

CHRONOS

MCGILL

Magazine of the Department of History and Classical Studies

#1 . 2015

Welcome Words by Chair and a Former Undergraduate Student



I am delighted to welcome you to the inaugural edition of *Chronos McGill*, the newsletter of the Department of History and Classical Studies. This has been a wonderful, new initiative of our Outreach and Development Committee, with the enthusiastic support of the former Department Chair, Elizabeth Elbourne.

The timing of *Chronos* – if you pardon the pun – could not be better. The Department has undergone a remarkable transformation in the last few years. A few landmarks, amongst many, are worth highlighting. The Department is now almost double the size when I was an undergraduate here in the middle of the 1980s, with a complement of over 40 tenure-stream faculty members. We have replaced positions in Japanese and Chinese history, while expanding into exciting new fields, such as Indigenous Canadian history and South Asian history. We look forward to hiring a new professor in Classical Archaeology in the Spring of 2016.

I invite you, as alumni and friends of the Department, to share and celebrate in the achievements of the Department of History and Classical Studies.

David Wright
Department Chair

It is with much fondness that I recall studying History at McGill – and how often I do! True, thoughts of the stress, the never-ending deadlines, the feeling of impending doom when receiving grades after hours of toil can still make me cringe. Since moving on, first to Oxford for an MPhil and now to Cambridge for a PhD, I have attended many events proudly sporting my McGill lapel pin. At Oxbridge, this gets you noticed. When asked why I choose to wear a symbol of my undergraduate institution rather than an Oxbridge college like everyone else, I answer: “I’m proud of the place where I have reached my proudest achievements. Not even Oxbridge or the Ivies,” I continue, “demand so much from their History students.” Looking back, I see that in exchange for all that hard work, we were given much—knowledge from across the ages and continents, and viewpoints ranging from diplomatic to gender. Better yet, alongside graduate students, we produced major research projects in yearlong specialized seminars. From my experience in Oxbridge, I staunchly stand by my view that not only did the Department turn us into well-rounded and knowledgeable students, but it also prepared us beautifully for the world’s best graduate programs.



Jean-Robert Lalancette
St John’s College, Cambridge University

IN THIS ISSUE

- 2- Hitting the (Medieval) Sauce
- 5- Longue journée de deux midis au Québec
- 8- Alumni Trips
- 9- In the Wake of the Vikings
- 10- Achievements

- 11- The F. Peter Cundill Fellowships in History
- 12- New Faces in the Department
- 13- Western Han Chang'an
- 15- Longue journée de deux midis au Québec, Continued
- 16- Fundraising



McGill

Hitting the (Medieval) Sauce: Gastronomy as Medicine in a Twelfth-Century Manuscript from Durham Cathedral Priory

Faith Wallis, Associate Professor

In the archives, you often find what you were not looking for – or rather, you find what you did not know you were looking for, until you found it. In the fall of 2012, I was looking for 12th-century manuscript books about medicine that once belonged to the great Benedictine monastery attached to Durham Cathedral, in north-eastern England. I wanted to compare the contents of these manuscripts, and sketch a picture of medical culture within this important Anglo-Norman religious community. My quest led me to the Library of Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge, which is now the home of a manuscript which left Durham after the dissolution of the monastery by King Henry VIII in 1540. The manuscript's shelf mark is Δ 3 6, but in the printed catalogue, it is listed as no. 51,ⁱ so I shall refer to it henceforth as Sidney Sussex 51.

Sidney Sussex 51 is made up of four booklets bound together; all were written in the middle or latter half of the 12th century. My interest lay in the third segment of this composite book -- a collection of 244 medical recipes in Latin (fols. 27r-45r). The first 173 recipes (fols. 27r-39r) target ailments in roughly head to toe order, beginning with headache and eye problems and ending with whole-body conditions like paralysis and wounds; this is the format adopted by many classical and medieval encyclopedic works of medical practice.

Recipes for compound medications, then as now, are formulaic. Almost all the medical recipes in Sidney Sussex 51 are introduced by a phrase indicating the target condition -- e.g. "For purging the head" (*Ad caput purgandum*) – or the type of medication -- e.g. "A good eye-salve" (*Collirium ualidum*). So I was quite surprised, when I reached folio 39, to find a rubric announcing a group of recipes for sauces: "Here begin different kinds of sauces (or relishes) from Poitou" (*Incipiunt diuersa genera pictauensium salsamentorum*). There followed a little over a page of recipes for condiments to accompany different kinds of meat, fowl and fish. Following the sauces, without any break, is a recipe for *zinziber conditum*, or ginger preserved in honey that has been flavoured with spices. Then the purely medical recipes pick up again.

At first I was mildly puzzled by the presence of the sauces. I made a note for my colleague and collaborator Dr. Giles Gasper of Durham University, thinking they might be a suitable project for an MA student's research paper. Giles Gasper is a historian of 12th-century cultural and intellectual history, but he has created a partnership between academic history and the business community by linking Durham's Institute for Medieval and Early Modern Studies to an unusual restaurant in nearby Newcastle. Blackfriars Restaurant, sited

in the 13th-century Dominican convent (hence the name), is run by chef Andy Hook, who experiments with recreating medieval cuisine in accordance with rigorous historical scholarship. The Sidney Sussex *salsamenta* seemed like a manageable primary source for a newly fledged medievalist, and a good match for Durham, especially since the manuscript originally came from the Cathedral. So I passed the information to Dr. Gasper, and thought no more of it. I was focussed on medieval medicine, after all.

What obliged me to think about this curious conjunction of gastronomy and medicine was the unexpected media attention my discovery generated. Six months after my visit to Cambridge, I opened my e-mail to find a press release from Durham University announcing the discovery of "the oldest medieval culinary recipes" in a former Cathedral Priory manuscript: Sidney Sussex 51. There was a photograph of Giles Gasper and Andy Hook with a group of Durham graduate students holding facsimiles of the manuscript pages, and I myself was named as the discoverer of this treasure. Hardly had I read through half of the press release when my office phone rang, and I found myself talking to McGill's media relations team, who had already lined up interviews for me on "As it Happens" and the CBC Montreal Saturday morning show, "All in a Weekend". The whole planet, thanks to the internet, seemed to be interested in the sauces from Poitou. By noon that day my email inbox was sagging under the weight of inquiries from New Zealand to Kansas to the Czech Republic, demanding to know more about the recipes, largely with a view to re-creating them for re-enactment events. Responding to this interest was a challenge. I am a historian of medicine, not of food, but dietetics were extremely important in medieval medicine, and I was sure there was a reason why someone in the 12th century copied recipes for sauces into the middle of all those pills and electuaries, potions and salves. Sure enough, as I dug into the medical sources, I learned that sauces doubled as cures for patients suffering from loss of appetite or an aversion to food. Moreover, it was not just the ingredients of a *salsamentum* that give it medical efficacy, but also its capacity to enhance taste and impart pleasure -- its "sauciness". The gastronomic role of a sauce was to make a dish more appetizing; by the same token, the medical use of *salsamenta* was to stimulate appetite by making food appetizing.

Salsamentum in classical Latin refers to foods preserved by salting, but by the 12th century the term denoted sauces to garnish a principal ingredient, or occasionally the flavoured liquid in which a dish was cooked.ⁱⁱ It was used interchangeably with *sapores* or "savour": the English polymath and theologian Alexander Neckam (d. 1217) in his *Names of Utensils* (*De nominibus utensilium*) speaks of cooking fish in a salsa of water and wine, and garnishing it *cum viridi sapore*

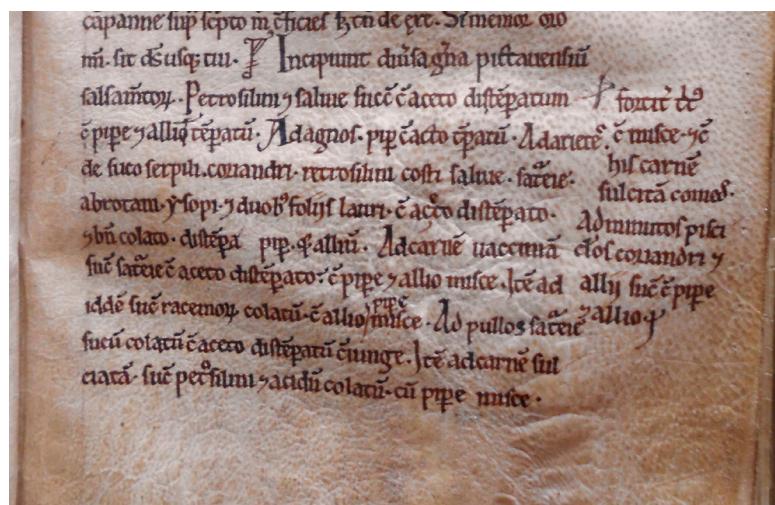
– the ubiquitous medieval “green sauce” of mixed fresh herbs, garlic, pepper and salt.ⁱⁱⁱ The Sidney Sussex *salsamenta* seem to be largely of the garnishing kind. The first recipe is one of two designed to accompany sausages (*carnem sulcitam*), and consists of parsley, sage, vinegar, pepper and garlic. The recipe ends “and eat sausage with these” (*et cum his carnem sulcitam comedere*) so evidently it was a sauce. The remaining recipes are intended for “tiny little fish” (*minutos pisculos*), lamb (*agnos*), rams (*arietes*), beef (*carnem uaccinam* – two recipes), chicken (*pullos*), and duck (*anseres*). They are all based on vinegar, except for the second beef sauce, where the liquid medium is the juice of raisins (*sucum racemorum*), i.e. verjus – a close cousin to vinegar, made from pressing unripened grapes. On the other hand, the recipe for “hen in winter” (*gallinam in hieme*) calls for garlic, pepper and sage “in warm water” (*cum aqua tepefacta*); in this case, the *salsamentum* was likely the broth in which the hen was stewed. The recipes end with two general directives. First, “whenever you want pork or beef with mustard, use it mixed with vinegar” (*In quocumque tempore uolueris carne porcina atque bouina cum sinapi distempera acetate utere*); secondly, “In all the above, pepper should prevail over garlic” (*In omnibus supradicatis. piper allio perualeat*). The sauce ingredients are for the most part commonly available, and limited in number. Pepper appears in nine recipes, garlic in seven, parsley and sage in three, coriander and savory in two, and costmary, bay, creeping thyme, hyssop, and southernwood in one each.

The number of ingredients per sauce ranges from two (lamb and chicken), to twelve (rams).

These recipes constitute the oldest culinary recipe collection to survive from the medieval period, antedating previous candidates for that title by at least a century.^{iv} Three features confirm their essentially culinary character. First, the indications in the recipes are for the kind of dish the sauce accompanies, and not a medical condition. Secondly, these recipes are not connected to dietetic or regimen advice, nor are they part of a medicalized discussion of the properties of foodstuffs. Thirdly, there is no explicit indication that these are recipes for remedy foods (what one might term “culinary prescriptions”) for patients suffering from a particular illness, like the food recipes embedded in the famous Anglo-Saxon medical compendium recently in the news, Bald’s Leechbook.^v The fact that the *salsamenta* are said to come from a particular location, Poitou, is also a prominent feature of culinary recipes, but not drug recipes. But

like many culinary recipes, these *salsamenta* recipes are embedded in a manuscript whose character is overwhelmingly medical. Were the sauces included for medical reasons? If so, how did that medical intention relate to their culinary character?

In fact the term *salsamentum pictauensium* occurs in two medical texts composed around the same time as Sidney Sussex 51, and quite probably accessible to the compiler of its recipes. These are the handbook of *materia medica* known as *Circa instans* (compiled ca. 1160-70) and the *General Therapeutics (Practica)* of the mid-12th century Salerno physician Johannes Platearius. *Circa instans* is a catalogue of medicinal “simples” – that is, the primary ingredients used as drugs either by themselves, or incorporated into compounds. It drew on prior Salernitan literature, as well as works newly translated from the Arabic, but its reference to *salsamentum pictauensium* is without precedent. In the chapter on vinegar, one finds the following recipe: “Vinegar strengthens the appetite. Take sage, parsley, pepper, and mint; grind them and mix with vinegar. This is called ‘Poitou



The beginning of the *salsamenta* recipes: Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 51, fol. 39r (By permission of the Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge).

sauce.”^{vi} This recipe is very close to the first one in the Sidney Sussex collection: “Mix juice of parsley and sage which has been mixed with vinegar with finely ground pepper and garlic; and eat sausage with this.”^{vii} Turning to the *Practica* of Platearius, we find a recipe for *salsamentum pictauensium* which is even closer to the first Sidney Sussex one. The context is the chapter on the pathological condition called *fastidium* – loss of appetite or aversion to food: “If [the problem is] in the mouth of the stomach... let

there be given Poitou sauce, which is made from parsley, sage and garlic mixed with a bit of vinegar. Let there also be given a sauce made from mustard seed ground with bread crumbs, and mixed with vinegar.”^{viii}

Note that while Platearius describes two sauces that can be given for fastidium, only one is called *salsamentum pictauensium*. By contrast, the rubric of Sidney Sussex 51 announces not one single *salsamentum pictauensium* but “different kinds” of *salsamenta pictauensia*. This furnishes a further clue to the culinary vocation of the recipes, because the second recipe for beef sauce in Sidney Sussex 51 is described by the historian Ralph of Diceto (Dean of St Paul’s from 1180, d. 1202) as a Poitou gastronomic speciality. Ralph writes in his *Ymagines historiarum* that the men of Poitou, when they have finished waging war, like to relax and take their pleasure, “so devoting themselves to the service of the palate that in the discrimination, confection and connoisseurship of sauces [*saporibus*], they shine with the privilege

of a particular grace...". Ralph then gives an example of one of these sauces (*sapores*): "When it comes to eating popular meat [dishes], the men of Poitou embrace beef with enthusiasm. For when pepper and garlic, mixed together are pounded down in a mortar to make a sauce of both, fresh meat either demands the juice of crab apples, or it calls for juice pressed from vineshoots, or it needs the juice of young grapes [i.e. verjus]."^{ix} Ralph's comments can be compared to the second recipe from Sidney Sussex for beef sauce: "Again, for the same: mix strained juice of raisins with garlic and pepper".^x

The "active ingredient" in a *salsamentum* was as much the pleasure it evoked as the vinegar it contained. Platearius suggests that for fussy patients who refuse to touch food, a *salsamentum* should be rubbed on the nostrils – the smell of the tasty sauce coaxing the patient to eat. Platearius' younger contemporary Petrus Musandinus observes that while vinegar is key to provoking appetite, a single vinegar sauce will not suffice, because monotony dampens pleasure: "Again, note that we should not use one sauce to excess... because excessive use produces aversion, and so we use now one, and now the other."^{xi} Platearius agrees that the best cure for *fastidium* is to set before the patient a variety of dishes "for uniformity is the mother of disgust". Doctors should also allow patients some indulgence in their diets, because the pleasure of eating foods which one enjoys is itself therapeutic. So is being in the company of gourmets, whose obvious enthusiasm for their dinner is apparently supposed to be infectious. The goal is healing, but the means is gastronomy. Seen in this light, the fact that the Sidney Sussex *salsamenta* are almost all based on vinegar, and that they are, moreover, explicitly *diversa salsamenta*, suggests that they reflect this particular medical outlook on cuisine.

What permits this boundary crossing is appetite -- at once the *raison d'être* of cuisine and the foundation of healing in digestive disorders.

That Sidney Sussex 51 takes a medical perspective on food does not, however, mean that the recipes themselves were created as medicine, or that their composition was dictated by medical doctrines. The evidence of Ralph of Diceto and Alexander Neckam suggests that in the 12th century at least, medicine did not dictate gastronomic fashions, but rationalized them^{xii} -- in this case the fashion for tangy sauces with herbs, pepper and garlic to garnish meat. In the world of Sidney Sussex 51, the doctor and the cook occupied the same material, technical, and even physical space. If the herbs and other ingredients in the *salsamenta* are found in medical treatises like *Circa instans*, it is also the case that many of the ingredients in the medical recipes in Sidney Sussex 51 are foodstuffs: bread, butter, cheese, lard and other animal fats, milk, eggs, flour (wheat, bean, rye), oil and honey. The techniques of drug preparation are identical to those of food preparation -- chopping, grinding, straining and cooking. And in one noteworthy case, a Sidney Sussex medical recipe for an eye ointment envisages the preparation of medicines and the preparation of food taking place in the same location and time. After mixing the dry ingredients *ad modum succorum* ("after the manner of purées") and adding vinegar, one is to put the mixture into a brass pot with some ginger: "Then the pot, well covered with clay, should be put into an oven after the bread has been removed, and it should stay there overnight."^{xiii} The *salsamenta* in this manuscript also speak of a world where the relationship of medicine and cuisine was open-ended and horizontal – and the horizon was appetite.

References

ⁱ Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 36-37.

ⁱⁱ Terence Scully, "Tempering Medieval Food." *Food in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Melitta Weiss Adamson (London and New York: Garland, 1995), pp. 3-23 at 19, n. 1.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ed. Thomas Wright, *A Volume of Vocabularies* (Privately printed, 1857), p. 102.

^{iv} The next oldest is the French text called *Viandier* which is ascribed to Taillevent, chief cook of Kings Charles V and Charles VI of France. It is contained in a roll copied 1250 x 1320, now MS Sion, Bibliothèque cantonale du Valais, Supersaxo 108; see ed. by Terence Scully, *The Viandier of Taillevent* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988).

^v The announcement in March by University of Nottingham microbiologists that a Leechbook remedy had proven effective in attacking *Staphylococcus aureus* imparted an unusual, if short-lived atmosphere of relevance to my course HIST 356 "Medicine in the Medieval West": see <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/news/pressreleases/2015/march/ancientbiotics---a-medieval-remedy-for-modern-day-superbugs.aspx>.

^{vi} Acetum confortat appetitum. Accipe salviam petroselinum piper mentam et contere et distempera cum aceto tale salsamentum dicitur pictamentum: ed. H. Wölfel, *Das Arzneidrogenbuch Circa instans in einer Fassung des 13. Jahrhunderts aus der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. Text und Kommentar als Beitrag zur Pflanzen- und Drogenkunde des Mittelalters*, diss. Berlin, 1939, p. 15.

^{vii} Petrosilini et saluie succum cum aceto distemperatum cum pipere et allio fortiter trito commisce. et cum his carnem sulcitam comedere (fol. 39r).

^{viii} Si fuerit in ore stomachi ... detur salsamentum pictauensium. que fit ex petrosilino saluia et allio modico aceto distemperatis. detur etiam salsamentum factum ex semine sinapis trito cum mica panis. et distemperato cum aceto: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Adv. 18.6.1, fol. 91v.

^{ix} Pictavienses in vulgarium esu carnium bovinam avidius amplectuntur. Cum vero piper et allium mixtim in mortarium detruduntur, ad condimentum utriusque caro recens nunc succum exigit pomorum silvestrium, nunc a viminibus pampino coactaneis jus depositum extortum, nunc uvarum liquorem desiderat primitivarum: ed. William Stubbs, *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 68 (London, 1976), vol. 1, p. 294.

^x Item ad idem sucum racemorum colatum. cum allio <et> pipere misce: fol. 39v.

^{xii} Item notandum quod non debemus nimis uti uno salsamento sive uno cibo provocante appetitum vel alia re, quia nimius usus facit fastidium, unde modo uno modo alio utimur: Petrus de Musandinus, *Summula de preparatione ciborum et potum infirmorum*, ed. S. De Renzi, *Collectio salernitana* vol. 5 (Naples: Filiatre-Sabazio, 1859), pp. 261-2.

^{xiii} This argument is advanced by Bruno Lauroux, "Cuisine et médecine au moyen âge. Alliées ou ennemis?" *Cahiers de recherches médiévales (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* 13 suppl (2006): 230.

^{xiv} Tunc uas bene coopertum argilla. in furno postquam panis extractus inde fuerit. uas ponatur et per noctem ibi morietur (fol. 28r).

Longue Journée de Deux Midis au Québec

Jarrett Rudy, Professeur agrégé
(Traduit par Fannie Dionne)

Le dimanche 18 novembre 1883, les horloges municipales de la ville de Québec ont été ajustées de 15 minutes et 11 secondes pour s'aligner sur la nouvelle heure normale de l'Est. Ce jour-là, les chemins de fer du Canada et des États-Unis ont divisé les deux pays en cinq fuseaux horaires de 15 degrés marquant ainsi la fondation de notre système actuel de fuseaux horaires. Dans plusieurs villes américaines, les foules se sont rassemblées à midi pour regarder les aiguilles des plus importantes horloges publiques être déplacées vers l'avant ou l'arrière pour se conformer à la nouvelle heure. Le 18 novembre 1883 fut dès lors connu comme le «Jour des deux midis». Mais dans la ville de Québec, les événements se sont passés quelque peu différemment...

Le 17 novembre 1883, à 21h30 heure normale de l'Est, le canon de la citadelle de la ville de Québec a tiré un coup retentissant pour alerter les résidents que le changement d'heure allait devenir permanent le jour suivant. Il a encore tiré le lendemain matin à 9h, heure normale de l'Est, pour que les gens puissent se rendre à l'église avec ponctualité selon la nouvelle heure. Les journaux de la ville de Québec ont rapporté que l'heure normale de l'Est était observée par les horloges municipales et à la Basilique. Dans les églises de la Basse-Ville et dans le district de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, les cloches ont sonné l'Angélus (lever du soleil, midi et coucher du soleil) à l'heure normale.

Toutefois, tous ne furent pas prompts à adopter la nouvelle heure normale. Pour au moins une partie de la semaine suivante, les cloches des églises catholiques de plusieurs districts ont sonné l'ancienne heure de la ville de Québec tout comme, de manière un peu surprenante, plusieurs sifflets d'usine. En règle générale, beaucoup de ces institutions ont probablement adopté l'heure normale peu de temps après. Mais d'autres ont refusé d'ajuster leurs horloges. *Le Journal du Séminaire de Québec* avait beau écrire le 18 novembre 1883 « C'est aujourd'hui que se fait à l'unité le changement d'heure civile », il remarquait toutefois que si les autorités ecclésiastiques (tout comme les navires et trains) avaient adopté la nouvelle heure, le Séminaire, quant à lui, avait laissé ses horloges inchangées. Et le Séminaire n'était pas la seule institution qui est restée à l'heure locale. Il a fallu attendre jusqu'en 1920 pour que la province de Québec déclare l'heure normale comme la référence pour ses lois et activités. Elle a été la dernière province du Canada à le faire.

Comment pouvons-nous comprendre l'adoption apparemment

tardive de l'heure normale par le Québec? Ce long jour des deux midis? Dans un certain sens, l'histoire de la ville de Québec semble aller à l'encontre de ce que beaucoup de Canadiens ont appris à l'école ou via « Les minutes du Patrimoine » à propos de l'histoire du temps. L'heure normale n'a-t-elle pas été mise en place comme résultat de l'ingéniosité canadienne? N'est-il pas vrai que le Canadien Sandford Fleming a inventé l'heure normale et l'a présentée lors d'une conférence internationale à Washington, D.C., pour lui donner une envergure mondiale? Pourquoi le Séminaire ou le gouvernement du Québec auraient-ils eu un quelconque choix à propos de la mise en place de l'heure normale?

L'heure normale a été un projet des chemins de fer. Ils ont créé un cadre temporel pour contrôler et synchroniser le mouvement à travers l'espace. Par ce processus, ils ont cherché à transformer les représentations et les perceptions du temps et de l'espace. Internationalement, des historiens comme Michael O'Malley et des sociologues comme Anthony Giddens ont salué l'heure normale comme un marqueur clé de la modernité par laquelle l'autorité de Dieu et celle de la nature ont été remplacées par l'autorité de la science et des chemins de fer. Pour ces auteurs, l'opposition à l'heure normale était basée sur l'indignation causée par le rejet de l'autorité de Dieu et les adversaires de l'heure normale étaient accusés de rejeter la modernité elle-même. Mais on peut se demander jusqu'à quel point l'opposition du Québec était due uniquement et simplement à l'hostilité de la puissante Église catholique face à cette attaque contre l'autorité divine. Après tout, il est vrai que les cloches de l'Église catholique sonnaient « l'heure de Dieu » et avaient traditionnellement structuré la vie quotidienne. Mais est-ce qu'il y avait un même son de cloche parmi tous les acteurs ecclésiastiques? Pour répondre à ces questions, il faut réexaminer en premier lieu comment l'heure normale a été adoptée au Québec.

Au milieu du XIXe siècle, connaître l'heure était une affaire complexe. L'heure était calculée de deux manières. D'abord, les gens reconnaissaient le temps grâce à des événements naturels : ils utilisaient le moment où le soleil était au zénith pour reconnaître l'heure de midi; ou une combinaison d'événements naturels comme le lever et le coucher du soleil; ou encore les marées, souvent interprétées selon des chartes ou des almanachs. Chaque endroit avait une heure locale différente: l'heure de Montréal différait de l'heure de la ville de Québec ou de celle de Trois-Rivières. La deuxième manière qui permettait aux gens de connaître l'heure consistait en l'utilisation d'une horloge ou d'une montre. L'heure de l'horloge était souvent connue comme « l'heure moyenne » et elle différait de l'heure du soleil, car la terre est inclinée lors de sa rotation autour du soleil et la vitesse à laquelle elle tourne n'est pas constante. Au cours de

l'année, le soleil apparaît à un endroit légèrement différent dans le ciel. Par conséquent, l'heure moyenne pouvait être jusqu'à environ 16 minutes plus rapide ou 14 minutes plus lente que l'heure du soleil.

Étant donné que cette variation entre l'heure du soleil et l'heure moyenne rendait difficile la connaissance de l'heure exacte, un processus de standardisation a commencé dans les années 1850. En 1855, la Marine royale a établi un Observatoire dans la ville de Québec et à Montréal, un météorologue amateur, Charles Smallwood, a commencé à vendre des lectures de l'heure locale. Ces services assuraient que de nombreuses institutions, comme les mairies, les détaillants, les manufactures et les bureaux de poste pouvaient partager une heure locale commune. Ils fournissaient aussi l'heure locale aux navires et aux chemins de fer. Dans la ville de Québec, l'Observatoire contribuait au rôle joué par la ville dans l'économie atlantique. À Montréal, les données sur le temps ont été utilisées pour aider à établir la ville comme métropole ferroviaire nord-américaine.

À travers l'Amérique du Nord, les chemins de fer utilisaient le temps de leurs tronçons principaux tout au long de leurs lignes, donnant ainsi à leurs temps-clés une présence dépassant de loin leurs origines locales. Avec une multitude de trains arrivant ou partant de Québec, plusieurs heures "standard" se côtoyaient dans la province. Ces dernières incluaient l'heure de la ville de Québec, l'heure de Moncton (Nouveau-Brunswick) et même l'heure d'Albany (New York). Néanmoins, comme la plupart des plus importants chemins de fer canadiens avaient leur quartier général à Montréal (dont la Compagnie de chemin de fer du Grand Tronc), la plupart des trains au Québec circulaient sur l'heure de Montréal et les communautés ferroviaires du Québec adoptaient parfois l'heure de Montréal comme le temps d'usage dans leurs villes.

Depuis le début des années 1870, plusieurs personnes ont proposé des plans pour normaliser davantage le temps. L'une de ces propositions est venue du Canadien Sandford Fleming. Selon les écrits populaires canadiens et quelques études académiques, Fleming a été « l'inventeur » de l'heure normale, même si les historiens américains ont montré que d'autres personnes ont eu des idées similaires à propos des fuseaux horaires, et ce, au même moment ou avant Fleming. Néanmoins, grâce à des articles scientifiques bien cités

lors de conférences universitaires et à ses liens avec le monde franco-catholique représenté dans les associations académiques, Fleming fut certainement une figure-clé dans la promotion de l'idée de l'heure normale au Québec.

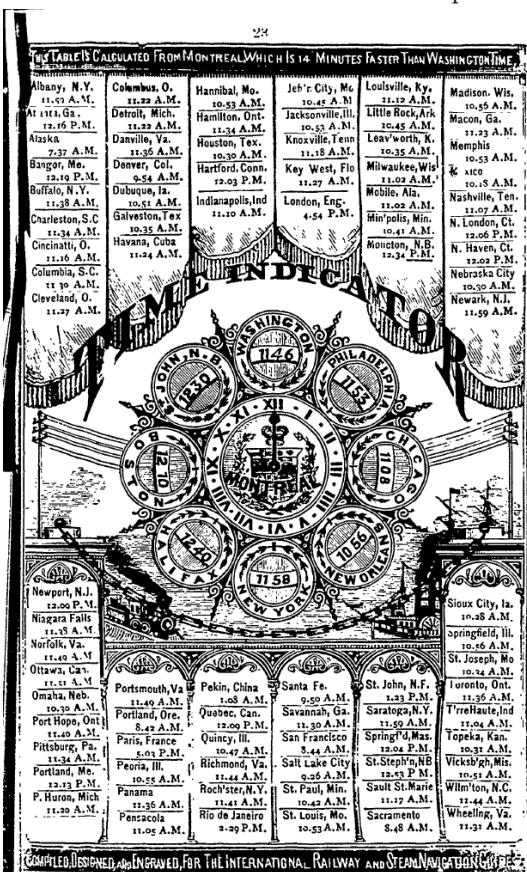
À partir de la fin des années 1870, Fleming a argumenté publiquement qu'une réforme du temps était nécessaire en raison des pressions de la modernisation du chemin de fer et du télégraphe. Selon lui, ces derniers étaient des « agents actifs du progrès humain » qui mettaient de nouveaux pouvoirs entre les mains de l'humanité. Quelques coutumes comme « les pratiques ordinaires du calcul du temps » étaient mal ajustées à la nouvelle réalité et devaient être mises de côté. Sa vision du pouvoir transformateur de la technologie était mondiale et postulait une hiérarchie des civilisations. Selon Fleming,

l'Afrique et l'Australie seraient les prochains territoires à succomber à la « pression civilisatrice de la vapeur », comme elles allaient « participer au progrès général ». Au début des années 1880, Fleming et plusieurs Américains ont fait pression sur les gouvernements canadien et américain pour que ces derniers fassent voter des lois mettant l'heure normale en place.

Les propriétaires des chemins de fer n'ont pas bien réagi à la possibilité d'une intervention gouvernementale. Ils ont décidé d'agir avant le gouvernement et ont institué leur propre heure normale. Le système qu'ils ont choisi fut celui de l'américain William. F. Allen, le Secrétaire de l'Association américaine des chemins de fer (American Railroad Association). Durant l'automne 1883, Allen a entretenu une correspondance régulière avec les dirigeants des chemins de fer québécois, leur demandant s'ils allaient adopter la nouvelle heure. William Cornelius Van Horne et Joseph Hickson, présidents respectifs du Chemin de fer Canadien Pacifique et de la

Compagnie de chemin de fer du Grand Tronc, ont répondu qu'ils étaient en faveur de l'adoption de l'heure, ce qui fut un élément déterminant pour le Québec et le Canada. Après le Jour des deux midis, Allen a continué d'écrire à ces hommes ainsi qu'à d'autres pour savoir si l'heure normale avait été adoptée. Tous ses correspondants québécois ont répondu par l'affirmative.

Néanmoins, en dépit de ces affirmations, il était clair que tout ne se passait pas comme prévu. L'entorse la plus significative au plan d'Allen concernait la question de la frontière est de l'heure de l'Est. Selon le projet d'Allen, la ville de Québec marquait la frontière entre l'heure de l'Est et l'heure Intercoloniale (renommée plus tard l'heure



normale de l'Atlantique). Or, les dirigeants du Chemin de fer Intercolonial, qui passait entre Lévis (près de la ville de Québec) et Halifax, avaient d'autres idées en tête. Au lieu d'adopter l'heure Intercoloniale, ils ont adopté l'heure normale de l'Est pour essayer de s'allier économiquement avec les villes majeures de la côte est de l'Amérique du Nord, et non avec Halifax.

D'autres ont également dévié du scénario d'heure normale d'Allen. L'exemple de la ville de Québec au début de cet article suggère qu'il nous faut examiner en plus de détail les horloges de l'Église catholique pour mieux comprendre si le Québec a été par sa faute la dernière province à adopter l'heure normale. Au sein de l'Église québécoise, la plus fervente opposition à l'heure normale est venue du Cercle catholique du Québec, une petite faction conservatrice ultramontaine qui s'opposait à l'Archevêque du Québec Taschereau et à l'élite ecclésiastique de l'Université Laval. Le Cercle a critiqué l'heure normale qu'il accusait de miner l'Ordre de Dieu tel que présenté dans la Genèse.

Toutefois, le groupe était composé de figures marginales et les plus puissants dirigeants de l'Église appuyaient clairement la transition de l'heure naturelle à l'heure normale. L'Archevêque Taschereau par exemple, déclara que les cloches de l'Angelus devaient sonner selon l'heure de l'horloge et non selon l'heure naturelle. Les plus hauts dirigeants de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique ont aussi pris parti pour l'heure normale dans certaines situations. Lorsqu'on lui a demandé son avis, le Vatican a permis aux Églises d'adopter l'heure locale dominante, peu importe que ce soit l'heure normale ou un autre type d'heure locale. Cela explique certainement pourquoi plusieurs églises catholiques dans les villes de Québec et Montréal ont rapidement adopté l'heure normale. Dans les centres urbains où la majorité des institutions ont adopté l'heure normale, l'Église a évité de créer une dissonance temporelle entre elle et les autres institutions urbaines. Ne pas adopter la nouvelle heure a peut-être été davantage une tactique utilisée par certaines institutions catholiques pour limiter le contact avec le monde extérieur. En effet, une volonté anachorétique militante plutôt qu'un différend au sujet de l'ordre divin peut mieux expliquer le rejet de l'heure normale par les séminaires de la province.

Dans des régions plus lointaines, l'heure normale fut moins adoptée. Dans la ville de Rimouski, à l'est du Québec, trois notions du temps ont coexisté pendant les années 1890 : l'heure normale, l'heure moyenne et l'heure naturelle. Alors que les trains ont amené l'heure normale en ville, peu d'institutions semblent s'être senties obligées d'adopter cette mesure. Le prêtre de l'Église catholique a continué à utiliser l'heure solaire pour régler le moment où il sonnait ses cloches et tenait la messe. Avec une population beaucoup plus petite et moins de diversité institutionnelle qu'à Montréal ou à Québec, la complexité temporelle de la situation n'a pas dû être accablante.

Si des communautés religieuses catholiques et les régions les moins peuplées de la province semblent ne pas s'être conformées à l'heure

normale des chemins de fer, il est aussi important de noter qu'elles n'étaient pas légalement obligées de le faire. La Constitution canadienne (Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique de 1867) ne spécifie pas explicitement quel niveau de gouvernement a droit de juridiction sur le temps. Les experts constitutionnels du Québec ont jugé cela en disant que le temps était un pouvoir résiduel attribué au gouvernement fédéral, tandis que dans l'Ontario voisin, le gouvernement - en faveur des droits provinciaux - a soutenu que le temps était une juridiction partagée. Dans tous les cas, sauf en temps de guerre, le gouvernement fédéral a choisi de ne pas exercer sa juridiction et a laissé aux provinces et municipalités la liberté de régler leurs propres horloges et de décider quelle heure serait la référence locale pour les lois. En novembre 1883, les municipalités de la ville de Québec et de Montréal adoptèrent l'heure normale pour se coordonner avec le changement des chemins de fer. Par conséquent, les institutions fédérales comme les bureaux de poste se sont conformées à ces nouvelles pratiques locales.

Une adoption massive de l'heure normale s'est produite dans le Québec urbain entre 1883 et la Première Guerre mondiale, malgré le fait qu'il n'y avait pas de loi sur le temps et bien que les régions non desservies par les lignes de chemin de fer aient probablement gardé les heures locales. Dans les provinces avec des lois concernant le temps, ces dernières ne faisaient qu'encadrer les interactions entre les gens et l'état provincial ou les autres institutions. Elles n'imposaient pas le temps légal dans toutes les sphères de la vie. Ainsi, plusieurs heures ont continué de circuler. La Nouvelle-Écosse offre un bon exemple : elle fut la première province à adopter une mesure de l'heure normale (1884), rendant l'heure Intercoloniale le temps légal de la province. Néanmoins, jusqu'en 1902, le principal chemin de fer de la province a continué d'opérer selon l'heure normale de l'Est. Ailleurs en Amérique du Nord, la standardisation du temps fut aussi un processus plus lent que le « jour des deux midis » peut suggérer. En effet, il y a eu une résistance significative à l'idée de laisser tomber l'heure locale, même si l'historiographie a été lente à en dresser le portrait.

La crise qui força la main du gouvernement du Québec est arrivée à la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale. Pendant la guerre, pour la première fois, le gouvernement fédéral a passé une loi temporelle controversée pour instituer l'heure d'été. Mais en 1919, le Parlement fédéral avait rejeté l'heure d'été même si les chemins de fer et plusieurs villes l'avaient déjà mise en place. La loi québécoise sur le temps de 1920 répondit à cette situation en donnant au cabinet le pouvoir de décider du temps légal dans les juridictions provinciales en cas de conflit. La loi a établi l'heure normale comme la référence pour les lois de la province et pour la première fois, l'heure normale touchait tous les Québécois, même s'ils n'en étaient pas nécessairement conscients.

Pour comprendre pourquoi l'heure normale n'est pas devenue uni-

See the world with **McGill**

For more than 25 years, the McGill Alumni and Friends Travel Program has offered exceptional travel opportunities to our alumni. From Antarctic expeditions to island getaways, we organize once-in-a-lifetime trips to amazing destinations--experiences made all the more special because you'll share them with your fellow McGill graduates. We hope you'll join us as we continue our cherished tradition of learning through travel.

Starting in May 2016, members of the McGill History Department will be joining the travel program to provide insight and a historical perspective on the areas visited. We hope to bring together as many alumni, friends and partners of McGill's Department of History and Classical Studies together to participate with our professors on these vacations of a lifetime.

À la découverte du monde avec **McGill**

Depuis plus de 25 ans, le Programme de voyages à l'intention des diplômés et amis de McGill offre des occasions de voyage exceptionnelles aux diplômés. Des expéditions en Antarctique aux escapades insulaires, l'Association organise de nombreux voyages : occasions en or, destinations incroyables et expériences d'autant plus agréables que vous les partagerez avec d'autres diplômés de McGill. Nous espérons que vous perpétuerez cette tradition qui nous est si chère : apprendre en voyageant.

À partir de mai 2016, les membres du département d'histoire et d'études classiques de l'Université McGill se joindront au programme Voyage afin fournir un aperçu et une perspective historique sur les zones visitées. Nous espérons rassembler autant d'anciens, amis et partenaires du département que possible. Soyez des nôtres avec nos professeurs lors de ces vacances inoubliables! Planifiez votre voyage dès aujourd'hui en visitant :
<http://aoc.mcgill.ca/travel>

Talk to our Travel experts

For information on the Alumni Travel Program, please call
514-398-8961 or (toll-free) 1-800-567-5175, ext. 8961.
Or email us: services.alumni@mcgill.ca

Adressez-vous à nos experts en voyage

Pour obtenir de l'information sur le Programme de voyages à l'intention des diplômés et amis de McGill, composez le 514-398-6760 ou le 1-800-567-5175, poste 6760 (numéro sans frais). Vous pouvez aussi envoyer un courriel à services.alumni@mcgill.ca.



Plan your trip today by visiting
<http://aoc.mcgill.ca/travel>.



In the Wake of the Vikings, 28 May – 5 June 2015



At the end of May, twenty-one McGill graduates and friends, plus myself and my partner, Edgar Navarro, serving as hosts on behalf of the McGill Alumni Association, embarked on a cruise. After landing in Glasgow, we sailed on a French ship, *Le Boréal*, from Greenock on the River Clyde and up the west coast of Scotland, around the top of the British mainland to Orkney and Shetland, across the North Sea to Bergen in Norway, and finally entered the Baltic to disembark at Copenhagen. The theme of the trip was “In the Wake of the Vikings,” but we and the members of other alumni or historical associations from Canada and the US who filled the boat were treated to much more than migrating Scandinavians. Highlights of the trip included a bus ride from Oban to Fort William via Glencoe; the steam railway from Fort William to Mallaig through breathtaking scenery; visits to Armadale Castle on the Isle of Skye and Eilean Donan Castle on the mainland; the rich archaeological sites of Skara Brae and the Ring of Brodgar on Orkney and the multilayered Bronze Age/Iron Age/Viking/Medieval site of Jarlshof on Shetland; Kirkwall and Lerwick, the respective capitals of Orkney and Shetland; the lovely city of Bergen; and wonderful Copenhagen. We were quite lucky with the weather, given the latitude and time of year: cool but largely sunny, with only two wet days, and we encountered rough seas only twice.

Le Boréal is a sleek vessel with all the comforts of a five-star boutique hotel. We were well and truly pampered: the level of comfort in the cabins, lounges, bars and gym was exceptional and the staff could not have been more attentive. Likewise in the restaurants—the food was quite outstanding (a French chef!) and the waiters trained to the highest levels of courtesy and efficiency. The evening entertainment—a classical pianist, a lounge pianist and a dance troupe (who remarkably managed to do the can-can in high heels in rough seas without a single misstep), all overseen by an infectiously enthusiastic Italian master of ceremonies—was of an equally impressive standard.

Nor can I fault the four Gohagan Travel Program Directors—all seasoned professionals, who ensured that all of the excursions passed off without a hitch and who coordinated an excellent series of very well-attended lectures on historical, archaeological, geological and climatological topics.

In my official capacity shepherding the McGill contingent, I hosted a welcome dinner in the upper restaurant, a cocktail party (sponsored by the McGill Alumni Association) followed by a dinner, and then a final dinner on our last night on board. These were very agreeable, well-attended occasions and there was much convivial reminiscing about McGill and Montreal in the fifties, sixties and seventies.

All in all this was a superb cruise and the first of what I hope will be many such collaborations between McGill History and Classical Studies professors and the McGill Alumni Association.

Brian Lewis, Professor



Achievements

Suzanne Morton, Professor of Canadian History, is the co-winner of the 2015 Political History Group Book Prize, awarded by the Canadian Historical Association, for *Wisdom, Justice, & Charity: Canadian Social Welfare Through the Life of Jane B. Wisdom, 1884-1975* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014). The Montreal, New York, Halifax, and Glace Bay career of Jane Wisdom (McGill '07), explores how the experience of one of Canada's first professional social workers reveals important currents in the development of private and public social welfare.

Hans Beck, Professor of Ancient History and John MacNaughton Chair of Classics, won the Anneliese Maier Research Award 2015. Granted by the German Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the prize rewards excellence in research and leadership in international collaboration in the Humanities and Social Sciences. An award is valued at EUR 250,000. Hans Beck will use these funds to foster his research program on the dynamic force of localism in the world of ancient Greece. His research is designed to include undergraduate and graduate students at all levels of the investigation.

Laila Parsons, who holds a joint position as an Associate Professor in the Department of History and Classical Studies and the Institute of Islamic Studies, won the H. Noel Fieldhouse Award for Distinguished Teaching in 2014. The award is designed to recognize outstanding teaching in the Faculty of Arts, and is awarded to one faculty member in the Faculty of Arts each June at Convocation. Laila Parsons's undergraduate teaching includes courses on the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the history of British and French colonialism in the Middle East, and the history of modern Egypt.

Allan Greer, Canada Research Chair in Canadian History, received the Killam Research Fellowship for the calendar years 2014 and 2015. The fellowship enables Canadian scholars working in the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, health sciences and engineering to focus exclusively on research and writing for the duration of two full years. Professor Greer uses the fellowship to write a new book entitled *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Settlers and Land in North America, 1520-1720*. The book brings together material on the early colonization of Canada, Mexico and New England, looking closely and comparatively at the processes by which indigenous territories became settler property.

Lorenz Lüthi, Associate Professor in the History of International Relations, received the New Directions Fellowship of the Mellon Foundation in the spring 2015. The fellowship assists faculty members in acquiring systematic training outside their own areas of special interest. Lorenz Lüthi will spend the academic year 2015-16 at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in a one-year, intensive Arabic language program.

Endowment of the Phrixos B. Papachristidis Chair in Modern Greek and Greek-Canadian Studies

In December 2014, leaders from Canada's Greek community came together to donate \$1.2 million to McGill to strengthen Modern Greek research and scholarship and endow the University's Phrixos B. Papachristidis Chair in Modern Greek and Greek-Canadian Studies in perpetuity.

The gift, which includes contributions from over 70 donors in Montreal and across Canada, allows McGill to expand the scope of its Greek studies program, one of the few in the country that examines the Greek cultural diaspora through a contemporary lens. The Papachristidis Chair, which is housed within the Department of History and Classical Studies, was first established in 1988 by the Papachristidis family in honour of the late Montreal shipping industrialist. McGill has supported the Chair financially on an annual basis since its inception, bolstered by considerable contributions from the Governments of Canada and Greece.

The Chair immerses students in the rich historical and cultural tradition of Greece. It offers a minor concentration program that is designed to enable students to achieve not only linguistic proficien-

cy in Greek, but also an understanding of the diachronic influence and synchronic importance of Greek culture, history and language. Tightly connected to the History and Classical Studies Department curriculum, the program allows students to understand the disproportionate role this rather small country has played and is still playing in the world's imaginary and history due to both its antique heritage and its geopolitical situation. Greek immigration continues to influence this country's history, and Greeks have long made up a vital part of the Canadian identity and experience as all Montrealers know. In fact, a lot of what students learn also appeals to broader and highly relevant themes, such as immigration and multiculturalism. Thanks to this new endowment the Chair looks to the future in a far more serene manner. First of all, the program now exists in perpetuity, which guarantees that there will always be a professor teaching Greek language, culture and history at McGill. Moreover it can now create more training opportunities for McGill students. A new joint summer studies program initiated in 2015 provides students from across McGill and other universities with the unique chance to study

The F. Peter Cundill Fellowships in History

Saul Takes Flight



The F. Peter Cundill Fellowships in History were established by the late F. Peter Cundill (B.Com. 1960) in 2007 to be awarded to two students entering the history doctoral program in the Department of History and Classical Studies. The award can be renewed twice for one year. Over a ten students have been recipients of the fellowship since its inception.

Some of the first doctoral students to receive the fellowship have recently graduated from the program.

Sarah Ghabrial came to McGill from the University of Western Ontario (B.A.) and from Queens University (M.A.). In her dissertation "A 'fiqh francisé'?: Modernizing personal status law in French Algeria, 1870-1930", she sheds new light on the social history of family law in colonial Algeria. Ghabrial explored the experiences

of Algerian women in court proceedings, their reaction to the legal reforms introduced by the French, and their appropriation of French colonial notions of secularism, citizenship, and nation. The dominant narratives on Muslim women and national struggles, whether in daily newspapers, schoolbooks, or academic studies, have offered little space for women, revealing the gender imbalance in the writing, or rather the unwriting, of their activism. Ghabrial exploited a large body of empirical data and used quantitative methods and a critical reading of court records, rarely analyzed hitherto, in connection to historical context, economic arrangements, productive patterns, or social interest. The theoretical contribution of her dissertation enriches studies on Muslim women, the formation of the Algerian nation-state, and colonialism.

From 2015 to 2017, Sarah Ghabrial is a SSHRC post-doc at Columbia University in New York.

in Greece and actually visit the places they have been studying about. In addition, students who complete a Bachelor of Arts with a minor in Hellenic Studies will have the opportunity to receive funding to spend one month in Greece following their graduation, stepping in the shoes of such figures as Lord Byron, Marc Twain or...Leonard Cohen. Another new initiative will be two endowed lectureships, which will attract important keynote speakers and visiting faculty to the University. Finally, the creation of a dedicated space, including offices, lounge and library, for our students to congregate will be announced.

There's no question that this endowment puts McGill on the map as one of the top institutions focusing on Greek studies in North America.

Anastassios (Tassos), Assistant Professor

Anastassiadis has held the Papachristidis Chair since 2011.

Saul Guerrero arrived at McGill with a Ph.D. in chemistry and after a long and fruitful career in the Venezuelan petroleum industry. At McGill he turned his attentions to the hacienda de beneficios of colonial Mexico and Peru. The hacienda was the refining complex that transformed ores into silver and underwrote the fortunes of the Spanish empire for centuries. While its importance was well known, its inner workings escaped the ken of most historians. A chemist, a former plant manager, and now a historian, Guerrero was able to reconstitute the complex material, energetic and chemical interactions required to refine silver. This effort has immediate bearings on the broader problem of mining's environmental impacts: energy consumption (from wood, charcoal and hydro-power); the release of contaminants into the environment and into the human bodies of those who worked and lived nearby. His dissertation, as well as the side articles written along the way, have already been praised and cited by scholars in the field since it sets to right a number of serious miscalculations made by previous researchers.

Saul Guerrero currently lives with his family in Caracas, Venezuela.

New Faces in the Department

Dr. Alice Sharp will be joining the Department of History and Classical Studies this fall as a Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow. Academia has called Dr. Sharp—a native of San Francisco—progressively north and east. She holds a BA (hons.) from the University of Chicago (2007), and an MA (2008) and a PhD (2015) from the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto. In 2013 she held the inaugural Schindler-Leonardi Fellowship from the Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino, which supported her research on twelfth-century manuscripts in European collections. Dr. Sharp's research investigates the intellectual milieu of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the first universities emerged. She combines intellectual history with an expertise in medieval manuscripts. Her dissertation "In principio: The Origins of the *Glossa ordinaria* on Genesis 1-3" was a study of the textual history of an important commentary on the Genesis Creation story, of which she is now preparing an edition. At McGill, Dr. Sharp will be pursuing her research on medieval discussions of humanity and the role played by the concept of reason in defining human nature in twelfth- and thirteenth-century school texts. During the 2015-2016 academic year, Dr. Sharp will teach *The History of the Book in Britain* and a course on medieval heresy. She lives with her husband, Tristan, and son, Isaac.



Allan Downey is a member of the Nak'azdli First Nation and joins the Department of History and Classical Studies after serving as an Academic Associate in Indigenous Studies at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. A graduate of Wilfrid Laurier University (PhD, History), he joined McGill last fall after teaching in both the Department of History and North American Studies Program at Laurier. Playing lacrosse since he was ten years old, Professor Downey has played at several of the highest levels—including being drafted professionally—and took his passion for the sport and turned it into a PhD project and now a forthcoming book. His book, *The Creator's Game: Indigenous Identity Formation in Canada's Colonial Age* (UBC Press, Under Contract), focuses on the history of lacrosse in Indigenous communities from 1867-1990 to better understand Native-Newcomer relations and Indigenous identity formation. Using a case study approach, ethno-historical methods, and placing an emphasis on community collaborations Professor Downey demonstrates that the history of lacrosse serves as a potent illustration of how identity is formed, reformed, and how at times competing interest groups attempt to claim a source of identity as their own. Beyond scholarly venues Professor Downey's research has gained considerable public attention. He has made numerous appearances on CBC Radio including *The Sunday Edition* with Michael Enright, TSN Radio, in the *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star*, and in a nationally televised lacrosse documentary in the United States titled *America's First Sport* carried by PBS and ESPN. One of Professor Downey's greatest passions is working with Indigenous youth. He spends much time volunteering for a number of Indigenous communities and youth organizations.



Jeremy Tai will be joining the Department of History and Classical Studies at McGill University this fall as assistant professor of late imperial and modern Chinese history. He received his PhD in History from the University of California, Santa Cruz, with a specialization in urban and regional development, nationalism, and gender in modern China. His current research examines the Chinese state's long-standing efforts to develop Northwest China, a region that is often identified with poverty, backwardness, inaccessibility, and ethnic conflict. Whereas most scholars have focused on Beijing and Shanghai to measure economic progress in China, Professor Tai examines how the Northwest, a seemingly backwater place, has also figured centrally in state-building practices over the past hundred years. The Guomindang, Maoist, and reform-era regimes have all launched economic development campaigns in this region in response to economic, territorial, and spiritual crises. Professor Tai shows how these vastly different ideological regimes have all mobilized the national imagination to garner support for their efforts in this region, constructing fantasies of frontier openings akin to the American West and the revival of the ancient Silk Road. Beyond these state visions, he turns to local experiences in the regional center of Xi'an and its environs to show how the effects of these campaigns have been felt differently by agricultural communities, women, refugees, migrants, and ethnic minorities. To complete this research, Professor Tai spent two years working in libraries and archives in China and Taiwan, funded by the Fulbright Program, the University of California Pacific Rim Research Program, and the Center for Chinese Studies in Taipei.

Western Han Chang'an: an Ancient Capital within Modern Metropolitan Xi'an

Griet Vankeerberghen, Associate Professor

Visiting modern Xi'an is a must for any historically-minded tourist in modern-day China. The city wall, dating from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), is impressively restored, and testifies to the manner in which late imperial China ruled its prefectural cities. A few kilometers to the south of the wall, near the Great Goose Pagoda, whole portions of the Tang dynasty city (618-907 CE) are being rebuilt, interlaced with bronze statues of the most memorable rulers of that dynasty, and enlivened with gaudy, high-tech light shows. This resurrected Tang city seeks to remind visitors that Xi'an was the location of that dynasty's capital, named Chang'an or City of Eternal Peace, and was, as the terminus of the Silk Routes, one of the most important cities of the medieval world.

Of course, most visitors come to Xi'an to stand eye to eye with the Terra Cotta warriors, which testify to the prowess, the successes, as well as the fears of the First Emperor of Qin (r. 246/221-210 BCE) in an even earlier period. As they are whisked around the area in taxis or in tour buses—using Xi'an's ultra-modern highway network—visitors come away with a good sense that the region's history is long and glorious, but remain confused as to exactly which part of Xi'an's history they have explored during their trip.

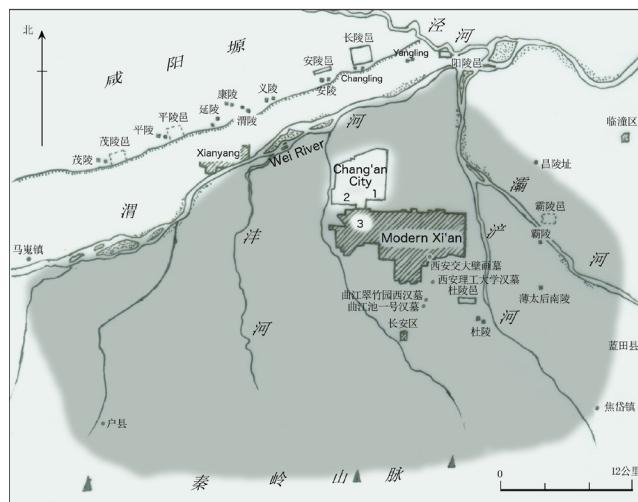
For two hundred some years, between 202 BCE and 23 CE, the Xi'an area served as the seat for the capital of the Western Han (206 BCE-8 CE) and Xin (9-23 CE) dynasties, a city that, like its Tang successor, was called Chang'an. The Western Han capital equalled ancient Rome—with which it was roughly contemporaneous—in glory, and probably surpassed it in size. However, whereas for visitors to modern Rome, for whom an exploration of the ruins of the ancient city represents a highlight of their visit, the Western Han capital remains largely invisible to modern tourists. Visitors to Xi'an might encounter a few Western Han objects in the musea dedicated to the history of Xi'an or Shaanxi Province, or, if time allows a visit to the Yangling mausoleum of Emperor Jing (r. 157-141 BCE), they might literally walk over the glass panels that cover the sacrificial pits surrounding his tomb, but there tends

to be little understanding of how these objects and sites fit within the *longue durée* of the region's history. That the city has remained invisible has many reasons. For most modern Chinese—including the promoters of Xi'an tourism industry—the Han city is outshone by its larger, more famous namesake of the Tang dynasty. The city, in a way, is also literally invisible. Unlike Rome, much of Western Han Chang'an was built in rammed earth and wood, so that, effectively, very few aboveground structures are left behind for the tourist's viewing.

The site of the Western Han capital was carefully chosen, for both strategic and historic reasons. Strategically, the site was in the fertile valley of the Wei River, and given that it was surrounded to the south and east by high elevations, it was easily defensible. This was crucial, given that the new dynasty still had to consolidate what

it had gained through arduous military campaigns. Historically, the Western Han ruling group came from the area around present-day Xuzhou some 800 kilometers to the east and settled in the region where the Western Zhou (1046-771 BCE) and Qin dynasties (771/221-207 BCE) had had their capitals. A complex dialogue ensued with these predecessors, in which Western Han negotiated and developed its own distinct political identity.

Whereas the core of the Qin capital of Xianyang—a walled palace city—had stood north of the Wei River since 350 BCE, the Western Han ruling group sited its capital to the south of the Wei River. (The Qin palace city must have been thoroughly ruined in the fighting



Map of Western Han Chang'an showing the extent of the Shanglin park (in dark grey), the location of the imperial mausolea and mausoleum towns (among which Changling and Yangling), and the location of the Changle Palace (1), the Weiyang Palace (2), and Wang Mang's ritual site (3). The Ming-dynasty walled city of Xi'an, as well as the walls of Tang Chang'an are (mostly) within the boundaries of modern Xi'an. Adapted, with permission, from a map by Arlen Lien.

that accompanied the fall of Qin.) At the same time, the Changle palace complex that was to serve as both imperial residence and seat of government was built on the remains of a Qin traveling palace, as this saved costs in materials and in human labor. Thus the Western Han ruling group communicated a message crucial to its political survival: that the new dynasty, while following the lead of Qin in practical terms, would also distance itself from its predecessor and cultivate a more modest and people-friendly image. This message gets reiterated over and over: the mounds over Western Han imperial tombs, for example, look like, but are consistently smaller than, their Qin counterparts, which is particularly the case for the tomb of the First Emperor, the absolute pinnacle of imperial grandeur; the

figurines buried near imperial mausolea (such as the ones buried with Emperor Jing at Yangling) were never again of life size, as the famous terra cotta soldiers buried near the First Emperor's tomb had been; Han punishments were to be more humane than those applied during Qin times, even though recent archaeological discoveries have shown this to be more rhetoric than reality.

In 198 BCE, the Han founder, Liu Bang, left the Changle Palace to his powerful wife of the Lü family and moved his own court to the Weiyang Palace. The palace was newly built west of the Changle Palace to better express the grand imperial ambitions of the Han ruling house. (At first, however, Liu Bang, was thoroughly displeased when he saw how splendid his new residence was, afraid perhaps it would undermine the public image he had so carefully cultivated.) The Weiyang Palace was to become a vast, sprawling campus that included government offices, archives, libraries, workshops, parks, ponds, and a special palace for the imperial consorts, and as its centerpiece had the Front Audience Hall. The Front Audience Hall—which was in fact designed as a series of halls—was the site from which imperial business was conducted. Appropriately, it was built on the highest natural elevation in the immediate area. The elevation is still visible, and can be ascended via a series of steps, allowing the modern-day visitor to gaze over the wide expanse--now mostly fields--of what once was the Western Han capital of Chang'an. Some other buildings, crucial to the functioning of the state, including a granary and an armory, were completed at the same time as the Weiyang Palace.

Remarkably, even as there were many walls surrounding buildings or whole palace complexes, there was as yet no wall encircling the entire city. Construction of such a perimeter wall was initiated in 194 BCE and completed by 190 BCE, under the regime of Liu Bang's son and successor. With its circumference of 25.7 kilometers, and built of rammed earth, the high wall was to become one of the most distinctive features of Western Han Chang'an, bound to impress any visitor approaching the city. The peculiar shape of the perimeter wall has been interpreted differently. The old hypothesis—that the shape of the wall imitates that of the Great Dipper—has been discarded by Chinese archaeologists in recent years in favor of the hypothesis that the wall begot its irregular shape due to elements in the natural landscape that have, by now, largely disappeared. But the old asterism hypothesis has been refined and reintroduced recently by at least one prominent scholar. If true, the wall would be a powerful symbol of how imperial power was imagined at that time, with the emperor using his city to control the world in the way the Sky-God, from his location near Polaris, moved the handle of the Great Dipper to control the motions of the stars.

Each side of the perimeter wall had three entrance gates, some of which gave out onto the perimeter walls of individual palace compounds: in other words, they were not very functional. These dysfunctional gates strongly suggest that the designers of the wall sought to comply with an ideal scheme like the one verbalized in

a chapter of the Rites-classic, a text transmitted to this day. One passage describes an ideal royal city with exactly such a perimeter wall: three gates at each side, with major avenues departing each gate, creating nine major intersections. Were the architects of Western Han Chang'an's perimeter wall trying to emulate the Western Zhou city the passage claimed to be describe? There is very little evidence, however, to show that this chapter of the Rites-classic circulated or was widely read during this early phase of Western Han. How does one reconcile, furthermore, an interpretation of the perimeter wall as the instantiation of a classical ideal (strongly associated with the Western Zhou period) with one that understands earthly architecture as mirroring the divine sky (something that is also strongly attested for Qin)?

Western Han Chang'an was subject to more growth spurts. A particularly powerful one occurred during the reign of Emperor Wu (r. 141-87 BCE), who enlarged and walled the enormous Shanglin Park that girdled the perimeter walls to the south, west, and east, and built various new palace compounds, remembered later mostly for their ostentatiousness. (It is under Emperor Wu's reign that the Han empire expanded dramatically in all directions, but especially to the west.) Also Wang Mang, a member of a consort family who managed to dethrone the Liu family and establish his own dynasty in 23 CE added buildings to Chang'an. Under his direction, five wards for the poor were added within the perimeter wall. He also constructed a huge ritual complex to the south of the walled city. The design of this complex—as revealed by archaeological excavations—is wholly in line with the transmitted passage from the Rites classic referred to above. For this later period of Western Han history, indeed, there is ample evidence that classicism was on the rise—and with the glorification of Western Zhou as a golden age came the vilification of all things Qin. Wang Mang's ritual complex, therefore, has to be understood as part of a broader project to remake Chang'an according to a more classical image. That a complete make-over of a fully built-up site was difficult to accomplish, might explain why the Eastern Han rulers—distant cousins of those of Western Han, who fully embraced the anti-Qin and pro-Zhou rhetoric of late Western Han—decided in 25 CE to establish their capital in Luoyang, some 350 kilometers to the east. Luoyang not only had been the site of an important secondary capital of Western Zhou, it was also removed from Qin's pre-conquest sphere of influence.

Even though it had lost much of its former glory, the site of Western Han Chang'an remained in use even after 25 CE, serving from time to time as capital for one of the northern regimes of the early medieval period. The site was finally abandoned in 583 CE, when an entirely new city, Sui/Tang Chang'an, was erected to its southeast.

From the above discussion it must be obvious that political decisions and ideological considerations factored importantly in the birth and death of an early Chinese capital such as Western Han Chang'an, as well as in the particular forms of spatial organization it developed. Besides the perimeter wall around Chang'an City, another striking feature of Western Han Chang'an is the existence of seven walled

mausoleum cities within a 40 km radius of Chang'an City. These large and sometimes densely populated cities were created at imperial command and deliberately located near the imperial mausolea. That today the area within the perimeter walls of what was once Chang'an City of Western Han consists mostly of farmers' fields dotted with a few villages, perhaps proves that there was nothing natural about having implanted a capital city there in the first place. Currently, new construction on the site is prohibited, and plans are underway to transform the site into a huge Han-themed park cum museum. Even as Chang'an's location and spatial organization were driven by the needs of the Western Han court, the city was not devoid of organic qualities, as is often claimed for Chinese cities—especially capitals—before the tenth century CE. Indeed, once the Western Han rulers had sited and designed their capital, the capital's growing infrastructure not only provided opportunities for those already settled in the area, but also became a magnet for all kinds of people from outside. Opportunities were offered to those who already resided in the capital's proximity: there is an example of one family—the Zhang family—that rose to the highest political office and noble status because they were able to exploit their residence in the capital area to create useful connections with those in power. Other locals lost their land to imperial construction projects, or might even have been ordered to participate in those as construction workers; at times, the local population was also invited to watch imperial spectacles and hunts. Some were forcibly brought to the capital area in the starting decades of the dynasty—especially powerful families of the old pre-unification Warring States—and given residence in the mausoleum towns. These migrants, typically drawing on cultural capital their family had accumulated over generations, gradually forged lives for themselves, sometimes using official channels, or sometimes banding together as outlaws. There were also those who came voluntarily to try their luck as merchants, diviners, or in search of an official career; or the temporary visitors who came on government business: visiting envoys, subordinate kings on statutory court visits, governors submitting their yearly reports, soldiers standing guard, prisoners engaged in construction work.

Sites were not always used as per imperial design. Changling City, just north of Chang'an, was designed to serve as the mausoleum town for the nearby tombs of Liu Bang and his wife, and was populated with forced migrants and with the high officials who had served Liu Bang. It also housed a very popular fertility shrine, to which women from all over the area traveled in large numbers. As the wives of officials who served in the Weiyang Palace were not allowed to reside with their husbands within the palace walls, whole shantytowns grew up along the northern palace wall. There were two large, officially controlled markets in the northern section within Chang'an's perimeter wall, but it is hard to imagine that these markets served all the daily needs of the wards' inhabitants: it is quite possible that the wards, which must have been less densely populated than in later times, allowed people to cultivate a good portion of the produce they needed, but also that there were other, less controlled, areas of commerce.

To come back, once more, to modern-day visitors to Xi'an: the main message they receive as they are whisked through the area from one ancient site to the other is that Chinese history is long and glorious; less gloriously, however, one dynasty starts to look just like the other. Adding some historical depth to this picture, even if just highlighting a small slice of the area's long history (as I have done here), could only enhance such a visitor experience. Each ruling group that established its capital in the Xi'an area was confronted with memories left by its predecessors—living memory, infrastructure, or texts. Invariably, each dynastic group, in cooperation with the people over whom they ruled, established a distinct identity for itself, rejecting some of the memories while embracing others. This conversation with the past continues today, in the decisions tourist officials and city planners make, but also as Chinese or foreign visitors to Xi'an make their choices about what they want to see.

Earlier in 2015, the University of Washington Press published *Chang'an 26 BCE: an Augustan Age in China*, an amply illustrated book on Western Han Chang'an, co-edited by Michael Nylan and Griet Vankeerberghen.

Continued From Page 7

verselle plus tôt au Québec, il nous faut regarder les décisions initiales des promoteurs de l'heure normale qui proposaient d'utiliser les chemins de fer, et non l'État, pour mettre la mesure en place. L'absence de loi temporelle provinciale était probablement la conséquence de la prédominance de ceux qui croyaient en un gouvernement réduit : Montréal était la métropole financière et industrielle du Canada à ce moment. Et manifestement, l'Église catholique n'organisa pas une résistance de masse contre l'heure normale. Peu de catholiques, en fait, l'ont rejetée sur le principe d'une attaque contre l'autorité de Dieu et les plus puissants au sein de l'Église étaient plus que réceptifs à la mesure.

Laisser l'heure normale en grande partie entre les mains des chemins de fer a influencé la manière dont la mesure a été mise en place. La capacité des chemins de fer (et du système télégraphique l'accompagnant) de faire valoir leurs idées sur de vastes espaces peu peuplés était plus réduite que l'autorité d'une action gouvernementale. Néanmoins, la structure fédérale limita la capacité de tout gouvernement à standardiser le temps. Cela dit, les lois provinciales ne sont probablement pas de bonnes indications de la standardisation de l'heure normale. Cette dernière a été utilisée par la plupart des populations urbaines du Québec et tous ceux interagissant avec les chemins de fer. Elle a été rejetée par les gens et les institutions qui souhaitaient être moins intégrés au système ferroviaire et à la vie urbaine. Il faudra attendre l'arrivée de la radio, et plus tard de la télévision, pour que tous les Québécois puissent, enfin, partager la même heure.

Introducing The Friends of McGill History and Classical Studies

In this inaugural issue of *Chronos McGill*, the Department's Outreach and Development Committee is delighted to announce the creation of *Friends of McGill History and Classical Studies*. The *Friends* are a group of alumni, professors and students, as well as members of the interested public at large. All lovers of History and Classical Studies are welcome! Together, *Friends* can gather to keep in touch, and learn about what's on at McGill.

Why become a Friend? Our Friends will benefit in many ways; you will receive the annual copy of *Chronos McGill*. You will be first to find out what our Faculty members, students, and visiting post-doctoral fellows are up to. You will learn about upcoming alumni trips on which McGill Professors will serve as expert guides, and receive early notice of important events held at McGill, including the annual lecture given by the winner of the McGill-run Cundill Prize in Historical Literature - the largest non-fiction prize in the world! (<http://www.cundillprize.com/lecture/>).

We hope that as a Friend and former McGill student you will tell us your own stories and share with us some of the journeys inspired by your time in History and Classical Studies.

Our circle of Friends will play a critical role in helping the Department enhance student life and learning at McGill. We want to help make education in History and Classical Studies at McGill both inclusive and accessible. Currently, for example, we are working at building strong mutual ties with indigenous communities such as Kahnawake. This means reaching out to potential students from the nearby Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) community, and opening up collaborative research projects with Kahnawake's rich Cultural Centre, and with Kanien'kehá:ka

speakers.

We act locally, but think globally. In a typical year, our students unearth treasures in places like Mexico City, Halifax, Cairo and Jerusalem, Johannesburg, New Orleans, London, Xi'an, Moscow, Berlin, and Thessaloniki. Helping to launch their exploration of archives, libraries and archaeological sites around the world is one of our greatest challenges, but also one of our greatest pleasures. We hope to enhance public awareness of such research, and generate financial support to reward it, through prizes and scholarships at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. Please join us and help us make History and Classical Studies part of the future.

For more information on becoming a Friend, please contact

Professor Catherine Desbarats,
Chair, Outreach and Development Committee,
Department of History and Classical Studies
514.398-4400 ext. 00980
catherine.desbarats@mcgill.ca

or

Debbie Dankoff, CFRE | Director,
Development, Faculty of Arts
Université McGill University
514.398.6590
Debbie.dankoff@mcgill.ca

Editorial Committee

Anastassios Anastasiadis
Catherine Desbarats
Lorenz Lüthi
Faith Wallis

Graphic Designer
Negar Adibpour