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Dear reader,

You are reading the inaugural issue of the re-launch of The Catalyst, the undergraduate research journal of The University of Southern Mississippi. The mission of The Catalyst is to allow undergraduates at The University of Southern Mississippi the opportunity to engage in one of the core aspects of scholarly and academic life from the earliest stages of their careers: publishing research in a peer-reviewed scholarly journal. We believe that having the opportunity to experience this process first-hand while still an undergraduate will help our students extensively as they hone their writing skills, submit applications for grad school, and build their academic portfolios. The process of publishing this first issue put the old aphorism “Begin, the rest is easy” to the test, but through the good and the bad we have had an amazing team and support system every step of the way. In particular I am indebted to Dr. Jeanne Gillespie, Dr. Marie Danforth, and Josh Cromwell, without whose help, encouragement, and unwavering support this project would never have gotten off the ground. Though this marks the end of my time with The Catalyst I am confident that it is in good hands with y’all at the helm.

Thank you to the Center for Undergraduate Research and Dr. Gordon Cannon for supporting this project. A special thanks as well to Professor John Lawler and the entire team at RISE Creative, whose excellent work and dedication has helped to make our vision come true.
Emotions Involved in Shopping at the Airport

Alexis Tymkiw
INTRODUCTION
A few decades ago, air travel was a rare experience for a very select few. Today, most Americans have traveled on an airplane, and many people fly rather frequently. In 2014, 848.1 million travelers flew in or out of United States airports (“Summary 2014 U.S.-Based Airline Traffic Data”). According to the Federal Aviation Administration, approximately 452.9 million will fly in or out of the United States by 2035 (“FAA Aerospace Forecast, Fiscal Years 2015 – 2035”). In addition, air travel has changed dramatically over the last two decades due to tighter security regulations and stricter airline carry-on regulations. This has made air travel even more stressful, especially with the extra security measures put in place since the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City, New York on September 11, 2001, the liquid explosives plot in Britain in 2006, and other incidents. Past research on airport shopping found that increased levels of stress and excitement experienced within an airport can impact shopping behaviors (Torres, Domínguez, Valdés, and Aza, 2005 Fernie, 1995; Rowley and Slack, 1999). Given the recent changes that have occurred within the airport environment, these and other emotional motivations may have an even greater impact on airport shopping behaviors.

Considering these issues, it is important to examine consumer shopping behavior within this new context. Therefore, this study attempts to answer the following research questions: What emotions do consumers feel when shopping at airports? Do emotional responses impact consumer shopping at airports? These questions are an important starting point for research in the area of emotional motivations for airport shopping. In order to answer these questions, in-depth interviews were conducted, coded, and analyzed. Results provide insight into these issues, and provide both theoretical and managerial implications.

LITERATURE REVIEW
In order to accomplish the goals of this study, several key areas of literature will be discussed. First, the transformation of the airport environment will be detailed. Next, research examining how this new and unique airport environment impacts shopping behavior will be discussed, followed by a review of emotional shopping motivations.

The Transformation of the Airport Environment
Formerly, airports contained limited dining, retail, and convenience options once passengers moved past the security check. This changed due to the increase in air travel and introduction of new security measures. Air travel began to increase due to four main factors: (1) changes in consumer needs and tastes, (2) increased economic activity, (3) growth in international trade, and (4) declining costs related to air travel (Crawford and Melewar, 2003). This made retail opportunities more attractive to investors. With the airport security measures put in place post 9/11, retailers saw an opportunity to expand into gate areas and raise profits. Travelers were instructed to arrive at airports earlier, which often led to longer wait times at gates. Airports capitalized on the increased interest from retailers and demand from travelers by transforming their retail spaces into mini shopping malls. These expanded shopping areas often include a mix of high-end retail
shops, spas, hotels, and other amenities. In 2012, the Airports Council International North America surveyed eighty airports and found that 95% of airports included gift shops/newsstands like Hudson Group, 56% contained clothing stores like Lacoste, and 43% of airports incorporated express vending machines from stores such as Best Buy or Apple (Airport Council International, 2012).

These shopping areas are becoming a primary source of revenue for airports. On average, commercial revenues account for about half of all airport revenue (Moodie, 2007; Graham, 2009). At the largest passenger airport in the United States, Hartsfield-Jackson Atlanta International located in Atlanta, Georgia, over 44.31 million travelers generated around $110 million in retail sales and $235.4 million in food and beverage sales in 2011 (Chapter 7: Airports). Airports continue to find more ways to attract potential consumers and gain repeat customers. With expanding retail areas, consumers have more reasons to shop and spend money.

“Two key characteristics of airport shopping that may influence shopping behavior are (1) higher prices and (2) time and space constraints.”

The Emotional Impact on Airport Shopping Behavior
Because air travel has changed so much over the last two decades, airport shopping has become a very unique experience that creates consumer behavior that may not correspond with traditional retail shopping behavior (Dholakia 1999; Omar and Kent 2001). Two key characteristics of airport shopping that may influence shopping behavior are (1) higher prices and (2) time and space constraints. In addition, the traveling situation itself often induces specific and heightened emotions such as stress and boredom, which are expected to impact the traveler’s shopping behavior. Most travelers can identify with feeling stressed because of a gate change or overcome with boredom during a flight delay in an airport with unreliable Wi-Fi. These unique situations, along with the airport environment itself, affect consumer shopping behaviors.

High Prices: The retail environment is a mix of specific airport stores and those also found outside of the airport. For example, Brookstone, an electronics retailer, invested in both the traditional shopping mall and airport environments, while Hudson Group, a travel retailer, is located only in airports. In airport stores, prices tend to be noticeably higher. At the Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) located in Los Angeles, California, 1 liter of Glaceau Smartwater retails for $4.99 at Hudson Group. Ralphs, a grocery store chain in Los Angeles, sells the same liter of Smartwater for $1.44 (CBSLA.com, 2015). Even with the more expensive items, shops tend to have heavier than average foot traffic and sales. In fact, airport stores often report $1,000 or more retail sales per square foot, making it a very attractive opportunity for many retailers. That figure is well above regional mall shops, which averaged $470 per square foot and $513 per square foot for upscale outlets (Chapter 7: Airports). The data suggests that, regardless of price, some consumers see value in airport retail options and are willing to pay a price premium.

Space Constraints: Travelers are limited to the amount of merchandise they can purchase at the airport, due to increasingly tight regulations on carry-on items. Most airlines restrict carry-on baggage to one personal item and one carry-on
bag, while budget airlines have even tighter constraints (Gavin, 2016). Any merchandise bought, with the exception of duty free items, must be able to fit in passenger’s bags. Therefore, some shoppers may not buy items simply because they cannot fit them in their baggage. For retailers, this highlights distinct opportunities to serve these customers. Best Buy established quick service kiosks to help travelers purchase a forgotten phone charger without missing their flight. L’Occitane offers to send products directly to customer’s homes or hotels to avoid dealing with space constraints.

**Time Constraints:** Travelers often feel stressed in airports due to issues such as long security lines, flight delays, weather issues, lost baggage, and getting to the gate on time. In some cases, travelers are in a rush and unable to even take a quick restroom break between flights, while other travelers experience long layovers and look for activities to rescue them from boredom. Chethamrongchai and Davies (2000) found time-sensitive consumers may make fewer purchases, suggesting that the excitement, stress, and unfamiliarity of the airport environment impact shopping behavior. Each of the three United States major airlines in 2014 by passenger size, Southwest Airlines, Delta Air Lines, and United Airlines (“Domestic Bliss”) recommends a different check in time. Southwest Airlines suggests that passengers arrive at airports anywhere from 60-180 minutes before their flight depending on their chosen airport (Airport Information). Delta Air Lines recommends arriving at the airport around 75 minutes prior to departure when passengers are traveling within the United States (Check-In Requirements). United Airlines recommends that passengers traveling within the United States arrive at least an hour before departure if not checking bags, and those traveling with bags arrive 90 minutes prior to departure (“Check-in and Airport Processing times.”).

These early recommendation times allow passengers to check in with their airline, pass through security, and arrive at their gate with time before their flight departs. The amount of time left over leaves passengers with dwell time that can be used to sit at the departure gate, shop, or eat.

When travelers have too much time on their hands, shopping can be done in airports to ‘kill time’ (Crawford and Melewar, 2003). The amount of ‘kill time’ depends on the amount of dwell time a traveler has within an airport. Bohl (2014) defined dwell time as the “consumer’s time spent in an area featuring shops and restaurants, as reported by the consumer on exit” (p.15). Multiple studies (Freathy and O’Connell, 2012; Torres, et al., 2005) found passenger dwell time highly influenced their likelihood to buy items and the total amount of money spent. Dwell time varies for each traveler. However, most travelers plan to be at the airport at least an hour or two before their flight boards, leaving excessive dwell time once they pass security, as reflected by anecdotal evidence. Steven Clark, a senior vice president for customer service for British Airways in the Americas, said, “Since 9/11, what you’ve found is the dwell time in airports is generally longer. People for the most part don’t know how long it’s going to take them to get through the security line, so they tend to show up earlier” (Altman, 2007).

**Airport Environment:** Bohl (2014) defined an airport environment as “all of the physical factors of an airport’s retail area, that can be influenced to enhance (or constrain) customer
actions, as reported by passengers when leaving” (p. 14). Airport environments could contain signs, shops, seating areas, help desks, currency exchange stations, and phone charging stations to change customer actions. Mehrabian and Russell (1974) found consumers respond positively to well-designed retail environments and that happy consumers wanted to spend more time in the store, look around, and interact with other shoppers and personnel. The general airport environment, however, may not be evaluated as positively. The non-retail spaces typically contain uncomfortable seating areas, loud announcements, and drab color schemes and decor. Retail shops located within the airport, however, may create noticeably more pleasant spaces, thus encouraging travelers to shop in order to escape the airport.

**The Role of Emotions in Airport Shopping Behavior**

The airport environment, along with time and traveling constraints, can create very specific emotional drivers of shopping behavior. Emotions are defined as “a specific psychobiological reaction to a human appraisal” because they are tied to both psychological processing and physical responses (Babin & Harris 2012, pg. 92). Consumers react immediately to their feelings, and these reactions impact their behavior. Emotions are generally based on two characteristics: valence (positive versus negative) and arousal (high versus low) (Russell, 1980; Russell and Barrett, 1999). Prior research suggested that higher levels of arousal increase the effects of mood valence or, in other words, higher arousal levels lead to more intense mood effects (Aylesworth and MacKenzie, 1998; Clark, 1981; Clark, Milberg, and Erber, 1984; Clark, Milberg, and Ross, 1983, Mehrabian and Russell, 1974; Schachter and Singer, 1962).

Humans feel negative emotions, such as worry, stress, or sadness, from daily activities. One example is worrying whether they will be late for an important interview because of heavy traffic or an accident on the road. However, these negative emotions tend to decrease once the person reaches their destination because the stressor disappeared. Within airports, the stress does not disappear once arriving on time for the flight. Travelers experience stress from long lines at the check-in counter, slow moving security check points, and walking to find the correct departure gate. These higher feelings can lead to more intense feelings of stress or other negative emotions.

Emotions, particularly excitement and stress, play a role in consumers’ shopping behavior. Russell (1980) defines excitement as a positive emotional state consisting of high levels of pleasure and arousal and a key component of a consumer’s shopping experience. High excitement levels are a key factor in a customer’s motivations to shop at malls (Lesser and Kamal, 1991), which have been compared to airports in terms of excitement levels. Airports cause excitement levels to increase as consumers look forward to an upcoming trip or returning home (Torres et al., 2005). Higher levels of excitement could influence consumers to purchase items in airport stores that they might not have normally purchased there. For example, a customer may buy a pair of sunglasses for their Caribbean trip at the airport, though the items could have purchased cheaper outside of the airport. The high excitement levels influence the person to purchase the sunglasses.

Boredom is an additional emotion commonly experienced by airport travelers while they are waiting in long lines for security or waiting to board their flight in the airport lounges. It has
been described as the “plague of modern society” (Goetz, T., Frenzel, A., Hall, N., Nett, U., Pekrun, R., Lipnevich, A., 2013; Klapp 1986; Pekrun et al. 2010; Spacks 1995). Rowley and Slack (1999) found that waiting travelers often shop because they are bored and want to find entertainment in the shopping experience. Goetz and Frenzel (2006) proposed four different types of boredom discovered in academic settings. Two of them, calibrating boredom and searching boredom, are most likely to be felt by airport travelers. Calibrating boredom was associated with a slightly negative emotional state where recipients wanted to reduce the boredom, but were not motivated enough to actively seek out those options. When in an airport, travelers may be content with feeling “bored” and may resort to keep playing games on their phone or reading a book. With searching boredom, people actively searched out boredom reducing activities and associated it with general unpleasantness. Travelers may leave their chair and walk to the diverse shops and restaurants in an attempt to reduce their boredom.

Additionally, consumers gravitate towards products that are consistent with their current mood or ones that allow them to pursue a pleasant mood and mitigate from unpleasant moods (Andrade, 2005; Kim, Park, and Schwarz, 2010; Manucia, Baumann, and Cialdini, 1984; Raghunathan and Pham, 1999; Raghunathan, Pham, and Corfman, 2006). For example, research demonstrated people with “good” moods tended to purchase products that allow them to maintain that positivity (Isen 1987; Isen and Patrick, 1983; Kim et al., 2010; Mayer and Salovey, 1995; Zillmann, 1988), which might be especially relevant in the often chaotic airport environment. Consumers tend to purchase more items when they experience positive moods. In an airport setting, a woman’s positive mood may influence her to purchase a water bottle and impulse buy a chocolate bar. The woman may only purchase chocolate bars when she feels happy, and therefore the positive feelings led to a higher amount of spending. In this research, consumers are motivated to shop to either approach positive or negative emotions. Positive emotions could be feelings of wanting to be on vacation or excitement for the upcoming trip, while negative emotions refer to wanting to escape the stress-filled airport. Bohl (2014) argued negative arousal, or emotions, could lead to increased levels of shop penetration and spending due to consumers shopping to distract themselves from anxiety or nervous emotions. Therefore, consumers who experienced a higher level of stress may purchase a book or other item that will distract them from the stressful airport. Fernie (1995) supported this theory stating “the agitated, emotionally charged passengers are unlikely to behave ‘normally’ in such an [airport] environment and tend to make impulsive, even irrational, purchase decisions” (p. 9).

METHODOLOGY
As supported in the literature review, emotions have a direct effect on human behavior. In order to address the first research question, it seems appropriate to gather exploratory qualitative data from travelers. Exploratory research is done when the concept is new and not clearly defined (Cooper and Schindler, 1998). This approach will provide insight into which specific emotions are affecting airport shopping behavior. Past research points towards the roles of positive and negative emotions. Analysis followed Spiggle’s (1994) fundamental operations, which include the processes of categorization, abstraction, and comparison. Spiggle’s method was used since the study is descriptive and the goal is to uncover the emotions driving airport shopping.
### TABLE 1: Sample Participant Description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Length of Interview</th>
<th>Travel Frequency per year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>15:55</td>
<td>4-5x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>RN/Mom</td>
<td>Bachelorette in Nursing</td>
<td>14:32</td>
<td>1x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>15:51</td>
<td>10x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Bachelor of Education</td>
<td>25:28</td>
<td>1x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts</td>
<td>16:41</td>
<td>4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>8:11</td>
<td>12x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Academic Advisor</td>
<td>Master</td>
<td>18:51</td>
<td>6x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Bachelor of Science</td>
<td>20:15</td>
<td>12x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Personal Trainer</td>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>12:22</td>
<td>1x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>10:28</td>
<td>4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>15:03</td>
<td>14x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Master</td>
<td>13:93</td>
<td>96x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The primary researcher served as the sole interviewer. The interviewer followed a list of questions, while allowing for probing questions as needed. Each interview was digitally recorded (an average of 15.44 minutes per interview) and transcribed (average length of text: 4.5 pages) for analysis. The interviews were designed to gain a better understanding of how consumers’ emotions impact their shopping habits within an airport. The goal was to have consumers talk about their recent shopping experience within the airport and probe as needed to discover the underlying emotions.

Travelers were first asked to describe their most recent airport experience and their airport shopping habits. Specific questions were asked about a participant’s actions when faced with boredom, stress, and a long layover. Finally, the respondents were asked about others’ shopping habits in the airport environment. The interview guide can be found in Appendix A.
**Analysis and Results**

The analysis followed three processes as determined by Spiggle (1994) – categorization, abstraction, and comparison. Within the categorization and abstraction processes, each interview was initially coded for individual themes. The goal was to identify emotions felt by an individual while shopping or browsing in the airport. Text that seemed to indicate each theme was highlighted. After this process was followed in all interviews, the goal was to combine all the examples and examine the similarities and differences (Spiggle, 1994). Therefore, the interview themes were considered as a whole only after the individual themes had been discovered. For this study, each individual interview needed to be examined to see if the theme occurred which required multiple reviews of each interview transcript so all themes were considered (Arnold and Reynolds, 2003; Spiggle, 1994).

Results show five emergent themes (Tables 2 and 3) - four emotionally driven themes and one situationally driven theme. As shown in Table 2, the strongest emotional motivator is when a traveler bought souvenirs to remember their trip or share their trip with others. People felt nostalgia and excitement when buying souvenirs for themselves or others back home. Many people bought souvenirs at the end of their trip.

Travelers sought out distractions (67%) and comforting activities (58%) within the airport. The passenger felt negative emotions such as boredom, worry, and stress; they then engaged in activities to eliminate or lessen those emotions. People often distracted themselves by buying food or an item to read. Both eating and reading could be comfort sources in the chaotic airport environment.

The weakest theme, which was still experienced by nearly half (42%) of the participants, is shopping in an airport to kick-start a vacation. The traveler experienced “vacation-mode,” and indulged themselves with an alcoholic drink or a new book in honor of their vacation.

### TABLE 2: Emotional Motivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Illustrative Quote</th>
<th>Presence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traveler shops to kick start their vacation. They feel excitement to be beginning their trip.</td>
<td>“… I've literally known of people who like, part of the trip is going to the store buying a book or whatever and that's the beginning of the vacation for them. Cause they got through the hard part, you know, packing and planning part and now they are on the part where they get to relax.”</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;...I've shopped at airports like when I get there I've gotten a drink so that exact reason because you know like ‘I'm here, deep breathe, you know we're on vacation'.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 2: Emotional Motivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>Quote</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traveler seeks a comforting or familiar activity to do at the airport to decrease their stress levels.</td>
<td>“…it’s something familiar to them like in an electronics store, people go in there because it’s like something like they’re thinking about something other than traveling. Like in a bookstore I’ve gone to a bookstore a million times and I go to them a lot of times outside of an airport, so it’s not an airport, it’s a bookstore to me.” “…things that are comforting to them, so things that calm them down like chocolates, or trying to find little gifts and stuff.”</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traveler buys items to distract themselves from the airport or upcoming trip. The traveler feels bored or worried at the airport.</td>
<td>“Generally, I buy a book because I’ve kinda exhausted my options or I have a long, longer flights and I read quickly enough that like I’ve realized that ‘oh no I need another book to read’” “…people love distractions and spending their money is a great distraction”</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traveler buys souvenirs to remember their trip or to share their trip with others. The traveler feels nostalgia and excitement.</td>
<td>“…souvenirs because I’m happy I’ve been to that place to remember what happened in that place, buying a t-shirt from London, like nostalgic” “They’re probably more souvenir because I’ll buy them in Dublin for people here. Like one time I bought Sister Delores a beautiful beige cashmere scarf, I thought ‘that will look good with her habit!’”</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only non-emotional motivator was a situational theme, which was found in 75% of participants. Passengers felt a need to buy a necessary item for the upcoming flight or trip and bought a range of items such as electronics, candy, medicine, neck pillows, or gum. The product purchase felt necessary in the moment in order to experience a better trip. This theme was expected, but not the focus of this study.
TABLE 3: Situation Needs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotional Motivation</th>
<th>Illustrative Quote</th>
<th>Presence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Traveler buys a “necessary” or “needed” item because of the upcoming flight or they are in the airport. | “…books, people always in bookstores, travel things like neck pillows, gum, I buy gum because of ears popping”  
“…I bought a charger cord for my phone a few trips ago because I noticed the one that I had packed had gotten broken and I need one of these and I was like I’m going to get it here because I wasn’t sure if I could get it where I was going.” | 75%      |

DISCUSSION

Theoretically, this research supplements the existing literature on airport retailing, especially in the area of shopping behavior of travelers at airports. However, this is a first attempt to gain insight into the emotional component of shopping motivations. As a result, these findings have important theoretical implications. Baron and Wass (1996) discovered people’s browsing habits in airports is related to people trying to fill time and finding a particular product for a situation. Participants browsed to escape boredom, relieve stress, and to kill time before their flights. One person said, “If I have time before I fly, almost always to kill some time,” when asked their frequency of shopping or browsing in airport retail shops, supporting Baron and Wass (1996)’s first browsing theory. The second part of their finding, finding a particular product, is supported as participants (90%) stated they shopped or browsed to find a needed item for their upcoming trip or flight. All participants felt boredom at the airport and sought to lessen its effects in different ways. Goetz and Frenzel (2006) proposed four different types of boredom. Of those four types, two are relevant for this research. Calibrating boredom, where recipients wanted to reduce the boredom and did not feel motivated enough to seek out options, was experienced by 66.7% of participants. One quote illustrating this point says, “[I] sit, complain about being bored. Usually I call people on the phone, it’s a good pastime.” The other type of relevant boredom is searching boredom, where people actively search out boredom reducing activities. A majority of participants (58%) left their seats to eat or look at the various airport stores. Since calibrating boredom is felt before searching boredom, the lower percentage for searching boredom is accurate.

One limiting motivation for airport shopping is the high prices for the majority of items within airports. Many participants believed that the airport mark-up is around 15-30% higher than a convenience store like Walgreens – which is correct. A 15 oz. Naked Juice Smoothie cost $3.89 at a Los Angeles convenience store and $4.29 at a New York store. Comparatively, the Naked Juice Smoothie cost $5.29 at Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) in Los Angeles, California and $4.99 at New York Kennedy (JFK) airport in New York City, New York. Another example is a Kind bar which costs $2.29 at a Los Angeles store and $2.99 at a New York convenience store. The product costs $3.59 at LaGuardia (LGA) and $3.49 at
New York Kennedy (JFK) airport (McCartney, 2015). According to these prices, the Naked Juice is marked up 36% in Los Angeles and 15.5% in New York City, while the Kind bar is marked up 20% in Los Angeles and 35% in New York City. Many participants cited high prices as a reason for feeling negatively towards airport shopping. One participant, when asked if she bought items in airports, said, “I try not to because I think that airports are way more expensive than they are normally.” In a separate question, a male participant stated, “Well at the airport, I’m a big believer that everything is way overpriced and for impulse buyers, and so I don’t buy anything.”

**Managerial Implications**

Traveler shopping and dining are the primary non-aviation sources of revenue for airports. Previous studies (Crawford and Melewar, 2003; Hausman 2000; Lin and Chen, 2013; Omar and Kent 2001) state that traveler’s retailing actions are influenced by various shopping motivations. Passengers use their dwell time to shop to reduce negative feelings and increase positive emotions. Most consumers are likely to make a purchase within the airport retail environment, whether it is a bottle of water, magazine, or a pair of headphones. Airport managers should use multiple retail strategies to trigger traveler shopping and thus increase revenue.

As presented in this research, travelers exhibit aversion to the higher prices within the airport environment. Though they may expect the higher prices, they do not see the value or understand the reason for the higher prices. Managers should investigate ways to bring value into the shopping environment such as hiring employees to assist customers in-store, investing technology so customers can order at their seats and then pick it up at their leisure, or offering a self-checkout line for faster shopping. Stores could also entice shoppers by offering a percentage of their sales to a specific charity. Managers could also post signs detailing the costs so customers better understand why the items are higher prices.

In addition, the emotional shopping motivations highlighted by this study can help airport marketers better segment airport travelers and develop more effective marketing strategies. Geuens, Vantomme, and Brengman (2003) identified three types of airport shoppers: mood shoppers (driven by airport-atmosphere related motivations), apathetic shoppers (feel indifferent towards shopping), and shopping lovers (enjoy all aspects of airport shopping). The ‘mood shopper’ airport typology corresponds with this research in terms of emotional motivators. Airport operators could build an atmosphere and environment to reduce travelers’ negative emotions and encourage them to shop more.

Airport managers should not forget about the time constraints travelers face while in the airport; for example, travelers must pass through airline check-in lines, the security process, and then board the flight about a half hour before it leaves. These processes can invoke negative emotions, mainly stress, within passengers. Retailers should be aware of these issues when designing stores and choosing the proper retail mix. Store managers should capitalize upon these emotions by providing “comforting” places and items along with items that help travelers “escape” the airport.

**LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

The current research does have some limitations, which allows for future opportunities. First, the sample is limited by the size and convenience of the participants. It
would be desirable to increase the number of participants and interview those throughout the Southeast region of the United States in future studies. This would provide more generalizable results. Next, participants should be interviewed within a shorter time span than six months. Time elapsed can impact a participant’s recall of their actions and emotions while shopping. Finally, due to resource constraints, the study did not employ the use of a second coder to ensure accuracy with the analysis. A second coder is used to determine reliability with the qualitative analysis. Since the data has been collected and stored, this process can still be conducted. Assuming inter-coder reliability is acceptable, this research can be study 1 of a larger project.

From this research, a starting point can be established for examining shopping motivations in the new airport environment in theoretical research. Future research could employ using a mall-intercept survey or a scenario-based experimental design to delve deeper into these emotional motivations and the impact on shopping behavior. There are, of course, pros and cons to each approach. A mall-intercept survey accounts for all the situational influences, but it may be difficult to gather data from those travelers who are especially rushed. This would skew the data and hinder the validity of the results. These passengers may be the outliers; however, their information and perspective is still needed within the context of the study. A scenario-based experimental design would allow the researchers to better control for conditions, but may not generalize as well to real-world shopping situations. In addition to the research approach, gathering data from various regions of the United States of America would make the results more generalizable, and due to the nature of airport consumers, a cross-cultural study would be recommended.

WORKS CITED


APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire

Emotions Involved in Shopping at the Airport
Subject _______ Questionnaire

Reminder that this questionnaire will be kept confidential. This project has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board, which ensures that research projects involving human subjects follow federal regulations. Any questions or concerns about rights as a research participant should be directed to the chair of the Institutional Review Board, The University of Southern Mississippi, 118 College Drive #5147, Hattiesburg, MS 39406-0001, 601.266.6820.

Date of Interview: ___________________________
Age: ______________________________________
Gender: ___________________________________
Highest Education Level: _____________________
Occupation: ________________________________
Approximate Income Level: _________________
Approximate date of last flight: _______________
Travel Frequency (times per week, per month, per year): _______________

Emotions Involved in Shopping at the Airport
Subject _______ Interview Questions

1. When was the last time you traveled?
   a. Tell me about that experience.
   b. What was your retail shopping experience like?
2. How often do you fly on an airplane?
   a. Do you consider yourself a frequent flyer?
   b. Why do you fly?
   c. Who do you usually fly with?
3. When do you consider to have begun your trip?
   a. Have you ever shopped to begin your trip? Tell me about that experience.
   b. Have you ever shopped to extend your trip? Tell me about that experience.
   c. Do you think others in airports shop to begin or extend their trip?
4. What do you do in an airport when you have a long layover?
   a. How about when you feel bored?
   b. Or when you feel stressed?
   c. Do you ever shop to escape the stress of the airport?
5. How often do you shop and/or browse in retail areas in airports?
   a. What do you buy there?
   b. Why do you buy these items?
   c. Who(m) do you buy items for at the airport?
   d. Do you shop in retail areas more when you are flying for pleasure or for business? Why?
   e. How do you feel when buying retail items in airport?
6. How much time do you approximately spend shopping in retail areas?
   a. Does this change depending on your travel companions?
   b. Does this change depending on the purpose for your travels?
7. Do you ever buy retail items because you are beginning your vacation?
   a. If so, what items do you buy?
   b. How do you feel when buying these items?
8. Do you ever buy retail items because you are ending your vacation?
   a. If so, what items do you buy?
   b. How do you feel when buying these items?
9. Do you ever buy retail items because you are on vacation?
   a. If so, what items do you buy?
   b. How do you feel when buying these items?
10. Do you ever buy retail items because you are beginning a business trip?
    a. If so, what items do you buy?
    b. How do you feel when buying these items?
11. Do you ever buy retail items because you are ending a business trip?
    a. If so, what items do you buy?
    b. How do you feel when buying these items?
12. Do you ever buy retail items because you are a business trip?
    a. If so, what items do you buy?
    b. How do you feel when buying these items?
13. When you see others shopping in retail areas, how do you think they feel?
    a. What do you think they buy?
14. Do you think people shop in retail areas to get away from the stress of the airports? Why?
    a. What do you think people buy in these situations?
Andy’s Inner Society: Warhol’s Philosophy and Sense of Self

AmyJoy Sedberry
Andy Warhol’s The Philosophy of Andy Warhol is an intimate look at the internal world of the painter and graphic artist. The general public often assumes that Warhol’s life was little more than a whirlwind of success and partying. His Philosophy conflicts with the general presuppositions about who Andy Warhol was. It reads like a diary and is rich with disclosures of his beliefs about love, beauty, success and underwear. Despite the intimate nature of these subjects and the apparently candid delivery of Warhol’s philosophies and life experiences, he maintains a cagey and detached voice throughout. I argue that his Philosophy, despite appearing to be authentic and adorable in its transparency, is actually evidence of his fragmented and disconnected internal world. Warhol’s humor is a thin veil between the reader and his fractured sense of self. Applying the psychotherapeutic theory of Richard Schwartz’s “Internal Family Systems” to Andy Warhol will provide a language that may benefit the reader by clarifying and evaluating Warhol’s unique perceptions of the world. Understanding Andy Warhol’s early childhood and the trauma of being shot in adulthood will provide a more holistic perspective on his art and genius. Schwartz’s therapeutic model is useful outside of the clinical world because it provides a lens with which to view any individual; a lens that encourages personal unification, internal harmony and a non-blaming attitude. This theory purports that all individuals are in possession of a Self, as well as autonomous sub-parts. The Self, along with its “parts” all work together to protect the individual. Any kind of trauma a person undergoes can cause the Self to disassociate and any of the sub-parts can inhabit the position of leadership meant only for the Self. In Andy Warhol’s Philosophy, we see hints of the three parts actively moving in and out of dominance. Richard Schwartz refers to the three sub groups as “exiles, managers and firefighters.” The most vulnerable part is the “exile”; the fragile childlike part that often gets pushed aside in adulthood. In Warhol’s case, he reveals his exiled childlike part early on in his Philosophy but he often minimizes and discredits it. This discrediting of his own trauma and vulnerability are a sign that his Self is disassociated. Warhol accounts, in a seemingly unaffected tone, three mental breakdowns around the age of eight. He appears underwhelmed by the struggles in his past. His lack of vulnerability is evidence of the fissure that eventually led to his completely fractured identity upon getting shot in 1968. Warhol recounts the shooting in a casual manner; he evades the reality of the devastation by the admission that, “right when [he] was being shot and ever since, [he] knew that [he] was watching television. The channels switch, but it’s all television” (Warhol 91). Warhol copes by minimizing the devastating assault that compromised his life and he compares his near-death experience to the unreality of watching television. I believe this event catalyzed his disconnection from himself and others. Warhol’s depiction of the interaction between A and the first B as if it transpires over a telephone call. I argue that, rather than representing two people, this dialogue betrays a fluctuating dominance between the other two theoretical parts that Schwartz calls the “manager” and the “firefighter”. Both of these parts serve to protect the Self by becoming dominant any time the exile has been compromised. The manager is the performance oriented part, keeping rigid control of everything in the individual’s external world to create a feeling of safety. The firefighter, what I believe is Andy’s most prominent part, is the one that protects the wounded exile by acting out; this part numbs the individual through inordinate use of comforts like food, alcohol, or television.
Warhol’s prominent voice, A, interacts with multiple characters as well as quite a few B’s. Some B’s are set apart as representing actual people; we know this because specific details about their lives depict Warhol’s known contemporaries. However, in my reading of the first discourse between A and (the first) B, I see the implication of shared experience and conflated identity: namely the discussion of their preferences for coping with the very singular dilemma of stepping on chocolate cherries that are “spread across the floor like landmines”. A says “I realize it’s a feeling I like” and B interrupts before he finishes to say “when I slip on a chocolate-covered cherry I really hate it” (Warhol 7). The comparison of their feelings about the peculiar trial of the chocolate covered cherries between their toes gives support to the fascinating possibility that A and B inhabit a shared life. This conversation is possibly the first manifestation of the internal voices Warhol lived with after the trauma of the shooting. “He says, ‘B is anybody and I’m nobody. B and I. I need B because I can’t be alone’” (Warhol 5). In his clinical observations, Schwartz began to see that clients with a repressed Self were characterized by “enmeshment, overprotectiveness, rigidity, and lack of conflict resolution” (Schwartz 23). This description could easily be applied to this and many other dialogues shared by A and the B’s. I argue that Warhol uses these dialogues as a device to portray his fractured interiority. Considering Schwartz’s theoretical parts being an “autonomous mental system” the difference in gender and disposition does not exclude this from possibility.

Before they discuss the shooting, B brings up a nightmare. She describes a dream in which she tries desperately to get home but her only option is a man with a couch. B says, “I left with a man in a gray suit and briefcase…but his car wasn’t a car, it was a couch, so I knew he couldn’t get me anywhere” (Warhol 8). B realizes she “made and canceled [her plane reservation] four times…so [she] went to a shingled house near the beach and picked up sea-shells. I wanted to see if I could get inside this broken sea-shell. I tried, A, I really tried…I went back to the meeting and I said could you please put a propeller on this man’s couch, so I can get to the airport” (Warhol 8). The idea that a couch is the only means of getting home is a reference to Warhol’s failed therapeutic efforts, back in a time when clients commonly sat on couches. B says that after seeing the couch, “that’s when [she] tried to stop an ambulance” (Warhol 8). The ambulance enforces the emergency of Warhol’s subconscious predicament and B’s failed attempt to “get inside” a “broken sea-shell” reinforces Warhol’s failed attempts to retrieve his “Self” and bring it back into his currently fragmented internal world. Warhol is “everything [his] scrapbook says [he] is (Warhol 10).

The dismemberment of his personality did not happen suddenly, nor did it come without warning signs. On his Philosophy of beauty, Warhol confides, “I lost all my pigment when I was eight years old” (Warhol 64). After many digressions, he returns to this and says, “Children are always beautiful. Every kid, up to, say, eight years old always looks good” (Warhol 67). His passive voice distracts from the acute vulnerability of this revelation. Earlier in
his account, A tells B, “‘day after day I look in the mirror and I still see something—a new pimple.’ I was telling the truth. If someone asked me, ‘What’s your problem?’ I’d have to say, ‘Skin.’” (Warhol 7). Warhol’s preoccupation with his physical appearance is a result of the polarization of his internal parts. Polarized individuals are usually “highly isolated…acutely conscious of appearances, and attribute special meaning to food and eating” (Schwartz 23). During Warhol’s eighth year he also experienced his first nervous breakdown, a symptom of St. Vitus Dance. After he states that he experienced “three nervous breakdowns” he then minimizes them by stating, “I do not know what this meant” (Warhol 21). His statement implies ignorance about the nature of his breakdowns and alludes to the fact that Warhol has sought out neither the source of nor the remedy for his childhood wounds.

The shooting exacerbated Warhol’s already existing proclivity to fragility and his tendency to minimize trauma. He does mention pursuing psychiatric treatment before the shooting, his motivation was to “define some of [his] own problems” (Warhol 21). Andy says “I went to a psychiatrist in Greenwich village and told him all about myself. I told him my life story” (Warhol 24). His experience with an unprofessional psychiatrist who “said he would call [Andy] to make another appointment” but who “never called” was a fledgling attempt at pursuing mental health (Warhol, 24). Warhol was rejected after exposing himself to a therapist and putting himself in a very vulnerable position. It is no coincidence that “on [his] way back from the psychiatrist’s [he] stopped in Macy’s and out of the blue [he] bought [his] first television set” (Warhol 23). He is already beginning to push aside his childhood wounds, and by doing so, exiles the part of him that needed emotional and spiritual healing. The firefighter part of Andy learns to soothe him with a false sense of connection through television. B says, “I watch television from the minute I wake up” (Warhol 5). While this habit undeniably plays into his talent and skill as a producer, the extremity in which Warhol purports connection to his TV and tape recorder is indicative of disconnection with himself and others. Both TV and tape recorder serve as Warhol’s substitution for real connection and vulnerability; his feeble attempt at pseudo-connection only distracts him from his isolation and internal dissonance. Andy says, “I kept the TV on all the time, especially while people were telling me their problems, and the television I found to be just diverting enough so the problems people told me didn’t really affect me anymore“ (Warhol 23). We see that, rather than his own struggles, it is the pain and suffering of others that serves as the catalyst to him seeking out a psychotherapist. Warhol attracted fragile and histrionic friends; this fact weighed heavy on a man whose younger years were characterized by intense empathy. One revelatory moment is when Warhol is sharing a bed with Taxi; the girl he describes as having “more problems than anyone [he’d] ever seen” (Warhol 34). Warhol admits to watching Taxi as she slept and says: “I just couldn’t stop looking at her because I was so fascinated-but-horrified” (Warhol 36). The terror he experiences is evidence that in the eclipse of his affection for Taxi, he has essentially absorbed the precariousness of her personhood. He is experiencing fear on her behalf, and becoming enmeshed with her. The ability to empathize to this extent is often unsustainable. Warhol says, “when I got my first TV set, I stopped caring so much about having close relationships

“I went to a psychiatrist in Greenwich village and told him all about myself. I told him my life story” (Warhol 24)
with other people. I’d been hurt a lot to the degree you can only be hurt if you care a lot” (Warhol 26). His sensitivity to the pain of others and the need for their approval eventually proved to be too much; he turned away from his and everyone else’s problems and thus his new “philosophy” was born.

A, after looking in the mirror, says to the first B, “nudity is a threat to my existence” (Warhol 11). This brief admission could easily be looked over but it does a lot of work to capture Warhol’s vulnerabilities. Nudity, the entire body uncovered for the world to see, is the most vulnerable state a person can be in. In his mind nudity threatens Warhol’s life. He fears the shame of being known and vulnerability as much as he fears death. He constantly looks at himself in the mirror but is deeply afraid to see his real Self. Warhol’s lack of Self is further reinforced with A’s admission that he is “sure [he is] going to look in the mirror and see nothing” (Warhol 7). A says, “people are always calling me a mirror and if a mirror looks into a mirror, what is there to see?” (Warhol 7). Warhol has anxiety over his lack of identity, “some critic called me the Nothingness Himself and that didn’t help my sense of existence any” and discloses that he is “obsessed with the idea of looking into the mirror and seeing no one, nothing” (Warhol 7). Warhol relies on the philosophy of “nothing” to cope with his reality and avoid any type of vulnerability. A says, “nothing is exciting, nothing is sexy, nothing is not embarrassing” (Warhol 9).

After a long look at his own body, A sees his scars and is disturbed by the realization that he doesn’t know what they represent or how he came by them. B says, “You got shot. You had the biggest orgasm of your life” (Warhol 11). His repression of trauma indicates the extent to which the shooting has fragmented him. Schwartz says that “people are frequently amnesic to traumatic or highly intense events” (Schwartz 39). Like most individuals, Andy is “inclined to try to forget about painful events as soon as possible…which means pushing…out of awareness” (Schwartz 47). B recounts the event for him, “you were talking on the telephone…she just walked in off the elevator and started shooting” (Warhol 12). In true form, Warhol deflects the memory of the shooting and muses on “the idea of B and [him] needlepointing” (Warhol 12). After the shooting, Warhol was in such a vulnerable state of mind that the childlike exiled part briefly re-surfaces. B tells him, “remember how embarrassed you were in the hospital when the nuns saw you without your wings? And you started to collect things again…like you did when you were a kid or something (Warhol 11). In this fragile time, the world, like the therapist, lets him down again; “the worst, most cruel review of me that I ever read was the Time magazine review of me getting shot” (Warhol 78). This statement should be considered alongside the many seething reviews of his art, his films, and even his personhood, that Warhol would have read over the years. In that light, this statement carries a great deal of weight.

Warhol capitalizes on the multiplicity of his personality, he says “my right hand is jealous if my left hand is painting a pretty picture, my left leg is dancing a good step, my right leg gets jealous” (Warhol 49). In his writing of the Philosophy Warhol is consciously and intentionally giving his internal parts agency; he allows his fractured Self to serve him in the development of his art and craft. Andy Warhol displays a compromised sense of Self pervasively throughout his Philosophy. His revelations throughout the autobiography are sprinkled with poignant admissions of emptiness. His passivity in regards to his personal trauma and communal connection evidence how deeply wounded he is. According
to Schwartz, in the case of “physically or emotionally traumatized clients...before or during a trauma, for protective reasons [their] Self is separated” (Schwartz 45). Because the shooting placed Warhol in the “face of trauma [and] intense emotion” I argue that his “parts separate[d] from [his] Self...they dissociate[d] (Schwartz 38). Per Warhol’s Philosophy, “space is all one space and thought is all one thought, but my mind divides its spaces into spaces into spaces and thoughts into thoughts into thoughts. Like a large condominium” (Warhol 143). This image of a condominium compliments nicely Warhol’s portrayal of his split self. His internal parts may be inhabiting a shared space much like the space his younger self

“at one point I lived with seventeen different people in a basement apartment” (Warhol 22).

shared with so many roommates, “at one point I lived with seventeen different people in a basement apartment” (Warhol 22). By the end of his Philosophy I believe his amnesic, fractured identity is left unresolved, and his Self still buried deep. Warhol says: “I have no memory. Every day is a new day because I don’t remember the day before. Every minute is like the first minute of my life. I try to remember but I can’t” (Warhol 199). Along with adulthood and the settling of his neural pathways: Warhol seems to resign himself to being irredeemably broken. His way of coping is living in and for the present; he survives off of the sensual comfort any given moment may provide. The illusory moment he inhabits does not demand vulnerability or shame.

He cognitively omits his past, and he avoids admitting to the reality of his impending future.

Viewing Warhol in this way should produce empathy for the man and even more appreciation for his craft. The goal of viewing him in terms of parts is not to shame or discredit any of them. A part “is not just a temporary emotional state...it is a discrete and autonomous mental system that has an idiosyncratic range of emotion, style of expression, set of abilities, desires, and view of the world” (Schwartz 34). This description implies that a part has dignity, agency, and purpose, even if trauma has de-throned the Self and forced the protective part out of its proper role. “All parts are welcome” is the philosophy that Richard Schwartz founded his therapeutic model on. Warhol’s internal family reveals the range of his creativity, his ability to empathize with others, and his sensitivity to the human experience. The only grief to be had is over his loss of identity because of the violence and neglect of others. The goal for every individual is that their Self have “the clarity of perspective and other qualities needed to lead [the parts] effectively...[being] fully differentiated...” (Schwartz 37). If Warhol had the awareness of his internal resources, or the realization of his external resources to protect his Self than he very could have had the chance to be “free and open-hearted... [to lose] his sense of separateness (Schwartz 37).
“That’s one of my favorite things to say. “So what.”
“My mother didn’t love me.” So what.
“My husband won’t ball me.” So what.
“I’m a success but I’m still alone.” So what. (Warhol 112).

The great tragedy of Warhol’s life was his loneliness and I cannot take him at his word when he says “so what”. So what, if a beautiful brilliant man spent his entire life alone and possibly devoid of any real connection to his Self and the rest of the world? So what. His life is evidence of his community’s failure; a testament to the world’s neglect of the wounded, sensitive and vulnerable. It is evidence of an epidemic; the belief in the myth that we do not have control over our parts, that we can repress them, and that they can’t be resources for our balance and healing. Warhol’s humor distracts the reader from the overwhelming gulf of pain he perpetually kept at bay. Even in reading Warhol’s Philosophy as a haunting cry for help, his brilliance triumphs. Despite the imbalance and isolation that characterized Andy Warhol’s “internal family,” he used this vulnerability to strengthen the art he produced. His giftedness as an artist is a testament to the redemptive power of art. Warhol’s art has long outlasted him, and continues to offer a wealth of insight and beauty to anyone who seeks exposure to it.

“That’s one of my favorite things to say. “So what.”
“My mother didn’t love me.” So what.
“My husband won’t ball me.” So what.
“I’m a success but I’m still alone.” So what. (Warhol 112).

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Virtus vs. Virtue: The Role of Honor in Shakespeare’s Coriolanus

John Rimann
Cicero characterized his fellow countrymen’s striving for honor thusly: “By nature we yearn and hunger for honor, and once we have glimpsed, as it were, some part of its radiance, there is nothing we are not prepared to bear and suffer in order to secure it” (Barton, 37). Julius Caesar is recorded as having justified his crossing of the Rubicon to his legions—an act which threw the Roman Republic into a civil war which would cost thousands of lives—by telling them that his opponents in Rome had degraded his rank and offended against his honor, something which all Romans would have understood was not only a personal offence but a political one as well (Holland, 247). Several hundred years before Gaius Julius Caesar justified invading Rome as necessary to preserve his honor, another Roman general named Gaius did the same thing in retribution for an offense against his honor and rank and his subsequent exile from the city (Plutarch). Originally named Gaius Marcius, this general would be immortalized by Shakespeare in the Bard’s great tragedy Coriolanus. Along with their shared name these generals also had in common the fact that they were willing to destroy Rome in pursuit of honor, or at least in pursuit of the Roman conception of honor.

In Coriolanus one of the greatest contrasts between concepts of honor is observed and explored: the difference between the concept of honor before and after Christianity became the dominant cultural force in the Western world. Indeed Coriolanus can be read as a critique of the classical Roman conception of honor—a concept Shakespeare would have been aware of along with his apparently extensive knowledge of his play’s Roman source material (Jonson’s little quip aside)—which focuses not on morality or virtue but instead on social rank and prestige, or, in a word, classism.

“The underlying theme of Coriolanus is the failure of the Roman concept of honor. Shakespeare uses the tragic main character of Coriolanus to illustrate the flaws and faults in Roman honor, flaws and faults which lead to Coriolanus’s downfall in the latter half of the play. Importantly, these perceived flaws were largely fixed by the moralized, Christianized version of honor which was prevalent in Shakespeare’s England (Watson 1960, 3). Consequently, an important aspect of the play is the implied superiority of the English, Christian conception of honor. The superiority of this English Christian construction is implied throughout the play when Coriolanus makes poor choices because of his strict adherence to this conception of Roman honor and can also be seen by comparing Coriolanus to the English Christian heroes of some of Shakespeare’s other plays, such as Henry V. This English Christian understanding of honor is also shown as triumphant when Coriolanus is moved to spare Rome, an act which makes no sense in the context of the Roman system of honor.

There are several crucial terms and background items necessary to demonstrate that Coriolanus is a play which functions as a critique of Roman honor and as an implicit celebration of the superiority of the English national and religious concept of honor, and so the first half of this paper will be spent discussing the concept of Roman honor, the concept of Christian honor as developed during the English Renaissance, and how these two concepts of honor were quite distinct from each other. After this has been accomplished the paper will use examples from the play to examine the character of Coriolanus and how this character and his actions function as a critique by Shakespeare of the ruthless and vainglorious philosophy which constituted Roman honor, a conception of honor which was quite at odds with the central tenets of the Christian faith in sixteenth century England (and with our understanding of honor as a concept today).
The historical concept of honor in the Western world can broadly be divided into two categories: pre-Christanity and post-Christanity. Prior to the advent of Christianity, honor in the West was a derivative almost exclusively of the Greco-Roman tradition. When Christianity arrived on the world stage and became the dominant political, moral, and cultural force in Western civilization, the concept of honor as it was conceived by the Greco-Romans experienced a change, being modified from what writers such as Robert Kaplan have termed a “pagan ethic” into a virtuous quality more in line with the moral instructions of Christ and his Apostles (Kaplan, 6). This transformation of honor from a pagan ethic into a Christian virtue was by no means seamless and certainly led to some cognitive dissonance.

Roman honor is a subject which has a rich history of exploration and scholarly discussion. There are several scholarly definitions of Roman honor, all of which are effectively variations on the same theme. Recently Carlin Barton has emerged as a recognized authority as a historian and writer on Roman honor, both critiquing and expounding on the work of previous historians such as J.E. Lendon and Michael Peachin. Her book Roman Honor: Fire in the Bones offered the definition of Roman honor as “‘face,’ which was understood as both the public role you maintained and the credit you received for maintaining it” (Barton, 17). This leads to the conclusion by Barton that for a Roman “to lose your ‘face’ was to lose your ‘soul,’” as the loss of honor was a devastating event which had the potential to ostracize a Roman from the social and political square (Barton, 17).

Gaining honor was largely done by gaining glory, and was functionally a zero-sum game. Glory was a finite resource, so for one man to gain glory and honor meant that another man had to lose them. This competitive conception of honor helped to maintain a state in which humility was disparaged and pride ruled; consequently, Coriolanus himself should not be seen as an exception to the Roman honor system but rather the rule. Nathan Rosenstein, the Chair of the Department of History at Ohio State and an expert on both ancient warfare and the Late Roman Republic and Early Imperium, has written that

“For any aristocrat what matter most are honor, rank, and preeminence among his or her peers, and for the aristocracy of the Roman Republic these derived almost exclusively from action on behalf of their community.... that ethos was highly martial. Courage on the battlefield brought glory, praise, and renown and these in turn were the foundation for a political career...[one] could not hope to compete for public office without having first proven himself on the battlefield” (Rosenstein, 133).

In short Rome was always expanding and constantly at war, and consequently in Roman society the most basic way to gain honor—and not just basic, but required for any Roman who wanted to gain the respect, admiration, and support of his fellows—was through the martial means of warfare and combat.

This is the means through which Coriolanus first gained his honor, first made his name, and first firmly established his rank in the hierarchical society that was the patrician upper-class of Rome. Starting as a low-ranking soldier
Coriolanus rapidly ascends both the military ladder of command and the societal ladder of honor, and each military victory rebounds to credit to him and his face in Roman society, as the consul Cominius reminds the Romans and the reader in his long speech in Act 2. One of the ways in which Coriolanus’s stock of honor is expressed is through his wounds, which take on a heavy amount of importance throughout the play. The numbers of wounds which Coriolanus suffers are not in and of themselves honorable—there is no inherent honor in being wounded—but rather it is what they represent, the courage and glory of Coriolanus himself, which is both quite honorable and quite important to the Romans.

It is also important here to note that in Rome virtue (in the sense of morality and as opposed to virtus, a specific virtue related to martial ardor, manliness, courage, and excellence and is at times used as a synonym for honor itself) was seen as subordinate to honor. As Cominius says in his long monologue praising Coriolanus, “It is held/That valor is the chiefest virtue, and/Most dignifies the haver” (Coriolanus, 2.2.83-85). Valor is an almost purely martial virtue, and Shakespeare having Cominius praising it as the chief and most dignified virtue is a vivid reminder that in Rome the things which Christians in England thought of as virtues were not seen in the same light in ancient Rome, and instead the “chiefest virtue” was being brave and good at killing people. It was good to be good, but not necessary, and if one could win or was forced to defend their rank or honor without being morally good that was not seen as a real negative. An example of this is Caesar rebelling against the state: the action of rebelling was not morally upright, but because he was defending his own honor and rank in society his rebellion was both honorable and an example of virtus in action.

Another example of this idea is Antony, whose extravagant lifestyle while living in Egypt was seen as being unmanly and unbecoming not because he was cheating on his wife or living immorally, but because it was seen as making him soft and hurting his ability to fight and win on the battlefield (Chernaik, 148). If, like the Greek soldier and statesman Alcibiades (a figure often held up for admiration because of his overall pursuit of excellence, his oratorical ability, and his martial skill by Roman leaders and by writers such as Plutarch) a Roman was able to reconcile his debauchery with fighting skill and strategic ability, that immorality was seen as no slight on his honor. The glorification of self-restraint and discipline is widely seen as distinctly Roman in large part due not to its inherency, but instead in large part because of the character of the individual who best personified those attributes in Roman history, the deified Augustus Caesar, and who attempted to impose them on Roman society as a whole during the Augustan moral reforms. It is also worth noting that the single best exemplar of virtue and honor for both the Romans and Greeks was the character of Achilles in Homer’s Iliad. Achilles sleeps around with various women, butchers his enemies brutally, and is an incredibly proud character with no traces of humility, preferring to allow his friends and allies to be slaughtered before the gates of Troy rather than suffer any dishonor or sacrifice his own pride. On the other hand Achilles obviously would not be seen as the exemplar of honor for a Christian. Once Christianity became the dominant religious—and perhaps more importantly the dominant cultural—force in the Roman Empire these morally ambiguous at best martial attributes were devalued (a devaluation which scholars like Edward Gibbon would later blame for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire). Instead with the rise of Christianity values like peacefulness, charity, mercy, and a regard for the poor were emphasized as being the noblest and most honorable. Of course these values are not bad and might
I say English Christian here because while the baseline of honor stemming from a mixture of Christianity and Roman honor was fairly consistent in Western Christendom, there were significant variations between the conception of honor in England, France, Spain, and so forth, variations which unfortunately are beyond the scope of this paper to explore.

Even be inherently good; however, they stand in stark contrast to the Roman values listed above and especially to the Roman conception of honor.

In short, Roman honor was concerned with two main things: maintaining face or rank in society, and demonstrating virtue and power in warfare. Things like self-restraint and discipline were important, but paled in comparison to these two primary attributes. Christianity, on the other hand, has long had a focus on concepts like mercy, grace, and spirituality. Thus it can clearly be seen why there might be a conflict between the peaceful and eternal (as opposed to temporal) focus of Christianity and the terrestrial and martial focus of Roman honor.

Christian honor, as the construction of honor in the English Renaissance can be characterized, attempted to reconcile these two seemingly irreconcilable concepts in a coherent and well-ordered way. In the words of one scholar the English Renaissance both “rediscovered and revitalized certain earlier ethical formulations dealing with honor and related concepts” (Watson, 2) in a way that aligned these ethical formulations with Christian ethics and theology. The most simplistic way to characterize how this was done is to say that it was effected by reconciling what had before existed as independent concepts: virtue and honor. As Professor Curtis Watson bluntly puts it in the introduction to his excellent book on the subject of Renaissance honor, “Honor, indeed, was [now] often considered inseparable from virtue itself” (Watson 1960, 3).

This cognitive dissonance between honor and Christian virtue, and honor as a Christian virtue, was illustrated especially well during the English Renaissance, a historical period which was largely characterized by “a fusion of classical wisdom and Christian faith” (Panigrahi, 27). Fusing a concept like Roman honor, with its focus on social rank, pride, glory, and, in the words of Cicero, the “approbation of one’s countrymen,” with Christianity and its focus on humility, meekness, and prudence, led to some difficulties (Watson 1960, 26).

At its best then the successful solution appears to have been taking the Roman conception of honor, with its focus on social rank and glory, and trying to temper it with humility, kindness, and prudence (three things which the Romans as a society placed relatively little value on). When this mixture went well it worked out beautifully, with the best Shakespearean example of what this Christian honor looked like being the character of King Henry V, a King who desires glory and fame but also ascribes his fortune to God and treats his peers and those below him well, in contrast to the protagonist of Coriolanus. When this mixture of Roman and English Christian did not work out, however, the results were hypocritically comical, with one historian writing that an observer in Renaissance England might

“find [a gentleman] fighting a duel on Friday (in response to the call of honor and the imperative need to defend himself against any insult), and confessing his sins in church on the following Sunday, one of which sins had been his shedding of human blood in a private quarrel” (Watson 1960, 5).

Indeed popular English Renaissance writers such as Vicentio Saviolo wrote treatises on just what constituted honorable or dishonorable duels, and gave guidelines and advice for how to fight them (Saviolo). The prideful need to defend oneself against any insult and to take any actions necessary to save face—up to and including violence—is a hallmark of the classical Roman conception of honor.

*I say English Christian here because while the baseline of honor stemming from a mixture of Christianity and Roman honor was fairly consistent in Western Christendom, there were significant variations between the conception of honor in England, France, Spain, and so forth, variations which unfortunately are beyond the scope of this paper to explore.
In Coriolanus, the titular character is driven throughout most of the play by the classic Roman honor, the need to achieve martial greatness and maintain a healthy sense of virtus, as well as an intense desire to maintain his rank and his face. However, in the climax of the play, when Coriolanus yields to the pleadings of his mother, wife, and son to spare Rome he sacrifices his Roman sense of honor—which would have demanded that he sack the city and execute his opponents as Julius Caesar and his supporters later would do—for a Christian sense of honor, displaying mercy and grace by sparing the city in a display not of virtus but instead of virtue.

“**In his first speech of the play Caius Martius lays out his philosophy for how he treats not only the plebeians but everyone whom he interacts**”

Two primary examples demonstrate this juxtaposition of these different conceptions of honor and how they remain in conflict throughout the play: Coriolanus and his treatment of the plebeians and Coriolanus sparing the city of Rome, an event which can be seen as a tragic triumph of Renaissance English Christian honor. The treatment of the commoners and others who possessed less honor in Roman society than Coriolanus is an example of the fallible nature of Roman honor, which leaves no room for humility in front of your lessers. Consequently Coriolanus—acting throughout in an honorable, if prideful, way—is eventually destroyed by his own keen sense of honor in the most Roman conception of that term.

Coriolanus, in his interactions with the common people, is at no point dishonorable in a Roman sense of the term. If anything his interaction with them might be too honorable. In his first speech of the play Caius Martius lays out his philosophy for how he treats not only the plebeians—though this affects them the most—but everyone whom he interacts with throughout the course of the play. He starts by telling the assembled people “He that will give good words to thee will flatter/ Beneath abhorring...” (Coriolanus 1.1.165-166), explicitly making it clear that he has no interest in engaging in politics with them, but will instead speak his mind clearly. This is an example of Roman honor untempered by any Christian concepts. This pride-filled speech, it is important to note, is not honorable because Coriolanus is refusing to lie, but rather because he is refusing to debase himself in flattering the commons. They are beneath him on the Roman social hierarchy, and so to preserve his own rank and face Coriolanus logically deduces that he should refuse to humble himself in any way but instead maintain his proud—yet, by Roman standards, quite honorable—demeanor.

In this same speech the soon-to-be Coriolanus goes on to expound on just that point. When he declares that “Your virtue is/To make him worthy whose offense subdues him/And curse that justice did it. Who deserve greatness/Deserves your hate” (Coriolanus 1.1.173-175, emphasis mine) he is not referring to virtue in the Christian sense but from a Roman. It is not that the plebeians are not good people, but instead that they are not worthy or entitled to the power that they have (i.e. the recently granted representation by the Tribunes) and their only virtue is to drag down those who are more worthy than they, and so higher on the social scale. It is also known from this same speech by Coriolanus that they do not care for warfare, so they also have no claim on the virtus which the patricians like Cominius say characterizes a true Roman. If honor and glory are finite resources the plebian crowd Coriolanus is addressing is broke.
“This is honorable in a Roman sense, but not in an English Christian sense”

This first interaction with the plebeians sets the stage for Coriolanus’s interactions with the commoners for the entire play. Coriolanus is consistently disdainful of the commoners and clearly has little use for them (unlike Julius Caesar, who both historically and in the Shakespeare pay makes the commoners his power base for his political aspirations). Again, this is honorable in a Roman sense, but not in an English Christian sense. For an example of what Shakespeare sees as an exemplar of English Christian honor of the type which was idealized during the English Renaissance one can look to another of Shakespeare’s famous plays, Henry V, and specifically in the celebrated St. Crispin’s Day speech given by the King in Act 4. This speech by Henry V will be examined in order to make explicit the contrast between the English Christian conception of honor and the Roman conception of honor, and to reveal the implicit critique of pagan Roman honor which an English Christian theatergoer in the audience at the Globe might have picked up on when watching Coriolanus.

Here in this address to the troops on the eve of battle the very English, very Christian, and very honorable Henry V discusses the glory and honor which he envisions himself and his men winning, and he discusses it at length. However, this speech is also a fantastic display of the humility and kindness of the English King. In fact shortly before Henry gives his speech an observation is made by the Duke of Bedford, one of the English nobles (and not just any noble but the brother to the King himself), that “He is as full of valor as of kindness/Princely in both” (Henry V, 4.3.16-17). It is unimaginable for Coriolanus—or indeed, almost any of Shakespeare’s Romans—to have not only their valor but their kindness praised by one of their lieutenants, and it is doubtful that these Romans would want their kindness to be praised. This is because their Roman honor places no weight on humility or kindness, while the Christianized English honor does, and it is this second conception of honor which Shakespeare sees as the superior. The stage is set by Bedford, and King Henry V arrives to address the troops, having already been hailed not for his ferocity alone but for his kindness as well. When the King arrives he speaks of honor as the Romans might, making it seem to be a finite resource, saying that “I would not lose so great a honor/As one man more methinks would share from me” (Henry V, 4.3.32-33). However, this is not done in a prideful way and as the speech continues the reader is left in ambiguity as to whether or not the English do see honor as a finite resource. Regardless of whether or not they do, honor certainly does not seem to be seen in the same petty and zero sum way which the Romans view it. Yes, Henry is saying, men will weep that they were not at Agincourt to share in the honor, and yes, the numbers mean that there will be much honor in victory, but that does not mean that those Englishmen who are not fighting are dishonored by that fact. Henry V is extending charity to those Englishmen still abed, not judging them for not fighting but only wishing that for their own sakes they had been present. This stands in sharp contrast to Coriolanus’s attitude towards individuals who do not fight or are not present for the fight, or even are in the midst of fighting—as he does during the battle of Corioles—all of whom he dismisses as worthless and insults ferociously on multiple occasions (for examples of this attitude please see Coriolanus, 1.4.29-39 or Coriolanus 3.1.120-125).
The English Christian Henry V also does something else which is fascinating in comparison with the pagan Roman Coriolanus: he joyously looks forward to one day showing off his wounds and scars from the upcoming Battle of Agincourt to his family and friends once he returns to England, saying that

“He that shall see this day, and live old age/
will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbors/
And say, “Tomorrow is St. Crispian.”/Then he will strip his sleeves and show his scars,/And say, These wounds I had on Crispin’s Day.” (Henry V, 4.3.45-49).

In this passage, as the emphasis shows, Henry is idolizing the display of wounds. He is saying that he will proudly display the wounds which he has received battling for his county. Even more astoundingly, from the perspective of Roman honor, Henry is abasing himself in front of men who are not on his level of social standing, encouraging them to one day display their wounds as well. This actions and encouragement stands in stark contrast to Coriolanus, who detests the fact that he must show off his wounds, won in a display of individual valor which is in no way inferior to that of Henry. The difference between these two commanders is not in valor but in their separate conceptions of honor. This is because for Coriolanus it is unthinkable for him to sully his honor by debasing himself in front of the commoners; his Roman honor will allow for no sense of humility. For Henry, on the other hand, it is a display of his honor to act humbly and with grace in front of his men, and to elevate them while humbling himself. That fact is punctuated when Henry says that “For he today that sheds his blood with me/Shall be my brother. Be he ne’er so vile,/This day shall gentle his condition” (Henry V, 4.3.62-64), and in a single rhetorical act extends kinship and gentility to the English commoners and yeomanry who comprise the vast bulk of his army. Contrast that to the speech given by Coriolanus to the plebeians in Act 1 and one sees not just two different personalities, but two completely different worldviews and concepts of honor at work.

Even from a merely rhetorical standpoint it is impossible to imagine Coriolanus doing the same thing as Henry does when he refers to his soldiers as his brothers, because again acknowledging any form of equality or brotherhood with your lessors, or acting in humility, is not honorable from a Roman point of view. However, Coriolanus’s strict Roman honor conception will lead directly to his downfall, because it has not been tempered with Christian humility as Henry’s has been. The interactions that Coriolanus has with the commoners—and with those who are not commoners, but who are also not his social equals—continues in this arrogant and prideful way for almost the entirety of the play and eventually lead to his banishment from the city of Rome and narrow avoidance of a death sentence. The only time that Coriolanus displays humility, grace, and mercy is at almost the very end of the production, when he is given the opportunity to avenge himself on Rome for rejecting him and, under massive pressure from his close friend Menenius, his wife, his son, and his mother, chooses to spare the city instead of sacking it.

Coriolanus, having been exiled, following his proud maintenance of his Roman honor and his refusal to engage in actions which he sees as debasing in front of those who are not on his level on the social scale, flees to the Volscians, whom he crushed in battle in the first act of the play. The Roman general quickly enters into an alliance with his former foes and they place him in charge of half of their forces. In short time the brilliant war leader has crushed the Roman armies and laid bare the path to Rome itself, and he stands encamped before the city and begins preparations to annihilate it. It is under these conditions that his closest friend and his family come out to meet him.
When Menenius first presses Coriolanus to relent he is brusquely cast aside by the former war hero. While he is clearly being rude to his one-time mentor, Coriolanus is again not acting in a way that is inconsistent with Roman standards of honor. Coriolanus is firm in his conviction to burn Rome to the ground and explicit in his reason for doing so, telling the Senator that “Wife, mother, child, I know not. My affairs/Are servanted to others. Though I owe/My revenge properly, my remission lies/In Volscian breasts” (Coriolanus, 5.3.78-80). In other words, everything that Coriolanus once held dear, including his family and the city of Rome itself, pales in comparison to Coriolanus’s need to satisfy the demands of his offended honor. He is willing to see his family killed and to ally himself with a once mortal enemy because of his “revenge properly,” his need to reassert himself and to satisfy his offended honor, demands that this is the action that he must take. Again, this is Roman honor at work, the same type of honor and need to save face and maintain rank that Caesar told his troops led to him crossing the Rubicon and invading Rome itself.

Here Shakespeare is once more critiquing this inflexible Roman honor, which refuses to exercise the humility and grace that the honor of his Christian English heroes like Henry V are able to exercise. The climax of the play, however, allows Coriolanus to reject this strict honor culture and to exercise honor as the English Renaissance envisioned it, by sparing Rome and having mercy on his family and his homeland. Coriolanus does this by consciously putting others who are below him in social status ahead of himself in Act 5, Scene 3. In his long speech greeting the approach of his family outside of Rome Coriolanus says “My wife comes foremost; then the honored mold/Wherein this trunk was framed” (Coriolanus, 5.3.22-23). These lines do not merely refer to the order in which his family is approaching him, but also to how Coriolanus is reordering his place in the structured and hierarchal Roman social honor system.

“**The idea that the needs of the wife should come before the needs or honor of the husband is definitely not Roman. In fact it is distinctly Christian**”

With a startling suddenness we see Coriolanus placing his wife “foremost,” and as his decision will soon make clear he is placing her life above his honor. This is revolutionary, because the idea that the needs of the wife—or even the life of the wife—should come before the needs or honor of the husband is definitely not Roman. In fact it is distinctly Christian, stretching back to the Epistles of the apostle Paul. In both Corinthians and Ephesians Paul outlines the responsibilities of the Christian husband, which explicitly include putting his wife and her needs above himself and being willing to lay down his own life for hers. That is exactly what Coriolanus is doing in this scene: setting aside his own honor (and shortly upon his return to Corioles, his own life) for his wife. By having Coriolanus place his wife above himself Shakespeare is critiquing Roman honor and its strict hierarchical system and demonstrating the superiority of Christian honor; one conception of honor destroys not only country but family out of vindictiveness and spite, while the other is merciful and puts family and country ahead of oneself, even if oneself has been legitimately been wronged.

The fact that this is an English Christian honor paradigm which Coriolanus is now using is further reinforced by Volumnia’s speech in this scene, where she tears into her son for his conduct and for leading this army against Rome (which is bemusing, since Volumnia is such a clear
product and supporter of the Roman honor system which would sanction this action on her son’s part). Importantly, Volumnia admits that Coriolanus’s actions are not without their merit in the sense that he is trying to maintain his honor, telling him that if she was to ask him to turn on the Volscæ that would be ‘Poisonous of your honor’ (Coriolanus, 5.3.135), though of course the manipulative Volumnia fails to mention—for obvious reasons—that it would also be poisonous to Coriolanus’s honor to not avenge himself on the Tribunes and people who betrayed and exiled him from Rome in the first place.

However, further down in this speech Volumnia alludes not to Roman honor, but to what should be rightfully called Christian honor, rhetorically asking her son “Think’st thou it honorable for a noble man/Still to remember wrongs?” (Coriolanus, 5.3. 154-155). The Roman answer to that question is an absolute and unqualified yes. Part of the essence of the Roman conception of honor is avenging wrongs against oneself and one’s rank. It is only coming from a sense of mercy and humility that it can be seen as honorable to forgive and forget wrongs, which is to say in this context only coming from a place of English Christian honor.

The scene ends with an affirmation that Coriolanus has reconciled honor and mercy in a way reminiscent of the English Renaissance thinkers and which is completely at odds with the standard ancient Roman paradigm of honor. Aufidius, in an aside where he gloats that he now has an excuse to assassinate his long-time foe, says “I am glad thou hast set thy mercy and they honor/At difference in thee” (Coriolanus, 5.3.200-201). Of course in a Roman sense it is impossible to set honor and mercy in accord with each other; they are alien concepts. It is only in the Christian sense of the concept that honor and mercy can be reconciled and set not at difference to each other, but as complements to each other. Tragically this reconciliation and transition in Coriolanus from a Roman conception of honor to a Christian conception of honor leads to his immediate downfall, but that downfall only occurs because he was so rigid and Roman in his sense of honor and pride in the first four acts of the play. If Coriolanus had acted with humility earlier on in the play things would not have gone as they did. Ultimately, however, Coriolanus’s decision to spare Rome, to spare his family, and to reconcile mercy and honor leads to him having, as Aufidius ends the play affirming, a “noble memory” (Coriolanus, 5.6.152).

In Coriolanus Shakespeare uses the tragic, flawed, and proud, yet ultimately noble, figure of Coriolanus to critique the Roman conception of honor, which saw honor not as virtuous behavior but as social standing and rank, and which breed arrogance and civil war, as the lives of both Coriolanus and Julius Caesar amply demonstrate. In place of this Roman conception of honor Shakespeare both implies and near the end of the play explicitly demonstrates the superiority of the Christian conception of honor which was being developed during the English Renaissance. This English Christian attempt to reconcile the Roman conception of honor as standing in society, pride, and martial valor with the tenets of the Christian faith was not always successful, though Shakespeare demonstrated the best-case scenario of this reconciliation in the person and play of Henry V.

Coriolanus’s problems and eventual exile are a direct result of his adherence to the rigid and hierarchical system of Roman honor, a conceptual framework in which honor and glory were finite resources and maintaining social rank and face were of paramount importance. At no point can the actions taken by Coriolanus be criticized as being dishonorable under the Roman conception of honor until he spares Rome. Ironically it is in sparing Rome that Coriolanus is departing from Roman honor, and in forsaking the destructive tendencies of Roman honor Coriolanus is saving Rome itself.
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Saviolo, Vincentio. Vincentio Saviolo his practise In two booke. The first intreating of the vse of the rapier and dagger. The second, of honor and honorable quarrels. Both interlaced with sundrie pleasant discourses, not vnfit for all gentlemen and captaines that professe armes. , At London : Printed [by Thomas Scarlet and Joan Orwin] for William Mattes, and are to be solde at his shop in Fleetestreete, at the signe of the hand and Plough, 1595.
Silver, George, fl. 1599. Paradoxes of defence wherein is proved the true grounds of fight to be in the short auncient weapons, and that the short sword hath advantage of the long sword or long rapier. And the weakenesse and imperfection of the rapier-fights displayed. Together with an admonition to the noble, ancient, victorious, valiant, and most braue nation of Englishmen, to beware of false teachers of defence, and how they forsake their owne natural fights: with a briefe commendation of the noble science or exercising of armes. By George Siluer Gentleman. , London : Printed [by Richard Field] for Edvvard Blount, 1599.


Political Rhetoric: The Modern Parrhesia

Jessica Townsend
The French philosopher Michel Foucault is best known among academics as a theorizer of human nature and social relationships. Although his areas of expertise did not encompass politics, which he attempted to avoid altogether in his writings, many of his philosophical ideas have been re-examined inside a political context. One of his major theories, the idea of free speech known as parrhesia, has made its way to the foreground of scrutiny by political theorists as well as an internationally-acclaimed expert in rhetoric and professor by the name Laurent Pernot. Since Michel Foucault’s original historical analysis of parrhesia, or frankly-spoken truth, on which he lectured at the University of California at Berkeley in 1983, the subject of parrhesia in society has continued to be an ongoing topic of interest for philosophers and social scientists alike. While Foucault was not so interested in the implications of parrhesia in contemporary politics and preferred to focus on the ethical aspect of parrhesia instead (Pernot 2016), his discourse and implications have nevertheless supplied political scientists with a vast concept to explore. Despite the fact that he dismissed rhetoric as incompatible with parrhesia based on the form of speech (Foucault 1983), Foucault never addresses certain inconsistencies with this claim (Pernot 2016). Nevertheless, Laurent Pernot’s argument for compatibility between rhetoric and parrhesia in the political arena does take into account Foucault’s requirements for parrhesia, and further evidence for a relationship between parrhesia and rhetoric can be determined through Foucault’s own research on modernity.

Foucault’s concept of parrhesia defines a practice of truth-telling that necessitates certain circumstances. To meet the requirements of parrhesia, one must speak the truth frankly, risk oneself in some substantial manner by speaking this truth, use this truth to criticize the audience, and feel a sense of duty to speak this criticism (Foucault 1983). The risk that goes along with parrhesia typically includes risk of life, punishment, or significant loss of social standing. Because of this, the truth-teller must be subordinate to the audience. However, the one speaking with parrhesia, the parrhesiastes, also must be free to speak the truth freely of his own accord; meaning that he must also not be a slave or non-citizen, in the case of ancient Greece (Foucault 1983).

It is this attribute of frankness which causes Foucault to determine that rhetoric is incompatible with parrhesia (Foucault 1983). In his lectures, Foucault refers to rhetoric as that form of speech where the speaker uses vague terms and oblique explanations to convince his audience of his point, whether it is a truthful point or not; in contrast, he paints parrhesia as being the more direct and concise form of speech to convey what the speaker truthfully believes (1983). Similarly, Foucault rejects the concept of parrhesia in rhetoric because of the dialect used; he says, “The continuous long speech is a rhetorical or sophistical device, whereas the dialogue through questions and answers is typical for parrhesia” (1983). In short, he determines that rhetoric is only to be applied in long, vague speeches, and parrhesia requires that the language be direct and the speech be in a conversational format.

“Foucault’s main focus, is actually a newer form of political parrhesia in which a citizen speaks truthfully to his superior or ruler in order to critique policies.”
Laurent Pernot, in his lecture on rhetoric and parrhesia, argues that rhetoric and parrhesia are very compatible (2016). Referencing Foucault’s preference to historical analysis, Pernot argues that Foucault neglected a branch of parrhesia, which he refers to as political parrhesia (2016). In his lecture in 2016, Pernot asserted that political parrhesia, which is the equivalent of rhetoric, is actually the root of ethical parrhesia, which is the form of parrhesia of which Foucault spoke: the aforementioned direct truth-telling in dialectic format. Rhetoric, according to Pernot, is the original political speech; it could be seen historically when a citizen of Athens would give a speech to the senate (2016). Pernot asserts that ethical parrhesia, Foucault’s main focus, is actually a newer form of political parrhesia in which a citizen speaks truthfully to his superior or ruler in order to critique policies (2016). Instead of speaking generally to a congregation, the speaker is specifically directing his speech at the ruler (2016). Despite the fact that the political parrhesiastes is not directing his critique specifically at the overall ruler, Pernot insists that there is still some level of risk to the speaker; his reputation could be ruined, he could be exiled for corruption, or he could lose his rights to speak (2016). In this case, the speaker is not challenging the ruler, but instead the ruling majority (2016).

Similarly, the political parrhesiastes, or rhetorician, may meet the other requirements of parrhesia (2016). Although they may speak in long lectures, they may speak frankly therein (2016). Although they may speak vaguely and guide the audience toward their own conclusions, they may do so in a dialectic format (2016). Socrates, for example, is a good example of this; although he conversed with his arguers in such a way to debate the topic, he was also very well-known for not giving any direct answers (2016).

The link between Foucault’s parrhesia and Pernot’s rhetoric may be more easily understood if one takes into account Foucault’s interpretation of enlightenment and modernity. Foucault describes the Enlightenment as “the age of the critique,” (1984, 38), referencing the philosopher Immanuel Kant to show how enlightenment is the application of reason and logic to determine the best circumstances in a situation (1984, 37). Foucault then describes modernity as relating to enlightenment as an attitude toward the contemporary instead of an overall ideal (1984, 39). In this way, modernity is an attitude that takes into account the current state of affairs both political and ethical; instead of simply being a way to perceive the present, however, it is a way to operate within the present in order to improve existing circumstances inside the confines of the current situation (Foucault 1984, 40-41).

Keeping this concept of modernity in mind, it becomes easier to see how rhetoric may relate to parrhesia. The relationship would be similar to that of enlightenment and modernity; whereas ethical parrhesia is the frank truth-telling of present circumstances to a ruler, rhetoric is that parrhesia which requires a gentler nudge in the direction of truth according to the constraints of the situation at that time. Considering Socrates once more, his debates with others often resulted in the opposing arguer realizing that he no longer believed or understood what he previously thought was certain. If Socrates at this time had simply told his arguers what was wrong with their reasoning, they would not have been convinced of these truths; they would have called him mad, ignored him altogether, or simply had him indicted of corruption much earlier in life because of such controversial beliefs. Instead, Socrates used a rhetorical line of questioning to gently lead his arguers into their own conclusions so that they applied their own reasoning to discern the truth. In this way, Socrates had an attitude of modernity which
required him to use political parrhesia over ethical parrhesia in order to obtain the desired results.

These same concepts may be applied to politicians today. Although politicians in the United States are viewed in a very negative manner, and many of them use rhetoric to convince the audience of what they want instead of what they actually believe as Foucault says, those politicians that are truth-tellers must still use rhetoric in order to lead the audience down the correct path of reasoning. While these politicians may currently be in a position of political power, it is important to note that they still risk their careers in truth-telling even now, particularly in democratic nations such as the United States where the voters hold the power to elect or reprimand their political representatives. To speak truthfully to their constituents can be risky for remaining in office or future elections, even when using that gentler form of political parrhesia instead of the blunt honesty of ethical parrhesia.

At this point it is paramount to distinguish between rhetoric as political parrhesia and the rhetoric used to incite a certain feeling in an audience without reasoning or logic to support it, which has become ever more present in modern politics. Political parrhesia still presupposes a line of clear reasoning supported by evidence and logic, while the former rhetoric only aims to convince the audience based on emotional response, such as fear or pride. A politician that utilizes political parrhesia would guide his or her constituents to the truth by means of observable evidence and reasoning, not simply subjective opinions or baseless claims. While active politicians may utilize both of these forms of rhetoric, it is only political parrhesia that is related to modernity and therefore ethical parrhesia. Being able to distinguish between these two forms of rhetoric in practice is a more difficult task, and frequently the way a politician is perceived in this regard is what may tip favor toward or against him or her.

Although Foucault’s limited views of parrhesia caused him to miss entirely the concept of rhetoric in parrhesia, it is Foucault’s work on modernity and parrhesia that enables the determination of relationship between political parrhesia and ethical parrhesia. Through his study of parrhesia, Foucault built the groundwork for Pernot’s research into rhetoric and the two distinct forms of parrhesia, enabling him to ascertain the link between rhetoric and political parrhesia. It is through Foucault’s studies on enlightenment and modernity that one can then discern the link between ethical parrhesia and political parrhesia that Foucault missed on his own. This was surely largely in part due to his quick dismissal of rhetoric in his early studies. Nevertheless, this relationship between parrhesia and rhetoric is clear to see once one locates the essential points, and then it can be utilized to more easily understand how truthful speech between politicians and their constituents is conveyed today.
Mind Over Magic: Repetition-Compulsion, Power Instinct, and Apprehension in Ursula K. Le Guin’s A Wizard of Earthsea

Phillip Snyder
Ursula K. Le Guin was born into a close family with “reasonable financial security, and an abundance of intellectual stimulation” (Carmean, Williams, and Rich). Biographers Carmean, Williams, and Rich explain that after Le Guin graduated Magna Cum Laude in 1951 and attained a Masters degree in 1952, her first real breakthrough in writing was the publication of her short story “April in Paris,” in 1962, after which her “literary output steadily increased.” Le Guin’s A Wizard of Earthsea was first published in 1968 and was awarded the Boston Globe Horn Book Award in 1969. It has been hailed as a classic in the fantasy genre. Le Guin details her realm of myth and magic through “use of songs, stories, folktales, maps, and depictions of material culture,” in ways that reflect her upbringing (Carmean et. al.). Carmean and her fellow biographers continue that Le Guin grew up in an intellectually rich environment surrounded by books and academic minds. With an anthropologist as a father and “a respected writer with an advanced degree in psychology” as a mother, it comes as no surprise that Le Guin’s A Wizard of Earthsea easily lends itself to psychoanalytic analysis (Carmean et. al.). The novel’s protagonist, Ged, repeatedly interacts with a creature known as the shadow despite the pain that each meeting brings him. While the novel readily lends itself to psychoanalytic criticism through the lens of C.J. Jung’s work, an avenue of analysis previously explored by scholars such as Gordon E. Slethaug, I find that using a Freudian approach allows for new points that would otherwise go unaddressed. When viewed through Sigmund Freud’s Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Ged’s interactions with the shadow in Le Guin’s A Wizard of Earthsea affect our understanding of Freud’s concept of repetition-compulsion and show the process by which people repeat painful actions in order to approach mastery over a situation.

Le Guin’s novel tells the story of Ged, a young wizard from northern Earthsea born with great magical aptitude. Even as a young boy of twelve, he protects his humble village from a band of foreign raiders with his magical talent. This feat of magical power attracts the attention of an accomplished wizard by the name of Ogion. Ogion takes the young boy under his tutelage and gives him his true name of Ged. Ged, however, is prideful and impatient and tries to find a more powerful spell among Ogion’s tomes. He finds a spell to summon dead spirits, but not understanding its power he attracts the attention of a shadow-beast from the realm of the dead. Ogion saves Ged, and Ged decides to study wizardry on the Isle of Roke. On Roke, he excels in his studies but eventually succumbs to his pride at a challenge to summon a dead spirit and inadvertently releases the shadow he had attracted before, which is determined to possess his body. After once again being restored to proper health following the shadow’s attack, Ged spends the next two years fleeing from the shadow until Ogion convinces him to hunt it instead. Ged barely returns from death’s door on numerous occasions but finally confronts and overcomes the shadow.

A Wizard of Earthsea has been the subject of various frames of study, notably feminist analysis and Jungian psychoanalysis. In her article “Witches, Wives and Dragons: The Evolution of the Women in Ursula K. Le Guin’s Earthsea—An Overview,” Melanie A. Rawls analyzes the limited role that women play in A Wizard of Earthsea. Rawls writes that all of the relevant women in the story “fit into stock categories” (130). Rawls points out that Ged goes “to the school for wizards on Roke Island, an all-male institution,” and that it is only after the appearance of a fair maiden at Roke that there is a “disastrous wizard’s duel . . . thereby reinforcing the general belief that women and
proper wizardry do not mix” (130). Rawls shows that the novel subtly implies social issues with the way that women are viewed in the land of Earthsea, but that this first text in the Earthsea series does not address women’s issues directly.

The novel seems much more interested in the psychological issues presented by Ged’s relation with the shadow, a topic explored in more depth by Gordon E. Slethaug. In his article “The Paradoxical Double in Le Guin’s A Wizard of Earthsea,” Slethaug discusses the way that the novel depicts elements of Jungian psychoanalytic theory. Slethaug focuses his analysis on Jung’s “theories of the personality and of the struggle for power between the conscious and the unconscious, the rational and the shadow, and of the necessary reconciliation of the two” (327). Slethaug continues to explain how the relationship between Ged and the shadow reflects Jung’s view that “the shadow . . . unless recognized and integrated, will remain pitted against the moral or rational self” (Slethaug 329). The Jungian views that Slethaug discusses are clearly present in A Wizard of Earthsea, but other, less obvious psychoanalytic theories present themselves as explanations for how Ged interacts with the shadow, such as Sigmund Freud’s concepts of repetition-compulsion and the power instinct.

In Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Sigmund Freud discusses his concept of “repetition-compulsion” (sec. III), which he explains as “an instinct for mastery,” or what A.A. Brill translates as “the ‘power’ instinct” (sec. II). Freud describes how these concepts seek to explain behavior that would otherwise defy his previous theories on the pleasure principle, which suggest that people should seek pleasure rather than pain. The problem his theories encounter is that individuals will repeat a particular action even if it is psychologically painful for them, particularly in the case of reliving or reenacting traumatic events, seemingly in spite of Freud’s theories on the unconscious drive for pleasure.

Freud offers a possible explanation in what Brill translates as the power instinct. In Section II of Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Freud proposes that repetition-compulsion “might be ascribed to the impulse to obtain the mastery of a situation . . . which remains independent of any question of whether the recollection was a pleasant one or not” (sec. II). This power instinct could then be seen as a potential drive for the repetition-compulsion; the more an individual experiences a situation, the more he or she knows how to handle and, consequently, gain mastery over that situation.

The concept of the power instinct would also help explain Freud’s other dilemma, that traumatic experiences tend to cause nightmares that “continually [take] the patient back to the situation of his disaster,” which seems to counteract his theory that dreams operate on the concept of wish-fulfillment (sec. II). He explains this by proposing, “These dreams are attempts at restoring control of the stimuli by developing apprehension” (sec. IV). Freud defines “apprehension” as “a certain condition as of expectation of danger and preparation for it, even though it be an unknown one” (sec. II). In this context, the repetition of
nightmares is exposing the dreamer to the traumatic situation in order to help make the experience more familiar and therefore easier to master. With the familiarity apprehension brings, one develops the capability to actively confront past trauma.

Applying Freud’s theories to Ged’s relationship with the shadow in Le Guin’s A Wizard of Earthsea offers additional insight into the way we understand the shadow and its mastery. Ged repeatedly interacts with the shadow, stating, “It may be I must spend my life running from sea to sea and land to land on an endless vain venture, a shadow-quest” (222). Ged interacts with the shadow throughout the novel, whether in dreams or in reality, both as its prey and as its hunter. With each encounter the shadow manifests itself as more familiar than before, and each time Ged knows it better. Just as the shadow’s form becomes more familiar to him, Ged’s power over it steadily increases until he finally overcomes it.

When Le Guin first introduces the shadow in Ogion’s hut, Ged sees it in the form of an apparition as “a shapeless clot of shadow darker than the darkness. It seemed . . . to call to him in a whisper: but he could not understand the words” (30). Here the shadow is presented as so foreign that it cannot even be properly described as having a shape, and its whispering remains unintelligible. That it must whisper itself indicates obscurity, showing that this shadow is something difficult to understand. Furthermore, that the shadow must call to Ged also implies that there is a distance between the two. This entity is so unfamiliar and separate to human experience that Ged cannot possibly know what this shadow is let alone have power over it.

Le Guin next shows the shadow after Ged misuses a spell to summon the dead. After it comes through the portal Ged has made, the shadow is presented in more mundane terms like “beast” and “child,” which remain familiar to the human mind, though the shadow is still foreign enough to have “no head or face” (85). While this is the first time that Ged sees the shadow in the physical world, seeing it as an apparition in Ogion’s hut has already caused Ged apprehension. This apprehension allows for the shadow to be better understood, allowing it to be perceived in more familiar terms. However, Ged has only seen the shadow once before and over a great distance bridging two separate planes of existence, so the apprehension he has developed through his past experience cannot be sufficient to fully handle this new encounter. Until Ged has further exposure to the shadow so that he may further develop apprehension, he is powerless to stand against it.

It should therefore come as no surprise that Ged is nearly killed after this attack and that the Archmage must drive the shadow away to save him. Ged states that since the attack, he has seen the shadow “in dreams” (Le Guin 91). This coincides with Freud’s theories on dreams and apprehension. Because Ged has experienced severe trauma at the hand of the shadow, and twice been powerless to stop it, his power instinct has sprung into action in the form of his dreams. Ged’s unconscious mind forces him into terror through his dreams so that he may gain mastery over the trauma of the shadow. Each repetition of the event in his dreams helps Ged prepare to more adequately defend himself. In this way, Ged can become better acclimated to the horror that the shadow inspires.

While his dreams of the shadow eventually cease to haunt him, he eventually attracts its attention again, and he “dreamed of the thing like a bear with no head or face . . . Such a dream he had not dreamed since the healing of the wounds the thing had given him” (Le Guin 116). Before, the shadow had been driven away by the Archmage, removing the presence of
immediate danger. Because of this, Ged’s power instinct merely drove him to gain mastery over the trauma he had suffered. Now, however, Ged is in imminent danger from the shadow, and so his power instinct once again manifests itself through dreams of the beast in the manner of repetition-compulsion. This further develops Ged’s apprehension of the shadow; as continued exposure has made Ged more familiar with the shadow he may now not only gain mastery over his knowledge of it, but of the creature itself.

The text uses Ged’s continued exposure to show how he continues to become more familiar with the shadow and the trauma it represents. Le Guin details the development of Ged’s apprehension when she states that “When he woke he was weak and cold and [his] scars . . . drew and ached,” and that “When he dreamed of the shadow or so much as thought of it, he felt always that same cold dread” (116). His new dreams of the shadow force him to remember the trauma he suffered from his last encounter with it. By associating this new threat with the original trauma, Ged immediately gains a certain level of apprehension for the shadow. As dreadful as these dreams may be, they allow him to continue building upon his original apprehension of the shadow rather than start preparing from nothing. This shows that even the apprehension he experienced from his first encounter is still useful, even though at the time he was in far less danger. Since attempting the spell to summon the dead, the shadow has begun to more actively search for the young wizard.

As Ged flees the influence of the shadow, the novel’s events show how the apprehension of his dreams begins to help him. After he has a heated discussion with an oarsman named Skiorh, Ged “dreamed, and Skiorh walked in his dream. Afterwards he avoided the man as best as he could “ (Le Guin 143-144). Ged’s dreams have been so filled with apprehension that while Ged felt no threat from Skiorh before, when he sees the man in his dreams Ged knows that Skiorh is dangerous. While Ged currently does not know that Skiorh has indeed come under the influence of the shadow, he proceeds to avoid Skiorh regardless. This act shows that, as Freud hypothesized, the repetition of unpleasant dreams that seem to offer no wish-fulfillment help alert the dreamer to danger and prepare for it, even if it is unknown to the conscious mind.

The shadow again confronts Ged directly through the possessed form of Skiorh, but unlike before, “A rage of horror filled Ged and he swung up and brought down his staff whistling on the hood that hid the shadow-face” (Le Guin 148). Ged’s unconscious mind has prepared for this confrontation through the repetition of nightmares, so although the shadow is recognized as horrifying, Ged is still able to react. His swift defense, something that would be impossible if not for his repetition-compulsion, saves his life. Although he fails to defeat it, Ged’s retaliation indicates that the apprehension established by his nightmares is still bringing him closer to mastering the shadow.

Ogion convinces Ged to hunt the shadow instead of be hunted by it, by which point Ged has been exposed to the shadow enough to challenge and seek mastery over it. The appearance of the shadow changes once again from beast to “some likeness to a man” (Le Guin 188), and the power Ged is beginning to acquire over it is shown when “the shadow, wavering, turned and fled” (Le Guin 189). It seems that now the shadow is experiencing fright, as it has not only lost mastery over Ged, but is in danger of being mastered by him. Its form becomes steadily more familiar to Ged, and his power instinct pushes him to pursue the shadow and conquer it. Ged’s unconscious mind no longer views the shadow as a threat to Ged’s existence, but something he must master. Enough apprehension was built for Ged to change his role from reactive to active. Where
the apprehension developed through Ged’s dreams was formed reactively, Ged is now driven to actively hunt the shadow.

The shift from passive apprehension to active mastery is reinforced when Ged next finds his prey. Le Guin states, “The shadow stood behind him in the boat . . . but he was ready, and lunged to seize and hold the thing” (206). Ged’s lack of hesitation is testament to how much the repetition of his nightmares has prepared him to face the shadow. Furthermore, his eager attack exemplifies his drive by the power instinct to master the shadow. He does not strike the thing with his staff, but instead attempts to seize it with his bare hands, just as it would have done to him. Though he cannot yet fully overcome it, Ged steadily begins to reverse the balance of power and follow in the shadow’s footsteps towards the mastery of prey.

As Ged continues to hunt the shadow, he hears people describe it as “a man who looks like you [Ged]” (Le Guin 217). This resemblance accentuates the role reversal between Ged and the shadow. The shadow slowly stops resembling something monstrous, and begins to resemble its original prey. Its slow change in appearance to resemble Ged, from shapeless to beast to humanoid and finally to Ged’s doppelganger, reflects the power that it has lost to him. Thanks to his accumulated apprehension, Ged is now so familiar with the shadow that he recognizes it as easily as he does himself—the entity is no longer an unknown beast to be feared. Just as the shadow becomes the hunted, Ged becomes ever more the hunter. Repetition-compulsion continues to show just as tenaciously through his efforts to hunt the shadow just as it did when he fled, despite that neither action awards Ged any pleasure. He no longer holds apprehension for the shadow attacking him, but instead that if he does not conquer it, it may harm others in the world. While the nature of his apprehension continues to evolve, it also continues to prepare him for the final mastery of the shadow.

Finally, Ged confronts the shadow and in it sees “a fearful face he did not know, man or monster” (Le Guin 250) and “reached out his hands . . . and took hold of his shadow . . . and [they] were one” (Le Guin 251). In this final confrontation, the roles have been completely reversed. The shadow shows fear of Ged in its true form, and Ged exerts total mastery over it. Le Guin refers to the shadow possessively, indicating that Ged has ownership of it. This possession is directly mirrored to the shadow’s desire to possess and control Ged earlier in the novel. That the shadow is referred to as Ged’s, and is subsequently absorbed by him, indicates his total mastery of it.

This novel deals heavily with the themes of fear and its mastery, both over us and by us. While most scholars like Slethaug who critique this novel in psychoanalytic terms tend to analyze it in the terms of Jungian theories, it is important to note how readily the novel allows itself to be viewed through Freud’s concept of repetition-compulsion. Le Guin’s novel lends evidence in favor of Freud’s concept of the power instinct and shows how we may approach mastery of fear through repeated exposure and mounting apprehension. There is, however, a significant deviation in the novel from Freud’s explanation of the power instinct—In order to fully master the shadow, Ged physically absorbs it into himself. Freud makes no mention of absorbing or consuming the object to be mastered, but this is the only way that Ged can finally master the shadow. Looking at A Wizard of Earthsea as a case study shows us that repetition-compulsion alone is not enough to gain complete mastery over fear. Instead, the novel presents us with evidence that we must embrace our fear and accept it as a part of ourselves to truly master it.
WORKS CITED


You Are What You Eat: Gastronomy & Geography of Southern Spain

Katherine Perry
INTRODUCTION
An exploration of food as a means to study history and culture is an underused tool that can provide us with a fuller understanding of place. Consider some of the most basic ingredients in a bowl of gumbo: chicken, bell pepper, okra, and bay leaves. This classic New Orleans staple of creole cuisine incorporates vegetables and meats from all over the world (Florio 2014): chickens domesticated in Eurasia; bell peppers from South America; okra, which originated in Africa; and bay leaves from the Mediterranean. With a little background knowledge of commonly consumed vegetables and animals, a pot of gumbo gives us a look into the cultural and economic history of New Orleans, and allows us to better understand the place: a coastal city whose origins in the colonial Atlantic world gave it a unique mix of European, African, and Native American character.

Food plays a large, though often overlooked, role in how we describe and perceive other cultures. By studying the gastronomy of a region, one can come to understand its history and its geography. My thesis explores the culture of food in southern Spain as it relates to the surrounding physical landscapes, the history of the region, and more recent impacts of globalization. It demonstrates that studying regional dishes offers a unique insight into the cultural history and geography of a place.

Andalucía, the southernmost autonomous department in Spain, dominates the southern Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula (see Map 1). Along its shore, Andalucía possesses a lovely maritime landscape dotted with olive groves and marked by dramatic mountains hugging the coastline while the interior is characterized by a notably dry climate. Its fertile lands make Andalucía a prosperous producer of fruits and vegetables and a pastoral center for cattle and pork. In addition, its location along the southern coast of Spain makes it well situated to be outwardly oriented. Historically, Andalucía was an important center of trade, not only with the Mediterranean world, but also with the Americas and other overseas colonial possessions of the Spanish Empire. Such geographic elements have had a huge impact on the internal production and consumption of food in Andalucía, as well as in the globalized food market of Spain as a whole.

The impacts of historical events, such as the Roman occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, the Moorish invasion in 711 CE, and the Columbian exchange of goods and crops with the Americas after the late fifteenth century are still apparent in the food culture of Spain. Potatoes, a common ingredient in Andalucía, are native to South America and would have no place in the Andalucian diet had Columbus not reached the Americas, nor would bacalao, a cod preserved in salt, be such a pervasive source of protein had the Basque fishermen of northern Spain not traveled to the Atlantic waters off North America to fish. The Moorish influence, however, remains the most significant in Andalucía and is reflected deeply in the food and vocabulary of the region. According to the Real Academia Española, Andalucía, saffron, oil, marzipan and at least one word for olive (i.e. Andalucía, azafrán, aceite, mazapán and aceituna respectively) are Arabic rather than Latin in terms of their linguistic origin. The Moors introduced many products into the culinary world of Spain, giving them their names and a place in the Andalucian kitchen.

Spain’s connection with the contemporary global economy is now ubiquitous throughout the country and it reflects a heavy influence from the United States. American culture has left a noticeable impression on Andalucian gastronomy, one equally prevalent as that of the Moors, though not in traditional cuisine. From ham-flavored Ruffles potato chips to tapas provided by Subway, Spanish gastronomy is now heavily globalized and Andalucia is no exception. As with history
and culture, one can gain an understanding of current international relationships and interactions by studying gastronomy and the exchange of products. In the case of Andalucía, the international exchange manifests itself most clearly through fast food chains and snacks.

Studies of common ingredients demonstrate connections and exchanges between faraway places and often explain cultural tendencies that otherwise might go unnoticed. Gastronomy provides a new lens through which we can study history and culture that is not only engaging, but also encourages an open mind and a thorough look at the history of a place. As humans in an intricately connected world, analyzing a plate of food helps us to understand the physical geography of a place and often defines our own cultural backgrounds and histories to show that ultimately, little is untouched by the human and natural forces that shape our planet. Indeed, we are what we eat.

My research began in September of 2013, when I spent three months in Granada, Spain studying Spanish and Andalucian cuisine. Granada, a gem of Andalucía, was the final kingdom to be conquered by the marauding Catholic armies, and as a result, holds onto much more of its Moorish history and charm. During my time in Spain, I lived for five weeks in an international dorm run by Spaniards and then moved in with my Spanish host family for the remaining time. I ate at countless tapas bars and cafes, always seeking to try something new and to bring to life the images and recipes I had learned. Additionally, the cooking of my host mom informed my understanding of Andalucian cooking. My days in Granada were marked by countless conversations about the delicate flavor of jamón ibérico, the process of making Manchego cheese, and what makes the perfect paella. I documented my gastronomic journey through photographs and notes, many of which are included here. The trends I noticed in ingredients and flavors formed the foundation of my conclusions about how Andalucía and Spain as a whole deal with outside influence, and how the past continues to affect Andalucian cuisine today.

This article is structured around seven sections. Following this introduction, I provide a literature review and outline my research methodology. I turn next to geography and overviews of key episodes in the history of Spain. I then focus on my analysis of Spanish cookbooks and my contextualization of the most common ingredients and dishes found in them. I conclude this thesis with a discussion of globalization and its contemporary and future impacts on the Andalucian kitchen.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

The geography of food is defined by its production and consumption, but most geographical research to date has focused on production. By contrast, research on food consumption is more recent and less widespread. Statisticians and economists conducted the first studies of food consumption to measure the quality of life of the lower and working classes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, focusing mostly on financial expenses (Grigg 1995). Most food consumption studies followed similar lines of inquiry until the growth of the science of nutrition, when the focus shifted to public health. In time, the study of food consumption took on a greater anthropological meaning; as Jane Dusselier (2009, 31) noted, food is not “solely nutritional and physiological.” Today, the field of research, now including food as a way to study history and culture, has expanded to include cultural geographers.

Within geography, there is limited literature that explores the role of food as an understanding of geography, history, and culture and an
even smaller collection focusing on Spain. Massimo Montanari approached the question of food as a way to study culture in its most general sense in his book La comida como cultura. Beginning with the invention of fire and global diffusion of agriculture, Montanari follows the development of food and the kitchen, exploring their transformations of meaning over time. In the English translation of his book, Montanari writes that, “Far more than spoken language itself, food can serve as a mediator between different cultures, opening all methods of cooking to all manner of invention, cross-pollination, and contamination” (134). He explains that interactions between different cultures often manifest themselves on the dinner plate as food items, cooking techniques, and flavors are exchanged. He highlights the influence of history on gastronomy, writing that a food-based identity is the product of the history of a region, while understating the significance of geographical and environmental aspects. It is important to keep in mind, however, that geography and the environment at least partly form the foundations of kitchens in any region, as the physical landscape determines which resources each culture begins with before trade. The concept that intercultural exchanges are expressed on the dinner plate is an idea I will apply to the region of Andalucía, but with greater emphasis on geography and the physical landscape.

Thelma Barer-Stein claims similar sentiments in her book, You Eat What You Are: People, Culture, and Food Traditions, writing that:

Food plays an inextricable role in our daily lives.... Food is a source of pleasure, comfort, and security. Food is also a symbol of hospitality, social status, and religious significance. What we select to eat, how we prepare it, serve it, and even how we eat it are all factors profoundly touched by our

individual cultural inheritance. (14)

Barer-Stein investigates the food traditions, ingredients, and dishes of over fifty countries and regions to determine their origins and variations. In each chapter, she details the domestic life, dairy products, fruits, vegetables, meats, and grains of the given country or region, and explores the history as well as its significance in terms of the geography of food. In describing Spain, she highlights the use of common Mediterranean ingredients considered indigenous as well as the fruits, vegetables, and spices that arrived over the centuries thanks to many changes in leadership, global explorations, and a globalized commodity chain (393). Barer-Stein (1999) identifies olives, olive products, and grapes as the most famous crops of the Classical Era while she traces peaches, lemons, almonds, cinnamon, cumin, and saffron to the Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula (393). Barer-Stein notes the archetypal dish of Andalucía gazpacho, which is a cold tomato-based soup commonly consumed during the hot summer months (396). I will compare my data from cookbooks with her understandings of Spain to determine if the cookbooks capture the same essence of the Andalucian kitchen.

Minimizing the realm of study, Jane Dusselier writes about food as culture on a very personal level, referencing the “identify formation” of individuals based on gastronomic preferences unique to Asian American culture (334). My thesis will not delve into personal experiences and individual stories of a food-based identity, but rather will attempt to connect the character of Andalucia with its food consumption, as represented in a sample of cookbooks, as well as my own experiences there. Dusselier refers often to a book written by Doreen Fernandez, who studied the food culture of the Philippines, discussing the local process of indigenization that “brings in, adapts, and then subsumes” culinary traditions of outside cultures (Fernandez 1997). Dusselier notes that Fernandez interprets food as “dynamic,
emergent, fluid, evolving, momentary, and improvised” (Dusselier 2009, 332) because the fundamental nature of local cuisine is constantly influenced by its history, such as shifts in political power, immigration, or religion. Both the ephemeral nature of food and its process of absorbing other cultures are key aspects of Fernandez’s study in that they are widely relevant ideas and can be applied especially to the character of Andalucían cuisine, one reflecting heavily the influence of many outside cultures.

A study more closely related to my own is one by Barbara Shortridge (2003) who characterized the identity of the Great Plains by collecting lists of foods most closely linked to the region. Shortridge surveyed local people and asked them to plan a menu characteristic of their region. She then compiled 744 survey responses and mapped them, paying special attention to the geographic distribution of certain ingredients and dishes and connecting their locations with historic cultural occupation. She astutely remarked that people adopt and adapt both new and old food traditions to “increase [a] sense of attachment to a place” (507). The process of adoption and adaptation is exactly the indigenization referred to by Fernandez and is the way in which culinary traditions form in multicultural regions such as Andalucía. Shortridge divided the Great Plains into smaller subsections based on differentiated culinary customs and demonstrated the efficacy of those traditions as a way of studying and understanding food culture.

As demonstrated by this collective body of research, food often reflects the history and exchanges among cultures. William and Carla Phillips (2010) explore the history of Spain, detailing the many changes Spain underwent as countless rulers gained and lost control. Such an assessment of Spanish history is crucial to my thesis, as the food of today reflects past cultural occupations and influences on Spanish, and more specifically Andalucían, culture. Especially pertinent to my thesis is Muslim rule, which endured from 711 to 1492 CE and had a strong impact on Andalucía that can still be seen today in the region’s food, architecture, and language. Mark Williams, however, in his book The Story of Spain: the Dramatic History of Europe’s Most Fascinating Country (2009), makes an astute observation contrary to the common assumption and hackneyed expression that the entire Iberian Peninsula was under Moorish control for seven hundred years. This view inaccurately portrays Muslim influence in the region. In reality, “the mostly Berber-Hispanic Muslims inhabited two-thirds of the peninsula for 375 years, about half of it for another 160 years, and the tiny kingdom of Granada – the present-day provinces of Málaga, Almería, and Granada – for a final 244 years” (84).

Another of the greatest influences on Andalucían culinary tradition was the arrival of Cristóbal Colón to the Americas. Nathan Nunn and Nancy Qian studied the impact of the Columbian Exchange, or “the exchange of diseases, ideas, food, crops, and populations between the New World and the Old World” (163), and the depth to which New World foods now pervade the global diet. They calculated the world’s most popular foods in 2000 based on caloric consumption and found that maize, potatoes, cassava, sweet potatoes, and tomatoes – all of which were originally domesticated in the Americas – are five of the twenty most consumed food items globally (168).

Pedro Plasencia delves into the indigenous agricultural practices of Latin America and references the travel journals of Spanish
explorers to ascertain how new crops, spices, and animals were incorporated into the changing Andalucian diet. Plasencia offers a reflection of the vibrant, diverse markets, meticulous methods of production, and the perspectives of the Spaniards as they became exposed to new agricultural systems and culinary traditions in the Americas. Their assessment of South American crops and animals is crucial in the exchange that ultimately took place between Spain and the Americas, as those perceptions determine which products made it across the Atlantic into Andalucian gastronomy and ultimately, the Andalucian kitchen.

Finally, the concept of the “alternative geography of food,” as presented by Nicholas Parrott, Natasha Wilson, and Jonathan Murdoch (2002), plays a role towards a more thorough understanding of Andalucian gastronomy. They describe the conflicting forces of globalization that have shaped the tastes and flavors of kitchens worldwide with the increasing sense of locality associated with European products labeled with the DOP stamp (denominación de origen protegida), indicating a very strict regional association. Parrot, Wilson, and Murdoch (2002) highlight that the globalized food commodity chains focuses on efficient food production (i.e. economically efficient methods of production) while regional trends value artisanal production (246). Such a concept is highly relevant to a discussion of Andalucian food, as the Andalucian kitchen has evolved through centuries of globalization, most notably under the influence of the Moors, and continues to respond to the powerful force of worldwide change and increased connectivity. Although Spain participates in an international exchange of foods, however, it also places heavy significance on its local products such as olive oil, grapes, cheese, fruits, and other food items by marking them as exclusively Spanish or Andalucian.

**METHODOLOGY**

The data needed to study the gastronomy of Spain as it relates to its geography and its cultural-historic background is a combination of empirical and numeric information and their correlations with historic events. During my three-month residence in Spain in the fall of 2013, I took note of and photographed the most common dishes, ingredients, and methods of cooking. From countless visits to tapas bars in Granada to cooking in the kitchen with my host family, I experienced both the traditional and globalized nature of the Andalucian kitchen. Drawing from menus of tapas bars I frequented, I built a base of ingredients and dishes that seemed most common in Granada. My experience alone, however, cannot capture the depth of Andalucian tradition or the globalized market and will be paired with empirical data in order to fully understand food as a way to study culture.

The numeric data I used for this thesis are derived from the ingredients and dishes that appear in a selection of contemporary Spanish cookbooks. By unifying the southern Andalucian gastronomy found in cookbooks with the practical interactions I had in the region, I hope to present a more complete portrait of what Andalucian food is both in the minds of people and in local kitchens. In so many cases, what a person perceives as traditional and typical does not correspond with what people actually eat. For example, one can find hamburgers on many menus and in many homes in southern Spain, but never in a Spanish cookbook. In addition, the collection of food items with the D.O.P. stamp, or “denominación de origen protegida,” a stamp of authenticity, denote food products that contribute to the food identity of Andalucia.
Products with the D.O.P. label come exclusively from one place or region. By studying the food items from Andalucía with the denominación de origen stamp, many of which are types of ham, cheese, and oil, I can study which products are truly Spanish in their production and origin.

After compiling a thorough list of food items, I explored the origin of the most common thirty-five ingredients, or the ingredients occurring ten or more times. In doing so, I produced a representation of the complexity of the Andalúcian kitchen. After determining those key parts of Andalucian gastronomy, I identified their origins and examined how they connected with Spanish history from the time of the Roman Empire through to the present day. I expected that each historic period would create a new layer of food items that would help to shed light on the diverse cultural background of Spain. Of the many periods of Spanish history, I believe that Roman settlement, Moorish invasion, Columbian Exchange, and the forces of globalization have the most significant impacts on the character of Andalucian food.

Finally, through my experiences in Granada, I hope to demonstrate that the forces of globalization affecting the food of Andalucía over a thousand years ago persists today and plays a role in the Andalucian kitchen. Though I was not able to study every traditional recipe in southern Spain, I was certainly exposed to the impacts of globalization there. The most fundamental identity of food in southern Spain continues to be shaped by the surrounding physical landscape as well as political and economic variables, an impact one sees today in every McDonalds and convenience store in Andalucía. As the world becomes more globalized, the interactions between Spain and its neighbors, both near and far, will continue and can be studied by what is on the dinner plate.

The research and writing that went into this thesis manuscript took approximately two years to accomplish. The first phase was my three-month residency conducting field research in Granada, Spain between September and December of 2013. During my residence in Granada I took extensive notes about the food I most often saw and ate. The second phase, comprised primarily of conducting my literature search, lasted from May through August of 2014. During those four months, I read books on the history of Spain in order to have a more thorough understanding of the country. From December 2014 to December of 2015, I focused on counting ingredients, collecting my empirical data, and finally the writing and revision of the thesis manuscript.

GEOGRAPHY OF SPAIN AND ANDALUCÍA

From the sunny, dry summers on the beaches of Andalucía to the wet, emerald bluffs of Galicia, the Iberian Peninsula features a wide variety of landscapes and weather. Spanish geography is dominated by mountain ranges and plateaus with five key rivers, all of whose characteristics have many implications for the climate and agriculture of the region (Cereceda 1922, 333) (See Maps 3 and 4). Geography intuitively shapes what sorts of food items are native to an area and what survives, determining what one could call the base of the kitchen. Additionally, geography affects the future of nonnative species in an area and the breadth of diversity among vegetation of a place.

The Pyrenees Mountains tower above the borderlands between France and Spain and reach heights of 11,000 feet in some areas (see Map 4). The Cantabrian Mountains extend
the length of the northwestern coastline of Spain, stretching from Asturias to Galicia, the westernmost department of Spain. The northern coast of Spain has a marine west coast climate, a climate type influenced heavily by maritime air masses that generate mild temperatures year-round and regular precipitation (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 39). Due to the frequent rain, the region supports deciduous forests and varied flora including ash, linden, beech, birch, maples, and heather (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 44). The Ebro River, Spain’s largest and one of Europe’s most important rivers (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 35), flows southeastward through northern Spain to its mouth along the Mediterranean coast.

South of the Cantabrian and Pyrenean axes sit the Iberian Mountains, which hug the Ebro River along its southern side and reach southeast from central Spain to the Mediterranean. The Central Mountains meet the Iberian Mountains at their center, and with the Cantabrian Mountains, form the Northern Meseta, one of the great plateaus of the peninsula. The primary feature of the Northern Meseta is the Duero River, which drains into the Atlantic Ocean (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 8). Finally, the Sierra Morena, Baetic Mountains, and Sierra Nevada are the key mountain ranges of the southern half of Spain, and abut the Southern Meseta (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 6). With peaks as tall as 11,500 feet, the accumulation of snow provides a key source of seasonal runoff water for the people of Andalucía (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 40).

Though the mountains and rivers of Spain are influential on the peninsula’s climate, the moving air masses and resulting precipitation are far more impactful. The southern half of Spain is significantly drier in the summer and consequently, the area has a very different climate type from the north of Spain. Because of the Pyrenees and Cantabrian Mountains, the maritime air masses that sweep over the peninsula lose their moisture due to the orographic effect (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 39).

The orographic effect is the process by which moisture is precipitated from air masses as they encounter increased elevation. When an air mass moves over a mountain or other geographic feature, the masses are forced upwards. The air cools as it rises, a result of the adiabatic effect, and because cooler air holds less moisture, the excess moisture is released in a form of precipitation. As a result, the windward side of a topographic feature receives significant precipitation while the leeward side receives none, a phenomenon known as a rainshadow. Andalucía and other southern departments of Spain typically receive far less precipitation as a result of the orographic effect. Due to the North Atlantic Oscillation, however, the hemispheric air masses shift southwards during the winter, meaning that the lower half of the peninsula receives some precipitation, as it misses the Cantabrian and Pyrenees Mountains (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 39). This phenomenon lends the greater two-thirds of the Iberian Peninsula a Mediterranean climate, dominated by dry summers and wet winters, and sets Andalucía’s food tradition apart from the rest of Spain. Some regions are highly productive agricultural zones, while other areas are too dry and mountainous for any type of cultivation (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 40). The Mediterranean landscape is characterized by olive groves, chestnuts, walnuts, and cypresses (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 40). Because of the dry summers, the vegetation of this region has sclerophyllous, or drought resistant, characteristics. Andalucía, recognized for its rich agriculture, benefits greatly from the Guadalquivir River, which runs from the central region of the department.
to the Atlantic Ocean (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 9). While food items naturally move throughout the Iberian Peninsula, increased agricultural activity in the south means greater supply and variety of mild-weather fruits and vegetables that are integrated into the Andalucian kitchen.

In addition to its physical geography, Spain’s location has shaped the nation’s relationship with its neighbors, enabling it to engage in international trade and opening up the country to many outside influences, as it did during the Moorish occupation that began in 711 CE. Spain occupies 85% of the Iberian Peninsula and has nearly 5,000 kilometers of coastline, totaling more than twice that of the state of Florida. The Spanish coast touches the Bay of Biscay, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean, making it uniquely well-suited as a maritime trading hub, especially after the Columbian Exchange began. The impact of its geography cannot be understated. Spain’s success in its colonial conquests depended greatly on its location, Atlantic coastline, and proximity to the Americas. Consequently, the variety of ingredients in the Andalucian kitchen, which borrows a lot of American food items and flavors, depends also on Spain’s location.

MAPS

Map 1: Political territory of Spain and the boundaries of Aandalucia. Map created by author using ArcGIS software.*
**MAPS**

**Map 2:** Major land use and land cover zones of Spain. Map created by author using ArcGIS software.*

**Map 3:** Major rivers of Spain. Map created by author using ArcGIS software.*

**Map 4:** Shaded relief map of Spain. Map created by author using ArcGIS software.*

*Maps throughout this article were created using ArcGIS® software by Esri. ArcGIS® and ArcMap™ are the intellectual property of Esri and are used herein under license. Copyright © Esri. All rights reserved. For more information about Esri® software, please visit www.esri.com. Sources: Esri, DeLorme, HERE, TomTom, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), swisstopo, MapmyIndia, and the GIS User Community.*
A HISTORY OF SPAIN

Introduction
Spain has long captivated outsiders with its alluring sounds of flamenco, the lively sensation that fills the streets at dusk, and the enthralling smells of paella that float through the air. The country that today is a member of the European Union, the largest economy on earth, produces the most olive oil of any country (Food and Agriculture Organization 2014), boasts two globally recognized soccer teams, and has a long and complex history of caliphates, monarchs, and dictators that all contributed in myriad ways to contemporary Spanish society. The flavors and traditions of the Andalucían kitchen are a direct reflection of the history of the nation, blending the tastes of Roman civilization, Jewish communities, Moorish Spain, the Americas, and the modern global exchanges of foods and spices to create the enticing Andalucían plates enjoyed today.

Early Settlement: Celts & Iberians
Iberian and Celtic peoples of the First Millennium BCE can be considered the first permanent and culturally dominant populations of the Iberian Peninsula. They developed various advanced skills, including of agriculture, mining, bronze-working, and iron-working (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 14). The Iberians brought with them from North Africa knowledge to mint coins as well as a written language based on Phoenician and Greek. The Celts, who arrived from across the Pyrenees in the northeastern part of the peninsula between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE (Chapman 1918, 8), focused primarily on herding, though they also mastered bronze working when the technology reached them from their neighbors (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 14). The Celts dominated the northwestern region of the Iberian Peninsula while the Iberians occupied the southern and eastern portions of the peninsula (Chapman 1918, 8). In time, however, the two distinctive groups mixed with the pre-existing cultures to form the more homogeneous populations of Celtiberians (Chapman 1918, 8) that the Romans referred to generally as the Hispani. Hispani society was characterized by a “warrior aristocracy” with lower classes of workers and slaves (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 14). Despite having a relatively uniform culture, the people organized themselves into small city-states rather than establishing a central system of governance and lacked any shared sense of identity (Chapman 1918, 8). For the sake of war, tribes would often create federations; the names of some of these federations are still commonly associated with place-names today (Chapman 1918, 9). For example, the Galicians were a federation of forty different tribes while the Lusitanians were a federation of thirty different tribes (Chapman 1918, 9).

The economies of the cities were based on herding, metalworking, and agriculture (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 14). Metalworking became such an important industry, in fact, that southwestern Spain was transformed into a trading hub for metals. The proximity of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir Rivers facilitated trade and travel in the region and helped create a cluster of trade and metalworking that ultimately attracted the Phoenicians, a powerful seafaring culture that eventually defeated the Hispani (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 15).

Phoenician, Greek, & Carthaginian Influences in Iberia
The Phoenicians, recognizing the potential for great wealth in southern Spain, began to establish a series of trading posts around the peninsula (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 15). They were the first group of people to establish a working relationship with the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula (Chapman 1918, 10). With the hope of trading metals, fruits of the sea, and timber, the Phoenicians founded the city of Gadir around 800 BCE, which is recognized as the first city in Europe, according to Phillips and Phillips (16). In addition to Gadir, known
today as Cadiz, the Phoenicians founded Malaca, today Malaga, and Onuba, today Huelva (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 16). In exchange for Iberian goods, the Phoenicians traded gold and artisan products from Greece (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 16). The Phoenicians maintained healthy trade relations with the local Hispani even after Babylonian invasions threatened Phoenicia (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 16).

As the Greek empire expanded around the Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula became increasingly attractive as a site for Greek city-states engaged in trade. The first Greek expedition to the Iberian Peninsula is said to have taken place in 630 CE (Chapman 1918, 11). Indeed, Greece set up colonies to ease the ever-growing population in the center of Greece. Emporion, called Ampurias today, was the first of these (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 17). The Greeks and Phoenicians were responsible for the introduction of many crops now widely considered to be staples in the Spanish and Andalucian kitchen. The grapevine, the olive tree, and grain were the most significant of the new plants and remain invaluable sources of income for Spain (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 17). In addition to these agricultural innovations, the Phoenicians and Greeks introduced metal currency and a written language that was eventually adopted by the local Iberians (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 17).

The Carthaginians, a society descended from the Phoenicians and located in North Africa, were often at odds with the Romans. In an attempt to solidify their power in the region, the Carthaginians sought to conquer the Iberian Peninsula beginning in 236 BCE under the leadership of Hamilcar Barca (Chapman 1918, 12). Prior to the arrival of the Carthaginians, the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula lacked a central government and political authority and Barca hardly managed to unite the divided groups (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 18). In 226 BCE, Rome and Carthage agreed to use the Ebro River as the boundary between their two kingdoms, with Rome in the north and Carthage in the south (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 18). However, in 219 BCE Hamilcar Barca’s son, Hannibal, attacked Saguntum, a city that officially fell within Carthaginian borders (Chapman 1918, 13). Regardless, the people of Saguntum summoned Roman aid but the Romans failed to protect the city from the marauding Carthaginian armies (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 19). After several indecisive battles, Rome defeated Carthage in North Africa in 206 BCE and assumed control over the entire Iberian Peninsula (Chapman 1918, 14).

Rome: The Beginning of Modern Spain

The Spanish physical and religious landscape deeply reflects Roman presence at the beginning of the first century. “Roman innovations and foundations underlay many medieval and modern developments in Spain and remain strong and apparent in Spain today in such areas as language, law, and religion” (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 21). Chapman also emphasizes the impact of Roman occupation of Spanish culture, writing that “... undoubtedly, the greatest single fact in the history of Spain was the long Roman occupation...All that Spain is or has done in the world can be traced in greatest measure to the Latin civilization which the organizing genius of Rome was able to graft upon her” (1918, 15). Even after Rome defeated Carthage, the expansion of Roman power in Iberia took time (Chapman 1918, 20). A deeply rooted sense of localism and isolation made conquering and controlling Spain difficult, but in 200 years, the process of Romanization was complete. For the first time in its history, Spain was a relatively well-connected nation that participated in the wider Mediterranean economic and political sphere (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 23). Under Roman rule, Spain became an important trading hub with Gaul, Britain, and the Rhinelands (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 22). In addition, the Christian legacy of the Roman Empire persists today, as it was the Romans who legalized Christianity and later
imposed it as the state religion throughout the empire (Phillips and Phillip 2010, 29). It is important to note, however, that while the impact of the Romans was profound, the occupation of the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks had laid the foundation for the transformations that occurred during Roman occupation and colonization (Chapman 1918, 14).

In addition to the economic, political, and religious relevance that Romanization brought the Iberian Peninsula, the Romans also established significant physical and societal infrastructure that survives today (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 23). Spanish cities reflect the grid-like pattern that Romans used to organize their communities with a plaza at the center. Tiled roofs, walls, bridges, aqueducts, and other public improvements are all common features of modern Spanish cities, but date to early Roman settlement (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 23).

Among the cities Rome established, Tarragona (known then as Tarraco) and Córdoba (known then as Corduba) were regarded as the regional capitals of Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, the two divisions of Roman Spain (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 25) (Pierson 1999, 19). Meanwhile, Zaragoza (originally named Caesar Augusta), Cádiz (called Gades by the Romans), and Seville (Hispalis) all were important trading ports (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 25-26). Because Barcelona, Segovia, and Merida maintain a significant amount of Roman infrastructure, including aqueducts, walls, and theatres, they reflect most distinctly the impact of Roman domination (Chapman 1918, 25).

Even though Roman authority was powerful and left a significant legacy in Spain, its impacts were far from homogeneous across the peninsula. Cities and towns were notably more Roman than rural areas and housed a wider diversity of people; after Rome destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem in Israel, many Jewish people sought refuge in Spain, giving rise to many Jewish immigrant communities in Roman cities throughout the peninsula. The history of Roman society is most clear in the south and east of Spain whereas it is less obvious in the west and north (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27). The Roman economy of Hispania was divided between agriculture, the production of artisan goods, and metal extraction. Before the arrival of the Romans to the Iberian Peninsula, the regional agricultural system was divided and unorganized (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27). Under Roman rule, many small farms were consolidated into larger estates, or villas, that were owned by the elite and operated by slave labor (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27). This system, under which the villa was the most important unit of the agricultural economy, carried a legacy that persisted for millennia. Present-day rural Spain, especially in the south, is still characterized to some degree by large landownership with much of the population poor and landless. The landowners of the large estates produced olive oil en masse, which was sold to consumers all over the Mediterranean (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27). Among the other exports of Hispania were fish and fish processing. The Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts offered plentiful fish, and garum, a sauce made from fermented fish that served as a preservative (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 28). In addition to the production of grapes, olives, grains, wool, and other artisan goods produced in the region, the Romans depended heavily on metal extraction, a trend that ultimately depleted the peninsula’s resources of gold, silver, copper, and cinnabar (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27).

Gothic Spain
The Roman Empire maintained special relationships with the Germanic groups that occupied the borderlands of the Iberian Peninsula during the last centuries of Roman rule (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 30). Of these groups, the Visigoths had the largest impact on
Spanish history. In the early fourth century when the Roman Empire was in decline, the Visigoths, exhausted by constant attacks from neighboring groups and in need of Roman technologies and agricultural practices, moved into the Roman Empire (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 31-32). Though the Visigoths and the Romans coexisted in relative peace, pressure increased from the aggression of outside attackers paired with conflicts within the two groups ultimately led to a breaking of the treaty between them (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 34) (Chapman 1918, 27). War broke out in 378 CE and the Roman Empire fell by the beginning of the fifth century CE, leaving the Visigoths in control of the Iberian Peninsula and beyond (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 32-34). However, other Germanic groups soon challenged their power, splintering the political cohesion built by the Romans (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 35). Many Visigothic kings ruled Spain from the late fourth century to the early eighth century CE, but little remains of their dominion in the peninsula (Chapman 1918, 26). While the Visigoth kingdoms in Iberia mixed Roman and Gothic elements in their society, the Roman influence far outweighed the Gothic influence; this legacy persists even today, as most Gothic structures have long since vanished from the landscape whereas Roman infrastructure still stands (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 41). King Roderick, the last Visigoth king, fell to the marauding Muslim armies that ultimately captured the bulk of the peninsula in 710 CE (Chapman 1918, 32).

Moorish Spain
The Muslim forces invaded the Iberian Peninsula in July of 710 CE, ushering in a seven hundred year chapter of Spain’s history whose cultural impact endures today (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 42). Phillips and Phillips write that because the Visigoth kingdom was so weak, the invaders met little resistance and defeated Roderick’s forces handily (42). By 718 CE, the entire peninsula was under Moorish control except for the northern mountainous regions of modern-day Asturias, Cantabria, and the Basque Country (Chapman 1918, 40). The territories conquered by the Moors were given the name Al-Andalus and fell under the control of the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus, the center of Muslim authority at that time (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 48). From its beginnings, the Moorish occupation signified a time during which Christians, Muslims, and Jews lived together in peaceful community (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 47) (Chapman 1918, 49). In addition, the Muslims brought with them a new set of ingredients and flavors to the Andalucían diet, including citrus fruits, the fig, saffron, almonds, sugar cane, and rice. These additions were integrated seamlessly into the kitchen and continue to be commonly used by Spaniards today.

Despite the fact that the Iberian peninsula was relatively secure, the caliph struggled to maintain control over its expansive empire. In 750 CE, the Umayyad caliph was overthrown by the Abbasid family, but the change in power was fleeting; six years later, ‘Abd al-Rahman I, a member of the family formerly in charge, assembled an army of Yemenis, Berbers, and Syrians and took over the city of Cordoba and declared political autonomy (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 51). ‘Abd al-Rahman I built a professional army to quash the internal struggles Cordoba experienced, allowing for its blossoming as a center of culture and wealth and the largest city in Europe (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 52). “[I]deas and intellectuals traveled to Spain from the Islamic heartland, and al-Andalus changed from a far-western outpost of the Islamic world to become a vital part of it” (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 52).

In Baghdad, where the center of the caliphate had moved with the Abbasid family, political strife weakened the Fatimid dynasty (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 53). In response, ‘Abd al-Rahman III declared al-Andalus completely independent from the caliphate and declared
himself caliph of the newly autonomous territory (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 53) (Chapman 1918, 45). However, in 1031, increasing localism spread through al-Andalus, which still covered two-thirds of the peninsula, and the caliphate was abolished after its leaders were deposed (Chapman 1918, 46). The leaders scattered throughout the Iberian Peninsula began to pursue their individual agendas, creating divisions that provided opportunities for the Christian armies of the north to begin to assert their own power (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 54).

**Christian Spain**

The Reconquista, or Reconquest, of Spain began in 718 CE with the efforts of Pelayo, a man who, according to legend, descended from Visigoth nobility. The first battle took place at Covadonga, a cave in the Cantabrian Mountains, where Pelayo defeated a Muslim army (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 55). He encouraged other bands of Christian warriors to join him in his fight against al-Andalus; it is important to note that the motives behind the Christian advances were entirely territorial in nature rather than religious or economic (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 55). He called his kingdom Asturias and passed his authority to Alfonso I, who firmly established his monarchy and began to expand the borders of Asturias with the help of the clergy. Bitter fighting led to widespread Muslim retreat across large swaths of territory in the north (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 56). However, as Alfonso I consolidated land in the north, ‘Abd al-Rahman I had just established an independent caliphate with a powerful center of authority in the south, making further advances into the Moorish kingdom impossible (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 56).

Through a series of small victories, however, the Christian armies were able to successfully remove Muslim occupants from the northern areas of the Iberian Peninsula and to create an empire that extended from Galicia eastward across the Cantabrian Mountains to the Pyrenees, as far as Barcelona (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 61). Though the Christian territories of northern Iberia shared a religion, they were separate and independent states; by the end of the eleventh century, León-Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, Navarre, and Asturias filled the upper third of the peninsula, each with different kings (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 66). Slowly, Christian armies moved further and further south and Alfonso IV of Castile conquered Toledo, marking a new phase in the Reconquista (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 66). By this time, religious fervor fueled the continued invasions as tolerance for diversity lessened in both the Christian and Muslim kingdoms (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 67-9).

In 1212, the Christian armies of Castile, Aragon, León, and Navarre joined forces to defeat the Muslim armies at Las Navas de Tolosa. Christian victory eroded what remained of Muslim power in Spain (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 70). The conquest of Córdoba, Murcia, Seville, and Jaén followed in 1236, 1241, and 1246 respectively, though the kingdom of Granada remained intact (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 70). Because Granada had aided the Muslim armies during their conquest of other southern cities, it was able to maintain its sovereignty if it paid dues to the Muslim rulers (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 70). The monarchs of Spain that followed embraced the three religious communities – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – and encouraged peaceful coexistence (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 72-74). The state of peace among them and between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms lasted for two centuries (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 83).

In the late 1400s, this détente changed dramatically. Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragon married, uniting the two largest Christian kingdoms, and with a shared zeal for expansion and religious war, conquered Granada in 1492, sealing their authority over the territory that became modern Spain (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 112). With dominion over the entire Mediterranean coast as well as the Guadalquivir River, the monarchs were able to control the Strait of Gibraltar and to
successfully build a powerful trade network among their cities and with other kingdoms in the western Mediterranean and northern Africa (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 84). Spain maintained especially strong connections with the Genoese and Venetians, as they had supplied Christian armies with supplies during the Reconquista (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 84).

**The Columbian Exchange**

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese man with sailing experience in Portugal, set out from Spain after convincing Fernando and Isabel that he could secure a westward route from Europe to Asia to circumvent the Portuguese presence in the East (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 120). His arrival to the Americas marked a huge change in global relations, as Spain sought to establish colonies in the Americas and to integrate them into the wider global economy through resource extraction and the exchange of goods (Nunn and Quian 2010, 167). This interchange between the Americas and the Old World came to be known as the Columbian Exchange and had a significant impact on the Andalucían kitchen, as many new food items were introduced and widely adopted, including tomatoes, peppers, potatoes, peanuts, cashews, chocolate, vanilla, and many others (Nunn and Qian 2010, 163).

**Royal & Modern Spain**

Two major families characterized Spain’s chapter of absolutist monarchy: the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. The Habsburg dynasty, which lasted from 1516 to 1700, began with the rule of Carlos I, the Belgian grandson of Fernando and Isabella and successor to the throne of the Low Countries (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 134) (Pierson 1999, 58). It was under the rule of the Habsburg family that Spain experienced its Golden Age and the birth of some of its most famous artists and writers, including Diego Velazquez, El Greco, and Miguel de Cervantes. By accident, Carlos I inherited a united Castile and Aragon in 1516 at only sixteen (Pierson 1999, 59), though Fernando had never intended for the union to be permanent (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 127). After a historic reign by Fernando and Isabella that earned Spain a place in the New World, Carlos I was faced with ruling not only Spain and its territories, but also the Low Countries.

Though the beginning of his reign was marked by general disapproval of the people for favoring his native Holland, he quickly reoriented his strategies to regain the loyalty of his Iberian subjects (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 137). Carlos I focused heavily on the expansion of the Spanish empire in the New World. It was during his reign that Cortés and Pizarro conquered the Aztec and Incan civilizations respectively (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 139-140). Carlos I was also responsible for the New Laws of the Indies, a set of laws written in 1542 designed to protect the rights of the indigenous people and to provide him with stricter control of the colonies (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 142). After fighting many wars, many of them associated with the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, Carlos I was able to build an empire that stretched from contemporary Peru to Hungary. In 1556, Carlos I abdicated his Spanish throne to his son Phillip, who later married a French princess and moved the capital of Spain to Madrid in 1561, according to Phillips and Phillips (145).

However, after two more monarchs and many costly wars, Spain reached what Pierson describes as its low point with the reign of Carlos II in 1665 (Pierson 1999, 69). Its wealth in the New World was neither sustainable nor sufficient to cover the costs of the constant battles and Spain could hardly fend off aggression from England, France, and the Netherlands (Pierson 1999, 70).

Because Carlos II was unable to produce an heir, Spain’s neighbors took the question of Spanish succession into their own hands (Pierson 1999, 68). The English and Dutch kingdoms, former
enemies, worked together to prevent French domination; Carlos II, however, named the grandson of the French king, Louis XIV, as his heir (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 170-171). Phillip of Anjou took the throne in 1700 as the first Bourbon king. He was met immediately with aggression from England and the Netherlands, who feared French dominion and sought to displace Phillip as king (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 171). Two treaties ultimately resolved the conflict and cemented Phillip's role as head of the Spanish empire, both in Europe and overseas (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 171). During Phillip's reign, Spain underwent afrancesamiento, or “Frenchification,” a process that dramatically shaped culture, music, dress, and politics (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 173). Phillip ruled Spain until 1746, with only one brief interruption. Under Bourbon rule, Spain became a far more functional state with uniform policies and regulations (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 173-175).

The Bourbon dynasty ruled Spain uninterrupted until 1808, when Napoleon Bonaparte placed his brother in charge. Since then, the Bourbon monarchy has experienced interruptions three times: twice by civil war and declarations of independence and a third time by Francisco Franco, who established a dictatorship that lasted from 1938 until 1973. At the time of Franco’s death, Spain hardly participated in the wider European market, which was on its way to becoming a powerful economic union, and its fascist government prevented it from gaining any legitimacy from other foreign powers (Pierson 1999, 161).

When Franco died in 1975, he passed political control of Spain to his protégé, Juan Carlos, a descendant of the Bourbons, who Franco had trained with the hopes that Juan Carlos would sustain his legacy (Pierson 1999, 170-5). However, upon taking the crown, Juan Carlos bravely and competently instituted a democracy that would stand against one attempted coup d’état and the vestiges of a fifty-year-old totalitarian state (Pierson 1999, 175-9). In the summer of 2014, King Juan Carlos I abdicated as king of Spain and his son, Felipe VI is now the reigning monarch (BBC 2014). Spain has been a member of the European Union since 1986 and adopted the euro in 1999 (European Commission 2014). It would be difficult to understate the role of Juan Carlos’s leadership in Spain’s transformation to its contemporary state. Formerly isolated by Franco’s fascist policy, Spain transitioned remarkably well into global politics and into the worldwide economy.

THE GLOBALIZED ANDALUCÍAN KITCHEN

In order to understand the geography of food in Andalucía, I based my research on observation and numeric data collected from a selection of Spanish cookbooks. Both the empirical and quantitative data play an important role in capturing the traditional and contemporary manifestations of Andalucian cooking, as well as the intersection of the two. While globalization has an enormous impact on food in Spain, one might not realize the depth of its influence based on traditional Andalucian recipes, which reflect far more Spain’s history from Roman occupation to the Columbian exchange. The streets of Granada, however, very ostensibly indicate the effects of global trade and commercialism in Spain, as Subway, Burger King, and other American chains dot the streets. Understanding the importance of both traditional and current cooking is crucial when studying the food geography of Andalucía. In order to capture the true essence of traditional Andalucian cooking, I read three Spanish cookbooks, each of which were written by Spanish chefs and food experts: The Cuisines of Spain: Exploring Regional Home Cooking (Barrenchea 2009), which designated each recipe by its region of origin; Rustica: A Return to Spanish Home Cooking (Camorra and Cornish 2009), which divides its chapters based
on primary ingredients and home regions; and Spain: Recipes and Traditions from the Verdant Hills of the Basque Country to the Coastal Waters of Andalucía (Koehler 2013), which splits the fifteen chapters based on the phase of the meal and primary ingredient. I read through each recipe in the three cookbooks, totaling over two hundred recipes.

From a total of 212 recipes and 1,379 different ingredients, I compiled the most common 35 ingredients, all of which are shown in Table 1. A breakdown of the most commonly used ingredients from each cookbook are shown in Tables 2-4. Tables 1-4 can be found after the concluding chapter. The number of ingredients included in each list is uneven because of the volume of ingredients with the same value. For example, there are twelve more ingredients that occurred only twice in Cuisines of Spain. For clarity, I combined shrimp (camarón) and prawns (gamba) into one category, though they technically are different species of shellfish. Additionally, any recipe described or labeled as coming from a region other than Andalucía was excluded; recipes with Catalan names were also excluded.

In order to study the true core of the Andalucian kitchen, I removed the following ingredients, which can be considered ubiquitous around the world and contribute nothing to the uniqueness of Andalucian cuisine: salt, pepper, eggs, sugar, bread, flour, butter, milk, and water (totaling 533 ingredients of 1,379). The remaining ingredients can be neatly broken up into three distinctive categories based on their origin, each of which reflects major geographical features and historical chapters of Spain.

Of the thirty-five most common ingredients, the greatest number of them (14) can be considered native to the Iberian Peninsula, totaling 564 appearances of local ingredients. Food items and by-products including extra virgin olive oil, garlic, white wine, onions, and parsley have histories among the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula dating back to Roman civilization. Meanwhile, pork and its Spanish variations have been staples in the Andalucian diet since the days of the Celtic occupation of the Iberian Peninsula (Pollack 1992). Jamón asado, shown in Photo 1, is a dish of roasted ham with olive oil, parsley, and salt, and is typical of tapas bars throughout Andalucía.

These and other foods are considered to be native given the environments they require and the long record of cultivation in the region. For example, olives and grapes require a Mediterranean climate, with wet winters and dry summers, to thrive. As one might expect, the physical geography is the greatest determinant in the most commonly used ingredients, as native ingredients have the longest and most persistent history of use. The climate not only sets Andalucian cuisine apart from other food traditions around the world, but from food traditions in other regions of Spain. The mild weather allows for cultivation of Mediterranean fruits and vegetables that can of course be transported to other places, but leave the most significant mark on food in Andalucía.

Seven of the top thirty-five ingredients trace their origins to northern Africa, totaling 150 instances. Cinnamon, orange, saffron, and almonds, among other ingredients, appear widely in the three cookbooks and have distinctive histories in northern Africa and throughout the Middle East. These food items correspond to the centuries-long occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by the Moors. In addition to appearing with great frequency in side dishes, main dishes, and desserts, North African ingredients appear in what could be called the most quintessentially Spanish dish: paella (shown in Photo 2).
Similarly, the Andalucían kitchen deeply reflects New World influences, which makes sense given Spain’s profound involvement in the colonization of Central and South America. Five of the top thirty-five ingredients are of American origin, and represent 132 of the total ingredients in the three cookbooks. Tomatoes, bell peppers, paprika, and potatoes all have roots in this agricultural hearth of tropical America and appear with striking frequency in Andalucían cooking. The arrival of the Spanish to the Americas in the late 15th century marked the beginning of the most influential exchange of goods up to that point, the Columbian Exchange. The persistent influence of American food items is reflected in the most famous and ubiquitous Andalucían dish, gazpacho, which takes its base from tomatoes and bell peppers (shown in Photo 3).

In fact, the influence of the Americas, and in particular of the United States, continues to leave a mark on the culture of food in Spain and in Andalucía. A Burger King restaurant, located in the center of Granada, always has a bustling crowd; and in a perfect example of cultural convergence, the local Subway sold tapas, or small plates of appetizers that are very traditional in Spain. Lays chips were available in a number of flavors one will not find in the United States, including jamón. From Granada, one does not need to travel far to reach the nearest KFC®, and there is a Taco Bell in Málaga, another Andalucian city just an hour and a half away. Hamburgers, certainly a dish made famous in the United States, have been adopted by many restaurants and were a particular favorite of my host family. However, they were typically prepared with pork instead of beef, giving them a bright pink hue. Such an alteration of a very typical dish of the United States is appropriate given the widespread accessibility and consumption of pork.

While the forces of contemporary globalization were evident in how people nourished themselves, there are contrary forces of “glocalization,” a term coined by Swyngedouw (1992, 39-67) and refers to the “contested restructuring of the institutional level from the national scale both upwards to supra-national or global scales and downwards to the scale of the individual body, the local, urban or regional configurations” (Swyngedouw 2003, 24). This is a particularly fascinating phenomenon when considered in the context of products marked with a denominación de origen protegida label, or DOP. This mark, officially given by the national governments, makes a product exclusively from one place. Gruyère cheese, for example, is labeled with a DOP stamp in Switzerland and no other cheese, regardless of compositional similarities, can be called Gruyère cheese unless it is produced in the Canton of Fribourg, Gruyères, Switzerland. The label, however, does not control the production of the good; rather, it controls the use of the name, and any use of the name outside of its home region means an infringement of copyright. By virtue of this fact, products with the label are embedded with a deep sense of locality and asserted authenticity.

Unsurprisingly, Spain boasts an enormous list of species of olives, types of ham, cheeses, and other food items native to the Iberian Peninsula with a DOP stamp. Queso manchego, perhaps the most famous Spanish cheese, dominates tapas menus nationwide and comes from the province of La Mancha. Producers of jamón de Huelva, a type of cured pork from Andalucía, take pride in its careful manufacture and drying processes.

A more distinctive element of denominación de origen protegida are products that are native to regions outside the Iberian Peninsula, but have variations labeled as exclusively Spanish. For example, the chirimoya de la costa tropical de Granada-Málaga is strictly an Andalucian food item. Curiously, the cherimoya is a fruit native to Peru and Ecuador that made its way to Spain in 1757, and later gained prominence in
the province of Granada (Morton 1987, 65-9). The cherimoya does not stand alone as a non-native food item embedded with this sense of glocalization; there are variations of peaches, melons, lentils, and rice, all of which were introduced from outside Spain, and despite their faraway origins, are now considered inherently Andalucian. It is important to note, however, that just as the border of Spain has allowed for enormous globalization and exchange, the borders of provinces within Spain are equally as fluid. While I focused on Andalucian recipes exclusively, the Andalucian kitchen incorporates cooking traditions from other regions of Spain. Just as one could find gazpacho in Madrid, one could easily find cocido madrileño, a traditional dish from Madrid, in Andalucía.

PHOTOS

Photo 1: Jamón Asado
Photo by author.

Photo 2: Paella
Photo by author.

Photo 3: Gazpacho
Photo by author.
CONCLUSIONS
While we often do not consider the origins of the foods we eat, they can tell a powerful narrative of our own histories, revealing the most dominant forces that have brought us to the present. Studying the dinner plate can offer a fuller and deeper understanding of the history and geography of a place. Gastronomy can shed light on cultural trends and patterns that might otherwise go unconsidered. While physical geography shapes the base of a kitchen, history lends the food a distinctive character and produces a uniqueness that can be uncovered with careful study.

It is intuitive that the Mediterranean climate of Andalucía determines an enormous part of what and how people eat. A landscape dominated by dry summers and wet winters yields abundant olive groves, pomegranates, onions, oregano, and plentiful agriculture. After combining empirical data collected from September to December of 2013 with numeric data from three Spanish cookbooks, it is evident that the flavors and ingredients of the Andalucían kitchen serve as a direct reflection of both the landscape and the nation’s most influential chapters: Roman occupation, the Moorish invasion of 711 CE, and the Columbian exchange. Even paella, Spain’s most famous dish, bears the vestiges of the nation’s tumultuous history, and its golden saffron hue carries with it a story and a piece of Spain.

The countless dishes and flavors that characterize the Andalucían kitchen are considered inherently Andalucian, despite the fact that they trace their origins far outside Spanish or even Andalucían borders. From paella to gazpacho, what one might consider ‘quintessentially’ Andaluz is not purely Andaluz. Such a conclusion has enormous implications for how we approach the idea of authenticity and purity. Truly, nothing can be considered authentic or wholly pure. On the contrary, the character of the Andalucian kitchen, like all kitchens, is constantly shaped by outside influences, from the military occupation of the Moors in 711 CE to the wave of globalization that began after the Columbian exchange, and relies heavily on global connections.

These forces transform nations in the same way they transform the dinner plate, making the kitchen an appropriate lens through which one studies the history of the place. In addition to serving as a reflection of physical geography, food can provide a nuanced understanding of how a nation has interacted with its neighbors throughout its history and how it operates as a modern state today.
WORKS CITED


Koehler, Jeff. 2013. Spain: Recipes and Traditions from the Verdant Hills of Basque Country to the Coastal Waters of Andalucía. San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC.


WORKS CITED


Perry, Katherine. 2013. Photo of gazpacho, Granada, Spain.

----- 2013. Photo of jamón asado con tinto de verano, Granada, Spain.

----- 2013. Photo of paella, Granada, Spain.


**TABLES**

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**L** Local or brought to Spain during Roman occupation  
**U** Ubiquitous worldwide  
**A** American product  
**M** Brought to Spain during Moorish occupation
### Table 3: Totals of ingredients from *Rustica* (Camorra & Cornish)

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**Origin Codes:**
- **L** Local or brought to Spain during Roman occupation
- **U** Ubiquitous worldwide
- **M** Brought to Spain during Moorish occupation
- **A** American product

### Table 4: Totals of ingredients from *Spain* (Koehler)

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<tr>
<td>Nutmeg</td>
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Thank you for reading