

Teresa Pinheiro  
Beata Cieszyńska  
José Eduardo Franco  
(eds.)

# Ideas of | for Europe

An Interdisciplinary Approach  
to European Identity



PETER LANG

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**Speech of Acceptance  
of Honorary Degree  
from Chemnitz  
University of  
Technology**

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# **Global Challenges and European Identity**

*José Manuel Barroso*

*President of the European Commission*

Dear Parliamentary Secretary Peter Hintze,  
Dear Minister-President of the Free State of Saxony Stanislaw Tillich,  
Dear President of Chemnitz University of Technology Professor Klaus-Jürgen Matthes,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very honoured to receive this accolade from such an important university. I am happy too to have the opportunity to speak during this conference which brings together so many eminent scholars to discuss European identity.

Please also allow me, on a purely personal basis, to stress my delight that there is such a close cooperation between the Technical University of Chemnitz and the University of Lisbon.

It is fitting that this debate takes place here in Chemnitz – which lies at the heart of German reunification and of the enlarged European Union – just days before the fifth anniversary of the 2004 enlargement.

This enlargement was not just an enlargement, but rather a reunification of the two parts of Europe, which had been artificially divided by the Iron Curtain. As Helmut Kohl quite rightly often said, European and German unity are the two sides of the same coin.

I know that today on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May we are celebrating a very special day in our common European memory. For many Europeans, including for many Germans, fortunately, this day marks the liberation from war and dictatorship. In contrast, for many Europeans, notably from Central and Eastern Europe, including for the people from this part of Germany, it marks the transition from one totalitarian regime to the next.

That is why I find it immensely moving – and very humbling – to think of the way in which the people of Central and Eastern Europe kept the idea of a united Europe in their hearts for almost half a century.

They never doubted their European identity. They felt that they had been cut off from the Europe of peace, freedom and democracy. Their dream was to find it again.

I pay tribute to their courage and resilience.

I have been asked today to consider the question of European identity in relation to global challenges.

The nature of these challenges is obvious: the first economic crisis of the age of globalisation; the rise of China and India; and the emergence of global problems, such as climate change and energy security. But what do these challenges mean for European identity?

To put it crudely, they make it more necessary. Global challenges mean that it is more important than ever for Europe to behave as one entity, to act together and make

its voice heard on the world stage. But this will only happen if we can develop a stronger sense of our common European identity. And we should also see it from the other angle: the more convincing and united European action is in facing global challenges, the stronger European identity will become over time.

So, what might this identity be? What kind of identity does Europe need to develop in the global age?

## **Identity around Common Values**

I believe that it must be an identity based around our shared values. Values such as freedom, peace, the rule of law, respect for human rights, diversity, solidarity and tolerance. Let me stress today the value of tolerance.

Some argue that tolerance was invented in Europe. Admittedly, there was a great deal of religious persecution in medieval Europe. But there were examples of tolerance too. And by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in Europe, there was a serious and very important body of writing on the subject.

We need to build on this heritage now because one of the changes brought by globalisation is the mass movement of people around the world. Europe is now a society made up of people of many different cultures, traditions, faiths and convictions. European identity must embrace this reality and be inclusive, not exclusive.

Indeed, it is time to move beyond tolerance towards an even more robust appreciation of the value of pluralism and diversity in our society.

Goethe said “to merely tolerate is an insult; true liberalism means acceptance”. He was right. But, of course, the notion of mutual acceptance implies that the acknowledgement of each other’s differences and dignity always goes both ways.

Globalisation also means that we must re-assess our attitude to and our relationship with the rest of the world.

In Europe, some people fear globalisation. They believe that it will lead to a dilution or even the disappearance of European culture. I do not. I am certain that globalisation will benefit us, not just economically, but culturally too.

Europe needs to be confident in its own identity – confident enough to be open to outside influences; confident enough to promote values internationally, without wishing to impose them on others.

We need to build a strong, positive identity based on what we are for, not what we are against. Too often are identities forged in opposition to the identities of others. We should avoid this. At the same time, we should recognise that we have a distinctive contribution to make to the world.

While many of our values may not be unique to us, some of them are, or at least they are more prevalent here than they are elsewhere.

I would single out the value that we attach to solidarity and our very special awareness of environmental issues, but also our love of freedom in politics, in the economy and in life.

These values have given rise to a unique economic and social model in Europe, which combines the dynamism of the market with social justice and respect for the

environment, a balanced approach which has proved to generate sustainable growth and progress at all levels. In German you call this *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*.

In this sense, Europe might be an example for the rest of the world to follow.

There is already strong interest among Latin American countries (particularly Brazil) in our model of development. Our standards and rules are often adopted in other parts of the world including China and Japan.

Europe must build on its immense advantage when it comes to transnational regulatory cooperation and even integration. This is why international interest in the European model will increase, in the wake of the crisis, as people become more aware of the need for a sustainable way of life. The G20 process, which was launched on the European Union's initiative, clearly demonstrates this.

It only remains now for the people of Europe to be inspired by the European dream, and for us to be sufficiently cohesive to make our voice heard!

## Promoting European Identity

We need therefore to continue to promote a common European identity and I have long believed that culture has a key role to play. Culture is, after all, immensely powerful. Just look at the way in which autocratic and totalitarian regimes have always persecuted artists and writers.

Of course, the great challenge to Europeans is to find the correct balance between a common identity and cultural diversity. We can look at European history to find extraordinary examples of such a balance.

George Steiner summarises cultural diversity neatly in his essay on the idea of Europe:

The genius of Europe is what William Blake would have called "the holiness of the minute particular". It is that of linguistic, cultural, social diversity, of a prodigal mosaic which often makes a trivial distance, twenty kilometres apart, a division between worlds.<sup>1</sup>

We must cherish our cultural diversity and protect it. That is one of the major purposes of the European Union. Yet, at the same time, we should also remember what we have in common.

Given the venue for this talk it is appropriate to remember that, in the Middle Ages, scholars from all nations gathered to study in universities in Latin. There are even hostels or houses of the different peoples in the oldest European universities – such as the Collegio di Spagna – a college for Spanish students at the University of Bologna.

And we should remember that the great artistic and cultural movements have rarely been confined to a single country. I am thinking of the monks and master masons who ensured that gothic architecture spread to all corners of Europe – from Paris to Milan, Salisbury to Cologne and Oporto to Krakow – and of the fine examples of Renaissance architecture to be seen outside of Italy – such as the chateaux of the Loire Valley, Hardwick Hall in England and the New Cloth Hall in Krakow.

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1 See George Steiner, *The Idea of Europe* (2004). Tillburg, 32-34.

And one must not forget the magnificent gifts of Baroque arts, to be seen and admired all over Europe, in Rome and St. Petersburg, in Berlin and Paris, in Stockholm and Vienna, and of course, a few kilometres from here, in your beautiful capital of Saxony, Dresden.

I am thinking of the Republic of Letters – men like Marin Mersenne, Athanasius Kircher and Henry Oldenburg, who forwarded and shared letters with a whole network of interested intellectuals and correspondents around Europe; and of the Grand Tours undertaken by young Europeans in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries; and the *Wanderjahre* of Dürer and Goethe; and William Wordsworth's walking tours of Europe, during which he covered vast distances, visiting France, Switzerland and Italy.

I am thinking of how *Art Nouveau* spread to cities as far apart as Prague, Glasgow, Barcelona, Vienna, Riga, Helsinki and Brussels, and of how Paris at the beginning of the last century became home to Picasso, Gris, Brâncuși, Giacometti, Julio González and so many other great artists and sculptors from different countries.

Some will say that this is the culture of the elite and that it is therefore largely irrelevant. I do not agree. Many supposedly elite art forms, such as opera, are now gaining a wider appeal.

And I would argue that our common artistic output is an immense resource and that it should be made available to more people through education.

We must also have a sense of history. I do not mean some kind of homogenising, sanitised narrative, the logic of which leads inevitably to European integration!

## Foreword

*Viriato Soromenho-Marques*

Three years ago, over one hundred speakers from many countries joined together in Chemnitz, at the School of Humanities of the Chemnitz University of Technology. For four days, Europe was the main and sole topic for a fruitful and seemingly never-ending critical debate. Today, you, the reader, have the opportunity to share the enormous wealth of knowledge and reflection that was brought together in the six main chapters of this extraordinary book.

Europe is here taken in its deeper meaning, in its spiritual context of Idea and Ideal. Europe is also understood in a double and inseparable manner. It is taken as both the numerous representations of its nature or identity as already existing and as a project or task to be fulfilled in the more or less near future. In any case, we are dealing with a concept of Europe that is never reduced to a merely geographical entity.

The dates chosen for both the congress and the publication of the present book were very felicitous. Europe is nowadays, and once again, at a dangerous crossroads, facing both severe external challenges as well as demanding internal pressures. European construction was able to overcome for more than sixty years the bloody empire of war, which was for centuries the main European institution designed for the never-ending task of maintaining the “balance of power”. However, this building process now seems to be losing speed and strength, entering a strongly unsafe domain of doubt and shadow.

Hopefully this book will help us to help others in the task of understanding the nature of our current European malaise, and discover the ways out of it. This is a book about time, about representations, about imagination of goals, about sharing dreams. This is a book against oblivion, against simplification, against prejudice, against exclusion, against mental borders and walls. This is a book that believes in the strength of ideas, in the European capacity for striving for and reaching consensus regarding a vision of the future that will be powerful and peaceful, creative and environmentally sustainable.

Let me close these introductory remarks by showing my gratitude to all the sponsors who gave us the material tools that allowed this book to take a concrete shape. Let me also share with the readers the remembrance of the fact that this book, and the congress it reflects, were born on a sunny spring day by the sea, on Madeira Island, four years ago. The way from Madeira, first to Chemnitz, and afterwards to these pages, was long and strenuous. It was a path made possible by many people and contributions. However, I would like to praise especially those who may be named, according to a well-known cliché of European literature, the “three musketeers” of this project. I mean the three coordinators of the Congress and editors of this book: Teresa Pinheiro, Beata Elzbieta Cieszyńska and José Eduardo Franco. I express also our gratitude to José Manuel Barroso, the President of the European Commission, who supported this endeavour from its outset.

I strongly wish that the inspiration brought to us by the outstanding contributions contained in this volume may bring forward that kind of rational enthusiasm that is always a companion of great deeds. The tasks ahead of us Europeans demand we be able to hold at bay the risk of fatigue that, according to Husserl, is the greatest danger pending between Europe and its destination.

Lisbon, 9 May 2012



## Introduction

*Teresa Pinheiro, Beata Cieszyńska and José Eduardo Franco*

It would be a failure to define European culture according to fixed characteristics. Its glory and strength arise from the fact that it is always open to go beyond what it has been and to exceed itself. European culture is a perpetual creation. It is not a fixed point, but a road, which requires us to keep walking.

Ortega y Gasset 1954: 38<sup>1</sup>

### On European Identity

On 29 September 1953, José Ortega y Gasset held a lecture in Munich entitled “Is There a European Consciousness?”<sup>2</sup> There were specific reasons for this question as a number of European states were determined to enforce the European unification process on the debris of World War II. On 9 May 1950, Robert Schuman laid the stepping-stone to European integration with the European Coal and Steel Community. In the early days of the political project called European Union, José Ortega y Gasset argued that there could not be unification without a firm base, a unifying idea: “This capital stock can only consist of a shared cultural consciousness, which must exist” (Ortega y Gasset 1954: 6).

Approximately 40 years later, after the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht in February 1992 – another crucial turning point of the European integration process –, the president of the EU commission, Jacques Delors, commented on the future of the European integration process: “If in the ten years ahead of us we do not succeed in giving Europe its soul, a spiritual dimension, true significance, then we will have been wasting our time [...]. The potential of the Maastricht Treaty will not be realised without some form of inspiration” (Commission of the European Communities 1992). Delors shared Ortega y Gasset’s opinion that the European Union cannot be reduced to a solely political and economic partnership of convenience. According to Delors, a shared understanding is necessary that can only be achieved if based on a common European identity. Furthermore, Delors believes this “European soul” is something that not only needs to exist, but needs to be created by the European avant-garde of political agents and the EC institutions.

The European Union has achieved an unprecedented integration in the 20 years since Delors’s appeal. This process was marked by the creation of the Economic and Monetary Union, the enlargement by 12 new member states in three years, the parallel legal and institutional rearrangement based on the Treaty of Lisbon and the membership prospect for further states. Nevertheless, the cries to “give Europe a soul” are now

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1 Original: “Es wäre ein Irrtum, die europäische Kultur nach bestimmten Merkmalen zu definieren. Ihr Ruhm und Kraft bestehen darin, daß sie stets bereit ist, über das, was sie war, hinauszugreifen, immer über sich selbst hinauszuwachsen. Die europäische Kultur ist eine fortdauernde Schöpfung. Sie ist keine Herberge, sondern ein Weg, der immer zum Gehen nötigt” (Ortega y Gasset 1954: 38).

2 Original: “Gibt es ein europäisches Bewusstsein?” (Ortega y Gasset 1954).

as current as in the 1950s and the 1990s. This seems to be the core of the European paradox: the more the process of political integration advances, the less European citizens seem to identify with the supranational community. As Delors might argue, the European institutions seem not to have achieved the aim of giving Europe a soul.

In his more recent book on Europe, *Gentle Monster Brussels*, the German writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger puts this paradox in a nutshell that reminds us of the many achievements of the past 60 years of the European integration process:

There are only a few decades in the history of our continent during which we have been at peace. Since 1945, there has not been a single military conflict between the member states of the European Union. Almost a whole generation without war! This is an anomaly our continent can be proud of.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, and in spite of this optimism, Enzensberger remains predominantly sceptical about many aspects of European integration. In his view, Europeanisation goes against the very principle of cultural diversity, which is defended in the slogan of the European Union. Some of the main issues pointed out by Enzensberger are the Kafkaesque complexity of the institutions and the distance between bureaucratic rulers in Brussels and the EU citizens (Enzensberger 2011: 11ff).

Recent developments in the history of the European Union also illustrate that the process of political and economic integration cannot advance without considering a cultural agenda that promotes a sense of belonging to a supranational community. The lack of acceptance towards the proposed constitution amongst EU citizens, as expressed by polls and votes, has often been interpreted as a lack of identification with EU. The renunciation of the European constitution by referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005, as well as that of the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland in 2008, precipitated the European political elites into crisis and initiated a stronger urge to advance the European identity debate among supporters of the integration process. The recent crisis affecting the *euro area* also has consequences for the political and cultural spheres of the European Union. Reflections on the European sovereign debt crisis are not confined to financial and economic aspects; the crisis has rather stimulated a debate on the future of the EU as a political, social and cultural unity.

After over 50 years of European integration, there are thus many signs that a European consciousness, which should provide life support for the common institutions, is not as strong as desired by European politicians and top administrators. Yet this consciousness is exactly the prerequisite that Europeans and EU institutions need to defend Europe's global position and tackle global challenges such as climate change, global labour distribution, unsafe financial markets and demographic changes. This is why the political construction of Europe is accompanied by a special interest to make Europe a so-called "imagined community" (Anderson 1983). Intellectuals and politicians are aware that there is no essential identity common to all Europeans; European identity may rather be constructed by means of persistent communication processes. In 2007, the Italian political scientist Gian Enrico Rusconi appealed for an active effort in

3 Original: "Es gibt nur wenige Jahrzehnte in der Geschichte unseres Erdteils, in denen der Friede geherrscht hat. Zwischen den Staaten, die der Europäischen Union angehören, ist seit 1945 zu keinem einzigen bewaffneten Konflikt mehr gekommen. Fast ein ganzes Menschenalter ohne Krieg! Das ist eine Anomalie, auf die dieser Kontinent stolz sein kann" (Enzensberger 2011: 7).

favour of a European spirit, since this common identity, similar to national identities, will not grow out of nothing, but has to be shaped and disseminated throughout the European citizens (Rusconi 2007). At the same time, initiatives like “A Soul for Europe” (Berliner Initiative 2008) and the book *A Soul for Europe*<sup>4</sup> publicly consider the development of a common European identity necessary for the future of Europe.

The history of the European Union seems to prove both Ortega y Gasset and Delors right. Their words are often quoted today as a warning that the political construction of Europe is only one part of the agenda of the European Union; another part, not less important, seems to be the endeavour to consolidate a collective European thinking and feeling. This being so, it comes as no surprise that in 2009, the president of the European Community, José Manuel Barroso, also argued for the importance of forging a European identity in order to reinforce Europe’s political role in the world. In a speech held at the Chemnitz University of Technology, Barroso stated: “Global challenges mean that it is more important than ever for Europe to behave as one entity, to act together and make its voice heard on the world stage. But this will only happen if we can develop a stronger sense of our common European identity” (Barroso 2009). But he also pays attention to the fact that the influences of politics and a collective identity are mutual: “And we should also see it from the other angle: the more convincing and united European actors face global challenges, the stronger European identity will become over time” (Barroso 2009). Barroso stresses the differences between national and European identity, which allows him to advance a postmodern concept of identity as something fluid or undetermined, an identity *à venir*:

It cannot be defined only or mainly in terms of the past, but is rather an identity *à venir*, an identity to come. The Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset put it beautifully when he spoke in Munich in 1953. He said: “European culture is a perpetual creation. It is not a fixed point, but a road, which requires us to keep walking”. I like this idea – to keep walking. It is a very old European idea, the idea of travel, the idea of Ulysses: our journey is in itself an experience. Of course, those who make political decisions have a special role to play. But so do artists and writers and academics, intellectuals and students like you. So let us join hands and keep walking down the road together (Barroso 2009).

Barroso’s reference to Ortega y Gasset’s reflection on European identity shows that the aim to strengthen a common sense of European belonging is not restricted to intellectual discourse; it is also a topic of the European political agenda.

## On the Contributions to This Book

The current attempt in European politics to develop a European identity makes scientific research on discourses of European identity especially relevant. Taking an analytical gaze at philosophical and political attempts to conceptualise Europe throughout the centuries helps to contextualise the current search for a European identity within its historical contingency. The present book aims precisely to work out discourses on Europe and to contribute to the understanding of how they are intertwined with the political and historical contexts in which they have been forged.

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4 Original: *Eine Seele für Europa* (Busek 2008).

Discussing constructions of European identity from a scientific point of view can only be fruitful if the approach to this topic arises from multiple perspectives. Identity constructions are based on the knowledge of the past and the utopias of the future; European identity is reflected on from national and supranational as well as peripheral and centralist perspectives; it gains its shape from both the gaze from within and the gaze from without. In the six sections on this book, the authors and editors take into account this necessity of a kaleidoscopic gaze when dealing with concepts of European identity.

The contributions in Part I – Ideas of Europe: A Historical Approach – embed the discourse on Europe into the respective historical contexts and work out the historical details of images of Europe. European wars, cultural and religious characteristics and comparisons with non-European alterity influenced the creation and the imprint of ideas of Europe throughout the centuries. The contributions in this section discuss historical concepts of Europe from Greek antiquity until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. They show us that though there are tropes that appear in different epochs and survive through inter-textual transfers, ideas of Europe can only be worked out by means of detailed reconstructions of the historical contexts in which those ideas appeared. The fact that this section is organised in a chronological order should suggest neither a linear evolution of ideas of Europe throughout the centuries nor a generalisation of certain concepts of Europe in a given epoch. Rather, common to all contributions is the fact that they place the discourses on Europe into the contexts of their emergence. The historical comparison allows for the discovery of parallels and differences between diverse concepts. At the same time, it enables to recognise how concepts of Europe are entangled in the historical contexts. Historical drafts may help to find outlines and profiles of today's concepts for a European identity.

Part II – Ideas of Europe from Its Peripheries – collects contributions dealing with constructions of European identity within national cultures. More than in the countries classically seen as belonging to the “core Europe”, there have been stimulating debates within its “fringe areas” that explore the relationship between national and European identities. Reflecting on whether or not their own cultures belong to the European family, intellectuals, writers and politicians from countries and regions rarely considered European pioneers try to specify what it means to be European. This section gathers case studies on concepts of European identity as reflected in the works of intellectuals from Russia, Poland, Turkey, Macedonia, Greece, South Tyrol and the Iberian Peninsula and thus contributes to a better understanding of ideas of Europe from its peripheries.

Contributions in Part III – European Identity – reflect the discussions on European identity from a philosophical point of view. The articles in this section develop a dialogue with the most authoritative thinkers of Europe, such as Zygmunt Bauman, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Jürgen Habermas, Imre Kertész, Eduardo Lourenço, Edgar Moran, Friedrich Nietzsche, Richard Rorty, Fernando Savater, Georg Steiner, Slavoj Žižek and others. Eduardo Lourenço and Zygmunt Bauman – two of the most inspiring European philosophers, whose work still keeps the debate on European identity alive – not only have their works discussed in the contributions in this section, but also contributed themselves to the making of this book. Lourenço's reflection on “Europe, or

the Seduction of Lost Time” is included here. Bauman’s contribution on “Making the Planet more Hospitable to Europe” closes the book in the form of an epilogue, due to its character as a prospective reflection on European identity.

Closely intertwined with the question of a European identity are reflections on a European memory. Part IV – European Memory – is dedicated to the question of whether there is a European memorial culture, cultivated all over the continent. The articles in this section focus on the Holocaust. The case studies dwell on the practices of Holocaust memorials in Sweden, Germany and Spain as a departing point for the question of whether the Holocaust is one of the central *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1984) of European collective identity.

Views from the outside of Europe, as offered in Part V – Europe as Seen by Others – stick to characteristics which cannot be seen from the inside. Montesquieu’s *Lettres persanes* of 1721 was a rhetorical attempt to assume an outsider’s perspective in order to outline Europe’s advantages and disadvantages. Yet there exist testimonials by African, American, Arab and Asian travellers and observers, as well as from people on the peripheries of Europe, who came to the European centres and wrote about their experiences. In this mirror, ideas of Europe appear in an unknown perspective, which may help to complement the insiders’ views. The contributions in this section present Europe as depicted in anti-colonial and post-colonial intellectual discourses from francophone and lusophone African and Latin American writers, in the autobiographical writings of Indian and African soldiers during World War I and in the political discourse of the Cold War United States. None of the case studies aim to present a generalised view of Europe from other continents; the authors rather endeavour to take into account the specific historical and political contexts in which Europe is constructed in the analysed sources.

Reflection on the future of Europe is the focus of the final section of the present volume, Part VI – Europe and Its Prospects. Said reflection is not fulfilled by prognosticating political and economic developments. Especially interesting is the question of EU citizens’ identification with a unified Europe. This aims for the comparison, analysis and discussion of prospective designs of a European identity as found in the European Commission, in national political institutions, in the media and among civil society. Some of the topics addressed in this section, in their intersection with European identity, are Euroscepticism, the relationships between the European Union and the southern Mediterranean countries, the possible systems of government for the EU, future immigration policies, a more inclusive Europe and the challenges of globalisation and climate change.



The present book includes a selection of papers presented at the congress “Ideas of | for Europe”, which took place at the Chemnitz University of Technology on 5-9 May 2009; the papers were shaped into articles according to quality standards and thematic demands. Neither the date nor the place were chosen by chance. The city of Chemnitz (called Karl-Marx-Stadt between 1953 and 1990) is a symbol of the unification not only of Germany, but also of Western and Eastern Europe. In 2009, Chemnitz cele-

brated the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Peaceful Revolution that brought democracy and Europe closer and relocated the city into the very heart of today's Europe.

The organisers felt committed to the most given feature of European identity: its diversity. This congress was not the first to deal with European identity; its uniqueness relied rather on the fact that it collected the contributions of scholars from around 30 different countries from all over the world. It was especially this dialogue between eastern and western, northern and southern Europe, as well as the diverse gazes from outside Europe, that conferred on the meeting the character of a genuine academic exchange on questions of European identity. This diversity is reflected in the contributions in this book, bringing together case studies on the same phenomena from different cultural areas of Europe, which are not usually brought together. The wide disciplinary spectrum of scientific exchange also contributed to a fruitful dialogue. The congress welcomed contributions from the whole range of human and social sciences, since European identity can only be addressed from a multi-perspective effort. This book is thus a contribution to Europeanising or even globalising research on Europe. The wide historical range of the project, the importance of the topic and the great expertise of the participants make this publication of special interest to anyone concerned with questions of European identity.

The editors are aware that the present book would not exist without the engagement of the authors, who contributed to deepening the multicultural and multidisciplinary dialogue both during the memorable discussions in Chemnitz and during the worldwide exchange required for the preparation of this book. We would thus particularly like to thank the participants for their cooperation during the emergence of the book. We are also grateful to the Chemnitz University of Technology, and most notably to its president at that time, Prof. Klaus-Jürgen Matthes, for believing in the European commitment of Chemnitz and its university; to the members of the School of Humanities, who were involved in this project; to the Institute for European Studies at Chemnitz University for their support during the congress; to all the members of the executive committee of the congress for their engagement; and to the students of European Studies in Chemnitz for having convinced all participants that Europe's prospects are in safe hands. Finally, we would also like to thank the large team of competent young scholars who contributed both to the organisation of the congress and to the preparation of this book.

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**Part I**

| Ideas of  
Europe – A  
Historical  
Approach



# Europe – Europa: Between Myth and Continental Allegory: On the Gendering of a Complex Relationship, from Herodotus to Georg Kaiser

Almut-Barbara Renger

## Introduction

This article looks at the myth of Europa and the bull and, more precisely, its connection with perceptions, concepts and ideas of Europe that have arisen throughout European history – a Europe, in fact, that has been subject to constant and, at times, drastic changes from antiquity to modernity and the present day. We shall see that in a period spanning over 2,500 years, *Europa/e* (Gr. *Εὐρώπη*, *Eurōpē*) has been seen, so to speak, through a multiple lens, in which the ancient mythological figure of *Europa* has been associated and conflated with the name of the continent, the cultural concept of *Europe* and their gendered representations. This association is both complex and multi-faceted. For centuries, conceptions and definitions of Europe have been influenced, informed and inspired by gendered and sexualised representations and portrayals of *Europa/e*, a small selection of which is presented here. These seminal texts and images include literary and visual references to the abduction story, allegories, maps and numerous other images of Europa and Europe.

## Gender Stereotypes at Stake: Georg Kaiser's Modern Europa – Active Founder and Eponym

In English, Europe and Europa constitute two different words and two different concepts: *Europe* refers to the continent, and *Europa* to the woman abducted by the bull. The fact that ancient Greek and Latin, as well as many modern languages (such as German, Italian and Spanish), use one and the same word for both continent and woman has furthered a diversity of connections between Europa and Europe from the earliest times to the present day. Let me begin my reflections on the Europa-Europe relationship with a representative example from modern German literature, Georg Kaiser's play *Europa*. This drama will help us better understand the long history of Europa's and Europe's receptions since Homer and Herodotus. Indeed, certain elements and emphases of Kaiser's dance play figure very strongly in this reception history.<sup>1</sup>

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1 All quotes from Kaiser's text and other German and French sources have been translated into English by myself. Ancient authors and works are not cited in the APA style as is otherwise done here, but according to Liddell-Scott-Jones's and Lewis and Short's index of authors and works; see Charlton T. Lewis / Charles Short (1975) and Henry G. Liddell / Robert Scott (1996). For those ancient Greek and Latin authors and works that are specifically referred to or quoted in this text or that are pertinent to the subject matter I have provided editions and/or translations in the bibliography at the end of this article. For other ancient sources only mentioned in passing, I refer to author, chapter and verse or line, etc. according to the conventions established.

The play, published in 1915 and staged in 1920 with music composed by Werner R. Heymann, takes up the familiar relationship between the myths of Europa and Cadmus, and carves out innovative aspects using dance and music.<sup>2</sup> In the myth, Zeus transforms himself into a bull and carries off the king's daughter from Phoenician shores, bringing her to Crete. After bull-god and girl have sexual relations, Europa gives birth to Minos, Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon.<sup>3</sup> At this point, the myth exhausts Europa's role and turns to the three sons, who, like Europa's brother Cadmus, founded sites around the Mediterranean that later bore their names. Sent out by his father Agenor to find the missing Europa, Cadmus becomes the founder of several cities and temples, and serves as the eponym for the castle that will later become the city of Thebes, where he defeats the holy dragon out of whose teeth, upon being sown in the earth, sprout mighty armed men.<sup>4</sup> Kaiser's Europa is a different – a modern, transformed – Europa. To be sure, she is abducted by Zeus in the guise of a bull, but she does not become the mother of his three sons. Rather, she returns after one night and takes a man, the leader of warriors who prove to be the mythical Spartoi (Sown Men) of Cadmus. Sent by Cadmus, they appear before king Agenor's palace on the day after the abduction, and Europa leaves with them to look for a new country that will bear her name. She thus plays the role of active founder and eponym.

This story, of course, derives from a long tradition. Kaiser's play *Europa* can be understood against the background of two strands of *Εὐρώπη* reception. To use the term coined by Aleida and Jan Assmann (and based on Maurice Halbwachs's idea of a "mémoire collective"), both strands of reception are inscribed in the Western "cultural memory" (Assmann 1988: 9-19; Assmann 1992; Halbwachs 1997; Assmann 2006: 1-30). A closer consideration of the strands reveals again the function of literature, art and music as media of cultural memory. This consideration demonstrates that literary, visual and musical reinterpretations of the abduction story of Europa have contributed not only to producing and establishing collective identities of specific groups, even today, but also to questioning and undermining them. Both strands of reception in which imaging of gender and sexual categories of identity plays a pivotal role have become increasingly important, particularly since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and especially in the development of distinct national identities and the subsequent appearance of a collective European identity (Renger / Ißler 2009). These two strands refer back to the first great texts of the West, which (re)construct the abduction myth under varying conditions and circumstances. The first strand of reception against whose background

2 Cf. Herodotus 4.174.4 in connection with 2.49.3. The mythographic tradition surrounding Europa's genealogy has made the association of Europa and Cadmus canonical, which we can see from (Pseudo-)Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.2ff and Hyginus, *Fabellae* 178 up to dictionary entries and articles in influential works such as Natale Conti's *Mythologia, sive explicationis fabularum libri decem* (8.23 = "De Europa") (1551), Benjamin Hederich's *Gründliches mythologisches Lexikon* ("Cadmus" and "Europa") (1724) and Gustav Schwab's *Die schönsten Sagen des klassischen Altertums, nach seinen Dichtern und Erzählern* ("Europa" and "Kadmos") (1883-1840).

3 For sources in ancient literature, cf. Bühler 1968: 7-46; Renger 2003: 19-59, 222-226.

4 Other ancient literary sources that tell the story of Cadmus, apart from those mentioned in footnote 2, are, e.g., Hesiodus, *Theogonia* 937, 975ff; Pindarus, *Pythian Odes* 3.88ff; Diodorus Siculus 5.48.5ff; Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 3.3ff; Pausanias 9.12.1ff; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 1.138ff.

Kaiser's play must be read leads to Homer, the second to Herodotus. Let us turn to the first strand of reception.

In the *Iliad*, Europa appears as one of Zeus's many exploits (14.312-328). A figure in a series of youthful, beautiful objects of desire, for whose conquest the father of the gods repeatedly transforms himself, Europa is henceforth known as one of Zeus's sex-objects. This emphasis changes in late antique, patristic and medieval reinterpretations, which typically regarded pleasure and sexuality with outright hostility, and were defined by the Christian concept of historical salvation. It is not until the Renaissance that Europa once again appears as the object of desire. For centuries to come, the story is passed on as a tale of abduction-as-love, in which Europa plays the obedient bride, which of course conforms to traditional gender roles and sexual categories of identity (Renger 2008).

In Kaiser's play, Europa no longer assumes a subservient role; nonetheless, she can hardly be viewed as an agent of women's emancipation, despite her wilful rebellion against her father Agenor. Like her brother Cadmus, who leaves his homeland, according to Agenor, "without goodbye" because, according to the Spartoi, he wants to "be a man" and create his own empire "with armed men" (642f.), Europa also acts out against her father.<sup>5</sup> The "headstrong daughter", as Agenor calls her (599f., 605), is weary of the excessive refinement of her father's court and country. Her pronounced boredom becomes manifest in a number of scenes: first, in her obvious disinterest in the country's androgynous men, who, schooled in dance and decidedly refined, attempt to court her; second, in her meeting with the wild warriors, whom she finds inordinately fascinating, after her night with Zeus. The meeting precedes a psychosociological process, which Alexander Mitscherlich (1969), in his book *Society without the Father: A Contribution to Social Psychology* calls the breakdown of the authority figure based on the father image. Just as Cadmus and Europa do with their father, Cadmus's Spartoi (648), "the children of his deeds" (649), also break away from their king. They decide not to return to Cadmus, for they believe that only the king's independent sister is fit to rule. They refuse to bring him the women necessary to populate his kingdom. They want to found "a new country", independent of him, "that will bear the name of its queen [...] Europe!" (649).

We could thus postulate that the author is reinterpreting the ancient myth as a woman's founding act. Instead of repeating the sharp binaries of gendered behaviour, i.e., masculinity as warmongering, femininity as peaceful, Europa represents a kind of opposite, namely, a feminine will to power that militates against masculine decadence. Indeed, Kaiser's adaptation of the Europa myth is extremely original in this regard. It presents a woman who, independently and forcefully, founds the continent which is (in the play) named after her. To do so, she leaves the personified masculinity of the divine bull and the earthly father and sovereign, and freely chooses the warriors as her companions. One particularly original element of Kaiser's rendering lies in its presentation of gender difference as a cultural and historical construct that changes as cultures evolve. Europa shows how much this difference, to quote Ina Schabert, "is involved in historical processes affecting both mindset and society" (Schabert 1997: 23)

5 References to Kaiser's play will henceforth be cited from the 1971 edition (cf. bibliography), from pages 585-651.

and demonstrates how drama and theatre also negotiate, stimulate and transform these constructs. To be sure, seen from the critical perspective of feminist studies, the play does not altogether relinquish conventional gender roles. Although it depicts shifting gender differences, it ultimately re-establishes them.

This is particularly apparent in the play's ending, where all characters in the drama leave themselves open to the prospect of war. Asked if his soldiers want to come back "from this Europe", the warriors' leader answers the king in the negative, yet responds to the king's "Thank heavens" with the threat that one day their sons would flood "the borders" of Europe and destroy Agenor's nation (650). This threat has a strong effect on Agenor; once conciliatory, he now becomes hostile. Upon his call to "create men for me [...] who will brandish swords and defend this life that needs our protection" (650), the previously androgynous men undergo a transformation: they gather their skirts, tie back their hair and find women who are "robust" and "maids from the farm" (650) to bear them new men, in a style reminiscent of the rape of the Sabine women, an episode in the legendary history of Rome, in which the first generation of Roman men took wives from the neighbouring Sabine families.<sup>6</sup> The old king first seems disconcerted by the sight of these women struggling in the arms of his men, but quickly agrees: "I see your sons. Flooding life gushes here too". With this invigorating image, his readiness for war finally prevails. He challenges Cadmus's warriors to fight the "new race: Come later and measure yourselves against this race. Fight for dear life [...]" (650). Both sides answer lustily to the war cry: "THE WARRIORS: We are coming to you. THE MEN: We are waiting for you" (650). The king seals the "good" outcome – the vision of two new generations and their battle to prove which is the stronger race – with a tried and true sign of the happy ending: wedding torches are lit for everyone.

This ending, well-intentioned though it may be, shows signs of gender trouble. Gender difference, which is constructed, on the one hand, through the satirical mockery of the androgynous characters and, on the other, the reaffirmation of traditional gender stereotypes, is reinforced by using the ambivalent model of ancient founding myths, based on the violent abduction and rape of one or more girls (Doblhofer 1994: 83-93) – in Kaiser's case, first of Europa, then of the farm girls. Thus one of Agenor's men, "exhibiting the now acquiescent girls" at the end of the play, says: "[s]he shall bear you men". The other men, meanwhile, turn to the other girls: "The earth is blooming because Europa is finally pulsating". Carol Diethe has suggested that this statement is based on the premise that "what a bored virgin really needs is a good rape" (Diethe 1991: 343). Diethe is not wrong. It is only in the figures of the rebellious Europa and her androgynous suitors that Kaiser seems to question traditional gender roles. In the end, he demonstrates that there are not only fixed feminine, but also fixed masculine gender roles and represents these with the usual stereotypes of masculinity: power and domination, strength and discipline, assertiveness and physical force (Walter 2006: 77-100, esp. 82).

6 As told e.g. by Livy, the legend provided material for Renaissance and post-Renaissance artworks and has thus been passed on into our present day. Livius 1.9-13 (and e.g. Plutarchus, *Vitae Parallelae* 2.15 and 19).

There is still much we could say about this topic, which space does not allow for.<sup>7</sup> Instead, we will turn our attention to the relationship between the first strand of reception and the second, against which Kaiser's Europa is also to be understood.

## The Phoenician Princess in Ancient and Medieval Times – Abductee and Eponym

This second strand, which treats Europe as a cultural concept, continent and political issue, brings us to Herodotus's *Histories* and further back into early antiquity.<sup>8</sup> The early Greeks divided the earth into two (or, with Africa, three) continents (Meier 2006: 1-21, esp. 3-5). Hecataeus of Miletus, active in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., improved the first world map of the West drawn by Anaximander (ca. 550 B.C.E.) and added a literary description to it.<sup>9</sup> The cartographic apportioning of the Northern Hemisphere to Europe and the Southern to Asia (and Libya) had a widespread effect: in the course of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., it became common practice to use these kinds of maps, especially in schools. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., Herodotus also mentions maps in which the earth is divided into Europe and Asia, and uses the term *Εὐρώπη*, which still in approx. 600 B.C.E. did not refer to the continent, but rather only to the Greek mainland, excluding the Peloponnesus (Schumacher 1990: 24-28, esp. 26ff). Furthermore, Herodotus refers, albeit sceptically, to the conflation of the continent with the mythological figure of the same name. In a passage of his *Histories*, in which he expresses his thoughts on the three continents, Asia, Libya (Africa) and Europe, as well as on how they got their names, he writes:

No one knows for certain whether or not there is sea to the east or to the north of Europe; it is known, however, that lengthwise it is equal to the other two continents together. [...] As for Europe, not only does no one know whether it is surrounded by water, but the origin of its name is also uncertain (as is the identity of the man who named it), unless we say that it is named after Europa from Tyre, and that before her time, the continent was after all as nameless as the other continents were. But it is clear that Europa came from Asia and never visited the land mass which the Greeks now call Europe; her travels were limited to going from Phoenicia to Crete, and from there to Lycia (4.45).

The above passage clarifies three things. First, that it was already unclear to Herodotus how the continent had got its name. Second, the assertion that the Tyrian Europa never came to Europe shows that Herodotus was exceedingly sceptical about the supposed connection between the name of the continent and the name of a mythical princess. Third, it demonstrates that Crete, the island to which Europa had been taken, did not count as part of the continent of Europe as it was then understood. Reading this passage next to other passages from Herodotus's discussions of Europe, it also becomes evident that the geographical term *Europe* underwent certain changes. Herodotus uses

7 For more details and further information on the play, see Renger 2009: 165-187.

8 Before Herodotus (4.36-45) produced an initial, coherent transcription of the three continents Europe, Asia and Africa (Libya), Pindar had called Europe a continent in *Nemean Odes* 4.70.

9 For a description of the Oikumene, see Hecataeus Miletus Historicus in *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* T 12a. Regarding Hecataeus, also cf. Pearson 1939: 25-108.

the term synonymously for the designation of Hellas as the antithesis of Asia, i.e., the Empire of Persia, which had for quite some time been subject to wars, as well as a designation for Thrace and the region west of the Hellespont.<sup>10</sup> We could conjecture that the name of the region neighbouring Asia Minor (or indeed several regions in central and northern Greece) was gradually transferred to the entire area behind it.<sup>11</sup> In any event, Europe was initially not so much a fixed, delineated geographic area as the concept of an abstract topography with borders that could not be precisely defined. It remains a mystery whether it really was the name of a Phoenician princess used to designate the historical space where so many peoples and cultures converged. And even assuming, as Herodotus did, that the conflation of Europa and Europe dates back to an old misunderstanding, it is not at all clear from where the Greeks got the name *Εὐρώπη*.

In any case, the conflation on which Herodotus reflects has in effect proven extremely fruitful. Despite the doubts expressed by the historian about tracing the continent's name back to the mythical princess, the two have, nevertheless, always been referred to together and conceived of in causal relation to one another since antiquity. Since Herodotus's *Histories*, *Εὐρώπη* has shifted back and forth in Western thinking between myth and continent. The two delineated strands of *Εὐρώπη* reception have converged over time, both qualifying and diverging from each other. Their relationship has become increasingly charged and interesting, thanks to the development of the concept of Europe in the modern period, and is already part of early texts that are significant for the reception of the abduction story. Particularly important texts were Ovid's versions in the *Metamorphoses* (2.836-3.2, 6.103-107) and *Fasti* (5.607-618), as well as Moschus's epyllion *Europa*, which – besides Hyginus's mythographical treatment in the *Fables* (178) and the humorous treatment of the myth by Lucian of Samosata in his *Dialogues of the Sea Gods* (15 = "West Wind and South Wind") – became more and more famous in late medieval times. Both authors – Ovid explicitly (*Fasti* 5.618), Moschus implicitly (2.8-15) – associate the continent Europe with the king's daughter of the same name. Another example is Horace's *Ode to Galathea*. Approximately half of it consists of Europa's (who has now been abducted to Crete) speech, in which she blames herself for leaving her paternal home and laments her abject state. Venus's answer to this is to create a light-hearted solution for the apparently hopeless situation of the abductee. It serves the same purpose as Zeus's comforting words in Moschus's work: Zeus the abductor, prompted by Europa's lament, uses the pretext to reveal his true identity to the girl. Europa is told that now she is Jupiter's wife and a whole continent shall be named after her.<sup>12</sup>

The tendency to trace the continent's name back to the princess reappears in many variants, among others, through the influence of the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville

10 On Europe as Thrace or northern Greece, see Herodotus 4.143.1; 5.12.1; 7.8.1; 7.185.1-2; on Europe as a whole continent see Herodotus 4.36.2; 7.9.1; 7.50.4 *passim*. A detailed account can be found in Sieberer 1995.

11 See e.g. Gollwitzer 1951: 157-172; Pfligersdorffer 1966: 964-980, esp. 965; Demandt 1998: 137-157, esp. 140; Meier 2009: 31.

12 Horatius, *Carmina* 3.27.75-76; Speech and Answer in Moschus 2.135-162. For further references, see e.g. Helbig 1965: 1416.



(*Origenes* 14.4.1). We see it in medieval schoolbooks, in etymologies of the geographical term *Europe*, and finally in various forms in the modern period, particularly in works which pick up Boccaccio's rationalistic reading of the myth (for instance, in the chapter "Europe" of *De claris mulieribus* or *Famous Women*; Boccaccio 1995: 39-41). Christine de Pizan's *Cité des dames* or *The City of Women* (1405) is a good example. Here, Europa appears as a historical personality among virtuous women: "Europa, daughter of Agenor from Phoenicia, became so famous because Jupiter, who was in love with her, named the third continent after her" (Pizan 1986: 226). An interesting variation on the relationship of the abduction story with reference to geography can be found in Mercator's *Atlas* (1595). Here, the myth serves to represent the "customs and natural disposition of the European". That is, the Flemish cartographer focuses on the ethnographic sense that the abduction story may embody. According to the *Atlas*, the bull-god who possesses "a kind of noble courage" is "insolent, embellished by his horns, white in colour with a broad throat and a thick neck". So he stands, "leader and commander of the stud farm [...]. Although he displays great continence, he exhibits great ardour when confronting the opposite sex, then again he becomes chaste and moderate" (quoted from Rougemont 1966: 16).

### **Gendered and Sexualised Representations in Modern Times – Beautiful Girl, Superior Queen, Disgraced Whore**

A representative example for those Renaissance poets who tie Europa and Europe together is Pierre de Ronsard (IBler 2006: 60-73). Not only can we find numerous allusions to the rape motif in his work, but Ronsard also concludes that the continent acquired its name from the woman abducted by the bull: "that one, violated by the bull in disguise, was both so sensible and so beautiful, that our Europe has borne her name" (Ronsard 1949: 158). The beauty that Ronsard sees as grounds for abduction is Europa's most notable quality in most representations of her in the Romance language-speaking countries of Europe since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from the beauty that makes her sexually desirable, two political elements made her attractive to producers and recipients of literature and art alike – namely, her status as princess and the violent abduction. The inherent political potential of the figure, and therefore the attraction of adopting her, will be clarified in examples below. Suffice it to say at this point that both aspects, the beauty and the possibility of political utility, are not only reflected in literary and artistic depictions of the abduction of the king's daughter. They also had an effect on the female allegory that artists and writers have used to represent the continent since the beginning of modern times (Guthmüller 1992: 5-44). From these interferences in both figures, a specific, subtle Europe-Europa tension arose, the effects of which can still be felt today.

Allow me a few basic remarks on the allegorical-political representation of Europe. The gendering of place with socio-political implications has a long history in Western cultures. Political allegory in the form of a female figure with typical characteristics is rooted in Roman antiquity as a way of representing regions, provinces and finally continents. Allegorical representations of geographical spaces typically legiti-

mise and pay homage to political rule. They continue to have an effect as long as the *Imperium Romanum* continues to exist. Although effaced and replaced during the medieval period, the female allegory of the continent was revived from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward, particularly in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, not least due to the impact of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the illustrated edition of which came out in Rome in 1603 and was used by artists seeking authority for their work. Ripa personifies all four known continents of the time (Europe, Asia, Africa and America) as women, in accordance with the *Zeitgeist*: Europe's appearance as a continental allegory expands after the discovery of America, which adds a fourth continent to what had been known as the *triad of continents* since antiquity. As a result, we can find Europa in the grouping of the four continents. Visual art illustrations were then designed with a preference for cyclic ensembles, in which the allegories of Africa with a crocodile and Asia with a camel or dromedary are depicted just as Europe is with a bull (Poeschel 1985). Following the preferential colonial interests of the European great powers in other continents, their own continent was assigned a superior role and Europe was shown as the queen of the world (Acidini Luchinat 2002: 119-124).

At a time when modernity is suffused with the imperialistic urge to explore and measure the world empirically, the figure of Europa finds its way into cartography. Over the course of this process, the geographical silhouette of the continent comes to resemble the outline of a woman's body. Particularly representative are a wood carving from 1537, associating a cartographic outline of Europe with the figure of a woman in the image of a queen (see Schmale 2004a: 241-268, esp. 245ff; Schmale 2004b: 73-115, esp. 89ff, fig. 9) and a map by Franz Hogenberg, published in Michael Eytzinger's *De Europae virginis tauro insidentis topographica & historica descriptione* (1588), representing Europe as Europa on the bull (see Renger / Ißler 2009: 74, 371ff, 632, fig. 38). The illustration by Johannes Bucius (Putsch) becomes the new model for representations of Europe. It appears in numerous versions from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century on, e.g., in several editions of the earliest German description of the world, Sebastian Münster's famous *Cosmographia* (first published in 1543/44, and with a Bucius-like illustration first in 1588) as well as in Heinrich Bünting's *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae* (1581), a book on the geography of the Bible (see Duchhardt and Wrede 2006: 594-619, esp. 597ff, fig. 1). Bucius's gynecomorphic map represents the continent of Europe, turned 90 degrees to the left, as the figure of a female sovereign, her crowned head coinciding with the Iberian Peninsula. With her accompanying array of Carolingian arms, orb and sceptre, she is the representation of the empire itself. France and the Holy Roman Empire form the upper body. The seam of her long skirt encompasses the Baltic countries, Russia and Bulgaria, and basically the European part of ancient Sarmatia, including Greece.

The imaging of gender in maps of Europe – in the shape of a queen, as designed by Bucius and later by Hogenberg – opens up numerous layers of meaning. On the one hand, map makers represented their views of the world as perceived in contemporary "reality", and on the other, they presented maps in the form of a metaphor with hidden meanings and a much deeper "essence" to be interpreted. To treat all possible meanings would be impossible here. Of particular interest for us is that the cartographic gendering of Europe as a gracious young woman surrounded by water is a reference to

the abducted princess carried over the sea. In addition to playing on an old legacy which has been stylised again and again since antiquity as the founding myth of Europe, it brings to light the idea of the political unity of all Christians (*res publica Christiana*), handed down since the Middle Ages, as well as the claim to world domination over and superiority to the other continents. This is achieved by portraying only her as the entire figure and ruler of all of Christian Europe. The other two continents, Africa and Asia, can only be partially recognised, and only in undifferentiated, amorphous form. They still appear as uncivilised, natural states and are thus not culturally equal to Europe.

It is hardly surprising that literature has also drawn on the political allegory of Europe. In the heroic comedy *Europe* (1642) by Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, a political drama displaying loyalty to France, Europe appears as a queen and personifies geographical unity at the same time.<sup>13</sup> Here gendering goes hand in hand with sexualising Europe. As a desirable female figure, Europa is the object of conquest for the European nations, who are, in turn, represented as male allegorical figures, which portray characteristics typical of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

As we see from the frontispiece of the *comédie héroïque*, Europe's position as a woman to be conquered is not painless (Felbinger 2004: 21-43, esp. 29ff, fig. 1). Europe is here figured as a queen with rich robes. However, what we sense when looking at her is not so much dignity and grandeur, which are nevertheless obviously present, but fear. Looking for help, Europe turns to the warrior, who in turn draws his sword, ready to defend her. This is Francion, the allegory of France: his ancient armour probably refers to the ancient myth of the Trojan origin of the French monarchy, the cock adorning the helmet to the Celtic descent of the French. The reason for Europe's fear can be found in the other figure, Ibère, the embodiment of Spain. With a predatory step, he approaches Europe, a chain in his hands, with which he obviously wants to shackle her. Ibère is dressed in court costume, with ruffs (at the neck and hands), a high cap, silk stockings and a cape. Another important figure is Ausonia, the allegory of Italy, depicted with the keys of Saint Peter on her head. She stands at Francion's side, because in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, France (particularly in connection with the War of the Mantuan Succession) managed to extend its influence in Italy after an epoch of domination of Spain. Next to Ibère, we see the bearded Germane Germanique, the allegory of the German empire bearing the double eagle as headdress.

The frontispiece signals the dramatic themes and tense unfolding of the *comédie héroïque*. In the play, the battle for hegemony between Spain and France in Europe is staged as an intrigue, charged with passion. This kind of figuration enables the feminine embodiment of the continent as the young and beautiful queen, and the masculine personifications of France and Spain as princes seeking a wife. The fact that Europe is threatened by those (especially Ibère) who are trying to conquer her with physical violence greatly heightens the dramatic quality of the whole issue.

Desmarets certainly did not invent the image of the lamenting Europe in need of protection. For quite some time, artists and writers had been using her for the purposes

13 The text has only recently been rediscovered in the fields of literary studies and history; cf. the critical edition of Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin 2005: 881-944. For useful explanations and thoughts on the play see Felbinger 2004: 21-43, esp. 29-35.

of political propaganda. The image reaches back to versions of the ancient myth, which depict the Phoenician princess unmistakably being abducted against her will by Zeus or Jupiter and taken to Crete. Horace, especially, demonstrates in the above-mentioned *Ode* 3.27 a Europa lamenting the violence of the bull against her and the disgrace of her situation. We might puzzle over this ode, which has not unfairly been called the “most difficult and controversial of the odes” (West 2002: 224) of Horace. One thing, however, is certain: the abducted girl weeps and moans bitterly. And even this, regardless of how it is ultimately to be interpreted in the whole context of the ode, becomes a mythological legacy, and is received and reinterpreted in various ways, not least of all as a political statement.

We can find an early example of a disgraced Europa figuring as a continent in a pen drawing by Conrad Schnitt that comes with an epigrammatic commentary (ascribed to Erasmus, dating from between 1520 and 1525) (Wiebel 1988: 38-55, esp. 50ff, fig. 24).<sup>14</sup> In the drawing, the ancient myth is evoked in synchronic illustration. On the left, Mercury chases a herd of cows on the Phoenician shore; Europa’s playmates denounce the abduction; Jupiter, in the form of a bull, carries off the frightened Europa across the sea. On the right, on the other shore, we see the modern Europa representing the continent: in front of a grotto – a play on the Dictaeon Cave to which Zeus is said to have taken Europa – the pope, a cardinal, a bishop and monks of various orders hold her down and despoil her, ripping her clothes asunder. The epigram critically points out and comments on aspects of violence present in the early versions of the myth. The myth thereby serves as a foil for a decided critique of the Church; for the writer, Europa, who had once belonged solely to Zeus (God), is now used as a “shameful whore for priests”. The drawing shows Europa contorted in postures of Christian suffering in the midst of various tormenting clerics, who are despoiling and dishonouring her. The “whore” (Lat. *meretrix*) here not only stands for Europe in the geographic sense, but for all of Christendom. That seems to indicate that the fall of the Church, the lust of the Church representatives and their striving for worldly goods caused Christian Europe to envy the heathen continents of Asia and Africa.

There is much to say about lamenting Europa as a political allegory, as well as about other transferences from the ancient myth and abducted princess to the continent and its allegory. There is a fund of artistic representations (illustrations of the abducted princess, allegorical representations of the continent, cartographical visualisations of the continent, etc.) that we can draw on, which research – especially (but in no way exclusively) on the 17<sup>th</sup> century – has compiled for us.<sup>15</sup> Yet, the examples cited must

14 On drawing and epigram, see Wiebel 1988: 38-55, esp. 50ff. The Latin text reads, “Iupiter Europam, vera est si fabula, tauri / Lusit mentita callidus effigie. / Quam monachi falsa sub imagine simplicis agni, / Proh pudor, haec non est fabula, nunc subigunt. / ‘Spurca sacerdotum meretrix Europa puella, / Inclyta quae fueras unius ante Iovis, / Dic, precor, effigies ubi prisca, ubi candida vestis, / Cur luxata modo, cur ita senta iaces?’ . ‘Nonne vides qui me grex stipat? Hic oris honorem / Abstulit et dotes quas deus ante dedit. / Felices Asiae terras Libyesque, procorum / Turba quibus non tam flagiciosa nocet!’” See also Guthmüller 1992: 15ff.

15 Poeschel 1985; Wiebel 1988: 38-55; Wattel-de Croizant 2002; Bußmann / Werner 2004; Schmale / Felbinger / Kastner / Köstelbauer 2004; Wattel-de Croizant / de Montifroy 2007; Renger / IBler 2009. A variety of information on the topic and illustrations can be found on W. Schmale’s online project at [www.univie.ac.at/igl.geschichte/europaquellen](http://www.univie.ac.at/igl.geschichte/europaquellen).

suffice, because we only have limited space here. They exemplarily demonstrate that myth and continental allegory have always been associated and conflated with one another. Thereby features, characteristics and attributes of the girlish princess on the bull's back were transferred to the rather grand, stately continental allegory and vice versa. Without a doubt, there have been numerous representations that did not comprise qualities and attributes that had deliberately been transferred from one figure to the other. However, due to this one name, the potential for association and conflation was nevertheless ever-present and repeatedly exploited (just as it is today, above all in caricatures and political journalism) (Soiné 1988: 76-83). In many cases, the bond between Europa and Europe has been subtly and only indirectly present.

### **Between Established Traditions and New Directions – Desire and Movement**

Let me conclude by sketching still a few more “stations” in the history of reception, which are also helpful with regard to our understanding of Kaiser's portrayal. Particular mention shall be given to textual, visual and musical reinterpretations that precede and in a way prepare Kaiser's play, which essentially lives in the interplay between text, moving image and music.

That the abducted princess has been present in the art and literature of the modern era as a political allegory is largely thanks to the abduction scene, which was made into an iconographic formula in antiquity and proved to be an extraordinarily appealing, captivating and useful image that engrained itself in cultural memory. There were three distinctive formulaic types predominant in the 14<sup>th</sup> century's Christian “moralisations” of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, such as the famous *Ovide Moralisé* (1316-1328) and Petrus Berchorius's *Ovidius moralizatus* (around 1342). These types were: 1) the one in which Europa, sitting on a (mostly) white bull and holding on to a horn, is looking around herself; 2) the one in which three women companions look on as Europa on the bull travels over the sea; 3) the one that displays various phases of the event simultaneously (Kobler 1973: 378-380). The influence of these formulaic types cannot only be seen in the illustrated Ovid editions in Desmarets's time, which were still produced in great quantities in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The numerous other illustrations of Europa (apart from the references to Ovid), which developed from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward in arts and handicrafts mainly north of the Alps, and painting and sculpture in Italy (also increasingly in France from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onward), attest to it as well (Kobler 1973: 385-405, Renger 2008: 276-285).

These images of Europa become more and more opulent in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Compositions started appearing with increasing richness of detail and figure, indicating the productive reciprocity of text and picture, which relied freely on ancient sources. Titian's famous painting *Ratto di Europa* or *The Abduction of Europa* (about 1559-62) (Pescio 2002: 65, fig. 4), now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, depicts Europa lying horizontally on the bull's back, accompanied by several cupids, whose representation indicates her upcoming coitus with Zeus. With their depictions of strong emotions, paintings in this vein indicate a turn towards sensuality as well as

the literary representations of the myth of Europe at that time. They emphasise physical and emotional sensitivities, not least the power of desire and sexual lust, which they mark as the immanent motive of the Europa myth: as a reason for the movement of one figure to the other as well as the movement of both figures from one place to another. This is indeed what creates the background of Desmaret's *comédie héroïque*.

Just like Desmaret's depiction, a number of amusing, and at times ironic, treatments of the abduction story since the 16<sup>th</sup> century have dealt with the power of erotic and/or political desire as a motivating force. During the Enlightenment, Europa, whose figure had been dramatised on stage in the previous century, was treated with ironic distance. While comedians and tragedians like Desmaret, and Antoine-Louis Le Brun, in his tragedy *Europe* (Le Brun 1712: 269-318), wrote plays devoid of any such forms of distancing, but were rather caught in the throes of declamations and lamentations, writers like Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, in *Auf die Europa* or *About Europa*, Gottfried A. Bürger in his *Historia von der wunderschönen durchlauchtigen Kaiserlichen Prinzessin Europa* or *History of the Beautiful, Serene, Imperial Princess Europa* (Bürger 1914: 129-138; Lessing 1998: 76) and Heinrich Heine in *Mythologie* or *Mythology* deal with the bull and princess in a largely comedic manner: "Yes, Europa has succumbed, who has the power to resist oxen?" (Heine 1991: 99). There are diverse intentions behind the treatments of the myth (for a selection of textual examples, see Renger 2003: 94-148). They are directed against, among other things, the portentousness of previous Christian and Neoplatonic readings, as well as against the all-too-sentimental plays on the love motif.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century particularly, music and literature began to merge into multi-dimensional amalgams of dance music and play and other hybrid forms. Among them we can find the ballet, which was assiduously used by the Sun King to groom his image. It is hardly any wonder that we here encounter a grand, stately allegory, rather than a fragile abducted maiden.

In French court culture during that period, ballets that had developed in Italy during the Renaissance found their way into the opera genre and became a part of the court culture of Versailles. The dance enthusiast Louis XIV had a preference for pompous spectacles on stage, mostly to showcase himself. Jean-Baptiste Lully, the appointed court composer in 1653, thus created a stage for him and his self-expression and glorification with multimedia performances, in which language, pictures, acts and music unite in a single aesthetic experience. Working with poets, composers and choreographers, he produced numerous ballets, which were to portray the king, "by the Grace of God", as an extraordinarily competent human being, single-handedly responsible for great historical progress. To this end, Lully drew on a fund of symbols, not least from antiquity. Due to the humorous side of the abduction myth, it might have seemed advisable not to use bull and girl with the aim of overpowering the audience of the wonderstruck court. After all, the Sun King and France were to appear in the best light in every respect. The ballets of the courts were supposed to demonstrate, as Jacques Bonnet's *Histoire de la musique* (1715) later clarifies (1969: 330), that the king not only had outstanding political skills, but was also adept in the arts of music and dance.

A model example of a ballet, performed at the beginning of the 1660s in Paris, depicts Europe as a continental allegory supporting sovereignty, a depiction not atypical for this period. The background story depicts Atlas, unable to bear the weight of the earth any longer, handing it over to the goddess of truth. In the end, the world is rearranged with the restoration of the English monarchy, and monarchic truth triumphs. Even if originally composed in honour of the English monarchy, the ballet here clearly shows that worship is primarily meant for Louis XIV, the only monarch really present. So in the first act, “Le Globe” pays its respect to the “Grand Roy”. Not until then does Atlas go to her, accompanied by the muses Urania, Clio and Terpsichore (responsible for astronomy, history and dance), who say: “You, Europe, step out first. / Since you have received more / Rays of light / Than the Holy Spirit intended: / Bring here your princesses / To receive their honours” (Bonnet 1969: 102ff). The part of the globe with “Europe” written on it opens, and Europe steps out as a queen with five daughters: France, Spain, Germany, Italy and Greece. Afterwards the continents Europe, Africa and Asia dance with their respective kingdoms and colonies, oceans and rivers, all following Louis’s choreography – “a majestic entrance, worthy of the grandeur of their Empires” (Bonnet 1969: 104).

While in literature and the arts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century – especially in the convergence of language, illustration, story line and music in forms like the ballet – we can often find the (allegorically formed) continental aspect at the centre of interest, while from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century on, the mythological princess once again comes to the fore. This is not only due to her visual presence in all the various pictorial portrayals in the plastic arts during the preceding centuries, but also due to the influence of 17<sup>th</sup> century grandiose Italian operatic dramatisation of the emotionally laden mythological figure. To name but a handful of examples from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, we can find *Europa rapita da Giove cangiato in toro* (Bologna, 1623) by Ottavio Vernizzi (libretto by Emilio Fantuzzi) and *Europa* (Genua, 1660) by Giovanni Maria Costa (libretto by Giovanni Andrea Spinola). Antonio Salieri’s *Dramma per musica Europa riconosciuta* (libretto by Mattia Verazi) also follows in this tradition. Given that the work had its debut performance at the opening of Milan’s Teatro alla Scala in 1778, it has since had a distinguished position in music history (Quetin 2002: 341-352, Kramer 2001: 28-37). It portrays the protagonist as the Phoenician princess, but abstains from integrating the bull into the plot. He is replaced by Asterio,<sup>16</sup> who abducts Europa from Tyre.

For the sake of brevity, we end our overview here. Hopefully it has become clear that since the Renaissance, and even more so since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *Europa/e* has repeatedly been used in the double semantic sense of the ancient Greek name – as a fixed part of the Western cultural memory, which has been especially relevant for questions of identity relating to the historical and present day of Europe. This double semantic meaning, henceforth, provides a fruitful experimental fund. It has been used again, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after both figures, Europa and Europe, had been

16 According to mythographical tradition, Europa marries Asterio (or Asterion) on Crete; he raises her sons and bequeaths them his kingdom. See Hesiodus, *Fragmenta cat. fr.* 140 MW (= *Fragmenta selecta*, ed. Merkelbach / West); Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.60.2-3; (Pseudo-) Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.5.



presented in a variety of arts and genres in the preceding century, including those, like the ballet, that lie between established tradition and a new direction.

### **Emergence from Outdated Bonds: Kaiser's *Europa* – Dramatic Combinations of Movement**

This semantic Europe-Europa field of multiple meanings – of myth and history, arts and politics, tragedy and comedy, tradition and innovation – probably appealed to Georg Kaiser very much. Indeed, using dance and music to write about Europa and Europe emerging out of outdated bonds against a background of taut social and familial relationships must have been extremely appealing to him already in 1915, but all the more so in 1920, the year it was performed. *First*, at this time, “Europe” was being spoken of as a project, a vision and a union of fate. Theses about Europe’s demise – Vol. 1 of Oswald Spengler’s *Der Untergang des Abendlands* or *Decline of the West* was published in 1918 – provoked a multitude of positive counter-utopias, of which the *PanEuropa Script*, published in 1923 by Coudenhove-Kalergi, was the most prominent. The “Europe Debate”, mostly conducted by writers since the Romantic era, flared up again with and after the First World War. Amongst others, Ferdinand Lion, Annette Kolb, Rudolf Borchardt, Hermann Hesse, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Heinrich Mann discussed Europe’s elevated position in the world, the idea of a cultural and political entity, as well as possible formats for an alliance of states and an understanding among nations.<sup>17</sup> *Second*, in many of the previous portrayals during the modern period (especially in France and Italy, which functionalised Europe as a political issue long before Germany did), both the mythological figure and the continent had been richly depicted by means of text, image and sound. Thereby it had not least of all been demonstrated that the key to the history and story being depicted was movement. In a way, the changing referential modes of language, music and movement had brought the old story of the abducted princess, and with her the continent, back to the stage and, as it were, to itself.

Kaiser sought to broach the topic precisely here: at the dynamic point of movement engrained in the cultural memory and the configuration of Zeus and Europa depicted in multimedia settings. In doing so, he oriented himself to tradition, but tried to break with it at the same time. Europa as (and with) play and dance – significantly, this was the second part of the title (and motto) of the 1915 text – depicts Agenor in a largely comedic manner as a sovereign with a penchant for dancing, who in no way receives homage, unlike Louis XIV. In addition, the play also depicts a Europa who (unlike the dramatised Europa and Europe figures of the past, who were used to make

17 See Ferdinand Lion: *Gedanken über Europa* (1915); Annette Kolb: *Briefe einer Deutsch-Französin* (1915); Heinrich Mann: *Der Europäer* (1916); Rudolf Borchardt: *Gedanken über Schicksal und Aussicht des europäischen Begriffs am Ende des Weltkrieges*. Schema (1917); Hugo von Hofmannsthal: *Die Idee Europa. Notizen zu einer Rede* (1917); Hermann Hesse: *Die Brüder Karamasoff oder Der Untergang Europas. Einfälle bei der Lektüre Dostojewskijs* (1919); *Blick auf den geistigen Zustand Europas* (1922); VSE (*Vereinigte Staaten von Europa*) (1924), Willy Haas: *Europäische Rundschau* (1924). All the sources cited here have been reprinted in Lützelner 1987: 7-116; 1994: 212-271.



political statements) does not appear in order to support the governing powers, but rather stands for a fresh start and new beginning. In the combination of dance and music (inter alia, to the sounds of a flute), desire, courtship and seduction are brought into varying dramatic combinations of movement.

The king's entourage plays a key role here: Agenor's men, who cultivate the "dance" as an "expression of the utter moderation of movements" (602), represent a concept of royal education and cultivation, as does Agenor's garden art. In representing them, Kaiser draws on the use of the arts – literature, theatre, dance, music, painting and sculpture – that had been common throughout the centuries, and increasingly so at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>. That is, he mixed genres, freely experimenting with styles and rhetorical and poetic devices, body images and figures of movement. As figurations of a more sophisticated aesthetic context, the light-footed men mince around the royal gardens in honey-coloured and sky-blue robes, picking flowers and twining wreaths. Their conversation seems to be as artificially coy as their movements. "Every loud tone" is "banned", Agenor comments, every "untoward gesture stultified" (601), and he adds: "[t]he dance is the last step. In dance our roughness is disarmed at its very core" (602). This depiction in dance, which is at the same time transferred into language tinged by irony, is to be read against the background of the paradigm shift at that time from classical ballet to free dance. The patterns of movement, e.g., "after steps of tossed up knees: standstill, the curved arms rise and turn the shoulders" (587), are in stark contrast to the concept of body-nature and the natural movement, which developed around 1900 and emphasised the culturally emancipative effect of the free dance, represented, for example, by Isadora Duncan (Brandstetter 1995).

The highest Greek god himself, the title character and the wild Cadmus-Spartoi contrast with the ballet-puppets. With them, the play contrasts three figural embodiments of vitality and lust with Agenor's men. Agenor's refined culture crumples before them – and a dynamic new beginning emerges. At first, the protagonist Europa returns from her night with Zeus visibly refreshed. Renewed and dynamised, "changed" (649), she cuts herself off from the sublimating tendency of the paternal code of behaviour in order to establish a new European community with the rakish leader of the warriors. Agenor himself and his men succumb to the energy of the wild warriors and lose their inhibitions. We can also see this in the stage directions: Agenor's men break with the rule in which they moved before so as to violently rape maid-servants from the farms.

What is being precariously depicted here is the principle of "transformation" (*Wandlung*) of the expressionistic movement, to which Kaiser subscribed for a few years (along the lines of "transformation of the individual leads to the transformation of society"). The play ends with a "cheering coming together of the sexes", as one reviewer remarked of the 1920 production (Engel 1920: 3). As do a great number of portrayals of the abduction myth since the Renaissance, the expressive motion of the finale indicates the vehemence of emotional and erotic needs, especially the power of desire that, already since antiquity, has been cast in verse as the principle motive for action. Evidently in Kaiser's text too, this power motivates the characters' movements towards each other as well as from one place to another, and, as in Desmarest's *comédie héroïque*, it also becomes political statement. In the final cheering of the sexes

arises the vision of an all-encompassing renewal: "In order", one reviewer writes, "to have the strength to procreate, a whole folk will migrate across lands to look for a new country: Europe" (Engel 1920: 3). This vision of the "New Man" and the "New Woman", politically charged yet nevertheless hardly concrete, remains as an article of Expressionist literature – a vision. Kaiser's play became historic: a document of its day, as so many other gendered and sexualised representations and portrayals of Europe and Europa that have come down to us over the centuries.

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# Ideas of Europe in Strabo's *Geography*

*Paula Carreira and Susana Alves-Jesus*

## Introduction

The Europe we know from today remains a loyal depositary of the Greco-Roman legacy. Embracing a culture we still call the cradle of Western civilization, it excites us to return to Classical Antiquity and realise how our ancestors saw and understood Europe in that period. It is in this context that Strabo emerges: a classical author placed amongst the authors of Augustan canon, who wrote an apparently geographical work when the memory of Augustus was still alive in Rome.

Little is known from the life of Strabo. However, from the analysis of biographic elements in his surviving writings, we can deduct a few elements. Coming from an influential family of high social status and influence, Strabo was probably born around 64 B.C. in Amasya, Pontus (Asia Minor). He had honourable teachers, such as Aristodemus from Nysa, Xenarchus from Seleucia and Tyrannion from Amisus (the last two in Rome), who provided him with a sophisticated education.

He visited Rome for the first time around 44 B.C., the year of Julius Caesar's death, and from that moment he began to have contact with the culture of the period. Years later, he would witness the ascension of Augustus and the implementation of a new political regime – the principality. With the defeat of Marcus Antonius in the famous Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., the republic eventually gave way to a regime led by the emperor. Augustus duly seized power and, in 9 B.C., gave the order to build one of the most remarkable monuments of the period, the Ara Pacis. This was a symbol of a new time of peace, prosperity and propitious cultural production, meant to contrast with the long civil wars that preceded it. Though Strabo probably wrote his *Geography* under the government of Tiberius, he remained inspired by this Augustan program.

## Europe in Strabo's *Geography*

Strabo started with a historical writing based on Polybius, entitled *Historika Hypomnemata*, of which we know but a few fragments. However, the work that made him famous was indeed *Geography*. The main manuscripts are from the period between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries. Nevertheless, older versions of some excerpts of Books 2, 7 and 9 were found in Egyptian second- and third-century papyruses; parts of Book 1 and of Books 8 to 17 were found in a late-fifth-century palimpsest. It is also important to add that the *editio princeps*, by Aldus, was published in Venice in 1516.<sup>1</sup>

The first two books are introductory. In them, Strabo starts by remarking that geography is a philosopher's concern, for it deals with issues that are both human and

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1 The editions that supported the bilingual edition of Horace L. Jones (that we use in this article) are Krames (1844-1852) and Meincke (1853-1853).

divine, as philosophy does.<sup>2</sup> Besides, all others who had written about the subject were philosophers, an argument that Strabo regarded as decisive. On the other hand, the vast knowledge required to accomplish this work can only be acquired by those who studied things both human and divine. Ultimately, the purposes of geography and philosophy coincide: the search of happiness through knowledge.

Furthermore, Strabo argued that the study of geography implies an encyclopaedic learning<sup>3</sup> that would include astronomy and geometry (in the presentation of forms, sizes, distances, climates),<sup>4</sup> as well as arts, mathematics, natural sciences, history and mythology.<sup>5</sup> To complete such knowledge, the author adds the empirical knowledge that one could acquire through travels, which would allow learning about different local realities.<sup>6</sup> Before this, as Dueck points out:

The Greeks thus developed two styles of written geography. One was descriptive and usually formed an appendix to historiographical discussion in the tradition initiated by Herodotus. The other was scientific and dealt with various mathematical and astronomical aspects of geography such as zones of latitude, measurements of the circumference of the earth, and definition of sites according to coordinates of longitude and latitude (Dueck 2000: 53).

For all this, the target of his work could not have consisted of ignorant readers, who would not even understand a little of his geographic conceptions. Strabo states that *Geography* is most of all useful to generals and statesmen, for the description of geo-

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- 2 Τῆς τοῦ φιλοσόφου πραγματείας εἶναι νομίζομεν, εἴπερ ἄλλην τινά, καὶ τὴν γεωγραφικὴν, ἣν νῦν προηγήμεθα ἐπισκοπεῖν. [...] ἥ τε πολυμάθεια, δι' ἧς μόνης ἐφικέσθαι τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου δυνατόν, οὐκ ἄλλου τινός ἐστιν, ἢ τοῦ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐπιβλέποντος, ὥνπερ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστήμην φασίν (1.1.1.C1 e C2). “The science of Geography, which I now propose to investigate, is, I think, quite as much as any other science, a concern of the philosopher; [...] In the second place, wide learning, which alone makes it possible to undertake a work on geography, is possessed solely by the man who has investigated things both human and divine – knowledge of which, they say, constitutes philosophy.”
  - 3 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε δεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα πολυμαθείας εἰρήκασι συγχοί· (1.1.12.C7). “Assuredly, however, there is need of encyclopaedic learning for the study of geography, as many men have already stated.”
  - 4 Ἄπαντες δὲ ὅσοι τόπων ιδιότητας λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἰκείως προσάπτονται καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ γεωμετρίας, σχήματα καὶ μεγέθη καὶ ἀποστήματα καὶ κλίματα δηλοῦντες καὶ θάληη καὶ ψύχη καὶ ἅλως τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος φύσιν (1.1.13.C7). “All those who undertake to describe the distinguishing features of countries devote special attention to astronomy and geometry, in explaining matters of shape, of size, of distances between points, and of ‘climata’, as well as matters of heat and cold, and, in general, the particularities of the atmosphere.”
  - 5 Ἐχει δὲ τινα καὶ θεωρίαν οὐ φαύλην ἢ πραγματεία, τὴν μὲν τεχνικὴν τε καὶ μαθηματικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ καὶ μύθοις κειμένην, οὐδὲν οὔσι πρὸς τὰς πράξεις· (1.1.19.C11). “And yet, a work on geography also involves theory of mean value, the theory of the arts, of mathematics, and of natural science, as well as the theory which lies in the fields of history and myths – though myths have nothing to do with practice.”
  - 6 Strabo affirms that no other author travelled like himself: οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ οὐδὲ εἷς ἂν εὐρεθῇ τῶν γεωγραφησάντων πολὺ τι ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ἐπεληλυθὼς τῶν λεχθέντων διαστημάτων [...] (2.5.11.C117). “And you could not find another person among the writers on geography who has travelled over much more of the distances just mentioned than I [...]”

morphology helps them know the lands, and allows better strategic planning.<sup>7</sup> The knowledge of the terrain, of whether it is populated, of whether it is actually known, should be a concern of the leaders who command their armies beyond the inhabited world (given that, for Strabo, geography must also describe the “desert” beyond the inhabited frontiers). As the hunter will profit from his knowledge of the forest he walks into, those who want to camp, to ambush, to devise strategies for attack or defence, will be the more successful the more information they can collect. Precisely because of its encyclopaedic nature, the geographical science is essential even for the greatest generals to position themselves. Thus:

He means to give neither a technical treatise like Eratosthenes nor a mere coastal guide for traders quite ignorant of science: he writes for readers of liberal education, and especially generals and rulers, who are interested mainly in ‘the inhabited earth’ as the scene of history, and little in unknown regions outside, though they should have a modicum of science about the globe and its zones (Thomson 1965: 225).

Nonetheless, geography was not new at the time of Strabo. Other authors, such as Polybius, Posidonius, Crates and Hipparchus, among others, had already written about similar themes, and Homer could even be considered “the founder of geographical science”.<sup>8</sup> While acknowledging his predecessors, Strabo defends the importance of his work:

ὕπολαμβάνομεν δ' ἄλλων ἄλλο τι κατορθωσάντων ἄλλο πολὺ μέρος ἔτι τοῦ ἔργου λείπεσθαι· πρὸς οἷς ἂν καὶ μικρὸν προσλαβεῖν δυναθῶμεν, ἱκανὴν δεῖ τίθεσθαι πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πολὺ τι τοῖς νῦν ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια καὶ τῶν Παρθυαίων τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας προσδεδώκε· καθάπερ τοῖς προτέροις μέγα τι ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεία, ὥς φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης.

Although various predecessors have done excellent work in various fields of geography, yet I assume that a large portion of the work still remains to be done; and if I shall be able to make even small additions to what they have said, that must be regarded as a sufficient excuse for my undertaking. Indeed, the spread of the empires of the Romans and of the Parthians has presented to geographers of today a considerable addition to our empirical knowledge of geography, just as did the campaign of Alexander to geographers of earlier times, as Eratosthenes points out (1.2.1.C14).

Thus, what makes *Geography* new is the awareness of the expansion of the Roman Empire and the consequent perception of an inhabited territory that was wider than it had been thought. In fact, the old conception of the world still emerges in Book 1. Based on Homer, Strabo argues that the world is like an island, surrounded by the Ocean, and that it is divided into three continents: Europe, Asia and Libya (Africa). The proof of this was that every time men went to the extremities of lands, they met the sea. The world map described in *Geography* has a corresponding configuration.

7 πρὸς τούτους δὲ ἡ διάθεσις, οἷς διαφέρει τὰτα ἔχειν οὕτως ἢ ἐτέρως, καὶ γνώριμα εἶναι ἢ μὴ γνώριμα. Βέλτιον γὰρ ἂν διαχειρίζοιεν ἕκαστα, εἰδότες τὴν χώραν ὅποση τις καὶ πῶς κειμένη τυγχάνει καὶ τίνας διαφορὰς ἴσχυσα, τὰς τ' ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ (1.1.16.C9). “And the description which geography gives is of importance to these men [generals and commanders] who are concerned as to whether this or that is so or otherwise, and whether known or unknown. For thus they can manage their various affairs in a more satisfactory manner, if they know how large a country is, how it lies, and what are its peculiarities either of sky or soil.”

8 1.1.2.C2.



After presenting the Interior Sea – the Mediterranean – Strabo begins to describe the three continents. He starts with Europe because, as he justifies in the text, of the three continents, this is the most heterogeneous in its form. On account of its nature, Europe was also the more likely to develop excellence of men and regimes. Europe contributed to the welfare of the adjacent regions with its own resources, for almost all of its territory was inhabitable. Even from the climatic point of view, Europe was a privileged region, with abundant natural resources that provided the primary conditions for a peaceful living:

ἀρκετόν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ὅτι πολυσχήμεν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀνδρῶν εὐφυεστάτη καὶ πολιτειῶν, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πλείστον μεταδεδωκυῖα τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν.

But I must begin with Europe, because it is both varied in form and admirably adapted by nature for the development of excellence in men and governments, and also because it has contributed most of its own store of good things to other continents (2.5.26.C126).

Besides, Europe has, according to Strabo, a natural propensity for the development of soldiers and thinkers, due to its heterogeneous ground, varying between mountain and plains. Strabo also claims that a country with good natural conditions is likely to become peaceful and, hence, susceptible to promoting civilisation and culture; in other words, it fosters the emergence of thinkers. Yet a country whose natural conditions are arid, e.g., an excessively rocky or mountainous country, favours conflict and, consequently, the appearance of military forces; in other words, it also fosters the emergence of soldiers. As such, Europe combines two seemingly contradictory advantages.

The benefits of European climate and soil also favoured other commodities. Its fruits and metals were those which were necessary for life; even the animals found in Europe were those which could be domesticated. To these primary, vital resources and to the emergence of cities, Strabo adds the military might to defend them.

The advantages and qualities of the first continent having been exposed, the author continues Book 2 with a brief tour of Europe, which he will develop later, from Book 3 on. The initial appraising tone of Europe's description is absent in Strabo's accounts of Asia and Libya. In both cases, the author restricted himself to the topographical description, thus highlighting the superiority of Europe over the remaining two continents.

If we attend to the outline of his work, we notice that eight books refer to Europe, while six concern Asia and one concerns Libya. The most evident reason for this choice is the fact that Strabo knew Europe better. Actually, the author justifies this disparity in reference to the notions of his epoch – Europe comprehends most of the Roman Empire, the dominant political power. Thus, taking into account what has already been said about the morphologic diversity of Europe, he states that, despite the existence of mountains that make livelihood difficult, the continent could be easily governable, if ruled by good administrators.<sup>9</sup>

Likewise, the Romans, after conquering other people they regarded as wild precisely because they inhabited inhospitable regions, taught them the adequate forms of rule. Thereafter, the transmission of knowledge and the contact between the conquered

9 In this case, the Greeks are taken as an example. Even occupying a zone of extreme land relief, they were happy, based on good governing, arts and a good livelihood.



people and their conquerors allowed the former to prosper, in spite of the rough natural conditions. In this sense, Strabo refers to three dominating people: first the Greeks, then the Macedonians and now the Romans (2.5.26.C127).

For the conquest to take place, the existence of both a military force and, most importantly, leaders is necessary. Being entirely inspired by the Augustan period, Strabo introduces the first emperor as the model *dux*. If we remember the words Virgil put in Anchises's mouth, we will have a synthesis of the Roman mission and ideal: "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (haec tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, / Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos" (VI.851-853).

Daniela Dueck remarks that, according to Strabo, the emperor is a conqueror who restores cities, bringing tranquillity to wide regions of the world; he is somebody who is adored beyond borders; an entrepreneur who creates beneficial legislation for Rome and also for the remaining cities; a man who respects gods, as well as human beings.<sup>10</sup> For all this, Augustus receives the title of *Pater Patriae*, the Father of the Homeland.

Therefore, the Roman Empire is later justified and legitimised, since it brought civilisation with it.<sup>11</sup> Thus, it is not just a matter of territorial dominance nor of gratuitous violence. The Roman Empire corresponded to an ideal of civilisation that is not too distant from us. As Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro summarises:

The strength of Roman ideas was not restricted to the power, to the victories, to their dominant impetuosity; it also gained breath and consistency with the concept of civilization opposed to the barbaric world. The integration in the heart of the Empire implied conditions, namely, the acceptance of values and practices of rules in public life (Ribeiro 2003: 22).

If we bring this idea to the present, we can say that also the European Union, as we know it, combines diverse traits similar to those that characterised the Roman Empire. In the Treaty that inaugurated the European Union as such, signed at Maastricht, on 7 February 1992, we can read these three aims:

- "to promote economic and social progress, which is balanced and sustainable, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, through the strengthening of economic and social cohesion and through the establishment of economic and monetary union, ultimately including a single currency in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty;
- to assert its identity on the international scene, in particular through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy including the eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence;
- to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its Member States through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union (...)."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Dueck 2000: 97.

<sup>11</sup> That is, "Accordingly, poverty, anarchy, lack of commercial activity, wild and violent customs, give way to sociability, law and order, discipline, frugality, trade, art, literacy and urban life" (Dueck 2000: 116).

<sup>12</sup> Treaty on European Union, signed at Maastricht, on 07.02.1992 (Article B). (Retrieved from: [eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/tif/JOC\\_1992\\_191\\_1\\_EN\\_0001.pdf](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/tif/JOC_1992_191_1_EN_0001.pdf) [last access: 10/03/2010]).

If we analyse these items in comparison with the Roman Empire, we can say, first of all, that the latter was characterised by the territorial dominance that allowed the free circulation among different regions, all included in the “Great Roman Province” (an E.U. archetype, where we can find opened borders between the countries that voluntarily signed the Schengen Agreement on 14 June 1985); also, the single currency and commercial development<sup>13</sup> are aspects we already find in Augustan Rome.

Second, and also based on Strabo, Rome was respected by all other kingdoms, even those that, while not subjugated by it, acknowledged its power on the “world stage”. On the other hand, the defence of the empire was assured by an army whose legions were spread throughout diverse provinces.

Third, citizenship was also a right conferred to all inhabitants of the empire, through the so-called *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 A.D. This *Constitutio* consisted of an edict proclaimed by Caracala (188-217 A.D.), in which the universal right of citizenship applied to all free men of the empire, whilst all free women would have the same rights as Roman women. Moreover, the Roman Empire was united by the same language (despite the native ones, Latin was the language used to communicate in different countries, like English today). Thus, and following what we have been analysing:

The idea of an enlarged and unified Europe is old; it was a historical myth of nature and it had been before a poetical myth. Rome, *caput mundi*, *urbs et orbis*, *urbs aeterna*, is itself a myth and a source of myths. The city founded by Romulus, Remus's brother, spurious sons of the vestal Rhea Silvia and of Mars, is a mythical and historical archetype to the European Union (Jabouille 2002: 186).

However, one of the great differences that distinguish the Roman Empire from the present European Union is the violence with which the former was imposed, contrasting with the voluntary drive towards integration manifest in the member countries of the latter. The military force that served before as a basis of Roman expansion is absent from European extension.

In short, the Eurocentrism of Strabo, as we had the opportunity to expose, relates clearly to the fact that Europe was the space *par excellence* of the Roman Empire, a circumstance which points to the mystifying idea of the unification of something that used to be diverse. Even the relevance of Strabo's work, as he himself indicates, comes from the Roman conquests and the benefits that Romans brought to the subdued people, who developed from barbarianism to civilisation. In Strabo, the figure of Augustus, and even the Roman Empire itself, is idealised and is still seen as an embodi-

13 In the article “Globalização e regionalismos na Europa Romana”, Jorge de Alarcão clearly presents the international market in the Roman Imperial Period: “An archaeologist cannot but observe that the same currency circulated in northern Britain (England of today) and in Egypt, or that, in a city like Conimbriga, we found coins minted in such different places as Rome, Trier, Nicomedia and Antioch. He can also be surprised with the existence of amphorae originating from Baetica [modern Andalusia], from Hadrian's Wall, or others produced in Lusitania, or near the Rhine-Danube border, or North Africa, as well as with the fact that the pottery called Late Roman C, produced in the eastern Mediterranean, was used at Bracara Augusta. We can therefore speak, using a modern expression, of a common market or economic globalization” (p. 269).

ment of a prosperous period of peace within the diverse regions subjected to Roman rule. Despite all the diversity that characterises Europe, as stressed by Strabo, because of its multiform geographical settings, despite all the cultural traditions of each people, the Roman hegemony could undoubtedly unify, even if by force, a region that even nowadays remains heterogeneous in terms of people, morphologies and cultures.

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# Europe and the Other: Roots of European Identity in Greco-Roman Antiquity

Andreas Hartmann

## No Idea of Europe: A Short History of an Awkward Concept<sup>1</sup>

There was a time when it was easy to write about the roots of Europe in classical antiquity, but over the last century our perspective has changed fundamentally. This was not only the result of social and political change, but it coincided with a marked break in the conceptualisation of ancient history in general (Dahlheim 1998: 114-118). If earlier scholars had tended to identify with their object of study and to see classical antiquity as a normative model, now it became more and more fashionable to emphasise the differences between then and now. The Greeks and Romans revealed their more primitive and non-classical sides. As a consequence, it also became increasingly questionable to seek the origins of Europe in Greece or Rome. Even if such an eminent scholar as Christian Meier still does not wholly yield to this turn of the tide (Meier 1994; Meier 2003; Meier 2006; Meier 2009: 30-59), the burden of proof is first and foremost with the defenders of continuity today.<sup>2</sup> Meier was vehemently attacked by Egon Flaig, who styled Meier's book on Athens as the beginning of world history as a "myth of origin retold" (Flaig 1994). From Flaig's point of view, Europe decidedly did not start at Salamis. This line of criticism is to be distinguished from another one, go-

- 1 Literature on the history of the concept of Europe abounds: Berve 1949; Mazzarino 1960; Luisi 1985-1986; Sordi 1986b; Kienast 1991; Ferrary 1994; Khan 1994; Schlumberger 1994; Gauer 1995; Cobet 1996; Hartog 1996; Rocha Pereira 1997; Dahlheim 1998; Demandt 1998; Rosen 1998; Sordi et al. 1999; Sordi 2000-2001; Grilli 2001; Bultrighini et al. 2002; Ratti 2005a; Ratti 2005b; Girardet 2006 (antiquity); Fischer 1957; Epperlein 1971; Flobert 1994 (late antiquity and Middle Ages); Brincken 1973; Leyser 1992; Reuter 1992; Hiestand 1991; Karageorgos 1992; Deug-Su 1996; Schneidmüller 1997; Schneider 2000; Deug-Su 2001; Oschema 2001; Deug-Su 2003; Oschema 2006; Baumgärtner 2008 (Middle Ages); Hay 1957; Hay 1968 (Middle Ages and early modern period); Fritzemeyer 1931; Schmidt 1966; Buck 1992; Malettke 1994; Schulze 1997; Bußmann et al. 2004 (early modern period); Gollwitzer 1964 (18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> cent.); Gollwitzer 1951; Curcio 1958; Rougemont 1962; Chabod 1963; Burke 1980; Fuhrmann 1981; Münkler 1991; Yapp 1992; Fuhrmann 1994; Cardini 1996; Münkler 1996: 97-150; Fuhrmann 1997; Poignault et al. 1998; Pagden 2002; Heater 2005 (general); Tielker 1998 (derivative and marred by errors). Comprehensive references to the ancient sources can be found in the relevant articles in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* and *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Citations of ancient sources and bibliographic references are given according to the conventions normally used in classical studies. Convenient lists of abbreviations can be found in the first volume of *Der Kleine Pauly* (for ancient authors) and every volume of *L'Année philologique* (for scientific journals).
- 2 Cf. Ehrenberg 1946, a very interesting essay written as an apologetic reaction to the perceived change of attitude towards antiquity. Affirmative views about the ancient roots of European culture have been voiced in recent times also by Demandt 1988, Zintzen 1996, Girardet 2005 and Dihle 2008. For a nuanced approach to the question of what could be learned from ancient history in respect to modern European unification cf. Alföldy 1999; Girardet 2000; Girardet 2001; Wirbelauer 2004; Alföldy 2005.

ing back, as we shall presently see, all the way to Herodotus, which denies not only the existence of an idea of Europe in antiquity, but also the validity of the concept of Europe itself. This is a stance taken by, e.g., Oswald Spengler (Spengler 1920: 21-22) and Arnold Toynbee (Toynbee 1954: 708-729).

What can we make from all this scholarly Euroskepticism? First, it has to be admitted that Europe as a political concept did not attain any real importance in Greco-Roman antiquity (Demandt 1998: 148-152). It is very doubtful that the Greek soldiers fighting at Marathon, Salamis or Plataea wasted a single thought on the defence of Europe – and probably even Greece was only second to Athens, Sparta or whatever single polis they came from.<sup>3</sup> Classical antiquity was above all a Mediterranean culture, and big parts of what we call “Europe” remained outside the scope of ancient knowledge and interest (Kolendo 1996; Chevallier 1998: 41-44; Kochanek 2004: 45-159). Pytheas of Massilia did indeed sail northwards along the Atlantic coast of Europe in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. He managed to circumnavigate Britain and he reached “Thule” – to be identified with the Shetland Isles, Iceland, the Faeroes, central Norway or even Finland – but his reports were not regarded as reliable by many later authors (cf. the polemic of Pol. 34,5,1-10 and Strab. 1,4,3) and Thule became a place of novelistic fantasy (Ninck 1945: 218-226; Magnani 1992-1993; Magnani 1995; Magnani 1996; Magnani 1999; Magnani 2002).

It is also true that the concept of Europe cannot be based on solid geographical facts: Europe is not a continent of its own, but just a minor part of Eurasia.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, the whole division of the world into separate continents has more to do with cultural history than with geological plate tectonics (Lewis et al. 1997).<sup>5</sup> Equally doubtful as the limits of Europe is the boundary between Asia and Africa. It is open to debate whether America should be regarded as one or two continents. The reckoning of islands as part of a continent – most notably in the case of Australia/Oceania – takes the concept to the point of absurdity: A continent should be, by definition, a contiguous landmass, of course.<sup>6</sup> A well-meaning attempt to create a European history book for use in the classroom (Delouche 1992), therefore, was rightly censured by the historian Winfried Schulze for not reflecting on the problematic term “Europe” at all (Schulze 1993b: 404-407). However, even if Europe could be defined unequivocally with the help of geology, it would be very improbable that political and cultural frontiers would coincide with the geological ones.

We do not know who first invented the division of the world into continents, but to define Europe as a separate continent only makes sense in the context of a worldview in which the Black Sea was not yet an inland sea, but a part of the Oceanus. The poet Mimnermus still held this view in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (Strab. 1,2,40). Therefore, it is very probable that even the first world map drawn by Anaximander included

3 Only a single source from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC claims that the victory at Plataea “secured the freedom of Europe”, but this is clearly a rhetoric hyperbole: Lys. 2,47.

4 For ancient criticism cf. [Aristot.] *mund.* 392b, who declared all “continents” to be only parts of a single island surrounded by the Oceanus.

5 Cf. Blum 2001 on Europe as an “Appellbegriff” and Burke 1980: 21: “Europe is not so much a place as an idea”.

6 For the ambivalent status of the British Isles in respect to Europe in antiquity cf. Urso 2000.

a division of continents (DK A 1 and 6; Amiotti 1986: 53-54). Hecataeus seems to have developed the canonical tripartite division of the world into the continents Europe, Asia and Libya (Zimmermann 1997, convincingly correcting the earlier *communis opinio*).<sup>7</sup> Herodotus polemicalised against this Ionian school in his *Histories*, scoffing at the geometrical schematism, which made the world a circle and divided the continents evenly (Hdt. 4,36,2; cf. Aristot. meteor. 362b; Amiotti 1986). Herodotus himself would have liked to have Europe much bigger than Asia (Hdt. 4,42,1; cf. the calculations of Plin. nat. 6,210), which is at first surprising for us, but he put the border between the continents not at the Tanais/Don, as some of the Ionians had done, but at the Phasis/Rioni (Hdt. 4,45,2).<sup>8</sup> For him, the division was not so much between east and west, but between north and south (Amiotti 1986: 53). Besides, Herodotus and his contemporaries had no secure knowledge about the extension of Europe to the north (Hdt. 4,45,1; Sieberer 1995: 97-109). In spite of using the already established geographical terms and discussing their problems, the father of history was critical enough to see the fundamental deficiencies of the whole enterprise, and he stated clearly that he could not find any compelling reason for the division and naming of the continents.<sup>9</sup>

The border between Europe, Asia and Africa was not established any more securely in antiquity than it is today: Varro could only give a working definition of Asia as "all that is not Europe", thereby conspicuously avoiding pinning it down on the map. Some ancient scholars, especially Roman ones, distinguished only two continents and thought Europe and Africa to be a single continent (e.g., Isoc. or. 4,179; Varro l. 1. 5,16; ibid. 5,31; Sall. Jug. 17,3; Lucan. 9,411-420; Plin. nat. 3,5, but cf. ibid. 3,3; Suet. fr. 177 Reifferscheid; Apul. mund. 7; Oros. hist. 1,2,1; [Aethic.] cosm. p. 71-72, 90 and 99 Riese; Serv. auct. Aen. 1,385; Geogr. expos. 2 p. II,495 Müller; Sordi et al. 1999: 3-12).<sup>10</sup> This definition made eminent sense against the background of the Mediterranean character of classical civilisation and later on Africa was included in the *pars occidentis* of the Roman Empire (Aug. civ. 16,17).<sup>11</sup>

This is only one side of the problem, though: At its first attestation in the *Homer Hymns*, the name "Europe" designates a region on the Greek mainland as opposed to

7 Already Cataudella 1987 had argued that Hdt. 4,36,2 is probably not directed against Hecataeus. Trequadrini 2001: 69-75 does not take notice of Zimmermann's important study. The oldest explicit attestation of the tripartite division of the world is Pind. Pyth. 9,8.

8 Hecataeus named Phanagoreia on the Taman Peninsula as the first important city of Asia: FGrHist 1 F 212. He should therefore have identified the border between Europe and Asia with the Tanais/Don: cf. Grilli 2001: 32. However, Hecataeus thought the Phasis to be connected with the Oceanus: FGrHist 1 F 18a. The Phasis is also taken as the border between Europe and Asia by Aeschyl. TrGF F 191: cf. Bianchetti 1988: 211-214.

9 Later on, Eratosthenes launched a similarly devastating critique on the traditional division of the continents: ap. Strab. 1,4,7.

10 For a bipartite division of the world cf. also Soph. Trach. 101 and Callim. h. 4,168. An inclusion of Africa in Europa is also to be understood from Diod. 14,41,2 (Carthaginians as Europeans), probably deriving from Philistus, and from Liv. 42,29,1 (Massinissa as a European king): cf. Sordi et al. 1999: 8-9.

11 Another example for the uncertainties about the borders of Europe is provided by Phileas, a contemporary of Herodotus, who put a western end to Europe at the river Rhône: ap. Avien. or. mar. 683-690.

the islands and the Peloponnese (Hom. h. 3,249-251 = 289-291).<sup>12</sup> This fits with some other evidence from archaic and early classical authors, which associates the mythical Europa with specific places in Boeotia (Pind. P. 4,44-46; id. fr. 70 Snell/Maehler; Antimachus of Colophon fr. 3 Wyss; Paus. 9,19,1; for a discussion of literary and visual sources for the myth of Europa cf. Robertson, M.: LIMC IV.1 (1988), 76-92 s.v. Europa I; Bühler 1968; Zahn 1983; Prandi 1986; Dierichs 1995; Velasco 1996; Olshausen 2004).<sup>13</sup> Finally, we learn from Pausanias that Demeter was worshipped as Europa in Lebadeia (Paus. 9,39,4; cf. the Hera Europa of Hesych. s.v. Εὐρωπία). All this shows that Europa was above all a cultic figure rooted in Boeotia. Later on, all this became overshadowed by the connection of Europa with Crete and Gortyn, where the heroine enjoyed a cult as Hellotis (Seleucus ap. Athen. 678b; Hesych. s.v. Ἑλλώτια and ἑλλωτίς; Steph. Byz. s.v. Γόρτυν; Etym. m. s.v. Ἑλλωτία),<sup>14</sup> but again it was already Herodotus who wondered how Europa could have given her name to a continent she had never set foot on (Hdt. 4,45,5).<sup>15</sup> Hippias of Elis at least proposed a solution by connecting the name of the continent with an Oceanid mentioned by Hesiodus (Hes. theog. 357-359; Hippias FGrHist 6 F 10; Andron of Halicarnassus FGrHist 10 F 7; Aristocles of Messene FGrHist 33 F 1).

Yet another Europa was located on the Chalcidice by the local historian Hegesipus (FGrHist 391 F 3; for the following cf. Miltner 1954: 14-15).<sup>16</sup> The designation of parts of Thrace as “Europe” indeed continued throughout antiquity. Significantly, the Persians march “through Europe to Hellas” in Herodotus’s Histories (Hdt. 7,8,β,1; cf. ibid. 6,43,4). When Philip, and later Antigonid rulers, of Macedonia had themselves hailed as “rulers of Europe”, this was a play with the double meaning of the term (Isoc. or. 5,137; Theop. FGrHist 115 F 27 and 256; Diod. 16,1,3; ibid. 16,64,3; ibid. 16,95,1; ibid. 19,51,6; Anth. lyr. 16,6; cf. Bearzot 1986; for a similar use and meaning of “Europe” cf. Thuc. 2,97,5 on the Odrysian kingdom as “in revenue and general

12 Speculations about a Semitic origin of the name Europa have not found much favour in more recent scholarship: Miltner 1954: 14; Bühler 1968: 24-25 and 43-44; Dombrowski 1984 (exhaustive monographic study); Luciani 1986; Milani 1986; Milani 1998. Beekes 2004 argues against any original connection of the mythical figures of Europa and Cadmus with Phoenicia.

13 Antimachus and Pausanias have Zeus create a cave in the Boeotian mountain Teumesus in order to hide Europa. Bühler 1968: 24 and Prandi 1986: 38 No. 5 regard this as a product of late aetiological speculation, taking its point of departure from the similarity between the name of the mountain and the verb τευμάομαι (to fashion). However, the etymology gives only an explanation for the cave, but no hint to any connection with Europa, who must therefore already have been present as a cult figure in this region. Moreover, not every etymological speculation has necessarily to be a late one.

14 Seleucus perhaps misidentified Europa and Hellotis, because Hellotis is attested as an epiclesis of Athena on the Greek mainland and the poliadid goddess of Gortyn seems to have been Athena: cf. Brandt 2006. In Gortyn was also shown the sycamore tree under which Zeus and Europa had united: Theophr. h. plant. 1,9,5; Call. fr. 622 Pfeiffer; Plin. nat. 12,11. Europa and/or the tree appear on many coins of Gortyn: BMCG Crete, Gortyn 1-30 and 40-46; cf. Traeger 2001. The connection of Europa with Crete is certainly old, because the heroine is known as the mother of the Cretan Sarpedon already to Hes. fr. 140 Merkelbach/West; cf. Bacchylides fr. 12 Irgoin.

15 Herodotus also suggested that Europa had left Crete for Lycia: 4,45,5; cf. 1,173. The same version of the myth apparently was presupposed by Aeschylus’s *Carians*: TrGF F 99-101.

16 Cf. also the eponymous Europus in Iust. 7,1,6, reigning over a kingdom in Thrace.



prosperity surpassing all in Europe between the Ionian gulf and the Euxine”).<sup>17</sup> Polybius strongly criticised such panegyric pretensions and stated that the Macedonians had ruled only over a small portion of the continent (Pol. 1,2,4-6; Zecchini 1986b). In late antiquity, the Balkan denotation of “Europe” gained new momentum as a result of the creation of the province Europa in Thrace by Diocletian (Lat. Ver. 4,2; Not. Dign. Or. 1,72; *ibid.* 2,53; *ibid.* 26,3 and 10; Amm. 22,8,7; *ibid.* 27,4,12; HA Aurelian. 17,2; Hierocles *synecd.* p. 631,4 Parthey; Malalas p. 323 Dindorf; Grattarola 1986; Zecchini 1986a; Schlumberger 1997; Yannopoulos 1999). Procopius explicitly defined Europe as the land between the Adriatic Sea, the Gulf of Corinth and the Danube (Proc. aed. 4,1,11-12; cf. *id.* bell. 2,4,4). On the other hand, “Europe” came to be used as a designation for those areas of the Roman Empire which were sacked by barbarian tribes, thus preserving a wider meaning (Proc. bell. 3,2,7; *ibid.* 3,2,13; *ibid.* 3,4,29; *id.* anecd. 23,6 and 8; Marcellinus Comes 15,2 MGH Auct. ant. XI,82; *Isid. hist. Goth.* 68 MGH Auct. ant. XI,294; Greg. M. reg. 5,37 MGH Epp. I,322; Fischer 1957: 43-44).

It is easy to see why Europe was such an unstable and, in the end, unsuccessful concept in antiquity: The Hellespont was never a cultural frontier and almost never a political one. Greek settlements were to be found at the coasts of Asia Minor since the days of the Ionian colonisation. The Delian League extended to Asia Minor, and later the Spartan Agesilaus felt obliged to liberate the Greek poleis there. True, the King’s Peace was based on a differentiation between the Greeks in Europe and Asia, but it met with strong reservations concerning the abandonment of the Asiatic Greeks from the beginning (Philochorus FGrHist 328 F 149; cf. the criticism by Isoc. or. 4,179-180). The conditions of the treaty were finally accepted for pragmatic reasons, but obviously nobody saw the Hellespont as a natural frontier.<sup>18</sup>

Alexander left Antipater behind as “governor of Europe” (Diod. 18,12,1), thus apparently establishing the Hellespont as some kind of administrative border.<sup>19</sup> Later on, during the conflict with Perdiccas, the military command “in Europe” was given to Antipater, the command in Asia to Craterus (Diod. 18,25,4). In 311 BC, it was Cassander, who was designated as governor of Europe, while Antigonos became regent of Asia (Diod. 19,105,1). If all this really amounted to more than pragmatic ad hoc solutions, the final break-up of Alexander’s empire made these ideas obsolete: The Hellenistic kings did not constrain their spheres of interest according to continental borders.

Some centuries later, Herodian fancied about plans of Caracalla and Geta to divide the Roman Empire at the Hellespont, “for, they said, the two continents were separated

17 However, Philistus had already exalted Dionysius I of Syracuse as the mightiest ruler in Europe: Diod. 16,5,4; *ibid.* 16,9,1; *ibid.* 20,78,3; cf. Sordi 1986a; Sordi 2000. Probably, Theopompus’s claim is a direct reaction to this panegyric: cf. Bearzot 1986: 99-101. An important point in Phillip’s case also may have been that the designation as “ruler of Europe” was at the same time more grandiose and less embarrassing than an overt reference to his hegemony over Greece.

18 But note the projection of the new political border to Hades in Plat. Gorg. 523c-524a, where the dead from Europe and Asia are to be judged by Aeacus and Rhadamanthys, respectively: cf. Ramelli 2000. It could be argued that the plans for a resettlement of the Ionian Greeks on the Greek mainland testify to a perceived difference between the continents. However, the argument in Hdt. 9,106,2-3 is based solely on military expediency.

19 The position of Antipater was confirmed after the death of Alexander: Arr. FGrHist 156 F 1,3 speaks of him as “governor of the regions in Europe”.

by the Propontic Gulf as if by divine foresight” (Herod. 4,3,5-6; Kienast 1991: 28-29). Not only did this alleged plan result in nothing, but Herodian’s account delivers a fantastic blueprint for what the ancients in fact never did. The Hellespont was not to become the line of division between the Eastern and Western Roman Empires, between Latin and Greek Christianity. From all this it becomes very clear that ancient tradition cannot at all help us to define where “Europe” is.

If we take a closer look at our modern idea of Europe, it becomes obvious that it is in fact medieval Christianitas that determines its extension up to the present day (Segl 1994: 30-37). This is not only a religious heritage, but Christianity is – as Werner Dahlheim has put it – the only living remnant of antiquity in our society (Dahlheim 1998: 119). This reminds us of the much-cited definition by Paul Valéry who took “Europe” to be primarily a phenomenon of reception:

Partout où les noms de César, de Gaius, de Trajan et de Virgile, partout où les noms de Moïse et de saint Paul, partout où les noms d’Aristote, de Platon et d’Euclide ont eu une signification et une autorité simultanées, là est l’Europe. Toute race et toute terre qui a été successivement romanisée, christianisée et soumise, quant à l’esprit, à la discipline des Grecs, est absolument européenne (Valéry 1957: 1013; Ahrweiler 1993; Schulze 1993a; Dahlheim 1998: 110-113).

## **An Ancient “Clash of Civilisations”: Europe and Asia in Greek Thought**

I want to focus here not on classical literature or Roman law, but on one of the darker sides of this ancient heritage: the idea of an eternal opposition between Europe and Asia. At least in the guise of the antagonism between East and West, Orient and Occident, this concept seems to remain a basic constituent of European identity. If we ask why even some left-wing intellectuals are very sceptical about an accession of Turkey to the European Union, these deeply rooted conceptions of an inevitable clash of civilisations provide a clue to the answer (for the public debate cf. Carnevale et al. 2005). Cultural prejudices rooted in classical antiquity remain powerful, even though or just because ever fewer Europeans know about this cultural heritage.

The Greeks never considered the border between Europe and Asia to be a cultural or political frontier, but Xenophon’s account of the King’s Peace could suggest that the Persians did (hell. 5,1,31). This is asserted explicitly by Herodotus, who says that “the Persians claim Asia for their own, and the foreign peoples that inhabit it; Europe and the Greek people they consider to be separate from them” (1,4,4; cf. Cass. Dio 80,4,1 and Herod. 6,2,1, ascribing the same opinion to the Sassanids).<sup>20</sup> This statement, however, is flatly contradicted by the Achaemenid expansion into Thrace under Darius, even if this region does not seem to have attained normal satrapal status

20 Cataudella 1998 sees this as a reflection of an actual Achaemenid distinction between Asia (which was granted to the Great Kings by the grace of Ahura Mazda) and other areas of the empire. The terminology of Persian documents does not seem to be consistent, however.

(Balcer 1988).<sup>21</sup> In fact, the Persians did not even have a word for “Asia” or “Europe”, but they had to speak, e.g., of the “Ionians on this side of the sea” and the “Ionians on the other side of the sea” (cf. Dognini 2000).<sup>22</sup> Significantly, the diplomatic formula about the “Greeks in Asia” was only the result of several diplomatic exchanges between Sparta and Persia during the last years of the Peloponnesian War (cf. Thuc. 8,18,1 and 8,37,2 against *ibid.* 8,52,2).<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, it is no pure coincidence that the faint traces of an ancient idea of Europe appear just in the aftermath of the Persian Wars. It has already been argued by other scholars that the experience of Persian aggression breathed some life into the feeble concept. The epigram on an Athenian victory monument erected after a battle against the Persians (either at the Eurymedon or at Cyprian Salamis) alluded to the antagonism between the continents (Diod. 11,62,3; Anth. Pal. 7,296). Herodotus now explained the Trojan War as a mythological prototype of the Persian Wars and as the first link in a chain of wars between Europe and Asia, thus creating a very influential topos in ancient literature (cf. Ceausescu 1991, but note the sceptical position of Girardet 2006: 44-65).<sup>24</sup> The historian depicted Xerxes’s invasion of Greece as a failed attempt to unite the rule over Asia and Europe (Hdt. 7,50,4; *ibid.* 7,54,2; *ibid.* 8,109,3).

However, the antithesis between the continents did not stand at the centre of Herodotus’s account.<sup>25</sup> The focus of his thought is the cycle of growth and decline, and especially the role of *hybris* (Sieberer 1995: 122-132). In this context, Xerxes’s crossing of the Hellespont forms an exact analogue for Cyrus’s crossing of the Araxes in his equally ill-fated war against the Massagetes. Xerxes is doomed because he does not know his limits, not because the Hellespont is an insurmountable barrier between continents, cultures or races. Such reasoning would indeed have been very awkward for a man originating from Halicarnassus.

What we also do not find in Herodotus is a systematic denigration of the oriental Other (Bichler 1988; Schmal 1995: 89-119). For this, he was to be denigrated himself

21 It may be remarked, that later on, the Sassanid Shapur, posing as heir to the Persian Achaemenids, laid claims to the land as far as to the river Strymon, which formed the border between Macedonia and Thrace: Amm. 17,5,5.

22 This speaks strongly against the belief of Fuhrmann 1981: 20-21 and Fuhrmann 1994: 11, that the Europe-Asia antithesis was in fact a Persian invention. Apart from that, Herodotus cannot be regarded as a reliable source for Persian thought. On the Greek side, the term *a-swi-ja/o* / *a-si-wi-ja/o* – designating people from the region of Assuwa in Lydia – is attested already in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets: Carruba 2001: 20-22.

23 The formula was to be revived in the diplomatic exchanges before the war between Rome and Antiochus III: Diod. 28,15,3; Liv. 34,58,2-3; but cf. App. Syr. 24, where also freedom for the Greeks in Asia is demanded. The Romans warned Antiochus to cross to Europe with an army: Pol. 18,47,2. After his defeat at Thermopylae, the king came back to these proposals and demanded that the Romans content themselves with the possession of Europe: *ibid.* 21,14,4-6. Kienast 1991: 25-26; Ferrary 1994: 40-41; Günther 2004. An echo of these proceedings can be detected in App. Mithr. 237, where Sulla alleges that the Romans had forbidden all the kings of Asia to enter Europe.

24 Simonides’s position is hard to judge: He at least saw the Persian and Trojan Wars as comparable events: fr. eleg. 11 West.

25 In fact, Europe is prominent only as an object of conquest in Persian eyes: Hdt. 7,8,γ 2; *ibid.* 7,54,2; *ibid.* 8,109,3.

as φιλοβάρβαρος by later writers (Plut. mor. 857a; for modern criticism cf. Jüthner 1923: 13 on Herodotus's "*Ausländererei*"). The effeminate oriental is conspicuously absent in Aeschylus's *Persians*, too (Schmal 1995: 75-88; Hutzfeld 1999: 24-96, esp. 62-69, adding important qualifications to the one-sided interpretation of Hall 1993). As in Herodotus, the Persian foe is depicted as really terrifying and his fall is unexpected. Again, it is not the contrast between Greek strength and Persian weakness that matters, but the hybristic behaviour of the Persian king, whom the gods duly punish (Aeschyl. Pers. 739-752; ibid. 800-831; Jouanna 1981: 4-7).<sup>26</sup> This is not incompatible with a proud feeling about Greek military achievements (on that aspect cf. Harrison 2000: esp. 51-57, 66-91 and 103-115) – a mighty foe makes a victory even more glorious.<sup>27</sup> Aeschylus could have it both ways.

Respect for a valiant enemy is also reflected in battle scenes between Greeks and Persians on Greek vases of that time (Hölscher 1973: 45). It has to be admitted, however, that Persian defeat is shown very explicitly and drastically in depictions from the years between 490 and 460 BC (Hölscher 1973: 45-46; Raeck 1981: 127-133). As a matter of fact, some contemporaries interpreted the events in a triumphalist vein, indeed: We cannot say much about Phrynichus's *Phoenissae*, but it seems to be characteristic that he made the defeat at Salamis to be announced by a eunuch preparing cushions for a meeting of the Persian state council (TrGF 3 F 8; Hall 1993: 115-116; Hutzfeld 1999: 24-25).<sup>28</sup> Even more drastically and crudely, a jug now preserved in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg depicts the Greek victory at the Eurymedon as the imminent rape of a terrified Persian literally bowing to his fate (Inv. No. 1981.173; Schauenburg 1975; Smith 1999; Wannagat 2001 [with the important qualification that the rapist is not to be identified with a Greek, but with an auxiliary soldier from the ξενωτικόν]; the radically diverging interpretation of Pinney-Ferrari 1984 is not convincing).<sup>29</sup> This is not the place to discuss extensively the relation between sexual penetration and power in ancient (and more recent) thought (Hall 1993: 110-113). Suffice it to say that in Herodotus, the Halicarnassian queen Artemisia warns Xerxes before the battle of Salamis that the Greeks are "as much stronger than your men by sea as men are stronger than women".<sup>30</sup>

From the thinking behind the Eurymedon jug, it is only a small step to an overtly imperialistic ideology justifying Greek aggression against Persia from a presumed moral superiority. Such arguments are spelt out blatantly in Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis*, when the protagonist declares: "And it is right, mother, that Hellenes should rule

26 Characteristically, the crossing of the Hellespont is not seen as hybristic by Aeschylus because Xerxes violated some natural border of his empire (which included Thrace anyway), but because of the "chaining" of Poseidon with a boat bridge. Contrast Hdt. 8,109, where the aspiration to a reign over Europe and Asia is added as a further reason for the envy of the gods.

27 Aristoph. Ran. 1026-1027 makes it clear that ancient viewers felt the play to have a patriotic message.

28 The association of cushioned benches with effeminacy is made explicitly by Xen. Cyr. 8,8,16.

29 For depictions of Persians in Athenian art in general cf. Bovon 1963 and Raeck 1981: 101-163, for their image in Greek literature of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC cf. Hutzfeld 1999.

30 Cf. Isoc. or. 5,137 on the "unmanliness" (ἀνανδρία) of the Persians. In a famous witticism, Alexander the Molossian compared the military achievements of his namesake against the Persian Empire with a war against women: Liv. 9,19,10-11; Curt. 8,1,37; Gell. 17,21,33.

barbarians, but not barbarians Hellenes, that (neuter!) being slaves, while these are free (τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλον, οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι)" (Eur. Iph. Aul. 1397-1401; Hutzfeld 1999: 109-134, esp. 120-134 with convincing arguments against Saïd 1984, who understands this and related passages as ironical). Half a century later, Aristotle felt much the same (e.g. Aristot. pol. 1285a).<sup>31</sup> In Euripides's play, the Trojan War is conceptualised as a defensive war against Asian aggression. But the "defence" is in fact retribution and the ensuing military offensive in the event leads to the total annihilation of Troy. This is even more characteristic for the outlook of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, as the whole concept of the barbarian is almost totally absent from Homeric epic.<sup>32</sup> Euripides wrote his *Iphigenia* at a time when the victories of the Persian Wars were already two generations away and Persian gold made possible Sparta's victory in the Peloponnesian War. The degradation of the oriental barbarian to a sub-human object of conquest seems to be a result not primarily of a triumphalistic mood immediately after the Persian Wars, but of a reaction to the decline of Athenian imperialism at the end of the century.

It is already in the works of Aeschylus and Herodotus, however, that we can spot the beginning of an influential discourse about freedom (Romilly 1993: 284-286; Gauger 2005): In the dream of Atossa (Aeschyl. Pers. 181-196; Luppino-Manes 2000: 50-56), as in the conversation between Xerxes and Demaratus (Hdt. 7,101-104; Trequadrini 2001: 79-90), freedom is appropriated as a characteristic feature of the Greeks, as opposed to the despotic and slavish Easterners.<sup>33</sup> Admittedly, in these contexts, it is more often Hellas that is spoken of than Europe, but the two concepts are in fact interchangeable to a large extent (Ziolkowski 1994: 2-8 on Athenian funeral orations). First, as we have seen, "Europe" could be understood as a part of the Balkan Peninsula. Second, and more importantly, Hellas and Europe shared a common Other, namely Asia. Thus, Greece and Europe could be identified easily, because their respective identities were defined essentially in relation to the counter-image of the oriental barbarian. About twenty years after Euripides's *Iphigenia*, the Lysianic *Epitaphios* depicted the Persian king as having hoped to enslave Europe (Lys. 2,21). Not surprisingly, Athens is presented as the valiant champion of freedom and democracy, and it is explicitly acknowledged that these hurrah-words, in combination with past

31 Aristotle famously advised his former pupil Alexander to treat the conquered barbarians like animals or plants: fr. 658 Rose.

32 Significantly, Hecataeus still seems to have used the term "barbarian" in a neutral, descriptive way: FGrHist 1 F 119. A slight pejorative meaning probably is already present in Hom. Il. 2,867. However, there is no derogation of non-Greek heroes: cf. Schmal 1995: 25-66; Erskine 2001: 51-60. The Trojans became barbarised as Phrygians only at a later point of time: Schol. A Hom. Il. 2,862 gives credit to Aeschylus. The restoration of Alc. fr. 42 Page is dubious: cf. Hall 1988. Some traces of prejudices against Phoenicians can be detected in the *Odyssey*: Hom. Od. 14,288-298; *ibid.* 15,415-484; cf. Latacz 1990; Kienlin et al. 2002: 195-196. For the invention of the barbarian during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC as a reaction to the experience of the Persian Wars cf. Hall 1989. But note Heraclitus DK B 107, where "barbarian" is used in the sense of "not capable of rational judgement": cf. Weiler 1968.

33 Characterisation of prospective Persian rule as "slavery" is older, of course: Simon. Anth. Pal. 7,250; Pind. P. 1,75; *id.* fr. 77 Snell/Maehler. But such terminology does not necessarily imply the idea that the Persians themselves are slaves or that freedom is a way of life peculiar to the Greeks.

achievements in the Persian Wars, justify intervention even in the internal affairs of other Greek poleis (Lys. 2,55-56).

It is important to note in this context that the development of Greek freedom and Asian despotism was not regarded as pure historical coincidence. The Hippocratic treatise *On the Environment* presents us with an elaborate theory about the influence of environmental factors on the human body and character (Backhaus 1976; Jouanna 1981: 12-15; Luisi 1985-1986: 265-270; Jouanna 1994: 35-38; López Férez 1994). According to this assumption, it is not that the Persians specifically are a worthless rabble, but that everybody living in Asia necessarily has to be an indolent coward because of the natural conditions there (Hipp. aer. 12-13 and 23; cited by Gal. anim. mor. 8 p. 798-804 Kühn; for a similar reasoning about the debilitating effects of living in an agreeable climate cf. Hdt. 9,122; Sieberer 1995: 132-137). Aristotle adopted this theory with some refinements: He differentiated between strong, but dumb Northerners, and highly civilised, but cowardly Easterners.<sup>34</sup> Greece was situated in the golden middle and provided its inhabitants with a climatic optimum that made them strong and intelligent (Aristot. pol. 1327b; Vanotti 1986: 107-109; for climatic amenities in Greece cf. already Hdt. 1,142,1-2; *ibid.* 3,106). Latin authors took over Aristotle's theory but understandably transferred the climatic optimum somewhat farther west (Vitr. 6,1,9-10; Lucan. 8,363-387). Greece became the new East and consequently the Greeks could now be regarded as oriental weaklings themselves. Ironically, they thus became victims of their own prejudices. It is true that classical antiquity knew no racism in the modern sense, but simply because it lacked the idea of race which was to be born from modern genetics. Nevertheless, the climate theory provided a functional equivalent for racism insofar as it offered a "scientific" explanation of the supposed superiority of Europe over Asia (for the question of ancient racism cf. Tuplin 1999; Isaac 2004).<sup>35</sup> It was in fact the first scientific reification of Eurocentrism.

From all this, the Panhellenic rhetoric of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC concocted a call to imperialistic aggression against an Achaemenid empire apparently showing signs of weakness (for this topos cf. Briant 1989). As a consequence of the regulations of the King's Peace, the antithesis between Europe and Asia even gained some real political importance (Momigliano 1966). Isocrates appreciated the use of Homer in the classroom in order to inculcate the youth with hate against the oriental barbarians, perceived as "natural foes". If the Persians were rich, bad and weak, and the Greeks poor, good and strong, nothing could seem more reasonable than to launch a war of conquest with the aim to transfer the riches of Asia to Greece (Isoc. or. 4,181-184 and 187; *id.* or. 5,132). Europe should again erect a trophy over Asia as it had done for the first time at Troy (Isoc. or. 10,67-68; Salomon 1996; Porciani 1996). Nobody will claim this as a valid model for a modern idea of Europe, but Isocrates's thoughts are only the darker side of the seemingly friendlier self-styling as defenders of freedom and democracy in earlier authors. In Isocrates, we are as near to a political idea of Europe as we

34 For the topic of contrast between valiant Europeans and weak Orientals cf. Sordi et al. 1999: 12-19.

35 As is often the case with ethnocentrally determined "science", the empirical base of the climate theory is weak: The climates in Greece and Asia Minor are in fact rather similar: Backhaus 1976: 179-181.

can get in regard to antiquity (Romilly 1992 with further references). Nevertheless, it is embarrassing to see that Isocrates's reasoning has some disconcertingly tight parallels in the contribution of the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg to a fascist congress on Europe in 1932 (Rosenberg 1933). It may be remarked, by the way, that this congress started with a revival of old climate theory combined with new racism (Dainelli 1933).<sup>36</sup>

It is a matter of debate whether Panhellenic rhetoric had any real influence on Greek and Macedonian politics. After all, men like Philip and Alexander hardly needed intellectual incentives to increase their power through military expansion. It is clear, however, that they jumped on the propagandistic bandwagon: The Corinthian League charged Philip with a war of retribution against Persia and the king named a daughter, born shortly before the start of the offensive, Europe (Satyrus fr. 5 FHG III,161). Alexander eventually staged his crossing of the Hellespont as the beginning of a new Trojan War (Arr. an. 1,11,5-1,12,1). In this, he already had a precursor in the Spartan Agesilaus, who had tried to sacrifice at Aulis as a new Agamemnon before liberating the Greek cities in Asia Minor (Xen. hell. 3,4,3-4; Plut. Ages. 6; Paus. 3,9,3-4).

Paradoxically, it was just the success of Alexander that made the antithesis between Europe and Asia obsolete. If Asia itself was dominated by Greeks (or at least Macedonians), it could not be depicted as the fundamental Other anymore. Correspondingly, the funerary orations of the later 4<sup>th</sup> century BC are characterised by a breakdown of the Europe-Asia contrast (Ziolkowski 1994: 26).

## Old Wine in New Bottles: Orient and Occident in the Roman Empire

The growth of the Roman Empire only furthered this development (Hartog 1996: 16-17). During the conflict with Antiochus III, the followers of Rome had still denigrated the king as a new Xerxes (Alcaeus of Messene Anth. Pal. 16,5; Enn. ann. 13,369-370 Skutsch; Ferrary 1994: 41-42), but a conflict between Europe and Asia could not be an acceptable ideological foundation for a Mediterranean empire with strong ecumenical aspirations. At the beginning of his *Res Gestae*, Augustus himself declared confidently that he had subjected the whole *orbis terrarum* to the rule of the Roman people (RgdA pr.; Nicolet 1988: 27-68 and 103-131; Cresci Marrone 1993; Cresci Marrone 1998).<sup>37</sup> The reign of Augustus also saw the failing of Caesarean plans for the formation of a continental empire comprising Central and Eastern Europe (Vell. 2,59,4; Plut. Caes. 58,4-7; Suet. Caes. 44,3; id. Aug. 8,2; App. civ. 2,110; Malitz 1984; Dobesch 1985; Dobesch 1989; Dobesch 1998), even if this result of the defeat of Varus in 9 AD was only to be acknowledged later.

It is true that two Augustan authors, Strabo and Manilius, praise Europe as the noblest of the three continents, thus attesting to the existence of some sense of a cultural belonging together (Strab. 2,5,26; Manil. 4,658-695; Kienast 1991: 26-28; Ferrary

36 For the revival of ancient prejudices in Nazi scholarship cf. Wiesehöfer 1988.

37 An inscription from Philae celebrates Augustus as lord of Europe and Asia: Étienne Bernard, Les inscriptions grecques de Philae II, No. 142.



1994, 49-52; Abry 1998; Bultrighini et al. 2002 [non vidi]).<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the Romans preferred recourse on the more flexible antithesis between East and West. The Augustan principate was built on a double triumph over the East: First, the victory over Cleopatra and Marc Antony, and second, the recuperation of the ensigns lost by Crassus and Antony to the Parthians.<sup>39</sup> The last success was a rather ephemeral one viewed from the perspective of foreign policy, but in terms of internal politics, it helped Augustus to overcome the crisis of 23 BC in which he had had to resign the consulate (for propagandistic exploitation of the *signa recepta* cf. Schäfer 1998). Upon Augustus's return from the East, full consular power and paraphernalia were granted to him within the *pomerium*. The ensigns were to be on display in the temple of Mars Ultor on the newly built Forum Augustum. At the occasion of its dedication, the emperor staged a sea battle between Greeks and Persians, surely an allusion to the Battle of Salamis (Ov. ars 1,171-172; Cass. Dio 55,10,7, for such spectacles cf. Coleman 1993). The same was done later by Nero, probably in order to celebrate the victories of Corbulo against the Parthians in Armenia (Cass. Dio 61,9,5). It could also be seen as a reference to the Persian Wars that Augustus memorialised his victory over the Parthians with the dedication of a tripod in the area of Palatine Apollo, as the Greeks had done after the Battle of Plataea in Delphi (Schneider 1986: 18-97, esp. 63-67). In Virgil's depiction of the Battle of Actium, the Italian troops of Octavian are contrasted with the oriental hordes under the command of Marc Antony (Aen. 8,678-688). Augustus definitely wanted to be seen as a defender against Asian aggression in the tradition of the Persian Wars (for the Persian Wars as a symbol of unity in the Roman Empire cf. Spawforth 1994). Latin authors applied Greek prejudices against Asia to the Orient: Tacitus contrasted Celtic and Germanic love of freedom with the servile attitude found in "Syria, Asia Minor and the Orient, accustomed to monarchic rule" (Tac. hist. 4,17). The same author even claims that the Armenians did not even know what liberty was and therefore were inclined to prefer *servitium* under Parthian rule (Tac. ann. 13,34,2). Nobody was more aware than Tacitus, of course, that the imperial Rome of his time was not a place of liberty. The discourse about Asiatic despotism, however, allowed him (and other authors) to uphold a certain ideal about how a European polity should look.

To sum up: The Europe-Asia contrast, developed in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, is still influential in modern debates about the concept and extension of "Europe". Montaigne, for example, adapted ancient ideas about oriental despotism and ancient climate theory. Modern ideas of a "clash of civilizations" (Huntington 1996) have an antecedent in the ancient topos of an eternal war between Europe and Asia (Ceausescu 1991).<sup>40</sup> Schoolbooks still repeat uncritically the anti-oriental polemic developed in our Greek sources and scholarly literature from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Hauser 1999). There was, however, no continuity of an idea of Europe in antiquity

38 Rocha Pereira 1997: 39 is overly optimistic in reading Strab. 2,5,26 as an early programme of European unity. The chapter is above all an elaboration of ancient climate theory.

39 Philo leg. 144 even understands the Battle of Actium as a victory of Europe (Octavian) over Asia (Marc Antony and Cleopatra).

40 A rather crude revival of ancient fears about presumed danger from the East can be found in fascist scholarship: cf. Rosenberg 1933; Sessa 1933.



ty, because the Hellespont was never an important cultural or political frontier. If we want to understand how classical antiquity contributed to the shaping of the modern idea of Europe, we then have to concentrate not on Europe, but on Asia. It was Asia that provided a negative foil against which Greek, European or Western identity could be defined (Cobet 1996: 414-416). This is not to advocate a new European exclusionism, least of all on religious grounds, but knowledge of the historical process from which the cultural construct of Europe originated can perhaps help us to gain a better understanding of current political conflicts and the emotional character of relating debates.

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