



The Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts



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ATINER is a *World Non-Profit Association* of Academics and Researchers based in Athens. ATINER is an independent **Association** with a **Mission** to become a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet in Athens, exchange ideas on their research and discuss future developments in their disciplines, **as well as engage with professionals from other fields**. Athens was chosen because of its long history of academic gatherings, which go back thousands of years to *Plato's Academy* and *Aristotle's Lyceum*. Both these historic places are within walking distance from ATINER's downtown offices. Since antiquity, Athens was an open city. In the words of Pericles, *Athens "...is open to the world, we never expel a foreigner from learning or seeing"*. ("Pericles' Funeral Oration", in Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*). It is ATINER's **mission** to revive the glory of Ancient Athens by inviting the World Academic Community to the city, to learn from each other in an environment of freedom and respect for other people's opinions and beliefs. After all, the free expression of one's opinion formed the basis for the development of democracy, and Athens was its cradle. As it turned out, the Golden Age of Athens was in fact, the Golden Age of the Western Civilization. *Education* and *(Re)searching* for the 'truth' are the pillars of any free (democratic) society. This is the reason why *Education* and *Research* are the two core words in ATINER's name.

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Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets some [basic academic standards](#), which include proper English. Some articles will be selected from the numerous papers that have been presented at the various annual international academic conferences organized by the different [divisions and units](#) of the Athens Institute for Education and Research.

The plethora of papers presented every year will enable the editorial board of each journal to select the best ones, and in so doing, to produce a quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER encourages the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue of the Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts (AJHA) is the first issue of the seventh volume (2020).

Gregory T. Papanikos, President
Athens Institute for Education and Research



Athens Institute for Education and Research

A World Association of Academics and Researchers

11th Annual International Conference on Visual and Performing Arts **8-11 June 2020, Athens, Greece**

The [Arts & Culture Unit](#) of ATINER is organizing its **11th Annual International Conference on Visual and Performing Arts, 8-11 June 2020, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts](#). The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers of visual and performing arts, and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-ART.doc>).

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- **Dr. Stephen Andrew Arbury**, Head, [Arts & Culture Unit](#), ATINER and Professor of Art History, Radford University, USA.
-

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **10 February 2020**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **11 May 2020**

Social and Educational Program

The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

Conference Fees

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/2019fees>



Athens Institute for Education and Research
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5th Annual International Symposium on Religion & Theology 25-28 May 2020, Athens, Greece

The [Humanities & Education Division](https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-REL.doc) of ATINER is organizing its **5th Annual International Symposium on Religion & Theology, 25-28 May 2020, Athens, Greece**. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers of Religion, Theology and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-REL.doc>).

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **27 January 2020**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **27 April 2020**

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. William O'Meara**, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Department of Philosophy and Religion, James Madison University, USA.

Social and Educational Program

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More information can be found here: <https://www.atiner.gr/social-program>

Conference Fees

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Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/2019fees>

Inscribing Votive Offerings and *Tamata*: Narratives, Artefacts, Asklepios, and Panagia Megalochari

Steven M. Oberhelman*

Divine miracle healing in the ancient and modern worlds is extensively documented through historical and literary texts, votive offerings, inscriptions, and miracle stories. In this article I focus on the votive inscriptions at the temple complex of the healing god Asklepios at Epidauros, and the miracle stories at the Church of Panagia Megalochari¹ on the Greek island of Tinos, and how they were crafted to tell a narrative of healing not only to accompany the votive offerings, but also to reimagine those offerings by providing a written framework that was previously assumed or was lacking. The purpose of the stories, which usually date after the offerings that they describe, is to position the gifts within a narrative of faith and socio-cultural discourse. The written texts, preserving what were originally private stories and/or oral traditions, function as a public narrative and allow their reader to reimagine, amplify, and reinterpret the visual gifts as manifestations of the power of the healing god Asklepios or the healing grace of Panagia Megalochari.

Votive Gift Traditions in Ancient and Byzantine Greece

The tradition of votive gifts in classical and Byzantine Greece is well-known and amply documented in scholarship, and so only a few introductory words are needed.² The ancient Greeks believed that the gods possessed the power to heal, and so the ill visited their sanctuaries in order to seek a cure for ailments. The chief healing god in antiquity was Asklepios.³ In his cult suppliants, after

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1. Panagia describes Mary, the mother of Jesus; the adjective Megalochari means "of great grace."

2. See Oberhelman for bibliography. [Steven M. Oberhelman, "Anatomical Votive Reliefs as Evidence for Specialization at Healing Sanctuaries in the Ancient Mediterranean World," *Athens Journal of Health* 1 (2014): 47-62]. Numerous articles on votive gifts may be found at <https://thevotivesproject.org/>.

3. Rudolf Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Religion* (*The Miracle Healing of Epidauros: A Contribution to the History of Medicine and Religion*) (Leipzig: Dieterichsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931); Folkert T. van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods," in *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. Henk S. Versnel (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 65-151; Emma Edelstein and Ludwig Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, 2 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988). [First edition: Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945]; Jürgen Reithmüller, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte* (*Asklepios:*

preliminary sacrifices and purification, slept at night in a sleeping chamber, called *abaton* (Figures 1 and 2). Asklepios then visited the sick person and healed her either by direct intervention (laying on of hands, applying medicines, even performing surgery) or indirectly (sending a dream that included instructions for a treatment upon awakening). Many instructions in dream-inspired cures reflected contemporary medicine: phlebotomy, baths, diet, exercise, poultices, compound drugs made of plants and herbs, and emetics.⁴

Figure 1. *Sanctuary of Asklepios, Epidauros*⁵



sanctuaries and cults), 2 vols (Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 2005); Bronwen L. Wickkiser, *Asklepios, Medicine and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece: Between Craft and Cult* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Henk Versnel, *Coping with the Gods: Wayward Readings in Greek Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

4. Philip van der Eijk, "Divination, Prognosis and Prophylaxis: The Hippocratic Work 'On Dreams' (De Victu 4) and Its Near Eastern Background," in *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*, ed. Herman Horstmanshotl and Marten Stol (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 187-218; Mileni Melfi, *Il santuari di Asclepio in Grecia. Studia Archaeologica* (*The sanctuary of Asclepius in Greece. Studia Archaeologica*), no. 157 (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2007); Gil H. Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come: Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World*, 2 vols, *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, no. 184 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), vol. I: 113-270; Florian Steger, *Asklepios: Medizin und Kult* (*Asklepios: Medicine and Cult*) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017). Not all cures were done through incubation or temple-sleep, and incubation was not always practiced at healing sanctuaries; see Renberg, "Was Incubation Practiced in the Latin West?," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 8 (2016): 104-147.

5. All photographs in this article are my own.

Figure 2. *The Sanctuary of Asklepios, Epidauros; the Abaton (Sleeping Chamber) on Right; Looking from the Ruins of the Temple of Asklepios*



Archaeologists have recovered at ancient Greek healing shrines numerous anatomical votive reliefs, made from marble, wood, stone, or terracotta. The votives were dedicated by grateful patients and typically portrayed the body part that had been healed. Figure 3, from the sanctuary of Epidauros, depicts a votive that a Cutius from Gaul dedicated in return for the restoration of his hearing.⁶

Figure 3. *Votive of Clutius of Gaul, Epidauros Museum*



Although it cannot be proved conclusively, the numbers and types of body parts represented on surviving votive offerings in a given sanctuary may reflect

6. The number of votives at Epidauros are very few. This may be a local tradition or there is a hidden cache somewhere in a field nearby. Corinth and Athens, the two other important mainland Asklepiian centers, have a number of votives, but of different types: at Corinth, terracotta votives made from the local soil; at Athens, stone reliefs. See, Lynn R. LiDonnici, *Tale and Dream: The Text and Compositional History of the Corpus of Epidaurian Miracle Cures* (doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1989), 137-140; and LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions: Text, Translation and Commentary*. Texts and Translations, no. 36 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1995), 41-43, for discussion.

specialization.⁷ At the sanctuary of Asklepios in the city of Corinth, numerous votive offerings depict appendages and limbs—hands and feet, arms and legs; for example, there are alone 145 hands⁸ (Figure 4). Since many of the suppliants visiting the Corinth sanctuary would have had an agricultural and rural lifestyle that involved much walking, working in the fields, and using equipment and farming implements, the votives may explain the high number of feet offerings (ankle sprains and foot injuries), and the high number of hand offerings (injuries, wounds, and bites). Likewise the many votives of male genitalia at the Corinth sanctuary may be related to the extensive sex trade of the city. At the sanctuary of Asklepios in Athens, 40% of all votive offerings are eyes (154 in total).⁹ Overall, ailments associated with the head or parts of it seem to have been a major concern for the suppliants. Besides the 154 eyes, we have 25 ears (13 single ears, and six pairs) and 17 faces; the faces are harder to interpret, since the ailment that was healed could have been something simple like erysipelas or a more serious problem like sinus infection.

Figure 4. *Votive Offerings, Corinth Museum*



In the Byzantine centuries of Greece, miraculous temple cures continued, but

7. Graham casts doubts on claims of specialization, at least for Greece; given the paucity of remains, she may be correct (*contra*, Oberhelman, "Anatomical Votive Reliefs"). The Italian sanctuaries, however, were likely specialized, given the immense number of artefacts recovered at these sites; for an introduction to these sanctuaries, see the bibliography in Oberhelman ("Anatomical Votive Reliefs"). [Emma-Jayne Graham, "Anatomical Votive Reliefs as Proof for Specialisation at Ancient Greek Healing Sanctuaries?," *The Votives Project*. Last modified May 4, 2017, retrieved from <https://bit.ly/2wj2U9O>].

8. Carl Roebuck, *Corinth, Volume XIV: The Asklepieion and Lerna* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951).

9. Sara B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion: Their People, Their Dedications, and Their Inventories* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1989); Björn Forsen, *Griechische Gliederweihungen. Eine Untersuchung zu ihrer Typologie und ihrer religions- und sozialgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Greek link consecrations. An investigation on their typology and its religious and social historical significance) (Helsinki: Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 1996).

the pagan temples and healing centers had become Christian sanctuaries where Jesus, Panagia, and saints carried out miracle cures.¹⁰ For example, the Church of the saints Cosmas and Damian in Constantinople became the site of numerous miracles and cures for the faithful who slept in its porticoes and atrium. The emperor Justinian the Great (482-565) was cured at this church through a dream.¹¹ Cosmas and Damian's fame spread throughout Greece and Crete; the old Asklepiian sanctuary on the south slope of the Athenian acropolis was converted in the fifth or sixth century into a healing shrine for the pair. Just as Asklepios had done, the saints conducted business by appearing in a patient's dream. The saints either cured with medications and surgery, or gave instructions for a cure that the patient was to follow the next day.¹²

Another famous pair of healing saints, Cyrus and John, healed worshippers through personal touch or by prescribing remedies in dreams.¹³ The cult was based originally in Egypt, but in the seventh century moved to Constantinople. Other famous sites of church healing were, in Western Turkey, the shrine of Saint Artemios, and, in Syria, the shrine of Saint Simeon the Younger near Antioch and the shrine of Saint Thecla.¹⁴ Scores of holy places in the Byzantine Empire were dedicated to miracle cures, proving that healing at night in sacred places was a very important part of Byzantine religion and society.¹⁵

10. Anne-Marie Talbot, "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 153-173; Derek Krueger, "Christian Piety and Practice in the Sixth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 291-315; John T. Chirban (ed.), *Holistic Healing in Byzantium* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2010); Oberhelman (ed.) *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Ashgate, 2013), chaps. 7-9; Robert Wisniewski, *The Beginnings of the Cult of Relics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

11. Stephanos Efthymiadis, Vincent Déroche, with contributions by André Binggeli and Zissis Ainalis, "Greek Hagiography in Late Antiquity (Fourth–Seventh Centuries)," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Vol. 1: Periods and Places*, ed. Sthephanos Efthymiadis (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 35-94.

12. Ludwig Deubner, *De incubatione capita quattuor* (Four books concerning incubation) (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1900), 68-79; Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian: Texte und Einleitung* (Kosmas and Damian: Texts and Introduction) (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1907).

13. John Duffy, "Some Observations on Sophronius' Miracles of Cyrus and John," *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1984): 71-90.

14. Virgil S. Crisafulli and John W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

15. Ildiko Csepregi, *The Compositional History of Greek Christian Incubation Miracle Collections: Saint Thecla, Saint Cosmas and Damian, Saint Cyrus and John, Saint Artemios* (doctoral dissertation, Central European University, 2007). This doctoral work is slated to be published soon by Cambridge University Press. See also Renberg (*Where Dreams May Come*, vol. II: 743-807), for a phenomenally comprehensive bibliographical survey on early and mid-Byzantine church healing.

The Church of Panagia Megalochari

At the Church of Panagia Megalochari on the Greek island of Tinos (Figure 5), the ancient and Byzantine Christian traditions of votive offerings and sacred healing survive. The Church of Panagia has been the site of many miracles ever since it was built in 1824. The belief that miracles happen at the church is so widespread that many thousands of pilgrims come to the site every year (estimates are up to 200,000 people). Oftentimes pilgrims begin with a preliminary visit to the church to request healing or protection for themselves or for a loved one, and make a vow (*tama*). In return the pilgrim promises to bring back their *tamata* (votive offering).¹⁶ It is not uncommon for a pilgrim to approach the church on her knees (Figure 6) on the Leôforos Megalocharês, the road that starts at the harbor and concludes at the entrance to the sanctuary (Figure 7).

Figure 5. *Church of Panagia Megalochari, Tinos*



Figure 6. *Pilgrim Making His Way to the Church of Panagia Megalochari from Tinos Harbor*



16. Jill Dubisch, "Golden Oranges and Silver Ships: An Interpretive Approach to a Greek Holy Shrine," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 6 (1988): 117-134; Evy Johanne Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary, on the Island of Tinos: A Performance of Gendered Values in Greece," *The Journal of Religious History* 36 (2012): 95.

Figure 7. *Leôforos Megalocharês from the Courtyard of the Church of Panagia Megalochari down to the Harbor of Tinos*



The sanctuary grounds are laid out in a way similar to Asklepios's sanctuary at Epidaurus, which had nighttime facilities for visitors, facilities for festivals, banquet areas, the main temple, and then an area where the ill could sleep at night and receive a cure. Next door to the Church of Panagia Megalochari are offices where pilgrims can leave their votive *tamata* to Panagia. Guesthouses are located on the eastern side of the complex, and pilgrims may stay free of charge for up to three days. On the same side is a reception hall where banquets occur. I should note that it is not uncommon for pilgrims to sleep inside the church as well, just as they did at Epidaurus 2,500 years earlier.

Figure 8. (Left) *Tamata for Sale along the Leôforos Megalocharês, Tinos; (right) Two Personal Purchases: a Leg Votive and a Bottle for Collecting Holy Water (Agíasma)*



At the center of the Tinos sanctuary is the Church of Panagia Megalochari, a three-aisled basilica with a cupola over the Holy Altar. When entering the church, to the left of the entrance, one sees the iconostasis containing the miraculous icon of Panagia. The icon is surrounded by votive offerings (*tamata*) left by pilgrims as

offerings of thanksgiving for answered prayers.¹⁷ *Tamata* can be purchased at shops on the island (Figure 8), although they may be found in many places like Athens. They are rectangular pieces of metal with miniature figures shaped on them. Made of tin, or even silver or gold, the figures range from ears to ankles and fingers to houses and animals to *stefana*.¹⁸ In antiquity votives were mass-produced or were made on specification. The former is more typical, and that tradition has not changed. One difference is that the Tinos votives are not limited to healing, as in antiquity. Grateful pilgrims now offer votives for preservation of boats (or successful fishing), for safety while serving as a soldier, for a romantic relationship, or for safety of one's animals. Some *tamata* hang from the church's ceiling (Figure 9), but not all are on public display. Most *tamata* are simply stored away or are sold. Natural products like olive oil or costly items like jewelry are sold, the proceeds used for humanitarian causes.¹⁹

Figure 9. *Votive Offerings Hanging from the Ceiling of the Church of Panagia Megalochari, Tinos*



The Holy Icon of Panagia Megalochari

The discovery of the icon of Panagia Megalochari began in 1821.²⁰ Panagia

17. Pilgrims come for the icon or for the Panagia; since some pilgrims feel that the Panagia resides in the icon, the icon and the Panagia may be considered one and the same. [Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time: History, Myth, and Ritual at a Modern Greek Shrine," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 5 (1991): 8-9].

18. *Stefana* are two wedding crowns that are linked together by a ribbon and express the joining of two souls and the creation of a new household.

19. Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time," 20 note 22.

20. Dubisch, "Pilgrimage and Popular Religion at a Greek Holy Shrine," in *Religious Orthodoxy and Popular Faith in European Society*, ed. Ellen Badone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 113-139; Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time," 4-6; Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary," 92-94; Håland, *Greek Festivals, Modern and Ancient: A Comparison of Female and Male Values*, 2 vols (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), chap. 4; Annual Publication of "Estia of Nea Smyrna," "Η Ιστορική Διάσταση της Ευρέσεως της Πανσέπτου Εικόνας του Ευαγγελισμού της Θεοτόκου

appeared in a dream to a Michalis Polizois, a native of Tinos,²¹ and gave him specific instructions: He was to dig on the farm of Antonios Doxaras. Polizois proceeded to dig but gave up when he discovered only the remains of a Roman-era wall.

The following year, Pelagia, a nun and the daughter of the priest Nikiforos Negreponi, received a vision of Panagia in which the same location was communicated.²² The nun, however, was not told to dig at the site, as the male Polizois had been instructed; rather, she was to go and convince Stamatelos Kangadis, the commissioner (επίτροπος) of her monastery (the Monastery of Kechrovouni), to organize a new dig at Doxaras's farm. Pelagia ignored the dream since it seemed unbelievable that Panagia would appear to her, and she was aware that sometimes Satan sends false dreams to lead astray the faithful. Panagia, however, kept on appearing to Pelagia in dreams (οράματα), until the nun was finally convinced that the dreams were divine in origin. She decided to share her visions with Gabriel the local bishop. He assembled the clergy, authorities, and the local population and persuaded them to resume digging on the farm.

Excavations began in earnest in September 1822, and after only a few days of digging and at about 20 meters in depth, the early Byzantine church, the Church of Saint John the Precursor (*Prodromos*), was discovered. The icon, however, was not found and so people lost the enthusiasm to continued digging. Work stopped, and many locals accused Pelagia of lying about the icon. However, a cholera epidemic broke out, resulting in many deaths. Locals feared that the epidemic was caused by Panagia's anger at the cessation of excavations, and so Kangadis resumed excavations on 25 November 1822. On the very first day of work, a well suddenly filled with water, a miracle as it was claimed. The well was later given its own church, the Church of Zôodochos Pigi (Life-Giving Well), which was constructed from the remains of the older church (Figure 10).

στην Τήνο 30/1/1823: 190 Χρόνια από την Εύρεση της Θαυματουργής Εικόνας της Ευαγγελίστριας στην Τήνο" (The Historical Dimension of the Discovery of the All-Venerable Icon of the Annunciation of the Theotokos on Tinos 30 January 1823: 190 Years from the Discovery of the Miracle-Working Icon of Evangelistria on Tinos), *Ετήσια έκδοση Περιοδικού της Εστίας Νέας Σμύρνης* 89 (2012): 18-24.

21. Kangadis gives the earliest account of these events. [Dimitrios Kangadis, *Εύρεσις τής Πανσέπτου Εικόνας του Ευαγγελισμού τής Θεοτόκου και Οικοδομή του Ιερού Ναού τής Ευαγγελιστρίας εις την Νήσον Τήνον* (*Discovery of the All-Venerable Icon of the Annunciation of the Mother of God and the Establishment of the Holy Church of Evangelistria on the Island of Tinos*) (Εν Βενετία: Εκ τής Ελληνικής Τυπογραφίας Φραγκίσκου Ανδρεόλα, 1833)].

22. Dubisch offers a good biography of this nun. [Dubisch, *In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender, and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 149-152].

Figure 10. Church of Zôodochos Pigi, Tinos; Holy Water (Agiasma) is Dispensed from the White Fountain on the Left



On 30 January 1823, which is the Feast Day of the Three Holy Hierarchs,²³ the icon was discovered. A miraculous healing of one of the excavators' sons through the application of the dirt covering the icon verified the authenticity of the relic. The town council decided to build a church for housing the icon. Construction on the church lasted for over two years, until the church was able to receive visitors in 1825;²⁴ the final construction of the church, its façade, was completed in 1880.

Figure 11. The Holy Icon of Panagia Megalochari; (left) A Drawing of the Icon in 1858 by the Tinian painter Francisco Desipris; (right) My photograph of the Icon in 2018



The icon depicts Panagia kneeling and accepting the future incarnation of Jesus while the archangel Gabriel extends a lily to her (Figure 11). The icon is so covered and overlaid with precious stones, gold, and other objects that it is impossible now to make out the scene's details.²⁵ The icon has been claimed to be

23. Namely, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom. For the origin of this Feast Day, see Ken Parry (ed.), *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 491-492.

24. The date is engraved in the chapel's wooden iconostasis.

25. Dubisch, "Golden Oranges and Silver Ships, 120; Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary, 94.

the handiwork of the apostle Luke himself and thus mid-first century CE in date; it is even believed that Panagia, while still alive, approved of the work (Figure 12). Art historians and scholars, however, rightly assign the icon to the seventh century CE and argue that it was made for the Church of Saint John Prodromos, in whose debris the icon was found. When the Saracens destroyed the church in the tenth century, the icon was buried by the debris falling over it.²⁶ The icon then remained underground, deep under the Tinian soil, for nine centuries.

Figure 12. *The Holy Icon in the Church of Panagia Megalochari*



Miracle Stories at Epidauros and Tinos

The icon and/or Panagia Megalochari have performed numerous miracles as witnessed by the votive offerings but also letters and notes. Some of these documents accompanied gifts to the church, while others were sent afterwards to detail a fulfilled prayer or miracle. Many written documents have been preserved and are stored in the monastery's archives. I will quote some sample miracles from the authoritative texts of Tigkas²⁷ and Amiralis.²⁸

26. Dubisch, "Golden Oranges and Silver Ships, 121 with her note 10.

27. Theodoros Tigkas, *Η Εικόνα της Μεγαλόχαρης, η Ιστορία και τα Θαύματά της* (*The Icon of Megalochari: Its History and Its Miracles*) 3η έκδ. (Αθήνα: Πανελλήνιον Ιερόν Ίδρυμα Ευαγγελιστρίας Τήνου, 1971).

28. Georgios Amiralis, *Τηνιακές Ανταύγειες: Ιστορία, Λαογραφία* (*Reflections on Matters of Tinos: History—Folklore*) (Αθήνα: Αδελφότης των Τηνίων εν Αθήναις, 1996). Also valuable and consulted here are Lagouros, especially pp. 69-75 for letters; Kornaros; Panhellenic Holy Foundation of Evangelistiria of Tinos; and Håland. [Alexandros Lagouros, *Η Ιστορία της Τήνου: Από των Αρχαιοτάτων Χρόνων έως Σήμερα* (*The History of Tinos: From the Most Ancient Times up to the Current Day*) (Αθήνα: Τήνος, 1965); Eleftherios Kornaros, *Η Παναγία της Τήνου: Ήτοι η Εύρεσις της Σεβάσμιας Εικόνας και τα Θαύματά της Μεγαλόχαρης* (*Panagia of Tinos: Namely, the Discovery of the Revered Icon and the Miracles of the Megalochari*) (Αθήνα: Πανελλήνιο Ιερό Ίδρυμα Ευαγγελιστρίας Τήνου, 1969); Panhellenic Holy Foundation of Evangelistiria of Tinos, *Περιγραφή της Ευρέσεως της Θαυματουργού Αγίας Εικόνας της Ευαγγελίστριας στην Τήνο κατά το έτος 1823* (*Description of the Miraculous Discovery of the Holy Icon of Evangelistria of Tinos in*

When one enters the sanctuary (from the door facing the entrance and the front courtyard), there is on the western (left) side a silver lamp. This was the gift of Spiros Merkouris (b. 1856–d. 1939), who served as mayor of Athens 1899-1914. In the archives is the following letter:²⁹

Αριθ. Πρωτ. 3657

Εν Αθήναις τη 7η Φεβρουαρίου 1914

Ο ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ

Reference Number 3657

Athens, 7 February 1914

THE MAYOR OF ATHENS

Προς τους κους κους Επιτρόπους του Ιερού
Ναού Ευαγγελίστριας Εις Τήνον

To the Commissioners of the Holy
Church of Evangelistria on Tinos:

Λαμβάνω την τιμή να αποστείλω προς υμάς
κιβώτιον περιέχον κανδήλαν, την οποίαν
μετ' ευλαβείας προσφέρω εις τον Ιερόν
Ναόν της Ευαγγελίστριας, εις ένδειξιν
βαθείας ευγνωμοσύνης μου, επεί τη
διασώσει μου εκ σοβαροτάτης νόσου
συνεπεία εγχειρήσεως, ην υπέστην εν
Βιέννη κατά τον Ιούλιο του παρελθόντος
έτους 1913.

I have the honor to send to you a box
containing a lamp, which out of piety I
offer to the Holy Church of Evangelistria
as a sign of my profound gratitude for
having been saved from a most serious
disease due to an operation that I
underwent in Vienna in July of the
previous year, 1913.

Σας παρακαλώ δε θερμώς όπως
ευαρεστηθείτε να αναρτήσετε την κανδήλαν
εις τον χώρον, τον οποίον από κοινού
ωρίσαμεν κατά την εν Τήνω έλευσίν μου.
Δεχθήτε αξιότιμοι κύριοι, την διαβεβαίωσιν
της ιδιαιτούσης προς υμάς υπολήψεως.

I earnestly ask you to be so kind as to
hang the lamp in the place that we had
mutually agreed upon during my visit to
Tinos. Be assured, honorable gentlemen,
of my special regards towards you.

Ο Δήμαρχος Σπύρος Μερκούρης

Spiros Merkouris, Mayor

The occasion for the lamp gift was a vision of Panagia which Merkouris had after he had become afflicted with a possible pulmonary embolism following surgery in Vienna. Merkouris was in a potentially life-threatening situation. One night, while bedridden and in agony, he was visited by Panagia. He writes as follows:

"Μια των τελευταίων τούτων απαισιών νυκτών, κατά τις οποίες διαρκώς ήμουν
φυλασσόμενος υπό της συζύγου μου και μιας νοσοκόμου, είδον έναντι της
κλίνης μου αιφνιδίως μία γυναίκα εκπάγλου ωραιότητας, με τελειοτάτην
ενδυμασίαν καλογραίας, φορούσαν επί της κεφαλής της νησιώτικο κάλυμμα. Η
καλλονή αυτή την οποία δεν είδα σε κανένα μέρος του κόσμου, με κοίταξε με
ύφος σοβαρό και απειλητικό, σαν να είχε κάτι εναντίον μου. Εγώ κατεπλάγην με

1823) (Τήνος: Εκδοση Πανελληνίου Ιερού Ιδρύματος Ευαγγελιστριας Τήνου, 2016); Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary, 123-136]. I was fortunate to have visited the sanctuary and archives in March of 2018; my thanks of gratitude to the staff of the Foundation for their hospitality and very kind reception and assistance.

29. Translations of this and other Tinos documents are mine.

αυτό και πρώτος έλυσα την σιωπή. Σαν δε να εμπνεύστηκα και να θαμπώθηκα από το μεγαλείο αυτό της είπα: Παναγία μου τι σου έπταισα και τιμωρούμαι έτσι; Τότε εκείνη άλλαξε το σοβαρό ύφος και με προσέβλεψε με ένα μειδίαμα εκτάκτου γλυκύτητος, το οποίο δεν θα λησμονήσω ποτέ, και μου είπε: Ησύχασε και θα γίνεις καλά. Μετά από λίγο η αιμοπτυσία έπαυσε καθώς και οι άλλες φοβερές ενοχλήσεις, ήσθάνθην δε την υγείαν μου βελτιωθείσα αισθητώς. Την πρωϊαν ελθόντες οι ιατροί, αντι ως ανέμεναν νεκρό, με εύρον εις καλλιτέραν κατάστασιν. Επανειλημμένως δε αναρωτιόταν πως συνέβη η απότομος αυτή μεταβολή της υγείας μου. Μετά μία εβδομάδα επανήλθον εις Αθήνας υγιής."

"On one of these recent dreadful nights, during which I was being watched over constantly by my wife and a nurse, I suddenly saw [είδον] beside my bed a woman of extraordinary beauty with the most consummate attire of a nun, wearing an islander's head covering. This beauty, such as I have never before seen in any part of the world, scrutinized me in a serious and menacing mien as if she were cross with me. I was stunned at this. I was the first to break the silence. As though inspired and dazed by the very grandeur of this woman, I said: "My Lady, in what way have I offended you and why am I being punished?" She then changed her grave expression and looked upon me with such a smile of extraordinary sweetness that I will never forget it. She said to me: "Rest and you will be well." After a short time the hemoptysis stopped, as did the other horrible afflictions. I rested and my health noticeably improved. First thing in the morning the doctors came. They expected to find me dead, but instead they discovered that I was in a much better condition. They kept on asking me how such an abrupt change in my health had happened. After seven days I returned to Athens in good health."

What Merkouris experienced was an epiphany of Panagia, an epiphany of the same sort that suppliants at Epidauros had of Asklepios. The language is the same: είδον looks back to the dream accounts of dreams and visions received by the ill at Epidauros.³⁰ The text of Merkouris's letter clearly implies that he had a waking vision. In Eastern Christian hagiography, there were a number of words for describing a vision: όρασις, όραμα, and όψις (all synonyms for "vision"). If the vision occurred during sleep, a qualifying phrase was often added, e.g., καθ' ύπνους ("during sleep"), or the circumstances surrounding the event was highlighted, e.g., κοιμάομαι ("while I was lying in bed").³¹ In Merkouris's situation, he "saw" (είδον, a word related to όραμα and its cognates) while in his bed and awake.

Merkouris's dream vision is remarkably like those experienced by the second-century CE writer, Aelius Aristides, who was a fervent follower of

30. Merkouris uses the classical form of "I saw," rather than the modern είδα. The records of Asklepiian dream visions nearly always uses είδον.

31. Oberhelman, "Interpretations of Signs and Dreams: Greek Christian Traditions," in *Prophecy and Prognostication in Medieval European and Mediterranean Societies*, ed. Matthias Heiduk (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, forthcoming).

Asklepios.³² Aristides preserved in his *Hieroi Logoi* (*The Sacred Tales*) the 130 dreams that he received between 130 and 171 CE; his dreams, with embedded epiphanies of Asklepios and other gods, are a record of this man's religious and medical journey.³³

In Book 2 of *Hieroi Logoi*, Aristides recounts an epiphany of the goddess Athena when he was lying in bed one night.³⁴ He writes (chap. 41):

"ἔπειτα οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ φαίνεται τήν τε αἰγίδα ἔχουσιν καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ σύμπαν δὴ σχῆμα οἷαπερ ἡ Ἀθήνησιν ἢ Φειδίου. ἀπῶζεν δὲ καὶ τῆς αἰγίδος ὅτι ἡδιστον καὶ ἦν κηρῷ τινι προσφερῆς, θαυμαστὴ καὶ αὕτη τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. ἐφαίνετο μὲν δὴ μόνῳ στᾶσα καταντικρὺ καὶ ὅθεν αὐτὴν ὡς κάλλιστα ἔμελλον ὄψεσθαι."

"Then not much later, Athena appeared with her aegis and the beauty and magnitude and the whole form of the Athena of Phidias in Athens. There was also a scent from the aegis as sweet as could be, and it was like wax, and it too was marvelous in beauty and magnitude. She appeared to me alone, standing before me, even from where I would behold her as well as possible."

Aristides continues to narrate how Athena reassured him of her help despite his being on his death bed. As it turns out, Aristides interpreted Athena's appearance metaphorically as a sign that he should be given by an enema of Attic honey, which did end up purging him of his bile.³⁵ Merrkouris did not receive a directive for an enema or such prophylactic measures; rather, he was cured simply by the power and grace of Panagia. But both Aristides and Merrkouris describe an epiphany of a wondrous and beautiful woman who visited them while lying deathly ill and who provides a miraculous cure.

32. Ido Israelowich, *Society, Medicine and Religion in the Sacred Tales of Aelius Aristides. Mnemosyne*. Supplement volume, 341 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Ursula Bittrich, *Traum—Mantik—Allegorie: Die Hieroi Logoi des Aelius Aristides im weiteren Kontext der griechisch-römischen Traumliteratur* (*Dream Manty Allegory: The Hieroi Logoi of Aelius Aristides in the broader context of Greco-Roman dream literature*) (Berlin & Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017).

33. Aldo Tagliabue, "An Embodied Reading of Epiphanies in Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales*," *Ramus* 45 (2016): 213-230.

34. In Book 2, chaps. 40-43; text from Kouki; translation from Behr. [Elisabeth Kouki, *Αἴλιος Ἀριστείδης, Τεροὶ Λόγοι. Σῶμα καὶ Γλῶσσα στα Ὀνειρα ενός Ρήτορα. Εἰσαγωγή—Μετάφραση—Σχόλια* (*Aelius Aristides. Body and Language in the Dreams of an Orator. Introduction—Translation—Commentary*) (Αθήνα: Σμίλι, 2012), 130; Carl A. Behr, *P. Aelius Aristides, The Complete Works; Volume II: Orations XVII–LIII* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 299-300].

35. For such narratives and metaphorical interpretations of dreams in Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi*, see Janet Downie, *At the Limits of Art: A Literary Study of Aelius Aristides' Hieroi Logoi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Downie, "Narrative and Divination: Artemidorus and Aelius Aristides," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 15 (2015): 97-116; Lee T. Percy, "Theme, Dream, and Narrative: Reading the Sacred Tales of Aelius Aristides," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118 (1988): 377-391.

Another epiphany of Panagia was recorded in 1972 by Markos Siotis, who was elected in 1993 to the Academy of Sciences of Athens and was professor emeritus of the New Testament of the School of Theology of the University of Athens.³⁶ He mentions a series of miraculous events that he himself witnessed. Siotis was in the Church of Panagia Megalochari during the all-night vigil that takes place annually on the night of 14 August, right before the 15 August Assumption Day activities on Tinos.³⁷ At first light of 15 August, the sanctuary was suddenly filled with cries of the suppliants who saw Panagia above them. At that very moment, Siotis writes that three miracles happened through Panagia's invention: "Ένας άλαλος μίλησε, μια παράλυτη κόρη σηκώθηκε και ένας επιληπτικός θεράεύκε" ("A mute man spoke, a paralyzed girl stood up, and an epileptic man was cured"). The three miracles are a direct parallel to three famous miracles performed by Jesus, as recorded in the gospels.³⁸

The suppliants' interactions of suppliants with Asklepios at the Epidaurian sanctuary are documented in extant inscriptions. Four stelai, surviving from the fourth century CE, preserve 70 stories of people who were healed or helped at the sanctuary (Figure 13).³⁹ The stelai, which are housed in the museum at the site, were part of the six that ancient authors describe.⁴⁰ The stories on the stelai were collected from oral traditions, priestly traditions from stories that they were told, or deduced from the depictions on votive plaques.⁴¹ The vast majority of the

36. A year earlier, in 1971, Panagia appeared to two pilgrim women who were wandering lost in the dark. Panagia gave them directions to the house where they were staying; the house turned out to be the one formerly owned by Stamatelos Kangadis, who headed up the excavations in 1822-1823 and who first held the icon when it emerged from the soil.

37. The all-night vigil and the holy days are especially conducive to Panagia performing miracles: Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time," 8; Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary," 99.

38. See Mark 7:31-37, 2:1-12, 9:14-16, respectively. The only difference is that Jesus healed a paralyzed man, not a paralyzed girl. Siotis calls Panagia's appearance a *παρουσία*, a term that described in ecclesiastical and secular texts the arrival of kings and other royal personages.

39. Asklepios did not just heal but offered advice on current and future events and problems; Ploeg divides the stories on the stelai into medical and divinatory; see the discussion in chapter 2. [Ghislaine van D. Ploeg, *The Impact of the Roman Empire on the Cult of Asclepius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)].

40. LiDonnici, *Tale and Dream*; and LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, for text and English translation; LiDonnici ["Compositional Background of the Epidaurian 'Iamata'," *The American Journal of Philology* 113 (1992): 25-41] for compositional techniques; Gerhard Pfohl [*Inschriften der Griechen. Epigraphische Quellen zur Geschichte der Antiken Medizin* (*Inscriptions of the Greeks. Epigraphic sources on the history of ancient medicine*) (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt, 1977)] for the overall inscriptional evidence. Also Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come*, vol. I: 171-178.

41. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, 40-46.

stories focus on healing, but we read about miracles connected to pregnancies, hopes of becoming pregnant, finding a missing person or object, and concerns over business ventures and sailing trips.

Some suppliants received a vision while asleep, as noted by the phrase ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε ("and sleeping there he saw a vision": for example, Stele A, line 25).⁴² This phrase, very common in the stele inscriptions, shows that this is an epiphany-vision which occurs while the suppliant is lying down in the *abaton*.⁴³ Other suppliants were cured during the course of the night, with the god's actions recalled in the person's dream. So, for example, "Once a man came as a suppliant to the god who was so blind in one eye that, while he still had the eyelids of that eye, there was nothing within them and they were completely empty... Then in his sleep, a vision appeared to him. It seemed that that the god boiled some drug, and then drew apart his eyelids and poured it in. When day came he departed with both eyes" (Stele A, lines 72-78).⁴⁴ And, "Timon, wounded by a spear below his eye. This man, sleeping here, saw a dream. It seemed to him the god ground up an herb and poured it into his eye, and he became well" (Stele B, lines 119-122).⁴⁵

Figure 13. Stele A, Containing Asklepiian Miracle Cures, Epidauros Museum



For other suppliants the god simply intervened miraculously. The suppliant had no memory of any dream, vision, or nighttime action—we read only of a

42. Ibid., 86.

43. Suppliants did not necessarily need to be sleeping to receive a vision or to be cured. Very little skepticism was expressed in antiquity about the miracles of the Asklepiian sanctuaries; they were accepted on face value. Even Aristophanes' comedy *Plutus* centers not on the miracle of the god Plutus (Wealth) being given his eyesight at the temple of Asklepios (accepted as real), but on how Plutus begins to hand out riches to the deserving and to remove riches from the undeserving, thereby reversing the inequitable distribution of wealth; see Konstan and Dillon for analysis. [David Konstan and Matthew Dillon, "The Ideology of Aristophanes' *Wealth*," *The American Journal of Philology* 102 (1981): 371-394].

44. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, 93.

45. Ibid., 115.

cure occurring during sleep. Thus, "Heraieos of Mytilene. This man had no hair on this head, but plenty on his chin. Ashamed because he was laughed at by others, he slept there. The god anointed his head with a drug and made it have hair" (Stele A, lines 122-125).⁴⁶ And, "Aischenes, when the suppliants were already sleeping, went up a tree and peered over into the Abaton. Then he fell out of the tree and impaled his eyes on some fencing. In a dreadful state, having been blinded, he earnestly prayed to the god, slept there, and became well" (Stele A, lines 90-94).⁴⁷

Parallels and Differences between Epidauros and Tinos

An important difference between the healing miracles at Epidauros and the miracles of Panagia at Tinos is that Asklepios cured through touch, application of medicines, or surgery, or he communicated in a dream vision the appropriate curative measures that the suppliant should undertake after awakening. Panagia simply cures either through her own agency or by bringing prayers to her son Jesus.

Another difference is that although Asklepios never charged a fee for his services and was not discriminatory in whom he healed, a suppliant was expected to make sacrifices and undergo ritual purifications, as well as to offer a final thanks gift.⁴⁸ At Tinos there is no preliminary rite, and *tamata* are not offered unless the suppliant wishes to do this. Most suppliants bring *tamata*, but they are simply expressions of gratitude for answered prayers.

Also, suppliants come to Tinos *already* cured, not *seeking* a cure. While a few miracles, as we have seen above, may occur in the Church of Panagia Megalochari, the miracle takes place in the suppliant's home or village. Miracles are connected indirectly to the church: People come to the church to worship the icon, give offerings to Panagia, fulfill a vow, or thank Panagia for the miracle that had happened. The Epidaurian inscriptions position Asklepiian cures as occurring in, and as connected to, the sanctuary. Except for the rare individual like Aelius Aristides who seemed to have received dreams from the god in various locales, people *went* to the god, whether in public or private cult worship places, for a miraculous cure.⁴⁹ Panagia, on the other hand, although connected to the icon and the sanctuary at Tinos, is everywhere and is approachable simply through prayer, and so a pilgrim's first visit to Tinos may actually be to bring her *tamata* in response to a prayer that she had answered in Thessaloniki or Kavala. Panagia,

46. Ibid., 99.

47. Ibid., 95.

48. Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, vol. II, 186-190.

49. Renberg, "Public and Private Places of Worship in the Cult of Asclepius at Rome," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 51/52 (2006/2007): 87-172.

in other words, is a *spiritual experience* and is not specifically tied to a locale.⁵⁰

There are similarities, however, between Asklepios and Panagia. First, both can help when doctors cannot. At Epidauros, the god displayed his power in curing when doctors saw no hope or when he overruled the suppliant's medical treatment. The latter happened to Eratokles of Troezen, who was "suffering from pus. When he was sleeping in the sanctuary in Troezen, waiting to be cauterized by the doctors, the god came to him, and ordered him not to have cauterization, but to sleep in the sanctuary of the Epidaurians. When the time had passed, which had been commanded, the pus burst forth, and he left well" (Stele C, lines 28-33).⁵¹

Tigkas⁵² records two miracles when Panagia offered help beyond what secular medicine could provide. A Panagiota Nazou was suffering from an incurable wound that had become gangrenous. Doctors were ready to amputate her leg, but the young girl prayed to Panagia who then miraculously healed her leg. A Konstantinos Traiforos, a ship's captain from Spetses, had become blind and deaf due to a dizzy spell (possibly a stroke). He was told to start formal medical treatments but he insisted on being taken to the Church of Panagia Megalochari. There, after 40 days of prayer, he washed his eyes and ears with holy water and became well.

Both Asklepios and Panagia have a specialization in pregnancy and sterility issues. Women came to Epidauros to seek pregnancy after years of sterility or to secure help with difficult pregnancies. The very first two miracle cures on the Epidaurian stelai deal with lengthy pregnancies: five years (Kleo: Stele A, lines 1-9)⁵³ and three years (Ithmonika of Pellene: Stele A, lines 9-22).⁵⁴ Women also came to the sanctuary to become pregnant. Andromache from Epirus, "when she was sleeping, saw a dream. It seemed to her that a handsome young boy uncovered her, and after that the god touched her with his hand. From this a son was born..." (Stele B, lines 60-63).⁵⁵ An unnamed woman from Troezen came because she was childless. While sleeping in the *abaton*, she "saw a dream, It seemed to her that the god said that she would have a family and he asked whether her wish was for a male or a female, and she said she wished for a male. After this, within a year a son was born to her" (Stele B, lines 82-85).⁵⁶ A miracle was performed by Panagia for a woman from Evia. This unnamed woman had no child after 10

50. Most monasteries and villages, Greek and even non-Greek (like Syria, Israel, and Egypt), have traditions of miracles of Panagia; see Dimitrios G. Tsamis, *Θεομητορικά Θαύματα (Miracles of the Mother of God)*, 2 Τόμ. (Θεσσαλονίκη: Πουρναράς, 2003 & 2005). Any Google search will reveal *Θαύματα της Παναγίας* ("Miracles of Panagia") listed by location and year.

51. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, 123.

52. Tigkas, *Η Εικόνα της Μεγαλόχαρης*.

53. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, 85.

54. *Ibid.*, 87.

55. *Ibid.*, 109.

56. *Ibid.*, 111.

years of marriage, for which her husband threatened divorce. On the advice of her mother-in-law the two women went to pray at the Church of Panagia Megalochari. By happenstance, when they arrived and began to pray, the church was celebrating the anniversary mass for the discovery of the holy icon (30 January). After the mass, the woman asked for a piece of the lamp wick burning in front of the holy icon. The woman swallowed it with holy water, and within a year she gave birth to a male child. Other women take less extreme measures. As noted above, the icon is taken from the church on 15 August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. When it is paraded down Leôforos Megalocharês, women lay down in the street so that the icon will be passed over them; this, it is claimed, will result in pregnancy.⁵⁷

Asklepios and Panagia can effect miraculous cures through material things. The objects themselves do not possess curative power; they are only the means through which the god or Panagia accomplish the miracle. Asklepios typically used animals, such as dogs (Stele A, lines 125-126, & Stele B, lines 35-38),⁵⁸ snakes (Stele A, lines 113-139),⁵⁹ and even geese (Stele B, lines 132-133).⁶⁰ As for Panagia, the very first miracle associated with the holy icon happened right after its discovery. The excavators found an unknown substance covering the icon's surface; the substance was glassy-like and very smooth, although some thought it was just earth and water. The son of Georgios Peridis, one of the excavators, was afflicted with the plague and was suffering from high fever and swellings under his armpits. Peridis prayed and then took some of the icon's surface scum and mixed it with holy water; he then spread this mixture with cotton on the child's armpits. The very next day the child was cured.

Holy water (αγίασμα), taken from the well in the Church of Zoôdochos Pigi beneath the Church of Panagia Megalochari, is responsible for many miracles.⁶¹ A captain named Sclavounos suffered from a fishbone stuck in his throat for two years, and the bone could not be expelled. The result was that the captain was afflicted with constant pain and infections. The doctors could not help and told him that he would eventually die. When the captain heard about the icon of Panagia, he went to pray for a cure. As he drank holy water and was washing his face, he violently coughed and expelled the fishbone. Likewise, a man from Tarabados, suffering from dropsy, was taken by his wife to the Church of Panagia Megalochari; after prayers he went down to the well of Zoôdochos Pigi and drank some of the water and washed his face with it. Suddenly, water gushed from all the pores of his body, causing the loss of so much fluid that he was

57. Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time, 4; Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary, 99-100.

58. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, 99, 105.

59. Ibid., 97.

60. Ibid., 115.

61. Tigkas, *Η Εικόνα της Μεγαλόχαρης*; and Amiralis, *Τηνιακές Ανταύγειες: Ιστορία, Λαογραφία*.

restored to health. A final cure through holy water involved a marble sculptor named Nicolas from western Turkey; he was suffering from an eye injury caused by a piece of marble that had lodged in his eye. The doctors were unable to help, and so when Nicolas came to the icon he prayed. Afterwards he washed his eye with holy water; the fragment came out and his eyesight was fully restored.

One of the more unusual cures attributed to the icon itself involves sweat. A Gregory Athinaios had become blind. He came to the Church of Panagia Megalochari during a rogation for an insane woman.⁶² At the end of the intercessory prayers, the icon began to sweat. He collected the sweat and with a piece of cotton spread it on his eyes. His eyesight was immediately restored.

Another point of similarity between Asklepios and Panagia is that illness is not the only reason why they are petitioned. Lost items can be recovered; lost people can be found. At Epidauros several such miracles are recorded. A certain boy named Aristokritos from Halieis had been diving in the sea but had then been swept away by the waves. Although he survived by clinging to rocks, he was considered lost. His father came to Epidauros and slept in the *abaton*. That night he saw a dream in which Asklepios showed him the exact spot where the boy was to be found. Indeed a week later the boy was discovered in that very place (Stele B, lines 19-26).⁶³ In another miracle a woman named Kallikrateia came to the god seeking information on how to find the gold that her dead husband had hidden somewhere. The god revealed the hiding spot (Stele C, lines 8-21).⁶⁴ The first miracle story has a parallel to a miracle that Panagia performed in 1824, the year after the icon was excavated. A merchant of the town, Alivizos Kalavrias, dove into the sea, having become delirious from an illness. On the point of drowning, Alivizos prayed for rescue from Panagia. He felt a hand push him from underneath the waters. Somehow he stayed afloat the water for the night until he was spotted by a fisherman. The miracle not only was that he had not drowned (he did not know how to swim), but that no water was in his lungs and his original illness was cured too. Whether such miracles at Tinos and Epidauros happened exactly as reported, or are fictitious, or simply embellishments of actual events cannot be recovered.⁶⁵

62. Rogation days are times that the church has established for petitions to God for protection; the Litany is sung in procession and every sort of prayer, usually intercessory or petitionary, is offered.

63. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, 103.

64. *Ibid.*, 119.

65. See Dillon, who is skeptical about Epidauros. [Matthew Dillon, "The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian Iamata," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 101 (1994): 257].

The Written Stories and Their Purpose

The Epidaurian inscriptions and the stories associated with the holy icon and Panagia serve ideological, political, and religious purposes. The stories were originally private and personal, but they became public documents that reflected, reinforced, and perpetuated the public perception and ideology of the sanctuaries, whether Epidaurian and fourth century BCE or Tinian (even Panhellenic) and of the modern period.⁶⁶ Despite the original source of the Epidaurian stories (the information written on votive plaques, pictorial depictions on votive-reliefs and then reshaped by priestly traditions, or oral and/or written documents,⁶⁷ the stories on the stelai were assembled and published with the purpose of being *viewed*, of being *read*, and of being proof of *what the god could and would do*. The ultimate aim of the stories was to dispel any doubts of the efficacy and truthfulness of the god and his power to heal, to restore, and to help. The stelai constituted a public discourse that reinforced the belief-systems of the suppliants visiting the sanctuary.⁶⁸

Evy Johanne Håland⁶⁹ has nicely demonstrated the ideological aspects of the three major festivals on Tinos and as celebrated at the sanctuary of Panagia Megalochari. Jill Dubisch likewise, in a series of articles⁷⁰ has tied the shrine to the birth and survival of the modern Greek state.⁷¹ But, thanks to the Internet and the easy availability of online and printed materials, the miracles of Panagia at Tinos are no longer the private reserve of the monastery's archives

66. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, 2–3; Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary; and Håland, *Greek Festivals, Modern and Ancient*, chap. 4.

67. LiDonnici, *Tale and Dream*, 238–247

68. For a bibliography on the similarity of the Epidaurian *iamata* inscriptions and Christian miracle story collections, see Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come*, vol. II: 781–782.

69. Håland, "From the Ritual Year of the Miraculous Icon on the Greek Island of Tinos to the Wider Mediterranean," *Comparative Civilizations Review* 63 (2010): 19–36; Håland, "The Ritual Year of the Icon of the Annunciation on the Island of Tinos, Greece," *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 47 (2011): 91–112; Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary; Håland, *Greek Festivals, Modern and Ancient*.

70. Dubisch, "Golden Oranges and Silver Ships; Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time.

71. See especially Dubisch, "Golden Oranges and Silver Ships, 121–128; and Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time, 8–9; cf. Håland, "The Dormition of the Virgin Mary, 105. The integration of nationalism and religion is evidenced by the positioning of the Mausoleum of the Elli. The Mausoleum, devoted to the victims of the torpedo attack on the cruiser Elli by the Italians on 15 August 1940, is under the church itself and right next to the Church of Zôodochos Pigi. The Elli was in port as part of the Feast of the Assumption but was hit by three torpedoes. Today, on the eve of 15 August, warships of the Hellenic fleet anchor in the harbor. A wreath is laid by the Chief of the Fleet at the Mausoleum of Elli. Representatives of the Greek government, political dignitaries, and religious leaders participate in the festivities.

but are disseminated across Greece. Pilgrims now come to Tinos primed for miracles through a belief-system that has been reinforced by public distribution of private stories of salvation and restoration of health by Panagia. The stories serve as a reinforcement of the *tamata* that hang from the church's ceiling and are spread around the interior of the sanctuary, and as a verification of the faith displayed by the people crawling up the Leôforos Megalocharis on hands and knees, by the shopkeepers selling small bottles for holy water and *tamata* to present at the sanctuary, and by elderly women offering one-euro statues in the park before the sanctuary's entrance.⁷² Even the voyage (two to four hours depending on whether one uses a sea jet or a ferry) puts one into a mood of anticipatory excitement. Whereas previously the beautifully crafted orange tree in the Church of Panagia Megalochari instilled awe in the onlooker, stories published on the Internet tell a fuller, richer, and more compelling picture of the miracle that produced the *tamata* orange tree. Numerous websites describe how the American Georgios Lambrakis, afflicted with blindness and having heard of the miracles of Panagia Megalochari, came to the church and prayed "Δος μου το φως μου Παναγία μου και σου τάζω αφιέρωμα όμοιο με ό τι πρωτοδώ" ("Give me my sight, my Panagia, and I make a vow of a votive offering identical to whatever I see first").⁷³ Lambrakis later received his sight. When he opened his eyes for the first time, he saw an orange tree in his garden—hence, the orange tree votive offering (Figure 14).⁷⁴ The orange tree in itself is a powerful testimony as an *object*, but its *story* is more powerful: what is seen is strengthened by what is read. In an age of widespread literacy objects have voices.

Another example of votives acquiring greater significance through the written text is the marble fountain positioned to the right of the staircase leading up to the Church of Panagia Megalochari (Figure 15, left). This fountain was the gift of Kiutahiji Mustafa Aga, a Turkish military commander on Crete who was healed in 1845.⁷⁵ A Greek doctor brought Mustafa Aga to the sanctuary, where Panagia healed the commander during the liturgy. In gratitude, Mustafa Aga had a fountain constructed and then placed it in a place where all visitors to the sanctuary could see it. The fountain was a very visible reminder of the miraculous power of Panagia, but no story framed it, except as a priest or official or suppliant knew of the tradition. But now, thanks to the many free pamphlets, articles by laypeople and scholars, and Internet websites, the story is widely and easily known. Panagia's miracle was attributed to her only in a short dedicatory

72. Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time, 2-3.

73. The personal nature of this episode is stressed by the thrice-repeated μου (both "my" and "me") in the first seven words.

74. Since the cure was not immediate, the story serves a subordinate purpose in stressing the sometimes delayed nature in how Panagia answers prayers.

75. Dubisch, "Golden Oranges and Silver Ships, 125.

inscription at the base of the fountain (Figure 15, right), but it lacked context, a *story*. Most pilgrims probably simply glanced at the fountain as they walked up the stairs to the main church. But now that the story is advertised in written materials, pilgrims head to it to admire the workmanship and the miracle that inspired it.

Figure 14. *The Orange Tree Votive Offering of Georgios Lambrakis, Church of Panagia Megalochari*



Figure 15. *The Fountain Offering of Mustafa Aga, Dated to 1845: Fountain (left) and Dedicatory Inscription (right),⁷⁶ Sanctuary of Panagia Megalochari*



In a similar way the early votive-gifts at Epidauros were *pictorial* stories depicted in stone, terracotta, and wood. But it was the stelai that gave *written* stories to the images, texts that give further confidence to the faithful and rebuke the skeptic.⁷⁷ Two of the first four stories on the stelai testify to the god's power

76. The inscription is translated as "Mustafa Agas, healed by a miracle, presented this as a gift in the year 1845."

77. Dillon, "The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian Iamata, 242-243, 251.

and to the futility of disbelief. In lines 22-32 of Stele A,⁷⁸ a man who scoffed at the votive plaques and "was somewhat disparaging of the inscriptions" (ὑποδέεσσε τὰ ἐπιγράμματα) is convinced of the truth of Asklepios's healing ability after being cured during his sleep. Because of his lack of faith, the man was given a new name by the god:

Ἄπιστος ("Unbeliever"). In the next miracle cure, Ambrosia from Athens, who was blind in an eye, came to the sanctuary (Stele A, lines 33-41).⁷⁹ While walking around she looked around at the votives and "ridiculed some of the cures as being unlikely and impossible, the lame and blind becoming well from only seeing a dream" (τῶν ἰαμάτων τινὰ διεγέλα ὥς ἀπίθανα καὶ ἀδύνατα ἔόντα, χωλοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς ὑγιεῖς γίνεσθαι ἐνύπνιον ἰδόντας μόνον). That night during her sleep Ambrosia saw a dream in which Asklepios cut open her eye and poured a medicine into it, thereby curing her. Ambrosia was also told by the god to dedicate a "silver pig" (ἄργυρον) in the sacred area as "a testimony of her ignorance" (ὑπόμνημα τᾶς ἀμαθίας) both for herself and (this is the point of the story) for any doubter visiting the sanctuary after her. The silver pig, displayed for public view, was simply a votive-suppliants walking by and seeing it may have even wondered whether the god had healed someone's pig. But the stele offered a compelling story, a story of unfounded doubt and of a god's ability to perform miracles. For Ambrosia's fellow Athenians visiting the sanctuary,⁸⁰ the stele and the pig, not merely the silver pig, became testimony of a faulty belief-system that had been turned into faith. As Matthew Dillon⁸¹ has stated, "The *iamata* [the stelai inscriptions] are *aretalogiai*,⁸² records of cures attesting to the *arête* [excellence] and *dynamis* [power] of the god."

Conclusion

Jill Dubisch⁸³ has written that each generation, every new set of pilgrims, rereads the "text" of the sanctuary on Tinos. The offerings, the rituals, the visions, and the miracles are given new interpretations, building on and amplifying the previous "reading" of the sanctuary. The sanctuary itself was built upon the old and emerged from the old: It was erected over what was a pagan temple and was constructed from marble purloined from the pagan ruins of the island of Delos over the remains of an early Byzantine basilica.⁸⁴ The present-day church is the

78. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*, 87.

79. *Ibid.*, 89.

80. Most Athenians were able to read in the fourth century BCE. [F. David Harvey, "Literacy in the Athenian Democracy," *Revue des Études Grecques* 79 (1966): 585-635].

81. Dillon, "The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian Iamata".

82. These are narratives that recite a deity's qualities or virtues in working miracles. [Howard C. Kee, "Aretalogy and Gospel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 92 (1973): 402-422].

83. Dubisch, "Golden Oranges and Silver Ships, 119.

84. *Ibid.*, 123; and Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time, 6.

latest in a series of religious constructs and constructions in the same space for faithful across two millennia.

Each day pilgrims, concerned and oppressed by difficult circumstances, come to Panagia to make a *tama* (vow) or, filled with gratitude, to dedicate their *tamata* (votive offering). The pilgrims, mostly women,⁸⁵ have the same abiding faith in the power of Panagia and her icon as the pilgrims of the past 150 years have possessed; but now they view and re-view the *tamata* in the sanctuary and the entire complex through a lens of written words. The texts are ubiquitous: the street leading up to the sanctuary sell pamphlets containing stories of visions and miracles, while the sanctuary's administrative office dispense their own free copies. In Greece of 1800 the literacy rate for men was 9%, while women were nearly universally illiterate.⁸⁶ Texts were useless in such an environment. But in today's Greece, which boasts a literacy rate of 97%, pilgrims to Tinos read the written word *and* read the *tamata* through the framing of the word. Jesus, in the Gospel of John 20: 29, spoke these words to Thomas, who doubted the validity of the resurrection: "Because you have seen me, you have believed; blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed." At Tinos, and at Epidauros, blessed the pilgrims who saw the votives and believed; but even more blessed the pilgrims who saw *and* read and believed.

Postscript

An excellent example of how *tamata* may be reinvented and re-imagined was the recent exhibit at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, Greece. The artist Kalliopi Lemos took an abandoned boat that had carried immigrants, and covered it with 10,000 *tamata* (Figure 16).

Figure 16. *The Tamata Boat by the Artist Kalliopi Lemos*



85. Dubisch, "Men's Time and Women's Time, 10-17.

86. Rebecca Rogers, "Learning to Be Good Girls and Women: Education, Training and Schools," in *The Routledge History of Women in Europe since 1700*, ed. Deborah Simonton (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 103.

The *tamata* were made from discarded beverage cans or were of the mass-produced sort sold on Tinos (Figure 17). On each *tama* were inscribed the name, place, and date of birth of an immigrant who for various reasons fled their homeland. The exhibit, which I had the good fortune to see in May 2014, ran from 16 March through 30 September, 2014. The boat itself, located prominently in the open courtyard and visible to anyone walking along Leôforos Vasilissis Sofias, one of the busiest streets in Athens, was meant to serve as a symbol of the refugees' voyage from despair and death to life and hope. The *tamata* themselves had the purpose of initiating a dialogue about interculturality, equity, justice, and peace. As Lemos wrote in the notes to the exhibit, the immigrants' aspirations and life-stories, as encapsulated on the *tamata*, reflect the basic human desire for a better life.

Figure 17. *Tamata on the Abandoned Boat*



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Semiotics in the Study of Aleksander Tansman's Cultural Identity

Anna Granat-Janki*

The affiliation of the Polish émigré composers with Polish culture has often raised doubts which would probably not have occurred had those composers stayed in Poland. These doubts arise from the fact that in some cases it is difficult to determine those composers' cultural identity because their nationality is not that obvious. However, the composers in question never renounced their Polish identity and this fact is evident in their music. One of such composers was Aleksander Tansman (1897-1986). He was of Polish-Jewish origins and spent most of his life as an émigré in foreign lands, from 1938 being a French citizen. Although his works were not performed in Poland for a long time and were consistently neglected by music critics, the composer unambiguously defined his affiliation with Polish culture through his music. Semiotics has turned out to be a helpful tool in studying Tansman's cultural identity since his music can be perceived as a kind of cultural discourse. The composer used signs: non-musical (composer's own statements, titles, dedications, historical figure) and musical ones (quotes, musical genres, stylization, imaginative folklore, musical symbols), which have the attributes of Polishness. The aim of the paper is to prove the thesis that music may be a means of composers' cultural identification and this can be done by applying a semiotic perspective to the study.

Introduction

The affiliation of the Polish émigré composers with Polish culture has often raised doubts which would probably not have occurred had those composers stayed in Poland. These doubts arise from the fact that in some cases it is difficult to determine those composers' cultural identity because their nationality is not that obvious.¹ However, the composers in question never renounced their Polish identity and this fact is evident in their music. They were aware that as émigrés they also served their country and contributed to Polish culture. The more hostile the Polish authorities and musical circles were towards them, the stronger that awareness grew. Regretfully, in their homeland Polishness was perceived as limited to the state's boundaries.² The problem in question concerned the

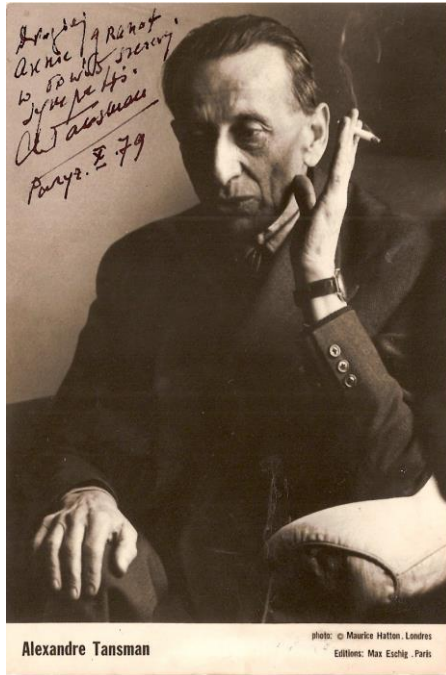
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1. The ethnic and cultural identity of Polish composers of Jewish descent living in the United States (including Alexandre Tansman) has been discussed by Maja Trochimczyk. [Maja Trochimczyk, "The Question of Identity: Polish-Jewish Composers in California," *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry: Polish-Jewish Relations in North America* 19 (2007), 343-371.]

2. Zofia Helman, "Muzyka na obczyźnie" (Music in exile), in *Między Polską a światem* (Between Poland and the world), ed. Marta Fik (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Krag, 1992), 214;

generation of composers born in the years 1892–1919.³ There were different reasons behind those artists' decisions to leave Poland or stay abroad and their contact with Polish government and Polish musical circles also took different course. One of such émigrés was Aleksander Tansman (1897-1986), who is the subject of this discussion (Photo 1).

Photo 1. Aleksander Tansman with a dedication to Anna Granat-Janki. Photo by Maurice Hatton



Source: Anna Granat-Janki's private collection.

Helman, "Emigranci z wyboru" (Émigrés by choice), *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 8 (2010), 180-185.

3. The following composers should be mentioned here: Karol Rathaus (1895-1954), Aleksander Tansman (1897-1986), Feliks Łabuński (1892-1979), Antoni Szałowski (1907-1973), Michał Spisak (1914-1965), Szymon Laks (1902-1983), Jerzy Fitelberg (1903-1951), Michał Kondracki (1902-1984), Roman Maciejewski (1910-1998), Tadeusz Zygfryd Kassern (1904-1957), Roman Palester (1907-1989), Roman Haubenstock-Ramati (1919-1994), Andrzej Panufnik (1914-1991). Zofia Helman calls them "émigrés by choice;" Helman, "Muzyka na obczyźnie, 180.

Subject Literature and Methodological Concept

The literature on Polish émigré composers and their identity includes such publications as articles of Zofia Helman,⁴ Maja Trochimczyk,⁵ a joint monograph edited by Krystyna Tarnawska-Kaczorowska.⁶ The issue has also been discussed in publications on individual artists, including Aleksander Tansman. Among the works devoted to the composer the following are worthy of note: the books by Janusz Cegieła,⁷ Anna Granat-Janki,⁸ and Andrzej Wendland,⁹ articles by Anna Granat-Janki¹⁰ and joint monographs.¹¹ However, in none of the above-mentioned works have the authors undertaken a comprehensive study into the problem of Aleksander Tansman's cultural identity. There have also been no attempts to analyse the problem with semiotic tools.¹²

4. Helman, "Muzyka na obczyźnie, 209-225; Helman, "Emigranci z wyboru, 180-185.

5. Trochimczyk, "The Question of Identity; Trochimczyk, "Exiles or Emigrants? Polish Composers in America," in *East Central Europe in Exile*, vol 1: *Transatlantic Migrations*, ed. Anna Mazurkiewicz (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

6. *Muzyka źle obecna* [Ill-present music], parts 1 and 2, ed. Krystyna Tarnawska-Kaczorowska (Warszawa: ZKP, 1989).

7. Janusz Cegieła, *Dziecko szczęścia, Aleksander Tansman i jego czasy* (*A child of luck. Aleksander Tansman and his times*), vol. 1 (Warszawa: 86 Press, 1986), vol. 2 (Łódź: 86 Press, 1996).

8. Anna Granat-Janki, *Forma w twórczości instrumentalnej Aleksandra Tansmana* (*Form in Aleksander Tansman's instrumental music*) (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna we Wrocławiu, 1995).

9. Andrzej Wendland, *Gitara w twórczości Aleksandra Tansmana* (*The guitar in Aleksander Tansman's music*) (Łódź: Ars Longa Edition, 1996).

10. Anna Granat-Janki, "Les changements de style d'Aleksandre Tansman dans sa musique instrumentale," in *Hommage au compositeur Alexandre Tansman (1897-1986)*, Proceedings of the international conference of November 26, 1997 in Sorbonne, texts reunited by Pierre Guillot (Sorbonne: Presses of the University of Paris, 2000), 69-84; Granat-Janki, "Tradition and Modernity in Music of Aleksander Tansman," *Polish Music Journal* 4, no. 1; Granat-Janki, "Valeurs et fonctions de la musique d'Alexandre Tansman" (Values and Functions of Aleksander Tansman's Music), in *Music: Function and Value*, vol. 2, ed. Teresa Malecka, Małgorzata Pawłowska (Akademia Muzyczna Kraków, 2013), 554-568.

11. *Hommage au compositeur Alexandre Tansman (1897-1986)*, Proceedings of the international conference of November 26, 1997 in Sorbonne, texts reunited by Pierre Guillot (Sorbonne: Presses of the University of Paris, 2000); *Aleksander Tansman 1897-1986*, AM Scientific Notebook in Lodz no. 25, ed. Marta Szoka (Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna, 1997).

12. Literature on music semiotics is particularly extensive. The most inspiring works in this field have been authored by Eero Tarasti and include the book *Signs of Music. A Guide to Musical Semiotics* (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002).

Any deliberations on the issue of Tansman's cultural identity must begin with an overview of the composer's life. This should allow for the factors that influenced his ethnic and cultural identity to be identified.

Semiotics has turned out to be a helpful tool in studying Tansman's cultural identity since his music can be perceived as a kind of cultural discourse. The composer uses signs-codes which convey information from the sender (composer) to the receiver (listener) in an act of communication. The analytical procedure employed in this article will consist in identification of signs used by the composer and interpretation of meanings that they carry. According to the Czech semiotician and structuralist Jan Mukařovský:

Only when the full meaning has been grasped, does a work of art bespeak the author's attitude towards reality and become a call for the receiver to take their own – cognitive, emotional and volitional – stand towards reality.¹³

The analysis of Tansman's compositions will consist in identifying non-musical signs (composer's statements, titles, dedications, historical figures) and musical signs (quotes, musical genres, stylization, imaginative folklore, musical symbols) which are attributes of Polishness.

The discussion of non-musical signs will concentrate on a work of art as a phenomenon that exists in historical and cultural context.¹⁴ The analysis of musical signs in turn will have as its focus the elements of musical structure and the relations between them. This original method of analysis has already been presented in the article entitled "Muzyka jako dyskurs polityczny. O utworach kompozytorów polskich drugiej połowy XX wieku w perspektywie semiotycznej" (Music as discourse. The works by Polish composers of the second half of the 20th century from a semiotic perspective).¹⁵

13. "Dopiero wtedy kiedy ów pełny sens zostanie domknięty, staje się dzieło sztuki świadectwem stosunku twórcy do rzeczywistości i wezwaniem pod adresem odbiorcy, aby i on wobec rzeczywistości zajął swoje własne stanowisko – poznawcze, emocjonalne i wolicjonalne zarazem." Jan Mukařovský, *Wśród znaków i struktur. Wybór szkiców* (*Among signs and structures. A selection of sketches*), ed. and intro. Janusz Sławiński (Warszawa: PIW, 1970), 31.

14. Mieczysław Tomaszewski, *O muzyce polskiej w perspektywie intertekstualnej* (*Polish music from the intertextual perspective*) (Akademia Muzyczna Kraków, 2005), 10.

15. Granat-Janki, "Muzyka jako dyskurs polityczny. O utworach kompozytorów polskich drugiej połowy XX wieku w perspektywie semiotycznej" (Music as political discourse. The music of Polish composers of the second half of the 20th century from the semiotic perspective), in *Analiza dzieła muzycznego. Historia – teoria – praxis* (*Analysis of a musical work. History - teoria - praxis*), vol. 2, ed. Anna Granat-Janki, Bogusław Raba, Joanna Subel, Andrzej Wolański, Agnieszka Zwierzycka (Akademia Muzyczna Wrocław, 2012), 189-202.

The aim of the article is to validate the thesis that music may be a means of composers' cultural identification and this can be done by applying a semiotic perspective to the study.

Aleksander Tansman's Life

What was Aleksander Tansman's life like, then? He was born to an assimilated Jewish family in Łódź, Poland, in 1897. Thus, he was of Polish-Jewish descent. His mother tongue was Polish and he completed his education in Poland. He studied law at Warsaw University, took private harmony and counterpoint lessons with Piotr Rytel and attended composition classes with Henryk Melcer. In 1919 he won three first prizes at a composer's competition organised by the Polish Artistic Club in Warsaw. In spite of the success that he had achieved, Tansman left for France at the end of 1919 and settled in Paris. His decision was motivated by artistic reasons. The composer felt that he had no possibilities of further artistic development in his home country as Polish musical circles were very conservative at that time. Paris, on the other hand, was an international centre of musical life in which artists from all over the world arrived to "découvrir un climat artistique et intellectuel" of the city.

Tansman very quickly became popular in the French music market. In the 1920s and 1930s his brilliant career developed on an international scale. His successes in Paris were followed by series of concerts abroad. In the years 1927–1928, on the initiative of the eminent conductor Serge Koussevitzky, Tansman undertook his first tour of the United States, followed by the second one a year later (1929/1930). Between 1932 and 1933 he went on a tour around the world including the Middle and the Far East, Southeast Asia and Africa.

In the interwar period Tansman's compositions were performed by the most outstanding instrumentalists (Bronisław Huberman, Jascha Heifetz, Gregor Piatigorsky) and directed by great conductors (Arturo Toscanini, Serge Koussevitzky, Leopold Stokowski, Pierre Monteaux). His works won favour with music critics¹⁶ and became the subject of detailed studies (Raymond Petit, Irving Scherke).¹⁷ Only in Poland, Tansman's home country, were his compositions rarely performed,¹⁸ not very favourably received¹⁹ or went completely

16. In the interwar period Tansman's music was discussed in the influential French *La Revue Musicale* journal by such outstanding critics as: Roland-Manuel, Boris de Schloezer, André Coeuroy, Raymond Petit, Arthur Hoérée.

17. In 1929 *La Revue Musicale* published the monographic article "Alexandre Tansman" by Raymond Petit, and in 1931 Irving Scherke's monograph entitled *Alexandre Tansman, compositeur polonais* was published.

18. After Tansman had left for Paris, there was the first concert of his music held in Warsaw in 1932. It was his piano recital. Then, in 1936 his music was presented on the Polish Radio in Roman Jasiński's programme in the series "Portraits of Polish composers"

unnoticed.²⁰ The composer was very regretful about that, expressing his feelings in the article "O mojej twórczości muzycznej" [On my music works] published in the *Muzyka* journal in 1925:

My homeland is a country where my works are performed more rarely than anywhere else, the compositions that have been played on most of European and American stages have not been performed in the Philharmonic Hall; all of my works have been published abroad, none at home; Polish correspondents deliberately ignore everything that concerns my contribution to the modern trend [...].²¹

The dislike for Tansman in Poland intensified sharply in the years immediately before the Second World War in connection with an increasing wave of persecutions against Jewish composers which was instigated by Goebbels in 1936 and culminated in the Entartete Musik exhibition in Düsseldorf in 1938. In that year, as a form of protest against the collaboration of the Polish government with Nazi Germany, anti-Semitism and Nazi sympathies in his home country, Tansman renounced his Polish citizenship and took French citizenship.

During the Second World War Tansman lived with his wife Colette Cras²² and two daughters – Mireille and Marianne – in Los Angeles. In 1946 he returned to France and settled in Paris, where he continued his artistic activities. After 1956 he renewed contact with Poland. His first visit to the country was connected with the 70th anniversary of his birth and took place in 1967, followed by subsequent visits in 1978, 1979 and 1980. As part of those visits concerts of his music were held. Tansman was decorated with the Medal of the Polish Composers' Union (1979), the Gold Badge of Order of Merit of the Polish People's Republic (Council of State, 1983), and the Order of Merit to Polish Culture (Minister of Culture and Art of the Polish People's Republic, 1983). Moreover, before his death, in 1986, he was granted (*in absentia*) the title of Doctor Honoris Causa by the Academy

and during a symphony concert in Warsaw Philharmonic Hall (the programme included Tansman's *Deux Pieces pour orchestre*).

19. Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Muzyka polska 1986-1930 (Polish music 1986-1930)*, part 4 (Warszawa, 1931); Konstanty Regamey, "Muzyka polska na tle współczesnych prądów" (Polish music and modern trends), *Muzyka Polska* no. 7-8 (1937), 341-352; Cegiełka, *Dziecko szczęścia*, 302-303, 437-439, 440.

20. Konstanty Regamey, "Dwadzieścia lat muzyki w Polsce" (Twenty years of music in Poland), *Muzyka Polska* no. 11 (1938), 477-488. This jubilee article published on the 20th anniversary of regaining independence by Poland does not mention Tansman's name.

21. "Ojczyzna moja jest krajem, w którym dzieła moje są wykonywane rzadziej niż gdziekolwiek; utwory grane na większości estrad europejskich i amerykańskich, pozostają przez lata w Filharmonii bez wykonania; wszystkie moje dzieła są wydane zagranicą, a żadne w kraju; korespondenci polscy świadomie zamilczają wszystko co dotyczy mej sytuacji w ruchu nowoczesnym [...]." Aleksander. Tansman, "O mojej twórczości muzycznej" (On my music works), *Muzyka* no. 4-5 (1925), 206.

22. Colette Cras was a French pianist. Tansman married her in 1937.

of Music in Łódź. Tansman died in Paris on the 15th of November 1986 at the age of 89.

The overview of Tansman's life makes one realize how complex the issue of his identity is. The composer had Jewish roots and spent most of his life in France – his second homeland. At the same time, however, he was a Pole. There were strong ties that connected him with Polish culture – something he frequently emphasized in his statements. He always considered himself a Polish composer and that was how he was perceived by musicologists, the confirmation of which is the monograph *Alexandre Tansman, compositeur polonais* by Irving Schwerke.²³ Although his works were not performed in Poland for a long time and were consistently ignored by music critics,²⁴ the composer unambiguously stated his affiliation with Polish culture through his music.

The works which draw on the traditions of Polish culture constitute a significant part of Tansman's oeuvre. The research material gathered by the author for the purpose of this study consists of 28 works including collections of more than ten miniatures. They have been analysed in terms connections with Polish culture. The discussion of the results of the author's analyses will include non-musical and musical attributes of Polishness.

Non-Musical Attributes of Polishness

The starting point for the discussion of Tansman's connections with Polish culture are the **composer's own statements**. He repeatedly expressed his opinion on that matter. From his many statements, it is worth quoting the one that he made during the interview conducted by Janusz Cegiełka in 1971. Tansman admitted that:

We cannot expunge childhood and teenage years, cultural traditions and the memory of the surroundings where we grew up from our lives. Volens nolens, whether my music is known in my home country or not, I belong to the Polish

23. Irving Schwerke, *Alexandre Tansman compositeur polonaise* (Paris: Editions Max Eschig, 1931).

24. The situation started to change in 1977 when *Ruch Muzyczny* published three articles by Andrzej Zieliński ["Klasyk polskiej muzyki współczesnej" (The classic of Polish modern music)], Zofia Helman ["Estetyka twórczości Aleksandra Tansmana" (Aesthetics of Aleksander Tansman's music)] and Tadeusz Kaczyński ["Między Polską a Francją" (Between Poland and France)]. Then in 1995 Anna Granat-Janki's book *Forma w twórczości instrumentalnej Aleksandra Tanamsna* (Form in Aleksander Tansman's instrumental music) was published, followed in 1996 by the two-volume monograph *Dziecko szczęścia, Aleksander Tansman i jego czasy* (A child of luck. Aleksander Tansman and his times) (the first volume was published in 1986) and the book *Gitara w twórczości Aleksandra Tansmana* (The guitar in Aleksander Tansman's music) by Andrzej Wendland.

culture. I am a citizen of France [...], but it does not change my artistic affiliation which has always manifested itself in my music – since the very beginning to the present day.²⁵

Earlier, in 1948, in his book on his friend Igor Stravinsky, Tansman expressed his view on artists' national identification. In his opinion, national identity does not result only from the presence of forms and genres typical of folk music in a given composer's oeuvre, but is determined by the composer's relation with the musical tradition of a particular country.²⁶ Undoubtedly, Tansman felt emotionally connected with Poland, he was interested in Polish affairs, followed attentively the events happening in his home country and protested against various forms of political violence.

A **title** is a special type of sign which, together with the reference to its object, creates a communicative situation, broadly conceived.²⁷ According to *Słownik terminów literackich* (Dictionary of literary terms) a title is a name given to a work by its author, it is an integral part of the work's text and its first distinct section.²⁸ It fulfils two major functions: identifying (signifying) one and informative (semantic) one, and additionally it serves an evocative function.

The titles of Tansman's compositions allow for those works to be unambiguously identified with Polish culture. The following titles should be mentioned in the first place: *Rapsodie polonaise*, *Quatre danses polonaises* and *Suite in modo polonico*. They all include the adjective "Polish." In those cases the title serves an informative and identifying function, forming multiple connections with the content of the work that it names and symbolizes. This is exemplified by *Four Polish Dances* which include: polka (1st movement), kujawiak (2nd movement), dumka (3rd movement) and oberek (4th movement). Thus, the composition employs two Polish national dances: kujawiak and oberek, which originate in folk music (Example 1).

25. "Nie można wykreślić z życia lat dziecięcych i młodzieńczych, tradycji kulturalnych, pamięci otoczenia, w którym się wzrastało. Volens nolens, czy moja muzyka jest w kraju znana czy nie, należę do kultury polskiej. Jestem obywatelem Francji [...], ale nie zmienia to bynajmniej mojej przynależności artystycznej, która zresztą dawała i daje nadal o sobie znać w całej mojej twórczości – od początku aż do chwili obecnej." Cegiełka, "Aleksander Tansman," in *Szkice do autoportretu polskiej muzyki współczesnej* (Sketches for the self-portrait of Polish contemporary music) (Kraków: PWM, 1979), 61.

26. Alexandre Tansman, *Igor Stravinsky* (Paris: Amiot-Dumont, 1948), 63.

27. The functions that a title of a musical work may serve are discussed by Hanna Kostrzewska. [Hanna Kostrzewska, "Funkcje tytułu dzieła muzycznego" (The functions of a work of music's title), in *Dzieło muzyczne i jego funkcje* (Work of music and its functions), ed. Anna Nowak (Bydgoszcz: Akademia Muzyczna, 2010), 69-82.]

28. "Tytuł" (Title), in *Słownik terminów literackich* (Dictionary of literary terms), ed. Janusz Sławiński (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 2000), 596.

Example 1. A. Tansman, *Quatre danses polonaises* for orchestra, 2nd movement: *Kujawiak*

II. KUJAWIAK Alexandre TANSMAN

Source: Editions Max Eschig, 1932. A. Granat-Janki's private collection.

In another composition – *Polish Rhapsody* – the title refers to those fragments of the piece where the expressive character has been determined by various tempo markings, such as *Tempo di polonaise*, *Tempo di mazurka*, *Tempo di mazur*, which are typical tempos of Polish folk dances. The title *Suite in modo polonico*, in turn, corresponds to the 7th movement of the composition – *Alla polacca*, where the expressive character of music is defined by the name. In all of the above-mentioned compositions the titles additionally serve an evocative function and thus trigger an emotional reaction in the listener.

Another type of verbal signs that can be found in Tansman's scores are **dedications**. They are addressed to the Poles with whom composer was bound by ties of friendship. Among them there are performers and conductors who had his works in their repertoire. *Suite dans le style ancien* (1929) was composed for the pianist Karol Szymanowski, *Symphonie No 5 en ré* (1942) – for the conductor and composer Paweł Klecki, and *Sinfonietta No 2* (1977) – for the conductor Renard Czajkowski. The collection of piano miniatures entitled *Album d'amis* is a kind of gift for friends. The third miniature was dedicated by Tansman to his biographer Janusz Cegieła, and the sixth one – to the musicologist Tadeusz A. Zieliński. On the pages of Tansman's scores one may find names of outstanding figures of the musical world, such as: the pianist Arthur Rubinstein (*Quatre preludes*, 4th movt. [1921], *Étude-scherzo* [1922], *Sonate No. 2* [1928]), the pianist Ignacy Jan Paderewski (*Vingt pièces facile sur des mélodie populaires polonaises* [1924]), the harpsichordist Wanda Landowska (*Polonaise*, 1935) or the composer Karol Szymanowski (*Quatre préludes*, 6th movt. [1921]). Some of the dedications are related to painful events in

Musical Attributes of Polishness

In the process of semiotisation of music an important role is played by **quotations**. According to the Polish musicologist Mieczysław Tomaszewski, a quotation in the literal sense means:

[...] quoting someone else's music in one's own composition in a fully intentional and overt manner, that is in a way that marks it out and makes it easier for the listener to identify and understand the aim and meaning of the quotation.³⁰

An exact quotation serves its function by evoking certain sentimental, symbolic, ideological or patriotic associations.

In Tansman's case quotation is connected with the composer's identification with the Polish nation and culture. He has manifested his ethnic and cultural affiliations especially in *Rapsodie polonaise* (1940). In the movement marked as *Tempo di mazurka* he quoted the Polish national anthem – *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła* (*Poland is not yet lost*) (Dąbrowski's Mazurka).

The quotation of the national anthem – the symbol of the Polish state – in a composition dedicated to "the defenders of Warsaw" ("aux défenseurs de Varsovie") who in 1939 fought for the capital against Nazi invaders has a symbolic and patriotic meaning. The composer refers to the tempo and rhythm of a mazurka which is a Polish national dance. In the national anthem the melody quoted by Tansman is accompanied by the words: "Poland has not yet perished, so long as we still live. What the alien force has taken from us, we shall retrieve with a sabre,"³¹ and because of that it evokes associations with national sovereignty and independence.

In another two compositions Tansman quoted Polish folk tunes which he remembered from childhood. In *Scherzetto populatesco* – the second movement of *Sinfonietta No 2* (1978) – he used quotations of three popular folk songs: *Umarł Maciek umarł* (*Died, Maciek has died*), *Krakowiaczek jeden* (*A man from Cracow*) and *Wlazł kotek na płotek* (*A kitten climbed the fence*).

The composition *Vingt pièces facile sur des mélodies populaires polonaises* (1924) in turn – in keeping with its title – includes quotations of such popular Polish tunes as *Umarł Maciek umarł* (*Died, Maciek has died*), *Wlazł kotek na płotek* (*A kitten climbed*

30. "[...] przytoczenie w utworze własnym muzyki cudzej dokonane po pierwsze – w pełni świadomie, po drugie zaś w pełni jawnie, czyli uczynione w sposób wyróżniony, ułatwiający słuchaczowi identyfikację i rozumienie celu i sensu tego przytoczenia." Tomaszewski, *Muzyka Chopina na nowo odczytana* (*Chopin's music rediscovered*) (Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna, 1996), 117. Quoted after: Bogumiła Mika, *Sposoby użycia cytatu muzycznego jako strategia interstylistyczna* (*The use of musical quotation as an interstylistic strategy*). Retrieved from <https://ces.to/X1e5tl>.

31. "Poland is not yet lost," in *Wikipedia. The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <https://ces.to/9tTjr6>.

the fence) and the religious song *Boże coś Polskę* (*God save Poland*). This last song is strongly related to the history of the Polish state. Up until 1918 it was considered an unofficial anthem of independent Poland and even today the audiences customarily stand up when this song is performed, just as in the case of the national anthem.

Also **musical genres** are the signs that testify to Tansman's affiliation with Polish culture. The composer employed folk dance genres. He often used a stylized mazurka dance, that is an artistic arrangement combining three Polish folk dances: mazurka, kujawiak and oberek. The ideal model of this genre in piano music was developed by Fryderyk Chopin and it was to this composer that Tansman referred to when he was composing his four series of *Mazurkas* for piano (Example 3). He started working on those pieces in 1918 and altogether he composed 36 mazurkas collected in four volumes published in the years: 1929 – the first volume, 1932 – the second, 1941 – the third and fourth volumes. It was not the original folk dance that became the starting point for Tansman's work. The composer had no direct contact with Polish folk music. He drew his notion of Polish folklore from Chopin's stylized compositions. When discussing Tansman's mazurkas one should consider the means of **stylization** that he used. Following Chopin's example, he stylized all dances of the mazurka type: the mazurka itself, the kujawiak and the oberek, preserving their fundamental features (rhythm, metre, tempo and expressive character). The melodic lines of his works are based on major and minor scales as well as modal scales, especially the Lydian mode, which he considered the most typical scale of Polish folklore determining the specific sound of Polish folk music.³² He uses a drone of a fifth in the bass to imitate the sound of the *basolia* being tuned up in a folk music band and the tempo and rhythmic patterns typical of the above-mentioned mazurka-type dances. What definitely differs Tansman's mazurkas from Chopin's is the harmony. The mixed range of harmonic structures used by the composer includes: major, minor and quartal chords, secondal harmony, bitonality and structures of purely sonic qualities, such as series of parallel chords.³³

32. Alain Jomy and Catherine Ravet's radio programme, *Portrait d'Aleksandre Tansman*, part 1, Radio France, Paris, 21 February 1985.

33. On Tansman's mazurkas and inspiration by folk music, see Granat-Janki, "Forma w twórczości instrumentalnej, and Granat-Janki, "Les changements de style d'Aleksandre Tansman, 76.

Example 3. A. Tansman, *Mazurkas* for piano, volume 1 (1918–1928), *Mazurka no. 1 – Oberek* (fragment), p. 1

RECUEIL DE MAZURKAS
(1918-1928)

Alexandre TANSMAN

N° 1 (Oberek)

Vivo (♩ = 88)

PIANO

f très sec

Source: Editions Max Eschig, 1929. A. Granat-Janki's private collection.

It should be noticed that the rhythmic patterns of the mazurka type were particularly close to the composer's heart, from the first mazurkas that can probably be dated to 1915 to the ones composed in the evening of life, such as *Album d'amis* from 1980 (3rd movt. *Tempo di Mazur*), *Hommage à Lech Walesa* from 1982 (*Tempo di Mazurka*) or *Alla Polacca* from 1985, which closes his oeuvre.

It is worth mentioning that Tansman stylised Polish folk dances not only in the series of piano *Mazurkas*. The kujawiak and the oberek can also be found in his *Suite in modo polonico* (3rd movt. – *Kujawiak*, 9th movt. – *Oberek*), while the polonaise is included in such compositions as *Rapsodie polonaise* (2nd movt. – *Tempo do polonaise*), *Suite in modo polonico* (4th movt.) and *Sérénade No. 2* for violin, viola and cello (4th movt.: *Danse Polonaise*).

By stylizing folk music the composer draws the listener's attention to those elements of music which evoke Polish folklore in the genres that originate in folk dance music. Similar techniques were used by Tansman in other instrumental music genres. In the final (third) movement of his *Triptych* for string quartet he employs the interval of an augmented fourth to construct the melody and pedal points or drones of fifths in the accompaniment, thereby evoking the atmosphere of folk music. He uses similar elements in the third movement of his *String Quartet No. 6*. Its triple metre, the shape of the melodic line played by the first violin with the tritone as a structural element, long sustained drones and a specific expressive character point to Polish folklore as the source of inspiration. In this case it is specifically highlanders' music which Tansman knew thanks to another Polish national composer – Karol Szymanowski.

One should remember, however, that Tansman often approached folk music intuitively, and thus in his compositions he presented his own view of it. Such an approach is described as **imaginative folklore**. For Tansman Polish music was a synthesis of melancholy and exuberance,³⁴ which were epitomised in dances such as polonaise, oberek and kujawiak. This music is also characterised by a specific mood, which in the case of Chopin's works was described as "sorrowful." Tansman claimed that the Polish character of his music can be noticed even in his last compositions.

Musical symbols are signs with strong semantic charge. The most important of them is the music of the Polish national composer Fryderyk Chopin. When analysing Tansman's works one is bound to notice Chopin's influence. Even a cursory glance at the catalogue of Tansman's piano compositions calls up associations with Chopin's music.³⁵ Apart from 36 mazurkas he also composed three ballads, four nocturnes, five impromptus, a number of preludes and two works in memory of Chopin: *Tombeau de Chopin* for string orchestra and *Hommage à Chopin* for guitar, in which he stylized the genres typical of Chopin's music (nocturnes, preludes, waltzes and mazurkas). Moreover, he also used in his compositions such markings as *Mazurka "à la Chopin"* (3rd movt. of *Quatre Danses Miniatures*) or *Intermezzo Chopiniano* (2nd movt. of *Concertino pour piano*), which suggest to the performers that the pieces should have Chopinian character. The Polish national composer played a significant role in the part of Tansman's music that can be described as national and folkloristic. The references to Chopin proved that Tansman upheld the values that his music represented. The composer of mazurkas and polonaises was a symbol of Polishness, "the Soul of Poland."³⁶ By referring to his music Tansman emphasized his own affiliation with Polish culture and its fundamental values (Example 4).

34. Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Rozmowa z Aleksandrem Tansmanem" (Interview with Aleksander Tansman), *Ruch Muzyczny* no. 20 (1973), 5.

35. On the connection between Tansman's and Chopin's music, see Kaczyński, "Między Polską a Francją" (Between Poland and France), *Ruch Muzyczny* no. 13 (1977), 6-7. Cf. Granat-Janki, "Valeurs et fonctions de la musique, 561-562 and Granat-Janki, "Tradition and Modernity in Music.

36. Alicja Jarzębska, *Spór o piękno muzyki. Wprowadzenie do kultury muzycznej XX wieku* (A dispute over beauty of music. Introduction to music culture of the 20th century) Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004), 122.

Example 4. A. Tansman, *Tombeau de Chopin* for String Orchestra, p. 1

TOMBEAU de CHOPIN
(for String Quintet or String Orchestra*)

1. NOCTURNE

Alexandre Tansman

Lent (♩ = 60)
sord.
p sempre tranquillo

1st VIOLIN

2nd VIOLIN

VIOLA

CELLO

BASS

Source: Leeds Music Corporation, 1951. A. Granat-Janki's private collection.

Another elements that also grow into musical symbols are the quotation of the national anthem in *Polish Rhapsody* and the stylization of Polish folk music that have been discussed above.

Conclusion

The study of Tansman's oeuvre in which the semiotic perspective was employed has proven that throughout his whole life the Polish émigré composer identified himself with the Polish culture through his music. Poland was particularly close to his heart, which he confirmed in the foreword to the book *Dziecko szczęścia, Aleksander Tansman i jego czasy* (*A child of luck. Aleksander Tansman and his times*) by Janusz Cegiełła:

Of course I owe much to France, but no one who has ever listened to my music can have any doubts as to the fact that I have always been and will always be a Polish composer.³⁷

Thus, for the composer of not only Polish but also Jewish descent, of Polish and French nationality, the Polish culture came to be the main focus of interest. He

37. "Oczywiście wiele zawdzięczam Francji, ale nikt, kto kiedykolwiek słyszał moje utwory, nie może mieć wątpliwości, że byłem, jestem i na zawsze pozostanę kompozytorem polskim." Tansman's written statement from 1983. Cegiełła, *Dziecko szczęścia*, 5.

composed pieces that were perceived as Polish not only by Poles but also by foreign listeners who easily identified them with the Polish nation. Aleksander Tansman was an ambassador of Polish culture to the world although for many years his music was underestimated in Poland and was not performed due to the composer's Jewish origins or because of the Polish state's cultural policy. The use of semiotic tools in the study allowed for the essence of Tansman's music to be identified. It lies in the meanings and senses that his works have been invested with from the perspective of Polish history and culture.

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Exploring the Significance of Context in Meaning: Speech Act Features of Performative Political- Speeches of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua

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Political speeches, no doubt, have been object and subject of diverse linguistic and non-linguistic analyses for decades. Apparently, communication is the most vital tool in politicking within and outside Nigeria as politicians vehemently trade in various discourses and arguments through fliers, pamphlets, manifestoes, public statements and speeches. In fact, political speeches are occasioned by different contexts or situations. Hence, the research portrays context as an integral part in speaker's intention and hearer's interpretation. Specifically, performative political-speeches are selected to explore the significance of the context in negotiating pragmatic meaning through the frame work of Speech Act Theory. The data are drawn from two speeches of Nigerian President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua based on periodisation (2008-2009). The Speech Act analysis of these action political discourses provides the understanding that political leaders employ unique speech act types which are mainly assertive when delivering performative political speeches. The reason for this is premised on the fact that the speeches are performative and delivered by a President in a democratic government. The study, therefore, recommends a contrastive analysis of performative and ceremonial political speeches of the President or other political leaders to further demonstrate the influence of context on speech act patterns.

Introduction

Communication involves an exchange of information or message among participants. Among human beings, the most expedient tool of communication is language. No wonder, language of communication is as important as the message itself, albeit, there are other means of communication, which include silence, body language, signs, paralanguage, facial expression etc. The choice of words in language determines interpretation or meaning. Scholars in the fields of Pragmatics and Stylistics, have studied such choices in language through distinct approaches. No doubt, choice of words, as style, is within the ambit of Stylistics, while Pragmatics is concerned about intended and interpreted meaning through words.

According to Nouraldean, "Meaning is the cornerstone of language, since people communicate principally to convey meaning. Meaning is more than a definition in a dictionary; it is also found in a context. Meaning and context are interdependent, i.e., meaning cannot be communicated without context, and

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context cannot be established without meaning."¹ In essence, distinct features or patterns of features, in communication, are not just significant for meaning but related to the context of use. It is along this reasoning that Mahmud, cited in Akinkurolere's work, argues that:

Language varies not only according to social characteristics of the speaker, but also according to the social context in which he finds himself...The same speaker uses language for different situations and for different purposes.²

The quoted portion emphasises that variation in language use is not only stylistically significant but pragmatically relevant. In essence, the context, in which a language is employed, goes a long way to determine the formal and the substantial features of the language. It is along this reasoning that Bloor and Bloor observe that "when people use language to make meanings, they do so in specific situations, and the form of the language that they use in *discourse* is influenced by the complex aspects of those situations."³

In consonance with the above, Halliday,⁴ in his discussion of the textual function of language, submits that language provides for making links with itself and with features of the situation in which it is used. He went further to emphasize that the textual function of language enables the speaker or writer to construct texts or connected passages of discourse that are situationally relevant. Hence, the use of language in a particular situation may be quite different from another situation.

The context is simply the situation of language use. In essence, the cognitive constructs, comprising those components of the situation that are recognized as relevant to the understanding and creation of meaning by the human agent, culminate into what is known as context.⁵ Also, on context, Lyons posits thus:

A theoretical construct in the postulation of which the linguist abstracts from the actual situation and establishes as contextual all the factors which, by virtue of their influence upon the participants in the language event, systematically

1. Abdullah Nouraldeem, "Meaning and Context-Three Different Perspectives," *British Journal of English Linguistics* 3, no. 2 (2015): 13-17.

2. Susan Akinkurolere, "A Speech Act Analysis of Selected Political Speeches of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua" (Unpublished MA dissertation, Obafemi Awolowo University, 2011); Olayemi Mahmud, "A Stylistic Study of the Language of Television Advertisement in Nigeria" (Unpublished MA dissertation, Adekunle Ajasin University, 2004).

3. Thomas Bloor and Meriel Bloor, *The Functional Analysis of English: A Hallidayan Approach* (London: Arnold, 2004).

4. Micheal Halliday, "Language Structure and Language Function," in *New Horizons in Linguistics*, ed. John Lyons (USA: Penguin Books, 1970), 142-165.

5. Eva Illes, "The Definition of Context and its Implications for Language Teaching" (Doctoral dissertation-PhD, Institute of Education, University of London, 2001).

determine the form and the appropriateness of the meaning of utterances.⁶

In a speech event, there are physical, socio-cultural, linguistic or epistemic context. Deductions or interpretations in analysis are based on the context. To pragmatists, the context is quite germane in interpretation. In fact, recent studies in Stylistics⁷ employed a paradigm shift from pure stylistic approach to pragma-stylistics. This development allows the significance of context to be investigated when considering stylistic features as pragmatic notion. Context is a pragmatic concept that differentiates it from other sub-linguistic fields. Illes gives a rather insightful perspective on context thus:

In any case, it is this meaning (*that*) the sentence obtains when it becomes an utterance in relation to a context that forms the concern of pragmatics. Since context is a feature that generally distinguishes pragmatics from semantics, definitions of pragmatics are frequently formulated in reference to it. Pragmatics has thus been seen as the inquiry into the contribution context makes to meaning,⁸ or the examination of contextual and speaker meaning.⁹

Politics is a broad field and subject of discourses. Political discourses have been widely researched into by various scholars and Akinkurolere opines that "aspects of political communication include, but are not limited to, statements made by politicians, writings of politicians, political speeches, election campaign, political broadcast, parliamentary debates and political interviews."¹⁰ Indeed, these are basically meant to inform and instruct people in line with their political leaders' intentions. Particularly, speech making is an activity in politics that depends of language resource. Opeibi appropriately justifies this by stating that:

No matter how good a candidate's manifesto is; no matter how superior political thoughts and ideologies of a political party may be, these can only be expressed and further translated into social actions for social change and social continuity

6. John Lyons, *Semantics* (Volume 2) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

7. Abiodun Awolaja, "A Pragmastylistic Analysis of Helon Habila's *Waiting for an Angel and Measurement Time*" (Unpublished MA dissertation, Obafemi Awolowo University, 2012); John Abuya, "A Pragma-stylistic Analysis of Inaugural Speech of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Inaugural Speech," *English Language Teaching* 5, no. 11 (2012): 8-15; Susan Akinkurolere, "A Pragmastylistic Analysis of Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God*," *Humanities and Social Sciences Review* 3, no. 3 (2014): 363-370; Susan Akinkurolere, "A Lexico-pragmatic Analysis of Inaugural Speeches of Speakers of State Houses of Assembly in Nigeria" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Obafemi Awolowo University, 2016).

8. George Yule, *Pragmatics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

9. Illes, "The Definition of Context and its Implications for Language Teaching.

10. Akinkurolere, "A Lexico-pragmatic Analysis of Inaugural Speeches.

through the facilities provided by language.¹¹

The study, therefore, attempts to explore the significance of context on meaning making by identifying the speech act features of the selected speeches; analyse the identified features to reflect their implications on meaning making; and demonstrate speech acts' patterns in the context of politics. It is imperative to review pragmatics and speech act theory. This provides a background with a view to understanding the linguistic approach and framework adopted, analysis of data, discussion of results and conclusion based on the performative speeches of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua.

Research Question

The research questions for the paper are stated as follows:

- i. What are the predominant speech acts in the selected speeches?
- ii. What are the implications of the identified speech acts on meaning making?
- iii. How does context of politics influence or determine the analysed speech act features?

Pragmatics and Speech Act Theory

The linguistic approach for the research is Pragmatics through Speech Act Theory. Pragmatics is one of the major fields in Linguistics that could unravel meaning in language use, as an offshoot of Discourse Analysis, since the meaning of a discourse depends on context for an appropriate interpretation.¹² A discourse is a linguistic unit larger than a sentence, which could either be in spoken or written form, although language is primarily speech. Discourse Analysis studies the organization of language larger than sentence. Akinkurolere avers thus:

Pragmatics is characterized by the fact that it deals with natural discourse whether spoken or written. Pragmatics deals extensively with various extra linguistic features that influence or affect the meaning of a discourse. Thus, it provides natural discourse with empirical investigation.¹³

Morris avers that Pragmatics is the study of the relations between signs and

11. Babatunde Opeibi, *Discourse, Politics and the 1993 Presidential Election Campaigns in Nigeria* (Lagos: Nouvelle Communications Limited, 2009).

12. Akinkurolere, "A Speech Act Analysis of Selected Political Speeches.

13. Akinkurolere, "A Lexico-pragmatic Analysis of Inaugural Speeches.

their interpreters.¹⁴ This sign represents any linguistic item. With further development, So also, Thomas claims that the most common definitions of Pragmatics are "meaning in use" and "meaning in context."¹⁵

Pragmatics deals with appropriateness of linguistic choice to the context, and this covers the speaker's intended meaning.¹⁶ It is the need for appropriateness that makes a speaker or writer choose a particular linguistic code among several other options that are available for use in a discourse. While, Loukusa opines that Pragmatics is defined as the study of language in *context*, and specifically how context affects the interpretation of utterances.¹⁷ These various definitions of Pragmatics pay critical attention to the significance and relevance of context in the conveyance of intended meaning. Hence, pragmatic analysts investigate the relationship between language use and language user in situational contexts.

Actions that are performed when words are employed is called Speech act. The Speech Acts theory is regarded as "How to Do Things with Words Theory" since it has its roots in the work of Austin¹⁸ and Searle.¹⁹ They are able to provide a shift from constative notion to performative notion in the empirical verifiability of signs; that is, the truthfulness of signs to what an expression does when it is uttered. Indeed, the distinctive recognition of performative speech can be traced to Austin's opinion that an action is performed through a speech.²⁰ According to Akinkurolere, Austin distinguished explicit performative from implicit performative. Explicit performative is a statement which does not contain an expression of the act while implicit performative statement contains an expression of the act.²¹

Speech acts according to Austin fall into three aspects, which are locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary act. A locutionary act is an act of saying something; that is, the act of producing an utterance. On utterance, Austin explains that it is "the utterance of certain noises, the utterances of certain words and construction, and the utterances are with certain 'meaning' in the favourite

14. Charles Morris, *Foundations of the Theory of Signs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

15. Jenny Thomas, *Meaning in Interaction: An Introduction to Pragmatics* (New York: Longman, 1995).

16. George Yule, *The Study of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

17. Soile Loukasa, "The Use of Context in Pragmatic Language Comprehension in Normally Developing Children and Children with Asperger Syndrome/High-Functioning Autism: An Application of Relevance Theory" (University dissertation, Faculty of Humanities, University of Oulu, 2007).

18. Ibid.

19. John Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

20. Loukasa, "The Use of Context in Pragmatic Language Comprehension.

21. Akinkurolere, "A Speech Act Analysis of Selected Political Speeches.

philosophical sense and a certain 'reference'.²² The illocutionary act is the social act performed by the speaker: making a promise or statement, commanding or requesting, asking a question, etc.²³ While, Adeyanju describes perlocutionary act as the intended or unintended consequences of the speaker's utterance.²⁴

There was an improvement on Speech Act theory, which distinguishes between two types of speech acts: direct and indirect speech acts. The direct speech act expresses an act in a direct manner such that an example: "The driver said, 'stand up' is a command or request for an action. But a statement like 'shall we rise up' is syntactically a question but functionally a request for an action, therefore, it is an indirect request speech act. That is, an utterance which expresses an action in an indirect manner." Searle classified illocutionary acts into five speech acts categories as explained and used by Mey²⁵ thus:

- I. *Representatives (or assertives)*: These speech acts are assertions about a state of affairs in the world. It could also be regarded to as assertions, facts, positions, conclusions that are made on situations.
- II. *Directives*: As the name implies, these speech acts embody an effort on the part of the speaker to get the hearer to do something, to "direct" him or her towards some goal (of the speaker's mostly). The directive act covers requesting, commanding, and ordering the hearer to perform certain tasks.
- III. *Commissives*: Like directives, commissives operate a change in the world by means of creating an obligation; however, this obligation is created in the speaker, not in the hearer, as in the case of the directives. These include promising, pledging one's support, loyalty or allegiance and vowing.
- IV. *Expressives*: This speech act, as the word says, expresses an inner state of the speaker; the expression is essentially subjective and tells us nothing about the world. Expressives basically center on what goes on in the mind of the speaker; that is, the inner workings of the mind which include feeling, thinking, congratulating, praising, wishing.
- V. *Declaratives*: Declaratives bring about some alteration in the status or condition of the referred object or objects solely by virtue of the fact that the declaration has been successfully performed.

Also, Bach and Harnish²⁶ provide further classification of speech acts. They further classify communicative illocutionary acts into four categories namely: constatives, directives, commissives, acknowledgements, and conventional illocutionary into effectives and verdictives. Communicative illocutionary acts can be classified into the following:

22. Loukasa, "The Use of Context in Pragmatic Language Comprehension.

23. Akinkurolere, "A Speech Act Analysis of Selected Political Speeches.

24. Dele Adeyanju, "Pragmatic Features of Political Speeches in English by Some Prominent Nigerian Leaders," *Journal of Political Discourse Analysis* 2, no. 2 (2009): 173-190.

25. Jacob Mey, *Pragmatics: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

26. Kent Bach and Robert Harnish, *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts* (Cambridge: M.I.T Press, 1979).

- I. *Constatives*: These are acts that express a speaker's belief and his desire that the hearer forms a similar one.
- II. *Directives*: They express some attitude about a possible future action by the hearer and the intention that his utterance be taken as reason for the hearer's action.
- III. *Commissives*: The acts express the speaker's intention to do something and the belief that his utterance obliges him to do it.
- IV. *Acknowledgments*: They express feelings toward the hearer (or the intention that the utterance will meet some social expectations regarding the expression of feelings).

While the conventional illocutionary acts can be classified into two categories:

- I. *Effectives*: When these acts are produced by the appropriate person in appropriate circumstances produce a change or a new fact in an institutional context.
- II. *Verdictives*: These acts do not produce facts, but determine facts, natural or institutional, with an official, binding effect in the institutional context.

Felicity conditions have to be satisfied before a speech act could be successful. In a nutshell, felicity conditions refer to contextual conditions necessary for the success of a speech act.²⁷ By this, speech acts of sentences in the data were identified and related to the context in which they were presented.

Methodology

The research was based on speech act analysis of two selected speeches of Umaru Musa Yar'Adua captioned as Text A and Text B. Text A is Swearing-in of New Ministers speech while Text B is Budget speech. These speeches were presented during major events in his short tenure. Speeches were also periodised from 2008 to 2009 as follows: The Swearing-in Ceremony of New Ministers Speech (2008) and Budget Speech (2009). These were selected with a view to subjecting them to thorough analysis. The speeches were got from the Internet and analysed for speech act features. The linguistic framework of Speech Act theory of Searle²⁸ and Bach and Harnish²⁹ was applied to the study as earlier stated in the paper.

The selected speeches vary in length and number of sentences. Therefore, equal portions were extracted from the speeches. All the sentences (16 sentences) in Swearing-in Ceremony speech were analysed while the same number of sentences were selected in Budget speech making a total of thirty-two sentences. Thus, in each of the speeches, 16 sentences were selected. The extracted sentences in each speech were numbered, therefore we have A1-16 and B1-16. The analysis, at the levels of locution, illocution and perlocution,

27. Ibid.

28. John Searle, *Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

29. Bach and Harnish, *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts*.

was presented while the frequency and percentage tables were used to show the analysis of the sentences extracted from the speeches. This was done in order to make the analysis clear and easy to understand. Moreover, Sentences A1-A8 and B1-B8 were the first ten sentences extracted from the speeches, while Sentences A9-16 and B9-16 were the last ten sentences of the speeches. The introductory and the concluding parts of a speech are crucial in the delivery and identification of intended messages or acts of the speaker. This was the reason sixteen sentences were extracted from the Budget Speech.

Efforts were made to calculate the frequencies and percentages of the speech acts types so as to make interpretation of the tables clear and empirical. The choice of Speech Act theory was considered appropriate for the analysis as the theory served as the spread sheet for the analysis and evaluation of the selected speeches. Discussion and conclusion were based on the comprehensive results of the analysis as shown in frequency and percentage tables.

Analysis of the Data

Each sentence was presented before the identification of speech acts. This was done at the levels of **locution**, **illocutionary** and **perlocutionary** levels. Tables were drawn to reflect the frequency and percentage in each speech. A final table was also drawn to show the summary of frequencies and percentages of the speeches. The calculation of the percentages of the speech acts in a speech was based on the number of sentences and not on the total number of speech acts in each speech. Thus we have:

$$\frac{\text{Total number of speech acts}}{\text{Total number of sentences in a speech}} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

This served as the basis for our discussion in this study.

A Speech Act Analysis of the Swearing-in of New Ministers (A)

Introduction

In 2008, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua appointed some ministers into various portfolios. On this occasion, he gave an address. The occasion was significant and the speech too, as it portrayed the speech of the President at the moment he officially inaugurated members of the Federal Executive Council.

Analysis

Sentence A1

Locution: Nineteen months into the life of our Administration, it is with a deep sense of appreciation that I welcome on board the newly sworn-in members

of the Federal Executive Council this morning.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (a) Indirect: verdictive (assessing)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: elation

Sentence A2

Locution: In the same breath, I welcome the old Executive Council members to a new dispensation – one which establishes definite performance benchmarks, and insists on effective service delivery, strict adherence to the policy objectives of this administration as encapsulated in the Seven-Point Agenda.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: declarative (confirming)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: cheerfulness

Sentence A3

Locution: These are minimal standards that will guarantee continued membership of the Executive Council.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: declarative (confirming)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: hopefulness

Sentence A4

Locution: While congratulating you all, I would like to admonish that you see your appointment at all times is not an opportunity for self aggrandizement or the pursuit of narrow, selfish interests.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: directive (admonishing)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: reflective

Sentence A5

Locution: The task before the nation calls for honesty of purpose, sincerity, consummate diligence, and unmediated commitment to the national demand no

less from each and every one of us.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: directive (appealing)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: patriotism

Sentence A6

Locution: The people of this nation demand no less from each and every one of us.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (saying)
- (b) Indirect: directive (admonishing)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: cooperation

Sentence A7

Locution: Our every act must be guided by the highest standards of integrity and the fear of God.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: directive (compelling)
- (b) Indirect: declarative (admonishing)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: compliance

Sentence A8

Locution: I must reiterate our Administration's total abhorrence of corruption in all its ramifications and our insistence on absolute compliance with established rules, regulations and procedures in the conduct of all government business.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: declarative (insisting)
- (b) Indirect: assertive (stating)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: compliance

Sentence A9

Locution: Any proven case of corrupt practices or non-conformity with the rule of law and constitutionality will be visited with the strictest sanctions.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: verdictive (asserting)
- (b) Indirect: declarative (insisting)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: caution

Sentence A10

Locution: In this period of stark economic realities at home and unprecedented global economic challenges, we all must begin to think out of the box, recommit to the ideal of prudent and judicious application of resources, and stay faithful to the principles of value for money, transparency, accountability and the rule of law.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: declarative (insisting)
- (b) Indirect: assertive (stating)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: compliance

Sentence A11

Locution: As you honestly and diligently discharge your respective duties as Honorable Ministers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, be assured of my full confidence, unstinting support, and guidance at all times.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: commissive (assuring)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: cheerfulness

Sentence A12

Locution: In the days ahead, you shall get mandate which each of you will be expected to meet as dictated by your portfolio.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: commissive (promising)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: commitment

Sentence A13

Locution: Ultimately, I expect that this Council will function as a compact, effective, efficient, and focused team in the repositioning and transformation of our nation.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: directive (requesting)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: motivation

Sentence A14

Locution: Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, once again, I congratulate you all and wish you every success and productive service to our fatherland.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: expressive (greetings)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: nationalism

Sentence A15

Locution: May Almighty God bless you all and continue to bless our dear nation.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: directive (requesting)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: patriotism

Sentence A16

Locution: Thank you.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: expressive (appreciating)
- (b) Indirect: assertive (saying)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: applause

A Speech Act Analysis of Budget Speech (B)

Introduction

The 2009 budget speech was presented before the members of National Assembly for ratification and approval. The speech was significant considering the fact that it bordered on the finance of the country and at a period when there was a global financial recession. The speech was presented by the President in order to seek the approval of the legislative arm of the government.

Analysis

Sentence B1

Locution: It is a pleasure for me to present the 2009 Budget to the National Assembly today, as we move to reposition our economy to meet the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities that we are faced with at home and internationally.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (saying)
- (b) Indirect: commissive (promising)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: support

Sentence B2

Locution: The changing international oil market poses grave concerns for our fiscal outlook.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: verdictive (assessing)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: understanding

Sentence B3

Locution: The global financial crisis has led to slowing growth across the world's economies, resulting in a lower demand for commodities, especially oil.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: verdictive (assessing)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: reflection

Sentence B4

Locution: While speculative investment activities had helped to buoy oil prices in recent months, the reality of global recession is beginning to be fully appreciated across the globe, and more poignantly in Nigeria by its adverse impact on the international price of oil.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: verdictive (assessing)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: acceptance

Sentence B5

Locution: The recent volatility of the oil price is apparent in the unprecedented decline of prices from record highs of about US\$147/barrel in July this year to current prices of about US\$50/barrel, and there is no guarantee that prices will not further decline despite OPEC's recent mitigating efforts.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: declarative (admonitory)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: sobriety

Sentence B6

Locution: We therefore must adopt a prudent outlook that does not invest misplaced confidence in the expectation of unrealistically high prices.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: declarative
- (b) Indirect: commissive
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: hopefulness

Sentence B7

Locution: Notwithstanding the global downturn, Nigeria's economic growth remains on track, buoyed by the strong performance of the non-oil sector.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: declarative (confirming)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: optimism

Sentence B8

Locution: Growth in the non-oil sector, particularly in agriculture, remains robust, at an estimated 9%.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: declarative (confirming)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: hopefulness

Sentence B9

Locution: We remain steadfastly focused on our vision for Nigeria, as encapsulated in the Seven-Point Agenda and the Vision 20-2020.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: commissive (assuring)
- (b) Indirect: declarative (confirming)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: motivation

Sentence B10

Locution: By being faithful to our guiding principles of value for money, service delivery, accountability and the rule of law, we can face the challenges thrown up by the uncertainty and turbulence currently confronting the global economy with a well-founded confidence in the prudence of our policies and our unwavering resolve to see them through.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: directive (admonishing)
- (b) Indirect: assertive (stating)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: commitment

Sentence B11

Locution: We will actively engage with the Legislature with a view to ensuring that not only will the 2009 Budget be faithfully implemented but also that our success in this undertaking will lay a firm foundation for future budget cycles.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: commissive (promising)
- (b) Indirect: assertive (saying)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: hopefulness

Sentence B12

Locution: Respected Members of the National Assembly, I once again wish to thank you for your patriotism, cooperative spirit, and steady support over the course of the annual budget cycle.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: expressive (appreciating)
- (b) Indirect: assertive (saying)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: continual loyalty

Sentence B13

Locution: I must place on record the consummate and thorough manner in which the National Assembly has engaged with the Executive in our budget preparation, monitoring and implementation work.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: expressive (commending)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: continual support

Sentence B14

Locution: As I lay before you the 2009 Budget Proposal of the Federal Government of Nigeria for your consideration, I look forward to an expeditious passage, and even greater collaborative efforts in our joint effort to move our great nation forward into a more promising future.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: directive (requesting)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: cooperation

Sentence B15

Locution: I thank you most sincerely for your attention.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: expressive (appreciating)
- (b) Indirect: assertive (stating)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: approval

Sentence B16

Locution: May God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive (stating)
- (b) Indirect: directive (requesting)
- Expected Perlocutionary Effect: contentment

Discussion of the Results

Language, indeed, is a powerful weapon in getting to the political thoughts and ideologies of politicians; hence, the language use of Yar'Adua in performative-political speeches was analysed through two selected speeches in order to portray his thought in a particular context. The Speech Act theory was applied to the study of the speeches and it was discovered that the five categories of Searle's speech acts³⁰ manifested with verdictives category from Bach and Harnish³¹ were prominent in the speeches.

Most of the sentences in the Swearing-in Ceremony of New Ministers speech were assertive at 87.5%, and this is to say that most direct illocutionary acts of all the sentences in the extracted portion of the speech were assertive, while 37.5% of the sentences were declarative; these were employed by President to give the new ministers instructions and guidelines that would guide them in their different offices. In essence, the directive acts were used to inform and instruct the new ministers on what he expected from them (Table 1).

Table 1. *Analysis Text A (Swearing-in Ceremony of Ministers Speech)*

Speech Acts (Direct and Indirect)	Frequencies	Percentages
Assertives	14	87.5%
Directives	6	37.5%
Expressives	2	12.5%
Verdictives	2	12.5%
Commissives	2	12.5%
Declaratives	6	37.5%
Total No of Acts:	32	

In the Budget Speech, the sentences were 87.5% assertive, the President had prepared the Budget by stating the amount needed to run the fiscal year. The speech was characterized by sentences that were verdictives (18.8%), declaratives (31%), directives (18.8%), expressives (18.8%) and commissives (25%). The president performed the declarative speech acts in the process of assessing the financial situation of the country – Nigeria, while other speech acts were performed when he was appealing to the legislators for the approval of the budget, their support and cooperation. Through the commissive acts, they were assured of the executive's cooperation and unalloyed support to provide a better economy for the nation, despite unfavorable circumstances (Table 2).

30. Searle, *Speech Acts*.

31. Bach and Harnish, *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts*.

Table 2. *Analysis Text B (Budget Speech)*

Speech Acts (Direct and Indirect)	Frequencies	Percentages
Assertives	14	87.5%
Directives	3	18.8%
Expressives	3	18.8%
Verdictives	3	18.8%
Commisives	4	25%
Declaratives	5	31%
Total No of Acts:	32	

From the tables' results, it was realised that each of the sentences analysed comprised both direct illocutionary and indirect acts as demonstrated through the analysis. This showed that the President did more than saying or stating, in the process of making statements, various other speech acts were performed. The fact that all the sentences have both direct and indirect speech acts brought the total number of the illocutionary acts to sixty four, as derived from thirty two sentences. The indirect acts were mainly in the categories of directives, verdictives, commissives, expressives and declaratives.

In a global macro-speech act sense, the totality of the speeches selected and analysed in our data displayed efforts made by President Yar'Adua to exercise his authority in an acceptable and appealing manner. It was discovered from the overall relative frequency percentages (ORFPs) that the President had used mainly sentences that were assertive with 87.5% of the total sentences. This was far higher than the ORFPs for declarative acts which had a total of 34.4%. This was followed by directives at 28%, commissives at 18.8% while verdictives and expressives both had the least percentage at 15.6%. It was then apparent from the ORFPs that the President used these acts in this manner to show a peculiar style of civilian politicians by being assertive in most of the sentences in his speeches (Table 3).

Table 3. *Summary of the Tables A – B (ORFPs)*

Speech Acts (Direct and Indirect)	Frequencies	Percentages
Assertive	28	87.5%
Directive	9	28%
Expressive	5	15.6%
Verdictive	5	15.6%
Commissive	6	18.8%
Declarative	11	34.4%
Total No of Acts:	64	

The argument, in this paper, is that the macro speech act pattern, which is significant for meaning, is a product of epistemic, linguistic, social and physical contexts of the speeches. It is noteworthy that President Umaru Yar'Adua speeches are distinct from Military leaders' speeches. Military leaders make use

of sentences that are highly verdictive and directive. It was observed that the verdictive acts were due to the performative nature of the two speeches. Indeed, they were basically meant for assessing, and directives were mainly for appealing, and not commanding which is usually the case with the Military leaders' speeches.³² The context of democratic government is thus differentiated from military government through macro speech patterns of the leaders. Hence, the speech acts in the research portrayed President Umaru Yar'Adua as a political leader.

The use of sentences that were assertive by the President demonstrated ingenuousness and directness. One of the expected qualities of politicians is diplomacy; they hide their intentions by saying one thing and doing the contrary. President Umaru Yar'Adua speeches made in the course of performing constitutional duties were direct and clear with speech acts that could be easily identified. He employed the declarative acts to exercise his legitimate power and authority reposed in him as a democratically elected president. It was further discovered that democratic government places premium on people's interest. This fact was confirmed through the predominant speech acts in the analysis.

More interesting is the manner in which the various speech act features in the two speeches had the same percentages for assertives, commissives, expressives and declaratives, which were brought together in a cohesive relationship with one another to enhance meanings relevant to the context in the speeches. Despite the fact that the two speeches were presented on different occasions, they both share similar speech act patterns that were greatly influenced by the context of democratic government.

Indeed, participants, topic, setting, channel, code and message are the significant features of context.³³ It is on this premise that pragmatists pay attention to role of context in language use. For instance, the time of delivery of Budget Speech required that the President's employment of commissives and declaratives than directives, verdictives or expressives. It was a period of economic challenges that called for utterances that would create perlocutionary acts of motivation, acceptance, understanding, acceptance and hopefulness.

Conclusion

Context is very important in interpretation and identification of speech acts in discourses. The linguistic context alone does not succinctly provide for meaning. The paper is in line with Nouraldeen's submission that successful

32. Moses Ayeomoni, "Lexical Analysis of Select Political Discourses of Nigeria's Military Heads of State" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Ibadan, 2007).

33. Wale Oisanwo, *Introduction to Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics* (Lagos: Femolus-Fetop Publishers, 2003).

communication is assured when the hearer properly interprets two contexts: the discourse context, i.e., the information contained in the words, and the physical-social context, i.e., the hearer's knowledge of the speaker, environment, and circumstances', which makes meaning a resultant effect of information from both words and context.³⁴ Hence, the contribution of context to meaning is more pronounced in Pragmatics than any other linguistic or sub-linguistic field.

It is, therefore, obvious that the Speech Act theory is one of the reliable theories in pragmatics, which depends on context in interpreting and identifying acts. Its application to political discourses enhances a better understanding of political speeches and discourses. So, the theory of Speech Acts is strongly recommended for the analysis military leaders speeches in Nigeria. The study recommends a comparative analysis of performative and ceremonial political speeches of Presidents to investigate the speech act patterns.

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34. Nouraldeem, "Meaning and Context-Three Different Perspectives.

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Non-Traditional Motherhood in Contemporary Irish Film: Carmel Winters' Feature Film *Snap* (2010) and Her Short Film *Limbo* (2008)

Kira J. Collins*

This article will further develop E. Ann Kaplan's originally American categorisation of motherhood in media in order to outline two important maternal categories in contemporary Irish film: the woman who wants to be a mother and the regretting mother. In the last chapter of her book *Motherhood and Representation* Kaplan defines six maternal categories. According to her, these serve as a "basis for later researchers to argue from."¹ To further develop this foundation in an Irish context, a textual analysis of Carmel Winters' films *Limbo*,² and *Snap*³ will serve as a starting point in this article. Winters' complex female characters offer an especially valuable example of maternal representations in Irish film. The analysis will show how the woman who wants to be a mother in *Limbo* and the regretting mother of *Snap* need a more defined description of motherhood in film than Kaplan's categorisation offers. The woman who wants to be a mother in *Limbo* is positioned in a liminal space between old and new values, negotiating her maternal identity during a time of economic change in Ireland. A victim of sexual abuse, the regretting mother in *Snap* is unable to tolerate emotional or physical closeness, which is represented on screen through close-ups of hands. Society, however, blames the mother for the ills of her son who must also deal with the sexual abuse by his grandfather. The newly developed categories of the regretting mother and the woman who wants to be a mother show the necessity to adapt Kaplan's American categorisation to an Irish film context.

Introduction

While the Irish mother has always been a stock character of Irish cinema, contemporary Irish film offers surprisingly complex maternal characters such as the woman who wants to be a mother in Carmel Winters' short film *Limbo* (2008) and the regretting mother in her feature film *Snap* (2010). The textual analysis of these non-traditional maternal characters will show that it is necessary to further develop E. Ann Kaplan's categorisation of motherhood in American media in order to suit an Irish contemporary context. As her book *Motherhood and*

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1. E. Ann Kaplan, *Motherhood and Representation: The Mother in Popular Culture and Melodrama* (London: Routledge, 1992), 180.

2. Carmel Winters, *Limbo*, Film, 2008.

3. Winters, *Snap*, Film, 2010.

Representation was published in 1992 and refers to the developments in the 1980s, Kaplan merely outlined maternal discourses that developed during this time, indicating that her categorisation serves as a "basis for later researchers to argue from."⁴ Nevertheless, while limited, her research offers an incredibly rare and valuable account of maternal representations in contemporary film and can, therefore, not entirely be dismissed. Adjusting the categorisation to an Irish context, the complex maternal characters in Winters' films offer an especially valuable starting point from which Kaplan's definition can be further developed. Building on Kaplan's groundwork, scholarship from such feminist researchers as Clare O'Hagan, Rozsika Parker and Orna Donath will be applied to both films in order to understand the representation of Winters' complex maternal characters.

This article will firstly introduce the reader to Irish cinema in order to situate Winters' films in their wider context. It next outlines Kaplan's unique approach to categorising representations of motherhood, focusing in particular on the two categories that are most relevant for the films under discussion: the working mother and the absent mother. This introductory work will show that *Limbo* portrays a maternal character outside of Kaplan's categorisation that still has to be defined within the theory: the woman who wants to be a mother. While the maternal character in *Snap* incorporates aspects of the absent, working mother of Kaplan's categorisation, a more nuanced category is necessary to fully define the regretting mother's representation in Winters' film.

Irish Film

Since the 1990s, Irish cinema has become more transnational as tax incentives have lured international film companies into Ireland, supporting more mainstream film productions than in prior years. Increased international finance has also, however, brought a representational disadvantage as Martin McLoone states:

The danger is that, to attract financial support, such films propose a view of Ireland that is already familiar to international funders and which funders in turn believe audiences are likely to recognise and identify with.⁵

Such representations in mainstream Irish film include the Irish Mammy who is situated within the domestic sphere and closely linked to Irish nationalism as well as the Catholic Church.

4. Kaplan, *Motherhood and Representation*, 180.

5. Martin McLoone, *Irish Film. The Emergence of Contemporary Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 2000), 114.

While filmmaking in the Celtic Tiger period (mid-1990s to late 2000s) widely glosses over societal issues, focusing on representations of the middle-class, independent film productions still highlight working-class women and their struggles. It is important to note that these independent films are rather genre-driven in a European comparison and still highly influenced by American film, offering a solid basis to apply Kaplan's American categorisation. Nevertheless, these Irish, more indigenous productions offer a stage for culturally marginalised voices such as the non-traditional, regretting mother of *Snap*. Exploring the downside of the Celtic Tiger era and the disadvantaged members of Irish society, these independent films exist through television subsidies and the possibility to increase their audience by broadcasting not just in theatres but also on national television.⁶

Beside the feature film, the short film was and is an important medium in Irish film production. Especially during the years when the Irish Film Board was suspended, short films still offered an alternative, low-budget way of filmmaking. In Winters' short film *Limbo*, she is able to represent a character that is subsumed by her wish to mother, yet is seemingly physically not able to. As will be discussed below, the format of the short allows Winters' to represent this challenging depiction of motherhood for a national audience that is able to contextualise the narrative. Short films often reveal themselves as stepping stones for emerging artists and allow engagement with more radical ideas. "This is true, also for feminist cinema in general and even for the ability of women directors to break through into film-making at all."⁷ This trend is reflected in Winters' filmic career that started with the short film *Limbo* as well as the fact that both of her films allow marginalised voices of non-traditional mothers to emerge.

E. Ann Kaplan's Categorisation of Motherhood

In the final chapter of her book *Motherhood and Representation* Kaplan identifies six types of mothers who tend to emerge in American media in the 1980s: the Absent Mother, the Working Mother, the Abusive Mother, the Lesbian Mother, the Woman-Who-Refuses-To-Mother and the Self-Fulfilled Mother. These types are not always independent of each other and can be interwoven within their representation of the maternal character. Kaplan builds her categorisation on "data accumulated from representations in popular materials – in films and novels, but also in television programs, news articles, advertisements and

6. Ibid., *Irish Film*, 115; Ruth Barton, *Irish National Cinema* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 109, 186; Michael Patrick Gillespie, *The Myth of an Irish Cinema – Approaching Irish-Themed Films* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 55, 72.

7. McLoone, *Irish Film*, 160.

women's magazines."⁸ Two of the representations will be important for the analysis of *Limbo* and *Snap* – the working mother, and the absent mother. Therefore, while acknowledging the importance within film and media studies of Kaplan's insights into the diversity of maternal representations beyond traditional motherhood, this article will reconfigure these categories to address the newly emerging maternal representations in contemporary Irish film.

According to Kaplan, the working mother is represented as a single or married woman, and as a consequence, the cases of single motherhood exceed those of single fatherhood. In the 1980s, fear over diminishing traditional gender roles were part of the discourse about the working mother, highlighting the possible positive and negative effects on female children in particular. As a result, the desirability of the domestic role for women was highlighted in American maternal representations, underlining woman's ability to choose between working and stay-at-home motherhood. At the same time, articles in prominent publications such as the *New York Times*, discussed the difficulties working women had in being valued in the work place after having a child.⁹

The representation of the "Executive Mom" was criticised by American print media – such as the *Wall Street Journal* – as it misrepresents the task of combining work and motherhood as fairly easy, not acknowledging the difficulties mothers face in combining the two jobs. The depiction of beautiful – but not sexually attractive – mothers with happy babies encourages women to follow an ideal that, even though it looks effortless, requires hard work. The fact that the mother is represented as beautiful but not sexy, confirms Kaplan's finding that motherhood, work and sex are almost never combined in the maternal representation. Mothers either work or are able to be sexually active but not both.¹⁰ In contrast to the representation of the beautiful executive mother, the executive father is represented as powerful and sexy man.¹¹

Like the "Executive Mom," the "Super-Mom" is a working mother. But instead of equally focusing on career and motherhood, the Super-Mom concentrates on the development of her child by offering him or her the best education and nutrition. Her whole life is subsumed by the needs of the child. Films like *Baby Boom*¹² depict a satirical turn on the Super-Mom. Diane Keaton's character needs to give up her old ambitions in the city in order to find domestic bliss in the country side, ensuring a nuclear family setting and a small business instead of her old, demanding executive job.¹³

8. Kaplan, *Motherhood and Representation*, 180.

9. Ibid., 188.

10. Kaplan, "Sex, Work and Motherhood: The Impossible Triangle," *The Journal of Sex Research* 27, no. 3 (1990), 409-425.

11. Kaplan, *Motherhood and Representation*, 188.

12. Charles Shyer, *Baby Boom*, Film, 1987.

13. Kaplan, *Motherhood and Representation*, 188.

The absent mother presupposes a nurturing father as in the recent American sitcom *Baby Daddy*.¹⁴ He will be forced into the role of lone fatherhood by the departure (or sometimes death) of the mother and, as the protagonist of the story, will gain the sympathy of the audience. The mother, however, will later regret her maternal absence. This representational focus on the father mirrors the emerging recognition of parental care in American society during the 1980s. "[B]y 1988, Father's Day ads were as pervasive as Mother's Day ones, and featured more images of the Father holding a baby, sometimes with a daughter by his side, than had even been seen before."¹⁵ As in *Full House*,¹⁶ the absent mother and nurturing father are mostly portrayed within the genre of comedy, offering a light-hearted way to explore new structures of family settings.¹⁷

The Woman Who Wants to Be a Mother – *Limbo*

In 2008, Dublin's Darklight film festival challenged Irish filmmakers to produce a short film in the city in one day. In response, thirty filmmakers created an omnibus film that was edited by Lenny Abrahamson and Declan Lynch.¹⁸ One of these shorts is the six-minute long film *Limbo*, written and directed by Carmel Winters. The film portrays an afternoon in the life of a woman who tries to create the illusion of being pregnant. After buying a whole chicken from a butcher, she oils and powders it in a public toilet before strapping it around her belly. Now appearing pregnant, the woman walks to St. Stephen's Green park. Being fascinated by something in the pond, she walks into the water, finding a nappy pin while playing with the algae that surround her.

In his article "The Short Film in Irish Cinema," Conn Holohan proposes a differentiation between short film and feature film similar to the difference between short story and novel. Both stay in relation to each other, yet offer varying technical approaches. While the feature film is able to portray a variety of narrative strands that are representative of a wider reality, the short film is often limited to a singular narrative which transforms reality and is in need of an audience who is able to place this reality back into its historical context.¹⁹ Therefore, in keeping with Holohan, the audience of *Limbo* must be familiar with the reality of Ireland in 2008 in order to understand the deeper meaning of its metaphorical statement.

14. Dan Berendsen, *Baby Daddy*, TV Series, 2012-2017.

15. Kaplan, *Motherhood and Representation*, 184.

16. Jeff Franklin, *Full House*, TV Series, 1987-1995.

17. Kaplan, *Motherhood and Representation*, 184.

18. *Dublin: 4DayMovie 2008*. Retrieved from <https://4daymovie.wordpress.com> (accessed: March 2018).

19. Conn Holohan, "The Short Film and Irish Cinema," *Estudio Irlandeses* 4 (2009), 184.

In 2008, Ireland went into recession after a decade of unprecedented economic growth that was widely called the Celtic Tiger. Films set within the city during the Celtic Tiger era offered alternative representations outside of the nuclear family, such as lesbian motherhood in *Goldfish Memory*²⁰ and attributed female protagonists a liberal sexuality. However, during the recession, films responded to the emerging anxieties over these more liberal lifestyles. *Limbo* was one of the first manifestations in Irish cinema of those anxieties, which Rosa González-Casademont has argued in relation to 2008. The year "revealed not only the dire economic impact of the crash but also the repercussions of having discarded old certainties and cultural codes in the rushed process of modernization."²¹ The representation of the maternal protagonist of *Limbo* renegotiates stereotypical female roles in an urban setting, mirroring these anxieties.

By doing so, Irish film partially stands in line with the anxieties Kaplan describes in regards to the working woman in the 1980s in America. Fears over the loss of maternal care in society in order to facilitate women's career ambitions led to a reinforcement of female representations that highlight a maternal identity. In *Limbo*, the woman's wish to be a mother structures the short film's narrative and her identity is solely described as maternal. While the woman's employment status is not disclosed, the setting of urban Ireland just after the Celtic Tiger era positions her within this interpretation. While American film brings the domestic sphere into focus, *Limbo* negotiates the wish to mother within an urban setting, creating tension between the private and the public.

Limbo's opening sequence offers a visual metaphor for this tension. The audience is presented with a sign of a baby changing room, which shows a person taking care of a small child. The public area of the baby changing room becomes a secretive place for the woman who wants to be a mother in which she can act out her maternal dreams without judgement, oiling and powdering the dead chicken and strapping it close to her body. The baby changing room, therefore, symbolises a liminal space that introduces the private into the public. By doing so, the short film simultaneously introduces the idea of bringing Irish, historically rural, family values into the space of the city and causes the protagonist to focus on her maternal identity instead of work or sexuality.

Also, the public space of the park, to which she walks later, offers a private environment for the woman. Seemingly being the only visitor of the park during the rain, the woman stops at the pond, recognising something shiny in it. Without undressing, the woman walks into the pond to retrieve the shiny object. A close-up shot reveals it to be a nappy pin tangled in algae. After attaching the pin to her

20. Elizabeth Gill, *Goldfish Memory*, Film, 2003.

21. Rosa González-Casademont, "Representation of Family Tropes and Discourses in Contemporary Irish-Themed Cinema," in *Family and Dysfunction in Contemporary Irish Narrative and Film*, ed. Marisol Morales-Ladrón (Bern: Peter Lang, 2016), 276.

own dress, she starts to play with the weed in the pond. These visuals are accompanied by a mixture of fairy tale and lullaby-like sounds that hint at a stereotypical femininity attached to the maternal. At the same time, however, the woman's actions are turned into a grotesque representation of this stereotypical femininity, allowing the audience to question whether motherhood is ultimately desirable. *Limbo*'s protagonist, again, explores her maternal identity in a liminal space that introduces the private into the urban, public sphere and, therefore, symbolically to urban female identities that had tended to be represented in connection to sexuality instead of motherhood in the previous decade. The grotesque aspects of the representation of the woman who wants to be a mother, such as the dead chicken or the lullaby-like sounds, question the desirability and possibility for urban women to turn back to old values.

In this scene, a low camera angle and her willingness to walk into the pond and later barefoot connects the woman's maternal identity to nature. It hints at the patriarchal understanding of women as mothers as a result of their instincts that the feminist sociologist Nancy Chodorow questions.²² The grotesque representational aspects of the film reveal that also *Limbo* questions a naturally given wish to mother. On the one hand, the film questions a traditional understanding of the idea that the right place of woman is motherhood. On the other hand, it allows for a renegotiation of motherhood in the city centre. The representation, however, reduces the woman's ability to mother to a mere possibility as she is not represented with a real baby. The dead chicken, as substitute child, functions as manifestation of the possibilities that lie in the idea of returning to a traditional female role for women living in Dublin, after enthusiasm to access wider opportunities introduced by the economic boom was crushed.

The camerawork in *Limbo* supports this negotiation by being placed at the height of the woman's belly. On one hand, this reduces her further to her reproductive abilities. On the other hand, in association with the dead chicken, it detaches her from mere motherhood. The linkage between the dead object and the idea of life-giving reproduction indicates infertility and/or the possibility of a previously lost child. Therefore, the camera angle introduces another layer to the short's interpretation that, in combination with the urban setting, underlines the maternal inadequacy of urban women and their need to re-explore motherhood.

The urban woman's positioning in a liminal space between the private and the public as well as motherhood and non-motherhood is addressed by the short film's title, *Limbo*. In the Catholic belief limbo represents a liminal space between heaven and hell. It is rather close to hell but not quite as bad. Here, the woman's possible infertility and longing for motherhood at the start of the recession in Ireland signifies an age of transitioning between new and old values, re-

22. Nancy J. Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 13.

negotiating ones priorities. With the decline of the influence of the Catholic Church in Ireland, the family is no longer positioned between virtue and sin.²³ However, traditional notions are still embedded as in the representation of the woman who wants to be a mother in *Limbo*. Especially the representation of her wish to mother without a man is reminiscent of the idealised virgin birth that the Catholic Church celebrates, and detaches the modern, urban woman in *Limbo* from her own sexuality. Therefore, also the dead chicken becomes a liminal object that bridges her wish to mother and her empty womb, positioning her in limbo, awaiting an immaculate pregnancy. The atmosphere of death that surrounds the woman's pseudopregnancy highlights her emotional place close to hell in a grotesque version of a virgin birth.

As described, the narrative of *Limbo* merely introduces the female protagonist through her wish for motherhood. The woman is therefore given a maternal identity despite the fact that she is most likely not a mother. Winters' film depicts an ambiguous maternal representation that allows for multiple interpretations, incorporating elements of the tragic and the grotesque. The woman's representation as maternal without having a child, as well as the reference to the idea of motherhood as a natural state for women that is questioned by the film, highlights the return to a patriarchal imaginary in Irish cinema. Kaplan's maternal categorisation does not include a woman who wants to be a mother as it merely outlines the representation of women who are already pregnant or having children. The Irish short film, therefore, introduces an important new categorisation that is vital within an Irish film context at the start of the recession in 2008, communicating a renegotiation of traditional gender roles.

The Regretting Mother – *Snap*

Snap is a psychological drama that is directed and written by Carmel Winters. Flashbacks tell the story of Stephen (Stephen Moran) who kidnaps a toddler, Adam (Adam Duggan), from a public park and brings him back to his grandfather's (Pascal Scott) house, which is temporarily empty while his grandfather is in hospital. There he takes care of the child, bathing and feeding him, but at the same time feels increasingly overwhelmed by the experience. Through the interaction with the child, Stephen re-enacts his own childhood memories and reappraises his traumatic past. When his mother Sandra (Aisling O'Sullivan) figures out that Stephen is keeping a child hostage at her father's house, she informs the police and takes all the blame. However, Stephen admits to the crime shortly thereafter. Three years later, in the film's present moment, Sandra participates in a documentary to set the record straight about the events and to tell her side of the story. Through the montage of present and past

23. González-Casademont, "Representation of Family Tropes, 290.

footage,²⁴ the film slowly unfolds the family's trauma of sexual assault by the grandfather that motivates both Sandra's and Stephen's behaviour.

Snap portrays a maternal character who stages the conflict between maternal ideals and reality. While this article highlights the unique contextual elements of a very specific case of regretting motherhood in Irish cinema, the emergence of the regretting mother is generally visible in European cinema. While maternal regret is portrayed in a variety of contemporary Irish films, such as *Glassland* from 2015 by Gerard Barrett²⁵ and *Mammal* from 2016 by Rebecca Daly,²⁶ *Snap* offers one of the clearest recent example of a regretting mother in Irish cinema and attributes a lead role to the maternal figure. With these films, contemporary Irish cinema negotiates the depiction of the "bad" mother, while combining parts of Kaplan's maternal categorisation with new representational aspects. These Irish films contrast to the films Kaplan discusses especially in class terms. While Kaplan's grouping is based on white, middle-class mothers who benefit from a certain financial security, the Irish films portray regretting mothers from working-class backgrounds.

In contrast to Kaplan's working mother, Sandra's job does not seem too important to her, and instead functions as a financial necessity for the single-parent household. While she is indeed a working mother who gives her child into the care of her father, she does not pursue a career. Therefore, the sub-categories of the Executive Mom and Super-Mom do not apply to her because *Snap* clearly portrays the mother's hardship in combining motherhood and work. As this article will show, Sandra's absence due to her work commitments is one of the reasons she supposedly failed as a mother, misjudging the quality of care her father was able to give to her son. Therefore, the category of the absent mother will be explored further in conjunction with the role of the father later in this article.

Furthermore, the representation of work as a threat to the child stays in line with Kaplan's description of the fear of changing gender roles and can be understood, like the wish for motherhood in *Limbo*, as a re-negotiation of the domestic sphere during the Irish recession. As described in *Limbo*, also Clare O'Hagan states that there is a counter reaction in Irish society against progressive feminist ideas that blame feminists as well as working mothers for social

24. The cinematographer Kate McCullough skilfully blends different filmic techniques into a formal experiment of fragmented pieces that involve old family videos by the grandfather, new video footage by Stephen, photographs, a recording of a documentary and of course the actual feature film itself. This fragmentation creates an uncertain reality for the audience as it is not entirely clear whether Stephen's story depicts the actual events or portrays what his mother tries to create as the truth. Pauses, flashbacks as well as fast-forwards are a constant reminder for the audience that reality is constructed, not absolute and up for interpretation.

25. Gerard Barrett, *Glassland*, Film, 2015.

26. Rebecca Daly, *Mammal*, Film, 2016.

problems.²⁷ As in Kaplan's description of the working mother, this counter reaction hints at social anxieties surrounding the contemporary liberalisation of the mother's place in the home and her progression into becoming an active member of the public sphere respectively. In *Snap*, the mother's need for day-care due to work commitments opens up the opportunity for the child's mistreatment by his grandfather. Society blames the working mother for her son's concerning behaviour and ultimately sanctions her by forcing her into isolation instead of the two male perpetrators of the film; Stephen as the kidnapper and his grandfather as sexual predator. Therefore, it is implied in *Snap* that the old value of the stay-at-home mother could have prevented harm to the child.

In contrast to Kaplan's findings that motherhood, work and sex are not portrayed within one representation, *Snap* more or less combines the three aspects, even though they are based in a problematic narrative. Rosa González-Casademont writes in *Family and Dysfunction* that sexuality is not usually represented in Irish film, unless it has negative connotations.²⁸ In *Snap*, the regretting mother is indeed subjected to negative associations regarding sex in form of sexual assault and trauma. Sandra is only once shown to have sex when she sleeps with an older man whom she picks up at the fast food restaurant. Like all other sexual references, also this act is a reminder of the sexual assault by her father. In the scene, Sandra tries to keep in control demanding the older man to fully undress, to leave the light on and how to approach her. For a brief moment, Sandra allows the man to be embraced by her as he lies in her arm, but quickly feels disgusted by the physical closeness and throws him out of the apartment. The old man symbolises her father who sexually abused her in the past and over which she wishes to have power in order to escape her suppressed trauma.

Motherhood and sexuality do not exist harmoniously in *Snap* but collide with each other. Like sexuality is linked to trauma in *Snap*, it has "typically been linked to trauma, perversion, paedophilia, and social and political tension"²⁹ in Irish film. Sexual abuse is indeed the source of the mother's blame by society as it lead to Stephen's idea of kidnapping a toddler. He uses the child to partially re-enact non-sexual memories with his grandfather in the house, while watching old video tapes of the sexual assault in front of the toddler. Furthermore, the sexual encounter between Sandra and the man will be discovered by her repulsed son, creating more tension between the mother-son pair. Therefore, in *Snap* it is not the mother's house that is the "cradle of evil," as Sandra calls it ironically, but sexuality is as the source of Sandra's and Stephen's trauma.

27. Clare O'Hagan, *Complex Inequalities and "Working Mothers"* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2015), 13ff.

28. González-Casademont, "Representation of Family Tropes and Discourses in Contemporary Irish-Themed Cinema," 264.

29. Fintan Walsh, "Cock Tales: Homosexuality, Trauma and the Cosmopolitan Queer," *Film Ireland* 120, no. Jan./Feb. (2008), 16.

As mentioned, Sandra tries to gain control over her experience of sexual assault by re-enacting her own trauma as well as by participating in a documentary to tell her side of the kidnapping story. However, her attempt of gaining control ends in disappointment both times. She is unable to gain satisfaction by controlling the old man she sleeps with, and she realises that she ultimately has no control over the filmmaking process of the documentary.

This is especially visible when Sandra is supposed to re-record her formerly documented statements for the documentary. One of the filmmakers shows Sandra and her friend the footage on television to re-record the material. The footage is edited and shows a repeated shot of Sandra rubbing her hands between her legs in slow-motion, while talking about her son and father. She is shocked by her own words and the way the filmmakers edited her gestures, unknowingly hinting to her trauma. Sandra's inability to accept that she actually made certain statements in front of the camera and the realisation that it is impossible for her to create her own truth through the documentary makes her question the idea of setting the record straight via this approach. The fact that the documentary team consists of two men situates Sandra in a patriarchal power structure she wishes to escape as they have the final control over her voice. Therefore, despite Sandra's attempt to control the difficult situation of maternal blame by telling her side of the story, she is pushed back into an object position in which she is at the mercy of the male gaze.³⁰

The imbalance between appearance and perception depicts an influential motif in *Snap* that effects Sandra's misjudgements. Her ability to detach herself from her own past and inability to recognise herself in pictures or camera recordings underline the suppressed experiences. Because of the associated memory loss, she was able to give her son to her abusive father, suppressing the idea that he could also abuse a male child. The working mother is unable to see the tension between her own father and Stephen due to her own emotionally suppressive behaviour in regards to her traumatic experiences. In *Snap*, this leads to her emotional and physical rejection of her son as well as her regret to be a mother in general. Like Rozsika Parker explains in the context of maternal ambivalence, some mothers are reminded of their own childhood by interacting with their children. Therefore, spending time with their children depicts a struggle for those who do not want to re-live a trauma.³¹ Sandra's avoidance of Stephen as well as her inability to recognise herself in pictures and recordings serve Sandra in order to suppress her sexually abusive past and prevent her from having to deal with her memories.

Filming the documentary, she voices her regret of becoming a mother instead

30. Eileen Leahy, "Snap (Carmel Winters, 2010)," *Estudios Irlandeses - Journal of Irish Studies* 6 (2011).

31. Rozsika Parker, *Torn in Two. The Experience of Maternal Ambivalence* (Revised Ed. London: Virago Press, 2005), 209.

of a nun. In this monologue, she reveals that her identity circles around the Catholic ideals of womanhood – motherhood and being a nun.

Sandra I wasn't cut out to be a mother. Nothing personal, just... . You know what I wanted to be when I was a kid? A nun. You could see me, couldn't you? Swanning around in the bin-bag dress. Big fuck off cross guarding my tits.

Sandra expresses her childhood wish rather self-mockingly. While the camera zooms in on her eyes, she contemplates the just said before revising her words from "tits" to "chest" in order to sound more adapted to the audience's expectations. Sandra's wish to be a nun instead of a mother represents the Catholic binary roles of spiritual versus biological motherhood for women. An individuality outside of motherhood is not respected and does not seem to cross Sandra's mind in *Snap*. Her wish to be a nun, however, seems less of a fulfillment of her individual desires rather than a shelter from her sexually abusive past. The cross that guards her chest stands symbolically for the possibility of defending herself against her abuser, while the close-up on her eyes tell the audience that she believes to be incapable of this defense. Sandra's symbolic position within a patriarchal power structure of a Church that is infamous for its child abuse scandals in Ireland³² and a sexually abusive family make it impossible to attribute her the chaste individuality that would have come with being a nun, rendering this imagined scenario unreachable.

Sandra herself is portrayed within the realms of traditional Irish female roles that are strongly connected with nationalism and the Catholic Church. By withholding the revelation of a certain father figure, the reference to a possible virgin birth in *Snap* fits within the portrayal of the Irish mother which embodies motherhood and virginity at the same time, embracing a Catholic ideal of womanhood. However, while *Snap* refers to this stereotypical representation of the mother in Irish film that is mostly represented in transnational productions, *Snap* offers a more complex portrayal of the regretting mother. Sandra's rather harsh appearance refuses to fully mirror this maternal ideal that has an altruistic woman at its core. To a greater degree, Sandra's self-justifying attempt to rewrite her family's public reception as well as her hostile appearance embodies the idea of the feisty Irish woman – known from figures such as Mary Kate Danaher (Maureen O'Hara) in the movie *The Quiet Man*.³³

In this way, *Snap* can be found to flesh out the strong female characters of Irish cinema, with an intimation that Sandra's defensive aggression results from a past trauma. Her shades of the stereotypical feisty Irish colleen also suggest cinema's

32. Diarmaid Ferriter, *Occasions of Sin and Society in Modern Ireland* (London: Profile Books, 2009), 447.

33. John Ford, *The Quiet Man*, Film, 1952.

ambivalent relationship to such characters, fetishizing "the strong female while simultaneously working to undermine her."^{34,35}

Sandra represents a strong female character who continuously tries to make herself heard. However, her side of the story is undermined through the reaction of society, the fragmentation of footage as well as her inability to remember her own past.

Therefore, Sandra's wish not to mother is equally ignored by the people around her. As Sandra believes that motherhood is not her vocation, her deepest regret is that she actually had a child in the first place. She does not enjoy the contact with her son as she struggles to maintain any physical or emotional closeness to him, nor does she seem to regret giving up her first-born daughter. As Donath describes, it is important to divert from the idea that mothers always have a choice whether they want to mother, and to focus on their "'will,' 'desire,' 'orientation' and 'consent'" towards motherhood.³⁶ In *Snap*, Sandra clearly expresses her will not to mother. However, as she was more than likely forced to have sex with her own father without consent, she involuntarily became pregnant twice. While she gave her daughter for adoption, she decided to keep her son, regretting her decision later. Therefore, Sandra's subjective ideal lies in non-motherhood, while the social order of a patriarchal society takes the woman's agency over her own body, forcing her into motherhood.

While Sandra is forced to mother in a patriarchal society, she struggles to fit into the concept of, what Ahmed denotes, "respectable femininity" which is associated with the "capacity to touch and be touched by others."³⁷ The continuous motif of hands that do not want to be touched or touch another person symbolise a disconnection between mother and son, but also between grandfather and son as well as grandfather and mother. The gesture of the hands, mostly shown in close-ups, reveals the suppressed problematic past to the audience even before the abuse by the grandfather on daughter and grandson is revealed. The fact that Sandra is not capable of touching her son, without feeling repulsed, disconnects the idea of unquestioned maternal care from the regretting mother. In order to survive, Sandra has to suppress her trauma and keep her distant from her son. This behaviour stands outside of the popular societal ideal of an altruistic, caring mother which is why Sandra is blamed for her son's misbehaviour and positions her outside of a "respectable femininity" in *Snap*.

The reinforcement of patriarchal power structures by Irish society pushes the

34. Barton, "Maureen O'Hara: Pirate Queen, Feminist Icon?" *Éire-Ireland* 41, no. 1&2 (2006), 145.

35. Leahy, "Snap" (Carmel Winters, 2010).

36. Orna Donath, "Choosing Motherhood? Agency and Regret within Reproduction and Mothering Retrospective Accounts," *Women's Studies International Forum* 53 (2015), 201.

37. Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 124.

regretting mother into a maternal role she does not want to embrace. Society only blames the mother for Stephen's behaviour and, therefore, for her misjudgement to give Stephen into his grandfather's care. This stands in line with Rozsika Parker's description that "the dominant cultural belief is that mothers do indeed entirely determine the personality of their children. 'Mother blaming' is a symptom of the power vested in mother"³⁸ by, in this case, Irish society and the lingering teachings of the Catholic Church. Neither does the actual abuser receive any blame in *Snap*, nor does society blame the sexual predator for forcing Sandra into motherhood in the first place. Sandra's maternal regret, that is magnified through her position as scapegoat in the public eye, is rooted in the abuse she experienced as a child rather than the overwhelming experience of maternal responsibilities.

The accepted understanding of womanhood by society portrayed in *Snap* does include caring women who want to mother but does exclude a regretting mother who admits her negative feelings towards her children openly. While Sandra does not seem to regret giving up her daughter – this may be because she did not want to mother a female child, or because of the possible threat of sexual abuse by her father –, she is aware that other people do not understand her rejection of the child. At the same time, Sandra knows about the advantage she can gain as a mother, pretending she misses her daughter.

Sandra You know the funniest thing? They loved me when they thought it was me who did it. They fucking idolised me. "In your own time, Sandra. In your own words." Anyone would think I was the long lost child. Poor old ban-garda was in floods. I fed her all about the kid I had to give up, how the kid in the park reminded me of it.

Sandra claims in front of the police that she had to give up the child, implying that this was against her will. The audience, however, later learns that it was Sandra's decision not to mother her daughter. Recording the documentary, Sandra mocks the fact that society meets a mother who kidnaps a child in order to give maternal care with understanding but blames a mother who did not actually do the crime.

This blame reinforces the regretting mother to stay within the sphere of the home instead of allowing her to break out of the forced role of motherhood. This re-enforcement of the private over the public stays in line with the treatment of non-traditional mothers in Ireland. Historically in Ireland, single motherhood was made the focal issue over sexual misconduct by men and priests. Single mothers were blamed for sexual activities and contained within religious institutions, such

38. Parker, *Torn in Two*, 259.

as the Magdalene Laundries.³⁹ In *Snap*, Sandra is blamed for her father's misconduct and her confinement to the impersonally furnished apartment represents Ireland's containment culture and the recent practice of institutionalisation. Within the domestic sphere in-between spaces of the house, such as balcony and hallway, become a way to express her frustration over this confinement and over the societal pressure into a role she does not want to fulfil. In order to resist against the maternal blame, Sandra aggressively throws unwanted items, such as burned hate mail or alcohol that threatens her abstinence as an alcoholic, into these half-public spaces. As described in this article, Sandra struggles with the domestic but also with the public sphere, as she is forced by society to stay within the former, while receiving blame in the latter.

Historically, the role of the father in Irish cinema is reduced to a non-powerful, abusive figure. As McLoone notes "very often [...] the crisis of identity faced by the young protagonist is exacerbated by the fact that one of the parents is missing and, in the case of the father, is either dead or hopelessly ineffectual."⁴⁰ This common ineffectiveness in the representation of the father developed due to the disempowerment of the Irish through the colonization by the English as well as later the symbolical removal of the father as head of the family by the priest as new authoritative entity.⁴¹

As mentioned, it is suggested that Sandra's father could also be the father of Stephen. The only suggested alternative father figure for Stephen could be a random man Sandra picked up for a one-night-stand, just like the man from the fast food shop. However, Stephen's grandfather remains the only paternal figure present in Stephen's life. His role, however, is more complicated than merely a representation of the disempowered, ineffectual Irish male. Even though his actual time on screen is limited as well as characterised by a weak physique due to his hospitalisation, his influence on Sandra and Stephen through the induced trauma is crucial to their behaviour. Therefore, he rather represents the patriarchal power structure that is upheld by the Catholic Church as well as the ongoing sexual abuse within Catholic institutions. As . explains in *Estudio Irlandeses* about the role of Stephen's grandfather:

...his status as patriarch in the film, reconfigures this Catholic idea by invoking the essential "incestuous edge" of oedipal conflicts at the heart of Irish national identity. [Snap] engages the familiar tropes of Irish dysfunctional families, child abuse and the malign pervasiveness of the past through our present life.⁴²

39. James M. Smith, "The Politics of Sexual Knowledge: The Origins of Ireland's Containment Culture and the Carrigan Report (1931)," *Journal of History of Sexuality* 13, no. 2 (2004), 221.

40. McLoone, *Irish Film*, 174.

41. González-Casademont, "Representation of Family Tropes, 260.

42. Leahy, "Snap (Carmel Winters, 2010).

This coming to terms with the past is significant to understand the role of the father in *Snap* and needs to be taken into account when creating a new categorisation of regretting motherhood in addition with Kaplan's groundwork on the absent mother. The fact that Sandra is working makes her a temporarily absent mother in accordance with Kaplan's categorisation who gives the responsibility of caring to her father. Sandra's emotional and partially physical absence as mother as well as her father's behaviour, however, divert from Kaplan's categorisation. While Kaplan introduces the concept of the nurturing father as a result of an absent mother, Sandra's refusal to mother does not lead to the representation of a caring father. Instead the parental figure exploits the child by sexually molesting Stephen. Furthermore, unlike in American film, Sandra never regrets her maternal absence as she suppresses the knowledge of the previous sexual assault as well as the idea that her father could do the same with her male child. In contrast to American film, in this Irish film the partially physical and emotional absent mother is not located within the genre of comedy which allows the father to explore his new parenting role. Instead the narrative is situated within a dark psychological drama that explores the trauma of sexual assault inflicted by mostly Catholic institutions in Ireland's recent past.

Conclusion

While Kaplan's seminal categorisation of motherhood offers a valuable starting point to analyse newly emerging maternal characters in Irish film, a more comprehensive observation of these new categorisations are of importance. Therefore, this article proposed the complex maternal characters of Carmel Winters' films as basis of an exploration of the woman who wants to be a mother and the regretting mother as new categorisations in contemporary Irish film.

The woman who wants to be a mother in *Limbo* manifests anxieties that had arisen in Ireland with the recession of 2008. New values of sexually liberal and working women were questioned and old values of motherhood re-introduced to the urban sphere of Dublin. This trend mirrors the anxieties and ensuing representations of the desirability of the domestic Kaplan describes in relation to the working mother in American film. *Limbo* represents this tension between the private and the public via the baby changing room and the private atmosphere in the public park St. Stephen's Green. Both spaces as well as the woman's pseudopregnancy situate the woman who wants to be a mother within a liminal space that resembles the concept of limbo – the film's title. The inanimateness of the chicken, which functions as substitute foetus, hints towards the possibility of infertility and turns the maternal representation into a grotesque version of a pregnancy that questions the desirability of motherhood for urban women. As the representation of women living in Dublin focused on their sexuality instead of their maternal identity in the previous

decade, also the urban woman who wants to be a mother in *Limbo* is still somewhat detached from motherhood. While the influence of the Catholic Church in Ireland declined, traditional influences are still represented within the maternal characters of both films discussed in this article. The maternal ideal of a virgin birth is implied in *Limbo* and situates the mother within a long tradition of maternal representations in Irish film.

The regretting mother in *Snap* negotiates maternal ideals and reality. While the working mother in Kaplan's description easily combines motherhood and work, the regretting mother in *Snap* struggles with this combination. While work for the working mother is desirable, work for Sandra is a financial necessity and one of the reasons why she supposedly failed in her role. Due to her work commitments Sandra is forced to give her child into the care of her father which makes her a temporarily absent mother in line with Kaplan's categorisation. However, the regretting mother neither regrets her absence, nor does the substitutional father figure gain the sympathy of the audience. He rather abuses the child and represents Ireland's dark history of sexual abuse in the family and by Catholic institutions. Like in other Irish films that focus on regretting mothers, such as *Glassland* and *Mammal*, *Snap* is a dark psychological drama that negotiates a trauma of the Irish nation – in this case sexual abuse. The sexual trauma leads to the regretting mother's suppression of the past, her inability to emotionally connect to her son, and her maternal regret is ultimately rooted in the abuse rather than in unwanted maternal responsibilities. Therefore, in *Snap* sexuality is represented negatively like in many other Irish films. Sandra repeatedly tries to gain control over her situation. However, her positioning within a patriarchal society that blames the mother for her son's misbehaviours makes it impossible to attribute her any agency. She stands outside the respected definition of femininity that is able to give love to others and is, therefore, blamed by society which ultimately confines her to the domestic sphere. As in *Limbo*, in *Snap*, the regretting mother embodies a tension between the private and the public, mirroring anxieties around changing gender roles and re-negotiating the country's values in an urban setting. She portrays aspects of the feisty Irish colleen who tries to take control over her own story but will ultimately realise the importance of reflecting on the self instead. The use of fragmented footage as well as the control by the male narrator of the documentary pieces and old home-movie footage makes it difficult to fully attribute Sandra her own voice. Reality becomes uncertain and the mother's identity struggles between her own perception of the events and their actual appearance on the screen ultimately controlled by men. She understands womanhood merely within the binary understanding of the Catholic Church in which either motherhood or being a nun are acceptable options. Sandra, however, never seemed to be in charge of this binary choice and is forced into motherhood by a patriarchal society in *Snap*.

The two new categories of motherhood explored in this article – the woman who wants to be a mother and the regretting mother – show the necessity of

adapting Kaplan's categorisation to an Irish context. The intersectionality of the groupings remains important as categories often overlap. For example, the regretting mother in *Snap* incorporates aspects of the absent as well as the working mother. Further research, involving films outside of Winters' corpus, will be important in the future to broaden the definition of these two categories of motherhood in Irish film to gain a deeper understanding of these two newly emerging categorisations in line with Kaplan's original groundwork.

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