to the effectiveness of Native American language revitalization through education. One such impediment is a lack of teachers and resources. If a language is endangered, it is self-evident that there are not many people who know the language well. To find a number of people—who are not only fully fluent in the language, but also willing to teach it—sufficient to compile an entire school (let alone a school system) is a daunting task. Further, the cultural ramifications of education are twofold. As Crystal points out, it seems rather counterintuitive to use the Anglo-American model of education to teach students about the cultures that this very model has, in the past, sought to eliminate. Indeed, such education carries the risk of causing students to lose hope in their own cultures and to try to assimilate into the majority. On the other hand, many people are concerned that education in an endangered language sabotages children for precisely the opposite reason. They feel that by growing up in a system that values the indigenous language, students will not be able to function adequately in English, which will leave them helpless as they seek economic and professional opportunity in an English-majority society. With all of these concerns in mind, it may seem hopeless to attempt to implement a program with so many potential downfalls.

There is one form of education that provides answers to all of these concerns: dual immersion bilingual education. In the ideal model of bilingual education, all educators are bilingual and able to teach in one language one week and another language the next week, so as to maximize the range of vocabulary in which the students are immersed in both languages. However, it is absolutely plausible for bilingual schools to exist with monolingual instructors, in which cases the students take some classes in one language and other classes in the other. In this way, the bilingual school setting can reduce by one-half the number of teachers it needs who are able to teach in the minority language. If the system works as a mechanism for language revitalization, the number of potential endangered language teachers will grow such that, eventually, the bilingual schools will be able to exist with only bilingual teachers. With regard to the cultural consequences of schools that include endangered language instruction, bilingual education creates an environment in which both languages are given equal status within the school. As such, the school can serve as a model institution for pluralism, which stands in stark contrast to the imperialist English model that monolingual education represents. At the same time, a
bilingual education system by its very nature would educate students to be fully
competent in English as well as the endangered language. In fact, dual immersion
bilingual education programs have been shown to ultimately result in better English
language performance than any other model for English language instruction.\textsuperscript{23}
Therefore, bilingual education provides answers (though they may not be all-inclusive)
to all of the major problems that endangered language education may carry.

There are some regions in the United States in which bilingual education has
been implemented as a mechanism for language maintenance. In Arizona, two sepa-
rate bilingual programs have been examined to assess their effectiveness. In 1996,
McCarty and Dick published a study in which they analyzed the Rough Rock Demon-
stration School of the Navajo in Northeast Arizona. This school has been very effective
in preserving traditional Navajo language and culture and promoting conventional
education according to United States standards. The greatest problem they have faced
has been a lack of funds and resources in the Navajo language. In fact, the teachers
themselves have created a large portion of the literature and classroom resources that
they use in their day-to-day instruction.\textsuperscript{24} The success that the Rough Rock School has
had is certainly commendable, but it is important to note that the Navajo community
is privileged in ways that many indigenous languages are not. First, the Navajo lan-
guage has a rich history of literature and literacy, so it is not uncommon for speakers
to be able to read and write in their indigenous language. Also, of all the endangered
indigenous languages of North America, Navajo may be the least endangered since
there are still over 100,000 speakers. Thus, the Rough Rock Demonstration School
does provide an excellent example of bilingual education’s place in language mainte-
nance, but it is not necessarily a replicable model for other indigenous communities.

In 1994, Watahomigie and McCarty conducted research on the even more
inspiring case of the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program in Peach
Springs, Arizona.\textsuperscript{25} This program has been in place since 1975, and it seeks to pre-
serve the Hualapai language and culture through education. In its first year, the school
actually created an orthography for the language, which was previously unwritten.
The school has been successful in advancing student performance throughout the
many years of its existence. This achievement can be attributed primarily to the high
level of support that the program has within the Hualapai community. The Hualapai
territory is much smaller than that of the aforementioned Navajo community and has
a much smaller population. Within the community, despite considerable controversy
over the specifics of the program, there has been almost universal backing because the
community itself has been in control of all decisions. They were the ones responsible
for the establishment of the writing system, as well as the development of the curricu-
ulum. Like the Navajo school, the primary source of problems for the Hualapai pro-
gram has been funding, but it has been able to manage with the level of financial
support authorities have provided. Thus, the Hualapai program shows that, with
long-term commitment both from within the community and outside of it, bilingual
education programs can take an endangered language and give it hope for permanency.

In Wade Davis’ talk on the subject of endangered cultures, he posits that “[t]his world deserves to exist in a diverse way, that we can find a way to live in a truly multicultural pluralistic world, where all of the wisdom of all people’s can contribute to our collective well-being.” For all those who believe that all communities throughout the world do in fact have something to offer to the world’s collective bank of understanding, the problem of language loss is not in question. It is clear that, with enough support from local, state, and national authorities, bilingual education programs have the power to help bring dying languages back to life. The question is whether this generation is willing to make the commitment, or whether it will stand idly by in the hopes that the next generation will pick up the slack. For a great number of languages, it will already be too late.

Endnotes

10. Ibid.
12. Chrisantha Fernando, Riitta Liisa Valijärvi, & Richard Goldstein, “A Model of the mechanisms of language extinction and revitalization strategies to save endan-
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
17. Crystal, Language, 137.
18. Fernando, Valijärvi, & Goldstein, Human Biology, 82(1), 70-71.
20. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
Tess Kuntz is a junior in the College of Arts and Sciences double majoring in Spanish and history and seeking certification through the School of Education to teach Spanish and English as a second language. Kuntz has just returned from a semester studying abroad in Seville, Spain, and she hopes to continue traveling the world in the coming years. Currently, she is a volunteer with children at MiddleWay House, a shelter for survivors of domestic abuse. Ultimately, she intends to spend her life helping children throughout the country (maybe even the world!) by promoting civic engagement and cross-cultural understanding.

Title artwork by Kelsey Erwin. Erwin is currently a junior at Indiana University. She is majoring in English and aims to someday become a college professor (while writing and illustrating on the side). Despite her love of art, she has yet to take an art course at IU and looks forward to the opportunity. She has been creating art since she could hold crayons, although pen and ink have always been her favorite medium. Most of her work is in black and white with a few pieces in color to add breadth to her collection. When working with color, she emphasizes blending and incorporating unexpected accent colors into every part of a piece to give it dimension. Erwin’s art is inspired mainly by psychedelic and surrealist art, with a love for M.C. Escher’s patterns and Salvador Dali’s disregard for reality.
Concurrent Hospice and Curative Treatment For Medicare Patients

Anna Watkin
Nine months ago, a 66-year-old woman, Julie (a fictional woman created for the purposes of this paper), had a radical hysterectomy following the diagnosis of stage IIIC ovarian cancer, and was given six months to live. Despite chemotherapy, the few cancer cells left behind have spread to her lungs and liver, which are deteriorating quickly. Although Julie has many treatment options—surgery, second-line chemotherapy, or any of several clinical trials—the prognosis is poor for all of them. The oncologist admits that she probably has fewer than six months to live, and that further treatment may lower her quality of life without any real benefit. She could, if she wanted, begin hospice. Julie hears an offer to give up, and insists it’s far too early for that.

Another three months pass, though, and Julie—exhausted, emaciated, plagued with nausea and the beginnings of bedsores—finds that she’s giving up anyway. Julie’s husband, Paul, keeps her going, reminding her that the tumors in her liver are shrinking. But the ones in her lungs are not. One night she wakes up and feels like she’s drowning. Her husband rushes her to the emergency room, where she is diagnosed with pneumonia. She will have to miss at least one chemotherapy appointment. Julie goes home with an oxygen tank.

Over the next week, Julie finds herself in the hospital twice more, once for a fall and once for intransigent pain in her chest. After several failed attempts at pain control, the doctor asks if she wants morphine. Julie says yes. Later, when Julie’s oncologist visits, he again brings up the possibility of hospice care. Paul says no. Gently, the oncologist points out that Julie may never be well enough to even resume her chemotherapy, but Paul can’t talk about it. Julie wants to, but doesn’t know how. Neither can get past the unanswerable questions: What if hospice makes her die faster? What if the cancer could still go into remission? How could they give up now?

Their impossible decision is a recurring drama of modern medicine, played out thousands and thousands of times each year. Surgery may offer a 50 percent chance at an additional six months but with a 20 percent chance of dying on the table. What is the value of three good months? What if the decision is not the right one? And then, there is the question of paying for treatment, what insurance will cover and what a family can sustain. Near the end of life, choosing among the array of curative and palliative treatments is always difficult, but in Medicare, they are held to be entirely dichotomous. To have one, you must give up the other.

Although Medicare’s greatest financial troubles come from its structural shortcomings, limitations and regulations on end-of-life care are, to some degree, necessary. While it is true that 70 percent of those who die each year in the United States are on Medicare, and that Medicare therefore must carry a tremendous end-of-life burden, the people who die only make up about five percent of the Medicare population, while they consume 30 percent of Medicare’s annual expenditures. On average, the final year of life costs Medicare between $24,000 and $28,000 dol-
lars per person, and about 78 percent of those expenses in the last year of life accrue in only the last month of life, often for treatments that are life-sustaining, like mechanical ventilation or resuscitation, but they are not curative and typically provide a very low quality of life.⁴,⁵

At the same time, hospice care assumes that terminal patients should be allowed to live as well as they can, with as much comfort as they can, for however long it takes the illness to run its course—a philosophy that is difficult to follow if patients undergo treatments that diminish their quality of life or require hospitalization rather than homecare. Nevertheless, stories of indecision like Julie’s are all too common. Even those who know they will eventually die from their illness often can’t reconcile themselves to the timeframe, and therefore struggle to choose care that will allow them to die as they want. Studies conducted by private insurers Aetna and UnitedHealthcare have offered a surprising solution to this problem: they found that it is actually cheaper to allow terminally ill patients to receive hospice and curative care together than it is to make them choose.⁶

Traditionally, hospice care has been reserved for terminally ill patients whom a doctor certifies as having six months or less to live and who have decided to cease curative treatments.⁷ It provides palliative, or pain managing, measures, generally in the patient’s home, with nurses, social workers, and volunteers visiting as needed while a designated caregiver—usually a relative or spouse—cares for the patient. Rather than extend life or cure illness, hospice care aims to allow the patient to choose how he or she wants to approach the end of life. However, only 40 percent of Medicare patients die in hospice care, and the median length of time in hospice hovers at around 20 days.⁸ A third of patients on hospice die or are discharged in less than a week, suggesting that many patients choose hospice only when death is truly imminent.⁹

The underutilization of hospice was also noted in the private insurance industry. In 2004, Aetna, realizing that only 26 percent of its terminally ill policyholders used hospice, offered both forms of care to patients who qualified for hospice but wanted to continue curative treatments. Enrollment nearly tripled. When compared with a control group receiving only curative measures, Aetna saw a two-thirds drop in use of hospitals and ICUs and almost a 25 percent drop in overall expenses in the concurrent care patients.¹⁰ Additionally, patients were happier with the care they received.¹¹ As a result, Aetna now offers some form of concurrent treatment to those they insure, to the benefit of both the business and the policyholders.¹²

Success in the private sphere, of course, cannot guarantee success in the public sphere. There are significant differences between the patients studied by Aetna and the patients that use Medicare. Most of the people Aetna studied were under 65, and therefore affected by a slightly different array of health problems like cancer and HIV, which are more prominent in the younger populations. Those problems may have more predictable progressions than heart disease and Alzheimer’s disease, which are more prominent in those over 65, making the utility of hospice care more evident.
for the younger set. Furthermore, the number of patients Aetna studied and now provides with concurrent care is much smaller than the potential number of Medicare beneficiaries, the one that makes up 70 percent of the United States’ annual deaths. It is probable that secondary effects in the use of health services would emerge if this demographic began using hospice services en masse.

It is also likely, however, that the promising statistics Aetna produced would carry over in the context of Medicare. Hospice care by its nature prevents acute care interventions like emergency room visits by providing patients with unimpeded access to many types of care. A patient with pain would already have morphine at home, and the risk of preventable injuries like bedsores and falls would be lessened with hospice-trained caregivers. Patients and their previously inexperienced caregivers also appear to benefit simply from having access to knowledgeable personnel at short notice. And even if the financial benefits of concurrent care were less dramatic in the context of Medicare than they were in the context of private care, the size of the terminally ill Medicare patient body is many times larger than the terminally ill patient body of any private insurance plan. This means that any savings, even a reduced one, would be multiplied across a much larger population and would still yield a considerable change.

A reduction in hospital visits by Medicare beneficiaries stands to address the rate of spending under Medicare Part A, which provides hospital insurance. Medicare Part A is projected to spend more than it earns through tax revenue by 2017. Reducing the amount of time spent in the hospital would reduce the rate at which money leaves the Part A trust fund. This would not prevent eventual financial trouble, of course, but it would increase the length of profitability, providing the federal government more time to implement long-term solutions to Medicare’s financial problems.

The financial benefits are only part of the issue, as every governmental program features areas that can be made cheaper with certain adjustments. Concurrent care has great potential as a policy because it is not only cheaper, but also kinder to everyone involved in end-of-life care. It attenuates impossible decisions for patients and their families, like the ones Julie and Paul faced when they couldn’t agree on the best treatment route. It permits doctors, who sometimes hold off talking about hospice care until all other options have been exhausted, to suggest hospice as an additional, rather than alternate, service. And when the patient eventually dies, hospice is required by law to offer bereavement services to the family, and most will continue to offer it up to 13 months after the patient’s death—a service families can miss entirely when the patient never enters hospice care at all.

Considering the wealth of support for the fiscal and medical benefits of concurrent care, the most important step that remains for policymakers is the development and implementation of a concurrent care system for Medicare. As a law, concurrent care would be a relatively simple amendment to the Social Security Act of 1965, under which Medicare was created. The infrastructure for care and billing
methods already exist; it is simply a matter of allowing patients an additional option. After the initial legal adjustment, though, several other steps should be taken to ensure the success of this policy.

First, because the dichotomy between cure and care has been removed, regular end-of-life conversations between patients and their healthcare team should become a standard, billable measure of care. The danger implicit in offering hospice with curative care is that patients may continue curative care longer than they really wish, mitigating the freedom of not having to choose by creating the impression that there is no choice to be made, that curative measures should always be continued. Open discussion of the patient’s wishes with the entire healthcare team (both hospice and curative) would prevent this.

However, the political atmosphere of the past several years has made topics like compensation for end-of-life discussions difficult to broach. To increase the prevalence of advance directives, the 2009 “America’s Affordable Health Choices Act” (HR3200) proposed that physicians be compensated for initiating conversations about end-of-life with their new Medicare patients. This bill failed to pass, in part because of former Alaska governor Sarah Palin’s rhetoric, which compared such a measure to the creation of “death panels,” and at one point stated that under this bill “the elderly and ailing would be coerced into accepting minimal end-of-life care to reduce health care costs.” Such a misunderstanding in the context of concurrent care in Medicare could prevent thousands of beneficiaries from receiving care, in addition to wasting Medicare money. Therefore, this modification should be limited to the context of terminally ill patients undergoing concurrent care.

Second, because allowing concurrent care could potentially place a large percentage of the 1.7 million Americans over 65 who die annually on hospice care, the industry may need one-time assistance to ensure that there are sufficient hospice workers for the influx of patients. However, this concern is highly dependent on the demographics of a given area, and without intensive study it is impossible to say that the influx of patients would in fact be problematic. Any area that experiences a drastic rise in the use of hospice services would likely see a corresponding decrease in the use of critical care services, and because many (though not all) hospices are associated with hospitals, providing personnel may be as simple as reassigning workers in one department to another.

Making end-of-life decisions will not be easy for Julie and her family, or for anyone who will someday be facing the same choices. There will always be disagreements about the best course of action and inadequacies in the medical care delivery system. There will continue to be impossible decisions. Medicare, however, has a rare opportunity: it can make the end of life easier on Julie, on her family, and eventually on nearly everybody, all the while improving its own vitality.

Although current Medicare policy requires its terminally ill beneficiaries to choose between curative treatment and hospice care, studies by private insurance companies have indicated that this either/or formulation is actually more costly
because patients not on hospice spend so much more on other services. In addition to the economic advantage, patients and their families receive better care with concurrent care. In implementing a policy that will allow Medicare beneficiaries to receive concurrent care, concerns are threefold. First, the United States Congress must pass the initial amendment to the Social Security Act of 1965. Then, to ensure that the policy does not harm patients by preventing their wishes to be heard, the entire healthcare team must be compensated for planning together as the patient’s wishes change. Finally, there is a chance that the influx of patients into the hospice system will overburden certain areas. Because the healthcare market will shift to accommodate the increased need for hospice, however, the industry would require, at most, a very small, temporary amount of government support. These few changes have the potential to improve the quality of life for thousands of seniors and their families while palliating, in some measure, the financial Medicare crisis.

Endnotes

4. Ibid.
5. Zhang, Wright, and Huskamp.
9. Ibid.
21. HR3200
Anna Watkin is junior from Franklin, IN majoring in public health and biology. She volunteers with IU Health Bloomington Hospice, where she spends time with patients and prepares meals. After graduation, she intends to pursue a Ph.D in epidemiology and a career in public health.

Title artwork by Melinda Elston. Elston is a junior at the School of Journalism. She is looking forward to trying new things next semester, like web design and drawing.
Cooking: A Piece of Cake?
Franziska Krause
To get a hold of history, one should approach past societies from many different angles. The home and family offer thorough insight into every culture and help scholars to grasp the Zeitgeist of various generations. This is particularly true if one looks at the USA. Though home is a diverse concept from culture to culture, it has always represented the ways the American nation has understood itself and reflects on the ideals through which it wants to be understood. In the US, home is a notion that has changed much throughout the years. Its importance for understanding American ideas, however, has not changed. As a cultural yardstick, the home provides insight into prevailing work ethics, political and cultural beliefs, technological developments, education, class relations and gender roles — ideas that are all intertwined and are constantly reproduced through their reciprocal interaction.

Throughout the course of American history, gender roles have helped define the idea of home and family life. An important part of these gender roles is men’s work and women’s duty. So, drawing back from these, gender roles provide a key insight into how society functioned. In this research project, I will look at the idea of homemaking from the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, as it was the predominant concept of what a woman was supposed to contribute to society during that time.

This essay will focus, in particular, on cooking and show the ways the process of food preparation changed between the nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century. With the help of two recipes, one from 1896 and one from 1950, the medium of the recipe itself, the available tools and ingredients, the actual labor, and the political implication of home and women’s duties will be considered. While cooking became technically easier, it became more apparent that the women were not bound to their roles as housewives because of the workload, but because women’s duties were understood in this way.

The first recipe (Attachment 1, page 41) is taken from the 1896 book “The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book” and was written by Fannie Merritt Farmer. It is a recipe for a “Yorkshire Pudding.” The second recipe (Attachment 2, page 41) is from “Mennonite Community Cookbook: Favorite Family Recipes,” written by Mary Emma Showalter, and was first published in 1950. Recipe 2 is for “Ham Loaf.” Both recipes give instructions for preparing a meat dish. The authors provide clear details concerning ingredients. An instructing text follows and includes information about time and which cooking tool to use (see “roasting pan”).

However, a closer look reveals some important differences that mark tremendous changes for the housewife. Cookbooks from the late 1800s to the mid-1900s varied in significant ways, and their recipes reflected these changes. It was only in the 1950s, when units of measurement became standardized, that cooking became more accessible and less a matter of true knowledge about which amount is right for a particular food. Also, the temperature specificity varies from attachment 1 (cf. “hot
oven”) to attachment 2 (see “Bake at 350°”). This variation hints at the greatest difference between cooking in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The most important tool for cooking is the device on which the food is prepared.

Throughout the 1800s, a shift took place that ended in the mid-twentieth century with the use of electricity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, women used a fireplace with an open hearth to cook. Among the many disadvantages women had to account for when cooking with an open fire were health hazards and severely high temperatures, dangers to every member of the household. These dangers also required women to take even more safety precautions.

A woman needed exact knowledge about the nature of a fire and how to control its temperature to gain desired results. If she failed to heat the fire precisely, her dishes were likely to be ruined. By the end of the century, around the time when the aforementioned Yorkshire Pudding recipe was published, women had already begun cooking with a new development — the iron stove — that improved their work in many respects. These stoves had multiple advantages. First, they were more flexible and produced more heat with the same amount of fuel, wood or coal, than an open hearth. Stoves reduced the safety hazards because no open fire burnt in the middle of the home and increased the distribution of heat within the rooms. Still, the fire within the stove required attention and could be easily extinguished. Preparing dinner was, following this setting, a full-time job; the mother must have had a strict plan for the process of preparing. Every minute must have been used productively, and unwavering attention was required. Also, control over temperature was far from perfect, and stoves required extensive cleaning, which was quite time consuming — time that was lost for accomplishing any other homemaking duty.

About five decades later, women relied on a completely new technology, the electric stove. The electric stove and oven eliminated the difficulties involved with keeping a fire going. Women could now control the degree of stove and oven, which not only saved time, but turned cooking into a more precise enterprise that is easier to take up without much experience with stove fire. On the one hand, cooking became easier for everyone and was less dangerous; on the other hand, cooking could be perfected through precise timing and temperature. These improvements might allow for a less rigid cooking plan, a contrast to the time-consuming undertaking of cooking with a stove.

The preparation process for the two recipes illustrates another significant difference. In the course of the nineteenth century, women began to make use of pre-produced food. Before then, everything was made from scratch. This meant that every ingredient of every recipe must have been produced by themselves or by someone nearby. Improving transportation systems paired with new production and preservation methods allowed households to buy some kinds of foods rather than producing them themselves. Goods were no longer bound to their seasons, and the new transportation systems also encouraged national and international trade. Canned food was also a decisive factor. While too expensive in the late 1800s, the mid-twentieth
century housewife could make extensive use of cans. As a result, the range of goods available multiplied. The preparation of the earlier two recipes was also linked to the availability of ingredients. Going back to the sample recipes, the differences in access to meat was a crucial factor in preparing meals.

A second major technological development occurred in the beginning of the twentieth century: the widespread of refrigerators in the modern home. With refrigerators, meat became much more accessible throughout the seasons. Through the improved transportation system and the rising preservation standards on such transports, households no longer depended on farmers nearby to buy quality meat. It could be frozen and used on a different occasion. At the end of the nineteenth century, domestic fridges were still rare compared to the number used in the beginning of the twentieth century. Frozen meat was therefore purchased from markets nearby, which limited meat consumption. Housewives of the 1950s, however, possessed refrigerators in their own homes, preserving meat so that it could be prepared whenever it was desired.

The previous discussion should show that the modern housewife’s cooking duties were much easier to accomplish, especially in comparison to the duties of a housewife in the nineteenth century. Modern conveniences like the electric stove and refrigeration, increased trade relations, and transportation advances resulted in a broader range of goods. This situation simplified the actual process of preparing food, saved time, and increased the possibilities of a common diet. It reduced the need for time-consuming preparation of three meals a day no longer existed. Meals could be purchased completely or at least in parts, or taken from the personal freezer. When placing cooking in the overall context of women’s household duties, however, the ease in cooking and the saved time could not ease the expectations or work load still placed upon the housewife and mother of the 1950s.

During the Cold War era, a newfound, strong belief in family values encouraged the view that the home was the common person’s patriotic contribution to America’s national security. Gender roles were strictly implemented, and homemaking was still seen as a woman’s job that bound many women to their homes. The basic tasks were caring for the children, buying the groceries, and doing all sorts of housework, including cleaning, repairing clothes and cooking. Husbands, as the breadwinners, were not expected to be part of the homemaking, leaving the housework to the wife. In the 1800s men also had their tasks in the household, but modernity replaced the men’s work with machines; still, men were not viewed as a contributing factor to homemaking. The idea of women as homemakers was almost unimpeachable, but with the changed workload, it becomes clear this is due largely to the symbolized notion of the home as a yardstick of American values.

Although mothers’ work was still highly politicized and idealized, the sole work of cooking underwent a drastic revolution and became a more manageable task. Not only did new tools and equipment simplify the process, but political and economic developments improved food preparation. The process changed to such a
degree that the preparation of the two recipes below, which are fairly basic, require an essentially different understanding and knowledge of how to bake a cake—in short, a completely different housewife.

Endnotes

3. Ibid.
9. Compare to The 1900 House and the family’s struggle with the iron stove.
11. Ibid., 41 and 60.
12. Ibid., 11.
13. Ibid., 12.
15. Ibid., 23.
16. This is also applicable to any other food which spoils easily.
18. Ibid., 19.
20. Ibid., 53.
Attachment 1: Yorkshire Pudding

1 cup milk
1 cup flour
2 eggs
1/4 teaspoon salt

Mix salt and flour, and add milk gradually to form a smooth paste; then add eggs beaten until very light. Cover bottom of hot pan with some of beef fat tried out from roast, pour mixture in pan one-half inch deep. Bake twenty minutes in hot oven, basting after well risen, with some of the fat from pan in which meat is roasting. Cut in squares for serving. Bake, if preferred, in greased, hissing hot iron gem pans.

Attachment 2: Ham Loaf

1 pound fresh pork, ground
1 pound cured ham, ground
1 cup bread crumbs
1 egg
1 teaspoon salt
1/8 teaspoon pepper
3/4 to 1 cup milk

Grind the meat and mix all the ingredients. Shape in a loaf, dust with flour and place in a roasting pan. Bake at 350° for 1 1/2 to 2 hours. At the end of 1 hour pour over the loaf either 1 cup tomato juice or a sauce made as follows:

3/4 cup brown sugar
1 teaspoon dry mustard
1/2 cup water
1/2 cup vinegar

Mix and bring to a boil before pouring over ham loaf. Serves 8.

With the support of Fulbright and an IU Fellowship Award, German exchange student Franziska Krause is currently studying a year abroad at Indiana University. Her major is American Studies with a focus on history and culture. She is interested in both the theoretical and the practical discourse of race- and gender-related discriminatory structures. Krause hopes to continue her studies in the field of Gender Studies and to work as a professor herself one day.

Title artwork by Keely Bakken.
The Dangerous Precedents of Gaius Marius

Jeffrey Schorsch
In the Roman republic the highest office an individual could strive for was the consulship. In 107 BC Gaius Marius, a “Novus Homo” or new man, was elected to the Consulship of the Roman Republic. Marius would be consul six times in a period of eight years and as a result of his lengthy career, he would have a tremendous influence on the Roman military and government. Marius was a gifted individual who was able to ascend the ladder of Roman politics. Once he had reached the pinnacle of Roman offices, he was able maintain his position of preeminence for half a decade. Marius’ political and military career, with its unparalleled dominance of major posts, was ultimately detrimental to the government of the Republic. The dominance and precedents that were set within this long career would ultimately be ones that other ambitious politicians would follow, thus tearing the Republic apart.

In the sources that survive about Marius, there is generally a sense of his ascent into politics as being out of the ordinary. Marius’ early political career is only moderately successful and after his tribunate, he fails to be elected to the post of aedile, and is barely elected to the preatorship. Plutarch is trying to differentiate Marius, to make him appear to the reader as an unskilled political operator. Yet, Marius’ rise to the consulship betrays a political acumen and ability that seems out of place with this inauspicious beginning described by Plutarch. Sallust notes that Marius was able to garner support from Roman businessmen in Africa as well as soldiers to put pressure on Rome for his consulship. This gathering of support for his next run at politics seems to betray a political savvy that Plutarch either ignores or obscures in his writing, even though Plutarch does note the fact that Marius used his soldiers’ goodwill to gather his support in Rome.3

Marius is depicted as well connected not only to his soldiers’ opinions but also to popular feeling back at the city of Rome itself. Sallust emphasizes this by saying, “At the same time, that was the period at which, with the nobility routed by the Mamilian law, the plebs was elevating new men.” Sallust here notes the heightened tension that was caused by the Mamilian law. The Mamilian law sought to chastise the perceived inaction of the senators sent early on to deal with the situation in Numidia. As Sallust points out, this commission reflects a feeling at Rome that the Senatorial elite was not handling its leadership responsibilities very well. Gareth Sampson in his The Crisis of Rome, says, “The disaster at Suthul led to the creation of the Mamilian Commission and a witch hunt against prominent senators. Not only were failed commanders being prosecuted, but a number of prominent anti-Gracchans also fell under its scope as well.” This analysis of Sampson shows the feelings of Rome against the aristocratic senatorial class. Marius’ work of building relationships with Roman businessmen abroad and his campaigning through them and his soldiers would reflect a constituency that would be appreciative of an anti-senatorial campaign for consulship. Knowledge of Rome’s public mood served Marius well. In his biography of Marius,
Philip Kildahl discusses Marius’ election to consulship, saying, “The air of Rome must have been charged with conflicting emotions, proletarians and knights hugging each other with joy, optimates stunned and thinking of recriminations.” This quote helps to illustrate how widespread Marius’ support was throughout Roman society, yet it tends to over-exaggerate the importance of Marius’ election to consulship.

The election of Marius to consul was not an earth-shattering event for the Roman republic. Andrew Lintott notes, “In fact men with no known consular or praetorian connexions who had reached the consulship in the last twenty years were rare . . . but still some 15 percent of the total.” This statistic makes Marius’ attainment of the consulship less of an epoch changing event and merely another new man rising to the consulship. It is not the attainment of the consulship that marks out Marius, but what Marius does while consul that begins to set dangerous precedents for future rulers. Marius had run for consulship on a platform that the Jugurthine War was being mishandled. Sallust writes that Marius had his allies in Numidia write Rome, “attacking Metellus in harsh terms, and to demand Marius as commander.” Thus it was imperative for Marius, if he were to keep his promises that he gain the command of Numidia. Sallust shows that the Senate could decree who had command, writing, “… the senate had decreed Numidia to Metellus.” This shows that the Senate traditionally held control over the allotment of provinces. P. A. Kildahl provides an insight into Roman law writing that “[t]his the senate could do, because, according to the Lex Sempronia, a tribunican veto could not be invoked against its allocation of consular provinces.” A law like this would have stopped Marius from gaining the command that he needed to make good on his campaign promises.

Marius could have been put in a tricky position, as he would not be able to provide the successes he promised his constituency. So Marius finds a way around the Senate so that he can gain the command he needs. Sallust writes that when a member of the tribune, T. Manlius Mancinus, asked the tribal assembly who they wanted to wage war on Numidia, the assembly promptly voted for Marius in opposition to the Senate’s earlier decision. Sallust notes the incident since it illustrates a usurpation of the Roman Senate’s prerogative of command. This sets a precedent in which an ambitious politician or general can gain a command which they would not normally be given by the senate, providing a way for a dissatisfied or more radical political group to circumnavigate the Senate. Lintott notes that this was the forerunner of “a series of major commands conferred by the people ending with the fateful allocations to Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus.” Lintott suggests that these is merely the forerunner of giving of commands to people who wish to go around the established order. R. J. Evans in his article takes this idea a step further. He says that “[t]he plebiscitum which granted Marius the imperium of Metellus Numidicus henceforth became the regular method for acquiring military commands outside of Italy.” The fact that this process became the regular method for a leader to get command removes from the Roman senate the ability to govern the provinces, since the assemblies and the tribunes who would call the assemblies would be in control of these important military and govern-
mental appointments. Both of these authors suggest that the strength of Republican government was weakened by this democratic revolution.

Another major area in which Marius effected change in the Roman Republic was in the recruitment of the military. Sallust and Plutarch both note that Marius goes against Roman tradition of recruiting their forces from a propertied class when he was recruiting his forces for Numidia. As Sallust notes, “Meanwhile he himself enlisted soldiers, not according to ancestral custom or from the classes but as the urge took each man.” Sallust records this as a break with the tradition that was typically followed by the Roman Republic. He frames it in a way that suggests that the people enlisted themselves willingly, meaning the people would enlist to follow generals that have a powerful personality. Plutarch also notes that “[c]ontrary to law and custom he enrolled in his army many poor men of low standing, a class of people not to be accepted…”. This account notes that the men recruited were essentially poor and were reliant on Marius’ victory to gain property. Soldiers’ reliance on the general sets up a dangerous precedent in which the general has a loyal power base.

Sampson, in his book *Crisis of Rome*, challenges the traditional view that landless citizens become more attached to their leaders. He writes that, “The central basis of a soldier’s loyalty to his commander always remained his competency, based on a soldier’s calculation of survival and prosperity.” He essentially says that a soldier is only supportive of generals that are successful. Sampson’s point that soldiers follow a commander that is successful and victorious is in and of itself a valid statement. The desire to follow someone who is successful and provides safety to an individual is a reasonable reaction of any human being. Christopher Anthony Matthew outlines the problem with this argument well in his book *On the Wings of Eagles*. Matthew writes, “Drawn from lower socio-economic classes, the volunteer legions had little or no livelihood to return to once their term of service was completed… Service for many was now conducted out of a sense of personal economic survival.” This argument takes a longer view than that of Sampson’s, which focuses merely on the reasons why soldiers follow a leader in the field. Yet it does not address the new fact that these men were using the military as a means to pull themselves out of poverty. Evans also points out that the policy of having an army of citizens without property brings with it the problem of settling these soldiers somewhere after their service. The need to settle these landless men gives the Roman politicians a power base from which to push their political platform. A smart politician can co-opt a successful general’s soldiers and use the general and his loyal soldiers to push his own political campaign, while also pursuing the settlement of these men.

Plutarch and Appian note this use of soldiers in the political arena in their accounts of Marius’ career. Both writers agree on the fact that Marius used his soldiers to help secure a better political position. Plutarch says that, “He stirred up feeling in the army, got the soldiers to join in the public assemblies.” This shows that the use of soldiers for political ends was already beginning under Marius, and serves as an example of how loyal these men are to their leader. Sampson writes that this is not
something that would have been new in the Roman Republic, as Roman politicians traditionally always called upon their clients to further their political aims.\textsuperscript{21} He brings up an important point, that clients and dependent supporters were already built into the political system of the Republic. Yet he fails to look at Marius’ political dominance of the Romans’ highest individual office, the consulship. Both Plutarch and Appian note that Marius held the consulship six times in an incredibly short period of time.\textsuperscript{22} The success of Marius militarily and his monopolization of Rome’s highest office obviously are connected. Matthew sums up the phenomena when he states that “[s]uccessful generals would now be made into consuls instead of elected consuls, taking command of armies when a military need arose.”\textsuperscript{23} Marius’s constant monopoly of the consulship is based in part on his reforms to the military and his ability to have his veterans support his candidacy. What Sampson fails to acknowledge, that Matthew does, is that this kind of political dominance was unprecedented and must have been based in part on the support of Marius’ veterans.

The number of consulships sets up a goal for other ambitious Roman politicians to strive for. Plutarch wrote that, “the people had never before elected one man to so many consulships.”\textsuperscript{24} Emphasizing the fact that Marius attained so many consulships shows how much weight it was given by the ancient audience. Both Sallust and Plutarch justify several of these consulships using the invasion of the Germans.\textsuperscript{25} The argument that the Romans needed a tried general to fend off an invasion of the Roman heartland is a valid argument. But that goal of gaining more consulships and therefore greater honor than Marius still exists. In an already competitive political system, monopolizing the highest office creates a goal that ambitious politicians will want to attain. As Evans says in his article, “when that emulator arose through the senatorial system in which Marius flourished, that system would be at an end.”\textsuperscript{26} This goes to the fact that the legality of a man holding so many successive consulships was in question.

Matthew brings up an important point about the allocation of land to troops, noting, “It was not common for the propertied pre-Marian soldier to receive an allotment of public land as a gratuity.”\textsuperscript{27} This shows why there would be such resistance to an allotment of public land. Appian’s account talks about the distribution of land in Transalpine Gaul. The tribune Appuleius brought forward the measure with a rider that would punish senators for not supporting the measure. Violence erupted after the measure was voted on, started by people in the city who were against it. Rural voters, partially made up of former soldiers, also responded, continuing the political violence that had begun with the deposition of the Gracchi. This shows not only how much political violence such a policy could cause, but also the extent to which former soldiers could be seen as an important support group in these political disputes.\textsuperscript{28}

Marius’ sixth consulship marks the end of his political control and damaged his popularity. Looking at Marius’ consulships, it is clear that he was always allied with one or more tribunes. An example of this is the tribune, T. Manlius Mancinus, who was mentioned previously in aiding Marius gain command in Numidia.\textsuperscript{29} This action
would seem to have been prompted by Marius so that he could gain the command he wanted. Both Plutarch and Appian also say that Marius was in alliance with Saturninus, another young tribune. Sampson notes that Marius probably helped Saturninus in to his position, so Saturninus repaid him by settling his veterans in Sicily, Achea, Macedonia, and in Gaul. These alliances allowed Marius to get his veterans land on which to settle after their discharge and aided the young politicians by associating them with Marius.

There is also the case of Marius wanting to drive his former commander Metellus into exile. The reason for this was because Metellus was opposed to a land distribution bill for Marius’ troops. Marius turned to Saturninus to aid him in accomplishing this goal. Plutarch writes that Saturninus added a clause to a land bill that required the senate members to swear to uphold it or face a fine. Metellus refused to give the oath or pay the fine and was exiled. Thus through his alliance with Saturninus, Marius was able to eliminate and silence his political opponents. These alliances allowed Marius the ability to pass things through the assembly of the plebs and to punish those who opposed him. Evans notes that once it was shown how effective this partnership was, the urge to emulate it increased for future politicians. This again supports the idea that the precedents set in Marius’ successive consulships would serve as ways for future ambitious Romans to control and change the Roman system to their advantage.

The fact that Marius became a consul was not something that fundamentally changed the Republic. It was merely another rare but not unprecedented case of a Novus Homo gaining the consulship. Yet in his dominance of the consulship and in the precedents he set during his eight years as Rome’s premier citizen, he left a legacy that helped destroy the Roman Republic. In the military sphere, once the tribal assembly was given the right to choose generals, military command and the recruitment of landless citizens for the bulk of troops became the norm. These troops were then dependent on their generals to get them land after their discharge. Marius also showed the way these landless citizens could then be drawn into the political struggles of the day. The number of terms Marius served inspired others to seek equal or greater honor then Marius by attempting to surpass his achievement. Finally Marius’ creation of an alliance between the tribune and the Consul allowed the two bodies to pass laws and exert greater control over the government than ever before. All of these things set precedents that other ambitious Romans would follow in their attempt to reach the height of power.
Glossary

*Anti-Gracchans* — Members of the Roman senate who were against populist measures, also known as Optimates.

*Consulship* — The chief civil and military office of the Roman Republic shared by 2 men elected annually every year.

*Gracchans* — A political faction in the Republic that used populist policies to gain support. They were named after the Gracchi brothers who first started practicing these policies in the 2nd century AD.

*Jugurthine War* — The war between the Numidian King Jugurtha recorded by Sallust.

*Lex Sempronia* — Law strengthening Senatorial power by limiting Tribune of the plebs’ ability to veto senatorial allocation of provinces.

*Mamillian Commision* — A commission set up by the tribune, Mamillius, investigating leading senators on charges of bribery.

*Numidia* — Roman name for western half of North Africa inhabited by the Numidians.

*Plebiscitum* — a resolution carried by a Roman assembly that did not have patricians usually a resolution of the Plebeian tribal assembly. Plebs is the name given to the majority of Roman citizens.

*Plutarch* — An ancient 1st century AD Greek biographer of famous Greeks and Romans.

*Sallust* — A Roman Historian from the 1st century BC, contemporary of Caesar and Cicero.

*Suthul* — A battle between the Numidians and the Romans resulted in a loss for the Romans.

*Transalpine Gaul* — name for the area of the Po river valley to the Alps in modern day northern Italy.

Endnotes

4. Sallust 65.5.
5. Sallust 40.
9. Sallust 65.4.
10. Sallust 73.7.
12. Sallust 73.7.
15. Sallust 86.2.
17. Sampson 184.
19. Evans, 173.
22. Appian 1.29.
25. Sallust 114, Plutarch 12, 14, 22.
27. Matthew p. 22.
29. Sallust 73.7.
32. Plutarch 29.
33. *Ibid*.
34. Evans 172.

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*Title artwork by Christine White. White is a freshman from Indianapolis majoring in political science and economics, with minors in Spanish and Arabic. She loves photography, travel, exploring the outdoors, painting, and spending time with family and friends.*
Oedipus the King and Poetics: The Perfect Tragedy as a Modern Construct

Daniel Linehan
When being introduced to ancient Greek drama, students are often first taught that there are certain inviolable rules to Greek tragedies and that those rules are listed and explained in Aristotle’s *Poetics*. The next lesson on the agenda is, almost without exception, that Aristotle viewed *Oedipus the King* as the perfect tragedy and wrote his *Poetics* accordingly. In *History of the Theatre*, Brockett alludes to this notion, stating, “Sophocles is the most skillful of Greek dramatists in mastery of dramatic structure: his *Oedipus the King* is often called the most perfect of Greek tragedies”.¹ In *Poetics*, Aristotle states that plot structure is the most important element of any tragedy. Without proper plot structure, poetry (defined by Aristotle as any mimetic art including drama) falls apart. Since not all Greek tragedies follow Aristotle’s formula, yet Aristotle still considers them to be tragedies, it stands to reason that *Oedipus the King* may not actually follow *Poetics* as closely as is commonly thought.

*Poetics*

In chapter 10 of *Poetics*, Aristotle names four main components of plot structure he believes to be essential to tragedy: *hamartia* or error in judgment, *anagnorisis* or recognition, *peripeteia* or reversal, and *pathos* or suffering. In chapter 8, Aristotle also lays out the rule of wholeness of plot, which states that all action related to the tragedy, i.e., hamartia, anagnorisis, peripeteia, and pathos, must occur during the course of the tragedy. To have them occur before or after the tragedy will render the plot incomplete and make catharsis impossible for the audience. In simpler terms, the tragedy must start with a beginning, progress to a middle, and finish with an ending in order to be “whole”.²

It is also worth noting the discrepancy between what Aristotle actually believed to be the more important components in *Poetics* and what modern convention says he believed. Modern convention holds that hamartia—often incorrectly defined as a tragic flaw—is the key aspect of a Greek tragedy, and the other three, while still being important, are secondary. In direct opposition to that idea is the relative importance attributed to each by Aristotle. In *Poetics*, pathos and peripeteia appear seven times each, anagnorisis appears fourteen times, and hamartia makes an impressive two appearances. These counts refer to word use alone and not separate discussions, so hamartia is mentioned twice but is actually only discussed once. While an entire chapter is devoted to peripeteia and anagnorisis, and pathos is a recurring concept in subsequent chapters, hamartia is afforded little more than two sentences in a chapter focused primarily on protagonist construction. If that weren’t damning enough for hamartia’s supposed eminence, Aristotle states plainly that “tragedy’s greatest means of emotional power are components of the plot structure: namely, peripeteia and anagnorisis”.³
Hamartia

The goal at the core of tragedy was to create a catharsis of pity and fear in the audience. Aristotle says that in order to have a character successfully effect catharsis, the character must move from prosperity to affliction as a result of hamartia. Modern introductory drama courses teach hamartia as a “tragic flaw,” something inherent to the protagonist’s persona such as excessive pride or rage that leads to his ultimate downfall. Aristotle did not define it as such. In Poetics, hamartia is defined as a mistake or error in judgment on the part of the protagonist. This is distinct from a “tragic flaw” in that personal flaws are irrelevant; it is the incorrect decision that acts as a catalyst for the conflict and eventual downfall. In this sense, Oedipus does not clearly exhibit hamartia, whether through its actual definition or through its common usage.

At the onset of Oedipus, the events leading to Oedipus’s downfall, starting with the plague on Thebes, have already been set in to motion so no true hamartia is possible by that point in the action. By the very first lines of the play, Oedipus is doomed. After the downfall has become inevitable, further errors in judgment can’t make the downfall “more inevitable,” so those errors can’t be considered hamartias. Ignoring that they occur during the course of the downfall, Oedipus’s decisions during the play are still the correct decisions in terms of his role as King of Thebes. If the decisions are not erroneous, they are by definition not hamartias.

Ultimately, Oedipus’s patricide and incest were actions fated by the gods, so Oedipus cannot be justly blamed for his downfall since he was doomed to the same result no matter his choices. Since his downfall was due to the gods’ interference and not to his own decisions, it was not hamartia that led to his downfall but atē, a term loosely defined as ruin, destruction or misfortune. In essence, Oedipus just had really bad luck.

The truth is that the only hamartias Oedipus exhibits before the beginning of his downfall are the murder of his father, King Laius, and the subsequent incestuous relationship with his mother, Iocaste. These, however, occur before the start of Oedipus and so violate Aristotle’s “wholeness” of plot.

Anagnorisis

Anagnorisis is a change from ignorance to knowledge, typically knowledge of the nature of the protagonist’s prosperity, the realization of their hamartia, or the revelation of someone’s misdeeds. Anagnorisis can be self-recognition or the recognition of one character by another.

Oedipus clearly exhibits anagnorisis in both forms and has them occur in succession. The first anagnorisis is Iocaste’s recognition of Oedipus not only as her husband and father of her children but also as her son and Laius’s murderer. Iocaste’s anagnorisis leads her to commit suicide, causing her own peripeteia and pathos as well as contributing to Oedipus’s. Immediately after Iocaste’s anagnorisis, Oedipus experi-
ences self-recognition. The source and nature of his prosperity—his status as King of Thebes, Iocaste’s husband, and father of four—is revealed to be regicide, patricide, and incest. His prosperity is directly responsible for Thebes’s plague. It could even be viewed that the plague was not an actual plague but rather the moral plague of Oedipus’s prosperity. Collectively, the anagnorises lead into and compose part of the peripeteia of Oedipus.

Peripeteia

Peripeteia is a sudden and complete reversal of character or circumstance. In terms of the protagonist, it is when the transition from prosperity to affliction occurs. Aristotle states that peripeteia is only effective when it follows logically from prior events. If it is arbitrary, it does not lead to catharsis as the reversal will evoke neither pity nor fear but will simply confuse the audience instead. Aristotle also believed that peripeteia was most effective when it occurred simultaneously with or in direct succession to anagnorisis. Oedipus matches Aristotle’s definition so completely that Aristotle may very well have created peripeteia with Oedipus as a template.

Oedipus’s peripeteia begins at the moment of Iocaste’s anagnorisis and ends when Oedipus, off-stage, finds her lifeless body. During this short sequence of events, Oedipus transitions from complete prosperity to complete damnation. Every measure of goodness in his life is turned to horror. His family is the product of incest, his wife-mother is dead, he is his father’s murderer, his kingship came from murdering the former king, his beloved status in Thebes is now one of disgust and hatred, and by his own previous edict he is exiled from civilization.

Oedipus’s peripeteia also follows logically from the prior events of the tragedy. The revelations are foreshadowed in the stasima, which were the choral interludes in Greek tragedies where the chorus would sing directly to the audience and give the background of the story or relay details of plot events off stage, and the original audiences likely knew the Oedipus myth before going to the theatre. In fact, the tragedy would make no logical sense without the peripeteia, as Oedipus’s crimes against the gods and society are so grotesque that they must be punished regardless of his awareness of committing them. Because of the earlier plot events, Oedipus must fall into affliction.

Pathos

Aristotle very loosely defines pathos as suffering. It is implied that it is the protagonist who suffers, but it is never explicitly stated. Aristotle defines the suffering as “deaths, torments, woundings, and other things of the same kind,” an open-ended description that essentially means anything emotionally, mentally, or physically painful. The only clear point Aristotle makes about pathos is that it is the peak moment of pity and fear in the tragedy and is the moment when the audience should
experience catharsis.

Oedipus clearly suffers emotionally, mentally, and physically at the climax of the action. His anagnorisis and peripeteia destroy his self-image and his public image and take away everything he ever held dear. The very same tragic components lead him to gouge out his own eyes so he would never have to look upon the world again and so the world would see him as a monster and not a man. The loss of everything and his descent into despair evoke pity in the audience, while the horror of his crimes and his blood-soaked eyeless image evoke fear.

The cultural significance of the themes behind Oedipus’s downfall would have both terrified the ancient Greeks and brought them to tears, creating an extremely cathartic experience and achieving the Aristotelian goal of tragedy. The fact that it is still a very moving tragedy today, despite two millennia of cultural evolution, speaks to how well Sophocles structured Oedipus.

Conclusion

While Oedipus was arguably Aristotle’s favorite tragedy and the source material for many aspects of Aristotle’s model of tragedy, it does violate certain of his rules. Plot structure, in Aristotle’s eyes, is the core of tragedy. Thus any violation of plot structure rules is a very dire mistake when attempting to write a tragedy. Despite Brockett’s belief that Oedipus is the “perfect tragedy” according to Aristotle, this is simply not the case. Oedipus does come close to being a perfect Aristotelian tragedy due to impeccable use of anagnorisis, peripeteia, and pathos, but its lack of wholeness and true hamartia create glaring flaws in the form and plot structure of the tragedy, the two aspects that Aristotle holds above all others. Aristotle may have been aware of this flaw, as Oedipus is not referenced during discussion of hamartia or wholeness but is included in nearly every other discussion of major components of tragedy. If Aristotle was indeed aware of the disconnect between Oedipus and Poetics, then the idea of Oedipus the King as Aristotle’s “perfect tragedy” is an entirely modern convention. It is quite possible that the perfect Aristotelian tragedy simply doesn’t exist.
Endnotes

3. Aristotle and Halliwell, Poetics, 38.
6. Aristotle and Halliwell, Poetics, 43.

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Title artwork by Keely Bakken.
The Soviet Imperial Struggle in China

Jeffrey Schorsch
In 1945, in the aftermath of World War II, the Soviet Union gained preeminence in the world. As a member of the Grand Alliance with the United States and Great Britain against Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union attained a position as one of the major powers in the postwar stage. However, in attaining this level of preeminence, the Russians were faced with a complicated legacy inherited from Tsarist Russia. From the Tsars, the Russians inherited a foreign policy of expansionism; yet the Russian Revolution had promised to bring changes to Russia, food to the workers, land to the peasants, and communism to the world. As a result, the Soviets struggled to reconcile an inheritance of aggressive imperialistic expansion with an ideological policy of international revolution that sought to fight imperialism. The tension between these two disparate goals is best illustrated by the relations between the Soviet Union and China. Throughout China’s revolutionary period from 1912 to 1949, the Soviet Union adopted the same imperialistic strategy of Tsarist Russia, opportunistically changing sides and manipulating the unrest in China to the Soviet Union’s benefit, going against the Soviet Union’s previously stated noninterventionist policies.

Through the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Soviets took control of the territory of the former Tsarist Empire. Along with the territory, the Soviets also inherited strained relations with their neighbors, at whose expense the Tsars had been expanding their empire for generations. This was especially true of Russia’s eastern neighbor China. The Tsarist Empire’s major goal in China had been to establish power in the strategically important peripheral areas of northern Manchuria, Mongolia and Sinkiang. This was reflected in the agreements between Russia and Japan in 1907, 1910 and 1912, which defined their spheres of influence in the Chinese Empire, while preventing the influence of other powers. Through these agreements, Russia and Japan sought to use the weaknesses of the Chinese to build power and influence in the Far East.

Consequently, the Chinese Qing Dynasty struggled to maintain its power in the turbulent years of the early twentieth century, while around it, hungry imperial powers were quick to take advantage of the Dynasty’s weakness. In 1911, two major revolutions occurred. One was the Wuchang uprising that overthrew the Qing Dynasty in China, which revealed the fragmented political situation in China. The other revolution was the declaration of an independent Mongolian theocracy in Outer Mongolia. This separation of Outer Mongolia from Chinese control would give Russia the opportunity to create a satellite whose survival was largely dependent on the strength of Russia and the relations between Russia and China. From 1911 to 1917, Tsarist Russia established itself as a mediator between China and newly independent Outer Mongolia. This policy allowed Russia to create a border state in which influence appeared to be split between Russia and China. However, in reality, Russia’s influence in Outer Mongolia overshadowed that of China because China was still
wracked by political upheaval. This meant that Russia held control in Outer Mongolia while only paying lip service to the division of power between China and Russia.

This situation was very similar to the state of affairs in Northern Manchuria, where the Chinese Eastern Railway was supposed to be operated jointly by Russia and China, yet remained mainly under Russian control. In fact, 90 percent of the foreign firms in Manchuria were Russian. These policies were designed to increase Russia’s influence over peripheral regions in Asia, thereby increasing Russia’s sense of security and power. Soviet Russia would later use these Tsarist Russia policies as models to promote its influence and interests in Asia.

However, in 1917, the Russian Revolution threw the Russian state into disarray and ended the tsarist regime. The civil war forced the Russians to retreat from external areas of interest and focus internally. As a result, Russian power was no longer able to protect Outer Mongolia. This lack of Russian power in Outer Mongolia allowed the Chinese government to forcefully abolish Mongolian independence. The Bolsheviks soon seized power in Russia and after a brutal civil war established the Soviet Union.

From the beginning, the Soviets were inept at separating themselves from associations with Tsarist Russia. One way they attempted this was through appointing diplomats to write about the goals and constitution of the new Soviet Union. One of the major contributors was the diplomat Christian Rakovsky, who wrote an article on the Soviet Union’s foreign policy that stated the Soviet constitution “even goes so far as to admit the right of nations entering into the Union to leave it of their own free will without securing the consent of other members of the Union.” This stated goal of non-imperialism was a direct challenge to the old Tsarist foreign policy. By having this sort of constitution, the Soviets were going to have to transition away from the very methods that they had primarily used in the past.

The Soviets, in order to patch up relations with their eastern neighbors, especially China, made an announcement about the concessions that Tsarist Russia had gained from China. In Foreign Affairs magazine, K. K. Kawakami reported that the Soviet Government “has given up all the conquests made by the Tsarist Government which took away from China Manchuria and other territories,” and that it “returns to the Chinese people, without demanding any kind of compensation, the Chinese Eastern Railway as well as all mining concessions, factories, gold mines, and all other things which were seized from them by the Government of the Tsar.” This announcement seemed to indicate that the Soviets had truly changed the course of Russian foreign policy, because it completely disavowed Russian interests in China. This sort of announcement also helped to relieve the tensions that had been created between China and Russia due to Russia’s aggressive and imperialistic foreign policy. It appeared that the Soviets were truly following a different path.

By 1920, discontent in Outer Mongolia surfaced again, resulting in the formation of the Mongolian People’s Party (MPP). The MPP allied itself with the Soviet Red Army and fought the Chinese until 1924, when the Mongolian People’s Republic
declared Outer Mongolia independent of China. Although the Soviets claimed that they had thrown out their Tsars and renounced their policies, their actions demonstrated their recommitment to the Tsarist Russian policy of creating buffer states and spheres of influence between Russia and other large states. By giving help to Outer Mongolia, the Soviets removed a large slice of territory from the control of the Chinese. The Soviets’ purpose in doing so was to protect the nascent Communist Revolution and defend the borders of the Soviet Union by creating a buffer state to protect itself from the growing threat of Japanese power, which at that time was expanding into northern China.

Many Mongolians in the Mongolian People’s Republic desired to unite Inner and Outer Mongolia. Instead, the Soviets formalized the division of Inner and Outer Mongolia through the 1927 creation of The Communist International, an organization that funded revolutionaries throughout Asia. This creation showed that the Soviet Union’s goal was to work towards the independence of Outer Mongolia and to abandon Inner Mongolia. Although abandoning this ally conflicted with the Soviet Union’s stated international purpose, this action became the template for the imperialistic tactics used by the Soviet Union during other revolutions.

In 1945, the Big Three powers of the Grand Alliance met at Yalta to discuss how to coordinate their forces to help end World War II. The United States was interested in gaining Soviet military aid against the Japanese and was willing to offer compromises to entice the Soviets to join the war. Stalin had long desired to have Soviet spheres of influence in Asia, which Churchill and Roosevelt were quick to give to him at Yalta. Also, the Russians were later able to gain major territorial and political concessions from the Chinese. These political concessions included the joint operation of the eastern railways by the Chinese and Russian governments, as well as the leasing of Port Arthur to Russia. Territorial concessions included the acknowledgement of Soviet control over the Kurile Islands and the southern half of Sakhalin Island, which were both at that time Japanese territory, and the recognition of Outer Mongolia as an independent state detached from China. In return for these concessions, the Soviets agreed to recognize the unification of China under the Kuomintang government rather than the Chinese Communist Party. The Yalta Agreement marked the Soviet Union’s first major action addressing the volatile situation in post World War II China. Immediately, an imperialistic strategy towards China was discernable. The Soviets were perfectly willing to work with the Chinese Nationalists over the Communists as long as the Soviet Union’s goals were served, even if its ideology was not.

On August 9th, 1945, the Soviet Red Army began its invasion of Manchuria, which was held by Japanese forces. This invasion left the Soviets in control of one of the major industrial provinces of China. According to the deals that Stalin had made, Soviet troops were supposed to hand over the control of the Manchurian territory to the Nationalists. By making these agreements with the Nationalist government, the Soviets showed that they were willing to create conflict between the Communist Revolutionaries and the Kuomintang government by pitting against each other. By
making this agreement, the Soviets seemed to be validating the Nationalist government, while invalidating the Communists that had been fighting to make China a communist country. In the agreements, the Japanese arms and positions seized by the Russian advance were to be surrendered to the Nationalists.\textsuperscript{14} This condition was put in place by the Western powers to help the Nationalists gain strength and a larger industrial base. Because of this, the Soviets considered the Nationalists to be lackeys of the United States and other imperialist nations. Though the USSR worked toward the goals of Nationalists in the Yalta Agreement, it still aided the CCP by moving the Chinese Communists into Manchuria in August and September of 1945.\textsuperscript{15} These Communists would help to prepare the groundwork for the reinforcements that Mao Zedong, leader of the CCP, was sending. The Soviets were clearly aware of the importance of Manchuria as a province of China and wanted to be able to use the threat of rising communist power in Manchuria to scare the allies into accepting the concessions that the Soviet Union desired. While the Soviets were aiding the Communists, the United States was helping the Nationalists move troops into Manchuria with the US Pacific Fleet and Air Force.\textsuperscript{16} Both the US and the USSR were trying to use the parties in China to manipulate the other into honoring the Yalta Agreements in the most favorable way for their national interests.

The USSR and the US were each giving aid to one of the two major factions in China. In spite of these maneuverings, both powers wanted the Chinese to settle their dispute peacefully. Though the Soviets would soon decide to support the Communists in the civil war against the Nationalists, their support would not be without condition or hesitation. The Soviets were constantly trying to get the Chinese Communists and the Nationalists to negotiate and create a coalition government. This reflected a general belief in Moscow that the CCP would not be able to win a civil war against the power of the Nationalists.\textsuperscript{17} The fear that Communists might fail motivated the Russians to try to work towards a peaceful agreement that would maintain Russian influence in China whether or not the Chinese Communists survived in China. The Chinese Communists were not receptive to these overtures for coalition government. The Soviet agent in the Communist camp reported that Mao “[w]as against any participation in the mediation, against any kind of participation by the CCP in the negotiations.”\textsuperscript{18} This response to the Soviet’s caution shows that the Chinese Communists were much more confident in their victory and annoyed with that caution. The fact that even towards the end of the revolution the Soviets still had these reservations caused the CCP to reassure them.

In a 1949 dispatch to Moscow, the Chinese Communists responded to the fears of the Soviets by listing the strengths of the CCP and by bowing to Soviet hegemony by admitting they were weak Marxists.\textsuperscript{19} This dispatch was clearly intended to put Soviet minds at ease and illustrate the strength of the Chinese revolution. Also, by admitting to the Russians that they were weak communists, the Chinese Communists appeared to be submitting to the Russian ideological hegemony. The subservient tone of the Chinese dispatch shows that the Chinese knew they had to deal with Russia by
taking an inferior position.

The Soviets were so supportive of the idea of a coalition government that they helped support the United States’ efforts to mediate the dispute between the Nationalists and the Communists. In December of 1946, American General George Marshall was sent to China to try and convince the Communists and the Nationalists to peacefully form a coalition government. The Chinese Communists used these negotiations to stall the Nationalists and to stop them from attacking Manchuria before the Communists were ready to fight the Nationalists. Yet even during these negotiations, the Communists and Nationalists still fought a low intensity war in Manchuria. Although Marshall would stay until 1947, by 1946, his mission was obviously a failure since the hostilities continued and peace looked further away than ever. As negotiations between the Nationalists and the Communists came to a standstill, relations between the Soviet Union and the Nationalists began to fall apart.

The final details of Russia’s privileges in Manchuria were made public in February 1946. This caused a huge wave of discontent in the Nationalist camp. These treaties appeared unequal and directly challenged the Nationalists’ claims that they would no longer accept treaties that exploited China. As a result, riots occurred in major cities and relations between the Soviets and the Nationalists became strained. This tension caused the Soviets to start encouraging the CCP to act more boldly in Manchuria. The Soviets saw this support as a way to make the Nationalists more amiable to the treaty that the Soviets wanted. Yet, relations became more and more strained, causing the Soviets to continue following the policy of strengthening the CCP. This policy shift allowed the CCP to capture a series of cities with industrial capacity during the Red Army pullout from Manchuria. Though Southern Manchuria stayed in Nationalist hands, large parts of Northern Manchuria were in the CCP’s hands. These areas would act as the base for much of the CCP’s forces during the Chinese Revolution.

In 1948 and 1949, the Cold War situation in China, much like in Europe, was heating up. In China, the Cold War was not so cold. Rather, there was a Communist offensive against the western-backed Nationalists. Following a string of stunning military victories in the spring of 1949, the CCP captured the city of Nanjing, effectively defeating the Nationalist forces on the mainland. The loss of the Nationalist capital of Nanjing ended the Nationalists’ chances of uniting China and left China in the hands of the CCP. On October 1, 1949, Chairman Mao officially established the Chinese People’s Republic (CPR) in Peking. The only nations that recognized the newly formed government were the USSR and the members of the Communist Bloc.

Though the Chinese Communists had succeeded in conquering the Nationalists, they emerged in a subordinate position to the Soviet Union. Since the CPR was a technologically backward power that had been engaged in a decade-long civil war, it was naturally weak. The Chinese Communists, like the Nationalists before them, had to deal with the Soviets from a position of weakness. The Chinese Communists also had to deal with the fact that the Nationalists had granted privileges to the Soviets in
the Yalta Agreement. While the Chinese Communists felt that these privileges were unfair, the Soviets insisted on keeping them. Mao and Stalin held meetings in Moscow to discuss a treaty for a Sino-Soviet friendship. When the issue of leasing Port Arthur came up, the Chinese and Soviets concluded that the agreement should legally continue with only minor cosmetic changes that would make it more acceptable to the Chinese people. Another major sticking point in negotiations between the CCP and the Soviets was the question of Mongolia. According the Chinese viewpoint, Outer Mongolia was a natural part of the Chinese nation, as established under the Qing Empire. As such, the Chinese wanted Outer Mongolia to be unified under the Chinese Federation’s umbrella of power. Thus, the Chinese Communists felt that the Soviets had an obligation to relinquish Outer Mongolia to them. In response, the Soviets were firmly contested that Outer Mongolia should remain independent, in spite of Chinese opinion on the matter. Aside from the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communists had no allies who could help them rebuild their country. Their need for help from the Soviets led them to grudgingly accept a treaty in which they recognized the independence of Outer Mongolia and the leasing of Port Arthur. This treaty helped to affirm the Soviet Union’s imperial practices by creating a buffer state that was dependent on the Soviet Union to protect it from China. It also gave the Soviet Union many of the territorial concessions that the Soviets had wanted.

In the Case of Outer Mongolia, Soviet policy closely followed that of Tsarist imperial policy. In both cases, the survival of Mongolia as an independent state depended on Russian support against Chinese ambitions. Outer Mongolia was to serve as Russia’s buffer against other large powers like Japan and China. In the chess game of Soviet power politics, Outer Mongolia was a pawn, used to protect the integrity of the Soviet country. It was necessary to ensure that it was independent of China, so that Russia would have a loyal client that would serve Soviet needs and help work towards Soviet ambitions.

The victory in China was a major success for the Soviets not only in a local Far Eastern Power politics sense, but also in the wider and more global sense of the Cold War. To the Americans it seemed to show that Stalin was “the masterful strategist of world Communism.” In the American understanding of the Cold War, it seemed as if Stalin, the leader of Soviet Russia, was trying to orchestrate a worldwide Communist coup. Many American writers and diplomats validated this idea by equating the Chinese Communist victory with some sort of Soviet master plan of world conquest. United States diplomat Stanley Hornbeck said that, “The Kremlin is making its conquests, is enslaving one nation after another, by skillful manipulation of person, parties and peoples who think that Communism will make them free – and prosperous – and powerful.” These sentiments would be used later to justify American military involvement in countries perceived to be vulnerable to Soviet influence. Across the world, wars over ideology were justified in part by the perceived conquest of China by the Soviets.

While attempting to break with prerevolutionary Tsarist Russia, the new
Soviet Union struggled with a conflicting legacy of imperialism and revolution. In the peace hammered out at Yalta, the Russians clearly followed the Imperialistic paradigm in creating spheres of influence for itself in China. The Soviet Union was happy to legitimize whichever party in China would offer the Soviet Union greater benefits and would be more likely to be victorious in the civil war. Even after Stalin had thrown in his lot with the Chinese Communists, he was suspicious of their strength and was still in contact with the Nationalists. This shows how badly the Russians desired influence in China, as they were willing to sacrifice the ideology of revolution for practical political gains.

Endnotes

4. Spring, 310.
5. Liu, 18-19.
8. Liu, 18-19.
17. Goncharov, 24-25.


20. Sheng, 121-122.
25. APRF, f. 45, op.1, d.329, ll. 29-38. Translated for CWIHP by Danny Rozas. CWIHP (accessed February 10)
26. Liu, 52-54.
27. Goncharov, 95.
For Jeffrey Schorsch’s biography, please see page 49.

Title artwork by Erin Boland.