FRONT COVER

Yahor Azarkevich

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Groundings

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Editorial

Now in its 11th successful year of publication, *Groundings* has invited writers and editors to reflect on the theme 'Death, Synthesis, and Disruption'. In a year marked by global and civil divisions—exemplified by the Rohingya Crisis, Catalan Independence Referendum, and Trump's wall—*Groundings* negotiates questions of unity and borders; while coming to terms with, and challenging, notions of loss and grief. An interdisciplinary exploration of the theme is therefore fitting, and writers have responded from varying perspectives. Consequentially, Volume XI contains a diversity of articles concerning topics from Burmese national identity within literature; the crisis of America political ideology; to the Windrush generation's influence on English society, amongst others. This is not, however, to limit this theme to inter-human connection, but this year's publication also extends this to the non-human: an article exploring the synthesis between the natural world and humanity is pertinent following the US's announced departure from the Paris Treaty and the three hottest years on record. The articles published in this year's journal all, to some extent, respond or challenge ideas in their respective fields.

After an overwhelming response from applicants, Volume XI includes more articles than ever before; aiming to showcase the range of academic excellence Glasgow University has to offer. Articles have been selected with an eye to developing research in their given fields, and are written by a selection of authors from all years of undergraduate study. Through this, *Groundings* continues to nurture undergraduate research, and is proud to offer valuable contributions to academic debate.

Groundings would, as ever, be impossible without the immense support from the academic advisory board, Dialectic Society, and all those who submitted papers for the journal. Our sincere gratitude goes out to all those who assisted with this year's publication, with a particular nod to Fraser McGowan for his invaluable guidance. It is our hope that Volume XI progresses *Groundings*'s objective to inspire students and promote academic thought.

Groundings Editorial Board

Sensual engagement as synthesis with the natural world in Arundhati Roy and Ali Smith

Billie Armstrong

Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things* and Ali Smith's *Autumn* are ecologically engaged works of fiction which can be said to endorse a synthesised mode of existence with the natural world. By drawing contrasts between engaged sensory perception and hidebound human conceptualisations of the world, Roy and Smith highlight how the latter are often informed by fear of the unknown. In *the Spell of The Sensuous*, David Abram awakens us to the ecological importance of synthesis with the natural world through sensory experience, which has largely been abandoned as a mode of perception in favour of modern, human-centric modes of living. Roy and Smith create moral distinctions among characters according to their relationship with the natural world, and drawing on Abram's illuminating acknowledgement of sensory perception, this article explores how such distinctions establish an aspiration towards a new ecological and political ethic which is grounded in empathy and respect for all matter that humans encounter.

Ali Smith's *Autumn* (2016) and Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things* (1996) are novels in which sensual engagement is portrayed as a unique mode of human access to the natural world. Sensory perception appears to be privileged over language as a mode of synthesising human experience and natural matter, as "things" transcend the notion of being as linguistically or conceptually defined by humans. In *The Spell of the Sensuous*, David Abram draws on the phenomenology and philosophy of Maurice Merleau-Ponty to describes the act of sensual engagement with the material world as a "ceaseless dance between the carnal subject and its world", alluding to the participation of both the human and the material in sensual perception.[1] His argument that the material world, or "things", are as much complicit in the act of sensory perception as the human vessels who receive them is part of a wider case for a renewal of felt human connection with the natural world whereby we understand ourselves to be a component of the material world, rather than regarding this world as an external object of our will and exploits. In these novels, Roy and Smith present a relationship in which this kind of synthesised sensory exchange between characters and the natural world is explored; they use this engagement with the senses and the natural world to ground their rejection of the world as a set of "human" political and social constructs.

In *Autumn*, Smith deals with the topical political narrative surrounding Brexit. The "present" sections of the novel are set in the weeks following Britain's decision to leave the EU, and through the disengagement with human constructs both social and conceptual the novel interrogates the divisive attitudes which led to this decision. This political focus plays a key part in her wider questioning of the human tendency to conceptually divide. The characters whose experiences form the majority of the novel, Elisabeth and Daniel, are presented as having an elevated consciousness because of their ability to transcend boundaries and engage on an acute sensory level with the language and material matter they encounter. The sensually engaged way in which Daniel and Elisabeth view the world disengages with any fixed concepts of time, place and boundaries. Smith attempts to show how such fixed concepts extend to unjust human hierarchies, which are grounded in human privilege and are ultimately a manifestation of fear of thinking outside human boundaries. Abram points to objective

BILLIE ARMSTRONG is a fourth-year student at the University of Glasgow studying towards an honours degree in English Literature, with plans to pursue a postgraduate study focusing on ecology in culture and literature.

[1] David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 65.

scientific method as an approach that disengages from understanding the world phenomenologically and which places humans hierarchically above non-humans. Even within this though, there are humans who are associated more closely with the non-human, and are thereby disempowered within human culture: the result is a generalised fear both of "disordered experience" and of an "other" that might equal sentience, and therefore equal rights to protection, as ourselves:

> Arguments for human specialness have regularly been utilized by human groups to justify the exploitation not just of other organisms, but of other humans as well (other nations, other races, or simply the 'other' sex)[…] Such justifications for social exploitation draw their force from the prior hierarchicalization of the natural landscape, from that hierarchical ordering that locates "humans", by virtue of our incorporeal intellect, above and apart from all other, "merely corporeal" entities.[2]

This "human specialness" that Abram essentially rejects provides the crucial intersection between eco-politics and human politics in these texts. To understand the world sensually is to accept that interaction with all life, be that other humans, animals, or material "things", is to be part of a synthesised exchange of sensual energy rather than an objective exchange between sensor and inanimate subject. Thus, we see how "such hierarchies are wrecked by any phenomenology that takes seriously our immediate sensory experience".[3] Roy and Smith create character binaries which represent opposing modes of human perception in order to show how a lack of sensual awareness and synthesised experience with natural matter—which is grounded in fear—results in a lack of empathy or regard for that which is alien or unknown, be that the natural world or people.

In *God of Small Things*, Roy presents the experience of an Untouchable in Kerala who himself is extremely engaged sensually, and in ways able to transcend his position in society through his deep understanding of "things". Roy sets up an opposition between Velutha's sensual self and the conceptualised prejudices which seek to destroy him. Baby Kochamma is the character antitheses to Velutha in that she engages with people and "things" around her in the most mediated way possible. Even her engagement with the natural world is one mediated by western culture and objective human relations with the natural world; she previously was known for her garden which she rigorously maintained in India, after receiving her horticultural college education in America. She allows this garden to lay waste when she discovers a new vessel to connect her with Western culture: the television. She is content to have her emotions and desires manipulated by the television, an object that represents the safety and dominance of human technology to her. It renders the vastly complicated world small and familiar to her, she can access the western cultures she aspires so deeply to emulate with the flick of a button. She locks her windows and doors to protect her material possessions from thieves; through this paranoid action Roy implies that Kochamma's fixations arise from fear rather than fascination. Her paranoia represents a fear of difference infiltrating her familiar space of carefully upheld social values and western worship. We often glimpse this fear of difference and how it extends to a fear of the natural world:

> Baby Kochamma was in her room, sitting up in bed, filling in a Listerine discount coupon that offered a two-rupee rebate on their new 500ml bottle […] Giant shadows of small insects swooped along the walls and the ceiling. To get rid of them Baby Kochamma had put out the lights and lit a large candle in a tub of water. The water was already thick with singed carcasses.[4]

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[2] Ibid, 48.

[3] Ibid, 48.

[4] Arundhati Roy, *The God of Small Things* (London: Flamingo HarperCollins, 1997), 296.

Here, the stark contrast between the way she engages with the mundane consumerist coupon scheme and the way she immediately perceives "small" things to be sinister—she doesn't hesitate to subject the insects to a brutally depicted death—shows how she cuts off her own participation in the animated conversation with the world. She chooses a mediated notion of the world, in which unruly nature is relegated in favour of the security of technology, and social position. In relation to Abram, who notes:

> We conceptually immobilize or objectify the phenomenon only by mentally absenting ourselves from this relation, by forgetting or repressing our sensuous engagement. To define another being as an inert or passive object is to deny its ability to engage us and to provoke our senses; we thus block our perceptual reciprocity with that being.[5]

Baby Kochamma rejects the unpredictable "life world" in favour of a world in which material things and people are conceptualised for her through cultural and social archetypes. We see that her hierarchy of things, demonstrated by her affiliation with cream buns and Listerine, and her aversion to insects, extends to humans. She holds Sophie Mol—a child who she has never met and has no emotional connection to in terms of reciprocal experience—in inordinate esteem because of what she represents: that is, her own connection to the western world and the colonial authority that this relation ties her to. Estha and Rahel, on the other hand, are subject to her mistreatment, manipulation, and suspicion because they represent the shame of Ammu's failed marriage; a social ill which she cannot overlook. She disengages with them because they do not fit her socially ambitious principles, and therefore they instill fear in her because of the disorder they represent under her own roof. Crucially, she overlooks Velutha as an equal human being altogether because of his socially conferred status as an untouchable; as such she feels no obligation to consider him with mutual human compassion or regard. Baby Kochamma demonstrates the wider implications of a lack of sensual engagement with the "life world" on its own terms. By viewing the world through her adopted concepts and social hierarchies, she chooses to disengage with the sentience of other beings and people. Her view of them as other beings in conceptual terms becomes a justification of her treatment of everything and everyone around her as objects for her exploitation and manipulation.

Velutha presents the character antitheses to Baby Kochamma. He is markedly sensual, he has an intimate and visceral relationship with the natural, material world in the text. He demonstrates an acutely aware relationship with natural matter, "[…] he always seemed to know what smooth shapes waited inside the wood for him. They loved the way wood, in Velutha's hands, seemed to soften and become as pliable as Plasticine."[6] This instance in which the wood seems to transcend its material composition when touched by Velutha, and the idea of formed shapes "waiting" in the wood for him emblematises the kind of synthesis with the natural world that Roy advocates and suggests the kind of reciprocal relationship between human and "thing" that Abram describes: "Perception in this sense, is an attunement or synchronization between my own rhythms and the rhythms of the things themselves, their own tones and textures."[7] This attunement that Velutha exhibits with things allows him to transcend boundaries both material and human; his deft craftsmanship allows him to be employed in Mammachi's factory, which is considered "a big step for a Paravan," and it is through sensual attraction that he transcends the social boundary between himself and Ammu.[8] As he emerges from the water to meet Ammu in this erotically charged depiction of their meeting on the riverbank, Roy refers back to his reciprocal relationship with things, and his synthesis with the natural world as the markers of his beauty: "the world they stood in was his. That he belonged to it. That it belonged to him. […] He moved so easily through it. As she watched him she understood the quality of his beauty. […]

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[5] Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous*, 56.

[6] Roy, *The God of Small Things,* 79.

[7] Abrams, *The Spell of the Sensuous*, 54.

[8] Roy, *The God of Small Things,* 77; *Paravan* is another word for the untouchable caste in Kerala.

it according to human social conceptions, signalling a lack of ability to engage with the unfamiliar.[13] Daniel, on the other hand, instills in Elisabeth a mode of being and thinking that is insatiably curious and drawn to unfamiliarity. Elisabeth is a child on the cusp of adopting the closed and non-associative worldview of her mother, one which subscribes to the idea of a singular truth: "There is no point in making up a world, Elisabeth said, when there's already a real world."[14] Daniel responds by encouraging her to view the world as a continuum of varying perspectives rather than as a linear structure which holds a singular truth: "Whoever makes up the story makes up the world, Daniel said, so always try welcome people into the home of your story."[15] Thus, we see the terms in which Daniel and Elisabeth come to view the world around them: as a story which does not give narrative privilege to any one truth or being.

This non-entitled view can be extended to the way they view nature: their perception of the world as a highly animated one is intimately reciprocal. Whilst her mother is engrossed in a TV show in which celebrities are being interviewed whilst being driven in vintage cars, Elisabeth fixates on the cow parsley that lines the road. While the cow parsley is "incidental" to the focus of the show—the aggrandised humans in the vintage car—it takes on profound meaning for Elisabeth, not despite this but because of it: "this incidentality is, Elisabeth finds herself thinking, a profound statement.[…] The cow parsley has a language of its own, one that nobody on the programme or making the programme knows or notices is being spoken."[16] At this stage she cannot articulate to herself what this profound quality is, but she is able to engage with the idea that Abram posits about the natural, material world: the incidental subject of her perception is in fact an active entity with a life force—a language—of its own. Later, she revisits the house which has been vandalised with the words "GO HOME"—an example of the aggressive and racially divisive attitudes towards immigrant families which gained momentum in Britain after the vote to leave the EU—to see a defiant response: "she sees that underneath this someone has added, in varying bright colours, WE ALREADY ARE HOME THANK YOU and painted a tree next to it and a row of bright red flowers underneath it."[17] The implication that "home" is not something that can be defined by birthplace, immigrant status, or, in a wider sense, by manmade borders of place; Smith highlights the human feelings of entitlement to space that impels this kind of hostility towards immigrants in the first place. The human imperative to divide, conceptualise and "claim" space is a fundamentally hubristic and anthropocentric one. The painted response is as much sensual as it is verbal to Elisabeth. The painted red flowers spark a memory of the cow parsley and a Pauline Boty painting in her head, and at this point she begins to make vital connections between sensual engagement and the space she inhibits:

> thinking about cow parsley, the painted flowers. Something about the use of colour as language, […] the wild joyful brightness painted on the front of that house in a dire time, alongside the action of a painting like that one by Boty, in which a two-dimensional self is crowned with sensual colour.[18]

Elizabeth begins to see the vitality of the senses to human experience; they offer infinite dimension compared to human constructs like self as well as language. As she makes these connections, "it is the first time she's felt like herself for quite some time" and it is at this point of unbounded synthesis with the natural matter around her that she is confronted by a literal human constructed border in the form

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[13] Ali Smith, *Autumn* (London: Penguin Books, 2017), 83.

[14] Ibid, 119.

[15] Ibid, 119.

[16] Ibid, 131.

[17] Ibid, 138.

[18] Ibid, 138.

of electrified fences.[19] She walks alongside the fences, noticing the "weed and flower comeback is everywhere" as if the land itself is actively resisting these divisive, manmade, chain-link structures.[20] A black SUV blocks her path and the man inside accuses her of trespassing on private land, to which she responds by undermining and questioning all of his authorial threats: "You're in direct contravention. He says. Of what? Elisabeth says. And whatever you say I'm in. Well. It looks like from here you're in prison."[21] Through Elisabeth's tongue-in-cheek responses, Smith is able to question the assertive nature of authority over space itself, and in relation to the ecological context of the novel this further suggests that human divisions of space are restrictions on freedom. The suggestion that he is in prison is a literal reference to the fences they have enclosed the land with, but also suggestive of the conceptual prison that this authoritative figure is in; he is cold and disengaged through his authorial feelings of responsibility over the space. Smith raises the ecological question of anthropocentric versus bio-centric "claim" to land through synthesised exchange. We see the predatory intentions of the authorial figure, who has legal claim to the land but no sensual connection to it. He is physically separated from it by his vehicle—a man-made "middle man" in the human navigation of space—and views it as external matter that can be divided by fences in order to reinforce his authority over it. This is contrasted to the bio-centric claim of the unauthorised walker who engages with it on a reciprocal, sensual basis. Smith seems to allude to the privilege of this sensual experience of the land. The man makes various threats but takes no physical measures to forcibly remove Elisabeth. The passage closes with the land becoming an active presence in their "saying nothing", returning to Elisabeth's notion of the cow parsley's profound "incidentality": "The little white flowers is the tops of their stalks, she doesn't know what they are but they're saying their fresh nothing. The buttercups say it merrily. The gorse says it unexpectedly, a bright yellow nothing."[22] It is here we see how Smith demonstrates Abram's notion that to sensually engage is to be in conversation. The senses become Elisabeth's mode of access to the world around her: Smith's use of vivid adjectives to describe the way in which the flora say "nothing", and indeed the description of "*nothing*" as "bright yellow", implies that nothing is in fact something, and that the flowers are speaking a language that can only be sensed, not rendered by language.[23] Thus, by privileging Elisabeth's sensuous experience with the land, it can be seen how Smith strives for an ecological ethic which is grounded in synthesised experience with the natural world, through the senses. It is by becoming attuned to her innate mode of perception that Elisabeth is able to question the human constructs that restrict her freedom on the land. When she connects the painted flowers outside the vandalised home to the cow parsley in order to show how sensuality is communicative, she implies that the human claim to land should be less to do with border drawing and whose "HOME" is where, and more inclined towards synthesised and sensual engagement with the natural matter in space.

In engaging in synthesis with matter, as Abram suggests, we are more inclined to overcome our constructed concept of space as an inanimate set of resources. *Autumn* presents natural matter and human life within the field of this matter as a constantly regenerating continuum of sensory experience and connection. We see Daniel in hospital in a kind of in-between life and death state throughout the novel, and occasionally enter the thoughts that are taking place inside his head. In one instance, he asks "God" to remind him of his sister's name, and he receives a reply from "the silence". This "silence" goes on to describe itself as all the matter that has ever existed and all the matter that ever will exist; "the silence" is in fact the synthesised energy of all matter, it claims to be "all the leaves". The "silence" that speaks to Daniel, and the "bright yellow *nothing*" that speaks to Elisabeth is a shared

[19] Ibid, 139.

[20] Ibid, 140.

[21] Ibid, 140.

[22] Ibid, 143.

[23] My emphasis.

energy with matter, and as engaged individuals they are attuned to silent language of the senses. Like Velutha's belonging to the world which belongs to him in *God of Small Things*, Smith presents their sensual awareness as a kind of oneness with the space that they inhibit. These characters' relationships with the natural world embody an active combination of what Merleau-Ponty refers to as "the flesh of the World", and David Abram's notion of "Spell of the Sensuous."[24] As such, these texts show how through unmediated synthesis with the natural world we can hope to overcome the damaging implications that human imposed "love laws", constructs and hierarchies have both on our human relations and our collective "home". ■

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[24] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible,* trans. Alphonso Lingis (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1968).

"At its best […] Imagist poetry is about […] the porous threshold between inner and outer, abstract and concrete, the intimate and the glitteringly impersonal" (McGuiness). How does the liminal operate in H.D.'s "Garden" and "Eurydice", and to what effect?

Siofra Dromgoole

This essay proposes that the way H.D.'s poetry negotiates gender is possible by means of her liminal poetics. After discussing Turner's concept of liminality and its pertinence to H.D., it will look at how her poetics can be considered liminal; simultaneous to evolving an understanding of what a liminal poetics might be. It will use Barthes's *The Pleasure of the Text* to argue that in "Garden" and "Eurydice", H.D. disrupts the reader's expectations of poetry—and thus attempts to disrupt their relations with the world.

Diane Collecott writes that H.D.'s poetry "negotiates gender, sexuality [and] lesbian poetics as well as literary tradition."[1] This essay will argue that these negotiations are achieved by means of the liminal poetics of H.D.'s poetry, the "porous threshold" her writing creates. I will first clarify how "liminal" will be defined within this essay, by contextualising it within the content of H.D.'s poetry. I will then explore the idea of liminal poetics, and how they operate within H.D.'s poetry. Finally, I will examine what these liminal poetics achieve in her poetry, arguing that this porous threshold unsettles the reader, creating a "site of loss" that disrupts and ruptures the reader's relation to the text.[2] H.D.'s use of liminal poetics creates a liminal moment—and in doing so allows her to use the space to challenge notions of gender and sexuality.

This essay will focus on only two of H.D.'s poems, though it will use others to illuminate my arguments. I have chosen to concentrate on two that were published within three years of each other; "Garden" (1916) and "Eurydice" (1914–17). Whilst sharing much in terms of style, they demonstrate different tendencies on H.D.'s part. Importantly, I have chosen two poems from the beginning of her career, in the hope of showing that ideas of the liminal were central to H.D.'s work from the start.

Liminal derives from the Latin *limen*, meaning threshold. This translates easily into thinking about space—one thinks of boundaries and of borders, of crossing into or out of somewhere. Such a literal, spatial threshold is the topos of "Eurydice", which concerns itself with the mythical moment at which Orpheus, having succeeded in bargaining with Hades for Eurydice's life, turns to look at her just before they reach Earth. His "glance" consigns her to the underworld.[3] The poem draws attention to the spatial liminality with its repetitions of "fringe of the earth" and "sharp edge of ".[4]

Victor Turner developed the concept of liminality while studying the process of rituals, defining it as that which is "neither here nor there"; specifically the space and time "betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and the ceremonial."[5] Liminality thus

SIOFRA DROMGOOLE is a student at the University of Glasgow, in her fourth and final year of an English Literature degree. She hopes to pursue a career in writing.

[1] Diane Collecott, "H.D.'s Transformative Poetics," in *The Cambridge Companion to H.D.*, ed. by N. Christodoulides and P. MacKay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 57.

[2] Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), 5.

[3] Hilda Doolittle, "Eurydice," in *H.D. Selected Poems,* ed. by Louis L Marz (London: Carcanet, 1925), 37, l. 30.

[4] Ibid, 36, ll. 51–53.

[5] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process, Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 94; 95.

operates not only in a physical or geographical sense—it also entails the moment between two states of being. This too can be pinpointed within "Eurydice", where Eurydice is momentarily between the state of being dead and being alive. A liminal moment is often one of transition, and therefore of possibility. In "Eurydice" this could be seen as the possibility of her leaving the Underworld and rejoining the "flowers of the earth".[6] However, this initial possibility is thwarted and instead the liminal moment—of coming close to returning to life again—allows her a different possibility. Eurydice returns to the Underworld defiant, her transition one of gaining authority and agency; demonstrated in the last stanza where she asserts "At least I have the flowers of myself."[7] Thus we see that the liminal involves edges, boundaries, and borders; it is concerned with change, transition, and possibility. We cannot map it exactly, for it remains "ambiguous and indeterminate".[8] Rather, this essay will explore the different ways in which the liminal can be expressed, and the effect of this.

What might liminal poetics consist of? McGuiness discusses the "porous threshold" of Imagist poetry.[9] H.D. was one of the first "imagistes"; her poetry appeared in Pound's 1914 anthology *Des Imagistes* and in the 1915 anthology *Some Imagist Poets*, which was edited by her husband Richard Aldington. In its early stages the "principles were economy, formal freedom, and precision."[10] It was dedicated to the idea of the "image", of which Pound wrote:

> present an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time[…]The presentation [should] give a sense of sudden liberation; that sense of freedom from time and space limits.[11]

> Imagist poetry would thus seem to be intrinsically liminal, operating outside of our understanding of time and space, moving beyond "the positions assigned and arrayed[…]by convention".[12]

To explore what is distinctively liminal in H.D.'s poetry, I want to consider each of McGuiness's conditions for the porous threshold, and examine how "Garden" adheres to these. McGuiness's claim of "abstract and concrete" seems to run counter to the motivations of Imagist poetry.[13] The first precept, outlined by F.S. Flint, was "1. Direct treatment of the 'thing' whether objective or subjective".[14] Yet looking at H.D.'s "Garden", this paradox—of treating "the thing" directly and concretely, and yet in an abstract manner—is apparent. The opening lines run:

> You are clear
> O rose, cut in rock,
> hard as the descent of hail.[15]

We are given a concrete image; almost overwhelmingly so since the rose is described in terms of its solidity. Not only is it "cut in rock", but the rose itself is "hard as the descent of hail". This simile

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[6] Doolittle, "Eurydice", 36, l. 75.

[7] Ibid, 40, l. 125.

[8] Turner, *The Ritual Process, Structure and Anti-Structure*, 95.

[9] Patrick McGuiness, "Imagism," in *A Companion to Modernist Literature and Culture*, ed. by D. Bradshaw and K. Dettmar (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 187.

[10] Ibid, 184.

[11] Collecott, "H.D.'s Transformative Poetics", 55.

[12] Turner, *The Ritual Process, Structure and Anti-Structure*, 95.

[13] McGuiness, "Imagism", 187.

[14] Collecott, "H.D.'s Transformative Poetics", 55.

[15] Doolittle. "Garden," in *H.D. Selected Poems,* 7, ll. 1–3.

refers only to the rose—"cut in rock" is a subordinate clause—but due to being placed on the line below almost seems to apply for both, making the rock doubly hard. The images of the rock and the rose thus seem to be fused together; although individuated they feel intertwined, as they are literally described. The image then is deeply strange. The paradoxical nature of it—roses are not hard as hail—requires a stretch of our imagination, as both objects take on the qualities of the other, in a manner simultaneously concrete and abstract. In the second part of "Garden", imagery of a similarly paradoxical nature is used of the wind. The speaker demands that it

> rend open the heat,
> cut apart the heat,
> rend it sideways. [16]

Wind, which we would tend to think of as a mammoth and blustery force, is here being asked to "cut apart" the heat. The action of cutting seems a far too meticulous and accurate action for the wind to be able to perform. This same reversal of common sense occurs with the description of heat, which operates contrary to our expectations of it. Instead of ripening the fruit, it impedes its growth and fertility, meaning "Fruit can not drop/through this thick air."[17] We are given a concrete image almost impossible to conceive of, which thus become abstract. In "Eurydice" H.D. uses images similarly with the lines "dead lichens drip/dead cinders upon moss of ash."[18] She uses natural imagery—although it is that of fungi—and commingles it with images of destruction by fire, "cinders" and "ash". Thus H.D. draws on our assumptions of the concrete world; but due to the fact her concrete images are impossible, they become abstract.

McGuiness also notes the threshold between the "inner and outer" is present in Imagist poetry.[19] This threshold is particularly interesting if considered on the level of word and meaning, where we conceptualise the word as "inner" and its conventional symbolic meaning—the various meanings that radiate from it—as "outer". Friedman argues H.D. had a "revisionary treatment of the sentimental Victorian language of flowers" where flowers would tend to symbolise romantic love or beauty.[20] H.D. appears to be aware of this, for the effort of "Garden" is to purge the language of all trace of poetic metaphor or symbol. In the first half of the poem, the rose is not acting as a vehicle for a metaphor, but as an image in its own right. She refuses to let it signify more than its physical image. The reason that this, despite her attempts remains liminal, is that it is never going to be entirely possible. One does not read in a vacuum, and words will continue to bring their former connotations and range of symbolic meanings with them; thus H.D. sits on the threshold, acknowledging the "outer" meaning people will still perceive, whilst resisting.

This same threshold between "inner and outer" can be seen from a different perspective in H.D.'s "Eurydice", if we consider the "outer" meaning to be what the word normally signifies, and the "inner" meaning to be what a word evolves to signify across the course of its use in a poem.[21] The word "flowers" is repeated ten times across the course of the poem, and specific flower names are mentioned another nine times. This repetition means that they begin to take on another set of meanings specific to this context. They come to mean that which Eurydice is losing in her death; the chance to sleep "among the live flowers/at last."[22] Used repeatedly they gather force and strength atypical to

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[16] Ibid, 8, ll. 12–14.

[17] Ibid, ll. 15–16.

[18] Doolittle. "Eurydice", 36, ll. 9–10.

[19] McGuiness, "Imagism", 187.

[20] Susan Stanford Friedman, *Dictionary of Literary Biography: American Poets, 1880–1945*, vol. 45 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1983), 125.

[21] McGuiness, "Imagism", 187.

[22] Doolittle, "Eurydice", 36, ll. 4–5.

the words' normal usages. They signify more and more poignantly what she has lost, for the connotations from the words last usage move through the poem with it; for instance the second time she mentions "all the flowers that cut through the earth" we recall her desire to sleep among them.[23] This means that when in the final stanza Eurydice tells us "At least I have the flowers of myself" we understand the full triumph of this; she has found enough strength within herself to live out her death in the Underworld.[24] Thus we see that repetition, a device H.D. was famous for, can be seen as a liminal device within the context of her work.

The final "porous threshold" McGuiness believes Imagism to be concerned with is that of "the intimate and the glitteringly impersonal".[25] I want to track how this operates in "Garden" by means of H.D.'s use of the device apostrophe. The device manages to collapse the borders between the intimate and the impersonal by its ability to simultaneously evoke an outer world, and tell us of the interiority of the speaker. In the first half of "Garden", there is a first person speaker, who Burnett suggests must be a dryad imprisoned in a tree.[26] But she does not appear in the second half of the poem, nor is there anything in the first half that directly informs us of the nature of the speaker—even her relations to the objects around her are in the hypothetical "I could" rather than telling us of things she has done or will do.[27] However we emerge from reading with a sense of the speaker, of her will to create and the fact she currently feels stifled and of the strength of her desires. This is made possible by the use of apostrophe, which posits an "*I-Thou*" relationship between the poet and that which she apostrophises.[28] Necessarily, we learn of the thou—the rose is "cut in rock", the wind is strong enough to "rend open the heat", and the heat is enough that "Fruit can not drop/through this thick air."[29] In addressing these objects or elemental forces, the speaker bestows upon them the ability to understand her, and agency within the world, creating a "glitteringly impersonal" world. However, they are animated only because of her, and thus the nature of the "thou" that she invokes reflects upon her; her desire to "scrape the colour" from the rose conveys her will to create, and her desire for wind that will rend the stifling heat depicts her claustrophobia.[30] This seemingly impersonal poem becomes even more intimate when we consider that the simple fact of using an apostrophe tells us something of the speaker, for it is a "figure spontaneously adopted by passion" and as such its use can imply the passion of the speaker and the intensity of their predicament.[31] The use of "O" in "O rose" and "O wind" works particularly to convey the desperation of the dryad. Culler comments that this is because it stands outside of our semantic references, referring only to other apostrophes, and thus gains rhetorical and sublime force.[32] This is also due to the fact that even its pronunciation has a certain strength, requiring as it does full breath drawn from the diaphragm. J.H. Prynne comments that it has "the appearance of being a sub-articulate outcry formed prior to a discriminated emotional profile" and this is how the speaker comes across—moved by emotion, and longing to an exclamation and forceful demand.[33] She addresses first an inanimate object, and then an elemental force; the fact she would dare

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[23] Ibid, 37, l. 54.

[24] Ibid, 40, l. 125.

[25] McGuiness, "Imagism", 187.

[26] Gary Burnett, "The Identity of H: Imagism and H.D.'s 'Sea Garden'", in *Sagetrieb* 8, no. 3 (2009), https://sagetrieb.wordpress.com/2009/12/15/sagetrieb-8-3 [accessed 11 November 17].

[27] Doolittle, "Garden", 7, l. 4.

[28] Jonathon D. Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1981), 142.

[29] Doolittle, "Garden", 8.

[30] Ibid, 7, l. 4.

[31] Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*, 144.

[32] Ibid, 143.

[33] J.H. Prynne, *English Poetry and Emphatical Language* from the proceedings of the British Academy (LXXIV 1988), 168.

to do so shows the speakers strength and possibility. Collecott argues that "O" has specific significance to H.D.'s work, suggesting it has an erotic significance figuring both "the zero of impossibility or the possibilities of female sexuality", "the mouth open in horror or wide in delight", and "the absent sexual organ or the available vagina".[34] The ability to signify these opposites simultaneously once again brings us to ideas of paradox, and of the ability of H.D.'s liminal poetics to move between the threshold of two polars, in ambiguities and indeterminacies.

Having established what can be deemed liminal poetics, I will examine what they enact. Turner wrote that art can "function culturally like a rite of passage; it allows participants or initiates to move from ordinary social 'structure' into a liminal space of 'anti-structure.'"[35] Art, according to Turner, can thus function in a liminal manner, affecting the reader. H.D.'s "Eurydice" and "Garden" not only contain liminal poetics, but affect a state of liminality in the reader. Turner's theory recalls Barthes's *The Pleasure of the Text* in which he distinguishes between two kinds of text, "*plaisir"* and "*jouissance"*: the text of pleasure and the text of bliss. The text of bliss is one that "imposes a sense of loss upon the reader" by not meeting, and thus disrupting, the reader's expectations.[36] A text of bliss will not allow the reader to approach it in the manner that they are accustomed to, and will often render the reader's normal critical interpretations irrelevant. "Eurydice" and "Garden" are two such texts, for they eschew the techniques most often found in poetry, and require a different critical framework to understand. The difficulty of "Garden" provokes something akin to anger, due to initial lack of sense. A text of bliss of this kind thus requires affective engagement on the part of the reader: to understand the poems we must operate inside the space that H.D. creates.

McGuiness writes that Imagist poetry "aims to cut away the means by which we understand the world in order to immerse us in the world".[37] H.D.'s liminal poetics operate in this way—they force us to engage with her text within the parameters that she sets. These liminal poetics are imperative to her ability ability to "negotiate gender, sexuality [and] lesbian poetics as well as literary tradition".[38] "Eurydice" is a highly subversive poem; it not only gives voice to a character most often left mute in the classical myth, but allows her to inhabit the role of the male bard. H.D. situates herself within the patriarchal tradition by subverting a myth, and rewriting it with a female protagonist. This is even more significant in the context of Orpheus as a masculine symbol for poetry, the master of the lyre. She thus revolutionises the accepted symbolic order, and the essential struggle of the poem is a feminist one; Orpheus's backward glance is rewritten as a gendered personality flaw. To understand why her affecting the reader in a liminal manner is important for her writing, it is important to look at the gender norms of the period. Reductively, it was a time when traditional and patriarchal values were still maintained, with many women not educated, and women's suffrage still not realised. A woman's relationship to a man [mother, wife, or daughter] was still foremost to her identity.[39] To rewrite and challenge a foundational narrative of Western culture was, if not radical, very progressive. The creation of a liminal space disrupts readerly norms. This affects a similar state of transition in the reader, and thus prompts their engagement not only with the text, but with the world.

This essay has thus attempted to show how concepts of the liminal may be of use in understanding H.D.'s radical poetics; and how these contribute to her political and aesthetic aims, by creating a liminal space far from the world she denigrates. ■

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[34] Collecott, *H.D. and Sapphic Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 34.

[35] Turner, *The Ritual Process, Structure and Anti-Structure*, 128.

[36] Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, 4.

[37] Patrick McGuiness, "Imagism", 186.

[38] Collecott, "H.D.'s Transformative Poetics", 57.

[39] Bonnie Kime Scott, *Joyce and Feminism* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984), 29–54.

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Has a lack of historical scholarship suppressed Italy's role in the Holocaust and therefore affected how it is remembered?

Agatha Elliott

This essay seeks to examine the effects of the Holocaust on Italian national identity, and how it has been influenced by revisionist interpretations of the period. It is focused heavily on Italy, but also acknowledges the transnational nature of the Holocaust and its widespread devastation. There was a lack of early historiography on the topic owing to the focus on Germany's substantially larger role in the atrocity, which meant that Italy was widely viewed as an innocent bystander, rather than as a perpetrator. However, recent historiography has revealed that Italy's role is much more complex than popular memory indicates, which has had an impact on how it is commemorated. Hence, this paper explores how these commemorations have developed, including the begrudged taking of responsibility for anti-Semitic actions that occurred on Italian soil.

The effect that the Holocaust had cannot be contained to one single nation; it had a universal impact, and affected Jews globally. The role that Italy played in this atrocity had long been overshadowed by German Nazism, meaning that on the whole the Italians have never really had to take responsibility for their actions. This essay will therefore explore the evolving historiography of this period, from how a collective view of Italy as a victim came to fruition, to the revision of these interpretations, and seeing if this has changed attitudes towards Italy's role. I will aim to achieve this through studying the work of a range of historians, who address differing aspects of Italy's role in the Holocaust. Furthermore, I will address how the Holocaust is commemorated in Italy, and whether the way in which it is remembered has been affected by a lack of historical scholarship in the years immediately following the end of World War Two.

Fascist antisemitism does not tend to feature in early historiography of wartime Italy. Rather, for around forty years after the Second World War ended, the premise of *brava gente* or "the myth of the Good Italian" was at the core of historical interpretations of Italy.[1] The historian Paolo Favero believes that this image of Italians being intrinsically good came into being through the "structured forgetfulness" of public memory.[2] Having grown up during the postwar years, he recounts that he was taught about the evilness of Nazism and that Mussolini never intended to persecute the Jews. This view is also discussed by Guri Schwarz, who suggests that Italians had perceived themselves in this way for decades in the wake of war, which made it easy to "obscure the many atrocities committed during the Fascist regime and the war years."[3] This was a fundamental factor to consider when attempting to understand how Italians originally remembered the Holocaust, as until the 1980s this interpretation had the support of a significant portion of the Italian Jewry.[4] This emphasises how deep *brava gente* had become entrenched in national identity across this period, so how did it become the accepted version of the role that Italy played in the Holocaust?

AGATHA ELLIOTT is a fourth-year student at Glasgow University, studying a Joint Honours degree in English Literature and History. She is hoping to become a high school teacher after graduation.

[1] Guri Schwarz, "On Myth Making and Nation Building: The Genesis of the 'Myth of the Good Italian', 1943–1947", *Telos* 164 (2013): 11.

[2] Paolo Favero, "Italians, the 'Good People': Reflections on National Self-Representation in Contemporary Italian Debates on Xenophobia and War", *Outlines: Critical Practice Studies* 12, no. 2 (April 2010): 140.

[3] Schwarz, "On Myth Making and Nation Building", 12.

[4] Ibid, 43.

The historian Robert Ventresca argues that the execution of Benito Mussolini in 1945 was central to the re-writing of the history of the Holocaust, as "postfascist Italy would need in some way to define itself against the very image of Mussolini and of fascism itself."[5] I therefore began to see Mussolini's death as a symbol for the death of Italian Fascism, which is emphasised in early historiography. This resulted in the myth that Italy was inherently antifascist, which is key to the purposes of this essay as I attempt to ascertain the influence of collective memory. Walter Audisio is an example of its power. As Mussolini's executioner, he was the sole individual responsible for the Duce's death, yet he believed that it "was carried out on behalf of the Italian people, as an expression of collective will".[6] At first I interpreted this as a fantastical attitude that should not have had an impact, but it has become apparent that it epitomises the attitude of Italian politicians at the time. They wanted the nation to be united once again, so I believe that their sole aim was to emphasise how far removed they were from the actions of the Fascist regime, especially anti-Semitism. Schwarz discusses the widely-accepted belief that it had "no roots in Italian society," and that the racist laws drawn up by Mussolini were "highly unpopular and not efficiently implemented".[7] Owing to a lack of historical scholarship looking closely at Italy's role in the Holocaust, representations that tended to suppress the true extent to which they were involved became the foundation of the postwar Republic.

In lights of this, I am quite certain that Favero's judgement on public memory can be deemed accurate, as Italy was in a unique position where it could be viewed as either a victim or a perpetrator. This "strategic and cruel" collective re-writing of recent Italian history was therefore paramount, as Italians subsequently became known as "intrinsically good folk".[8] Moreover, in this period Italian Fascist antisemitism was overshadowed by the atrocities that had been committed by the Nazis. The "bad German-good Italian" rhetoric has dominated historiography of the period, as this view showed Italy to be the lesser of two evils.[9] Ruth Ben-Ghiat believes that this diminishing of Mussolini's totalitarian actions has negatively impacted how well historians can assess the true extent to which Italy was complicit in the Holocaust. She writes that the "underestimation of Fascist violence committed both within and outside Italy… has minimize[d] Italians' agency and their responsibility for such violence."[10] The lack of Italian war criminals who were convicted after the war supports this theory, with the government "closing the door on […] the prosecution of war crimes" in order to ensure a smooth transition away from Fascism, and any direct links to the Holocaust.[11] These interpretations give us an explanation as to why the Italians' role in the Holocaust went largely unquestioned, as there is a lack of documentation from the period. This allowed for the *brava gente* argument to become engrained in collective memory, which portrayed Italians to be innocent bystanders in mass genocide.

This view of Italy's role in the Holocaust did not start to be questioned by historians until the 1980s. Using the work of Susan Zuccotti, it is possible for me to see how scholars began to revise the historiography of Italy. In doing so, they reassessed the extent to which the nation is culpable for the role it played in the extermination of the Jewish population. In her book *Italians and the Holocaust*, Zuccotti acknowledges that while Italy's Jews were "mildly observant and respectful of their heritage" before the Holocaust, they were "nevertheless fully integrated […] yet the Holocaust occurred in Italy."[12] Questioning how some of the most integrated Jews in Europe could become the victims of

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[5] Robert Ventresca, "Mussolini's Ghost: Italy's Duce in History and Memory,", *History & Memory* 18, no. 1 (2006): 91–92. Project MUSE.

[6] Ibid, 94.

[7] Schwarz, "On Myth Making and Nation Building", 13.

[8] Favero, "Italians, the 'Good People'", 140.

[9] Ventresca, "Mussolini's Ghost: Italy's Duce in History and Memory", 107.

[10] Ibid, 108.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Susan Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue and Survival* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 285.

genocide was key to the revision of the previously accepted *brava gente* view of Italians in this period. Therefore, more recent interpretations of Italy in this period have attempted to address the actions of the Italians during the Holocaust, and questioning how complicit they were in the persecution of the Jews. For example, although the deterioration of the treatment of Jewish prisoners at Italian detention camps has been noted after the arrival of Nazi officers, Zuccotti brings attention to the experience of Emilio Jani. A Jewish tenor, he was held in Rome before being transported to Fossoli, and he believes that "unfortunately […] the Germans behaved better than the Fascists."[13] Insights such as this were essential insofar as gauging how anti-Semitism affected Jews' lives independently of the German influence, which for many had been the reason why anti-Semitic behaviour came to Italy.

Upon further research, I discovered that many revisionists have pinpointed the introduction of racial legislation in 1938 as the moment that the persecution of the Jews began in Italy, which is before the Nazi invasion part-way through World War II. Dan Vittorio Segre, who was raised as a Fascist Jew, describes the impact of this legislation in his memoir, noting that "after the publication of the laws […] I went to live […] in Turin," which was one of the only Italian cities where Jewish communities could arrange education "for students who had been thrown out of the public schools".[14] This supports Zuccotti's argument that Jewish assimilation in Italy "extended well into the years of Fascism […] [and] many Jews were loyal Fascists" yet when the legislation was published, they were abandoned by Mussolini, who they had supported since the March on Rome in 1922.[15] While Schwarz highlighted the collective argument of the Italians that these laws were not officially implemented, one can see from Segre's own experience that this was not necessarily the case. He acknowledges how fortunate he and his family are to have survived the persecution that ensued, as elsewhere entire families were subject to the inhumane death sentences inflicted by the perpetrators of the Holocaust. Therefore, I tend to agree with Zuccotti's revised view that assimilation was not as engrained as some were led to believe. It is arguably a more accurate notion with regards to the treatment of Jews in Italy in the lead up to and during the Holocaust.

Indeed, Joshua D. Zimmerman notes that it was not until recently that "the degree of Italian complicity in the implementation of Nazi Jewish policy on Italian soil" was acknowledged by historians.[16] He explains his confusion at the acceptance of Italy being an innocent bystander in the implementation of the Final Solution, especially considering the Axis agreement. Jonathan Steinberg seeks to explain the complicated nature of the Axis, giving examples of Italian diplomats making an effort to rescue Jews in Croatia, whilst also acknowledging that "the rise of fascism was really 'prior' to the emergence of Nazism."[17] In this way, he is addressing the fact that Hitler was influenced by Mussolini's ability to inspire "a mass movement to the right" at a time when the Nazi party was still forming and lacking support in the Weimar Republic.[18] This is essential in my understanding of how far Italians impacted the Holocaust, as it becomes clear in this interpretation that it was too simplistic of historians to previously argue that Italy was merely Germany's puppet. Mussolini was an influential leader, and his support throughout Italy should not be undermined. Although it may be uncomfortable to accept, Steinberg argues that it is "naïve […] [and] dangerous to see Hitler as uniquely guilty," as despite many Jews being "patriotic Italians," they were still persecuted owing to the laws that the Fascist regime implemented.[19]

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[13] Ibid, 178.

[14] Dan Vittorio Segre, *Memoirs of a Fortunate Jew* (Bethesda, Md.: Adler & Adler, 1987), 49.

[15] Zuccotti, S., *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 23–24.

[16] Joshua D. Zimmerman, "Introduction," in *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi rule, 1922–1945*, ed. by Joshua Zimmerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) http://assets.cambridge.org/052184/1011/excerpt/0521841011_excerpt.htm.

[17] Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust 1941–43* (London: Routledge, 1990) 1, 243.

[18] Ibid, 243.

[19] Ibid, 242, 222.

The effect of the Axis agreement and the racial laws can be seen in Alexander Stille's *Benevolence and Betrayal*, which details the lives of five Italian Jewish families during the Holocaust. Although only published in 1991, Stille acknowledges that some Italian Jews attempted to dissuade him from researching his topic, "out of fear of stirring renewed anti-Semitism".[20] This emphasises how much of an impact new research into Italy's role in the Holocaust had on modern Italian historiography. His work highlights, importantly, how their experiences differed depending on their geographical location and financial situation. While some families could afford to go into hiding, some, such as those living in the Rome Ghetto, "didn't have enough money […] ever since the itinerant peddlers had lost their licenses."[21] The loss of these licenses was a result of Fascist racial laws that had been implemented prior to the Nazis occupying Rome in September 1943, showing that the persecution of the Italian Jewry existed before Mussolini fell from power.

The pre-existence of Jewish persecution is further supported by the experience of Olga Di Veroli, who recalls the night that Mussolini was voted out of power, and how "the weight of racial persecution was lifted."[22] There were celebrations as Fascism fell, and Olga notes that subsequently, "everyone was an antifascist."[23] As a result of this, I can now imagine how the subsequent deportations and massacres of the Jewish population were blamed on the "treacherous" Germans rather than the Italian government, as the Italian people would have liked to believe that it was simply out of character for their people to have committed such appalling crimes.[24] The view that all Italians were antifascist was a driving force in the belief of *brava gente*, which makes it difficult for me to determine the extent to which Italy played a role in the Holocaust.

The research of Michele Sarfatti was effective in demolishing the view that Italian anti-Semitic policy was merely an attempt by Mussolini to keep his alliance with Hitler, and to provide Italy with a strong ally. He emphasises the independent thought of Mussolini, who throughout the early 1930s systematically attacked "the anti-fascist and anti-Italian Jews", which eventually led to the damning legislation of 1938.[25] Chronicling his Fascist regime from 1922–1943, Sarfatti has written many works on the effect of Italian Fascism. In this way, he has removed the façade that Mussolini's laws did not have much of an impact on Italy's Jews, which supports the experiences of the families in Stille's book—who, in varying ways, were all affected by changing attitudes towards them as the Holocaust gathered momentum.

With this insight, it became possible to see why many wanted Mussolini's execution to mark the end of Fascism in Italy. I interpreted this as a national attempt to remove it from its past and build a new Republic, which was easier for Italians than attempting to understand their culpability in the Holocaust. Robert S. C. Gordon's work appears to support my observation. He expresses his surprise at "the relative neglect of Italy within this field", as he too is aware of the impact that the model of Fascist Italy had on the development of Hitler's dictatorship.[26] Moreover, he emphasises the fact that despite claims that Mussolini and other Italian officials "did much to frustrate deportations and massacres of Jews during the early phase of the war", Italy became a part-collaborator in genocide.[27]

Gordon is of the opinion that the Italian position became more complicated after July 1943, when the Germans occupied the centre and north of the country, and as Italians became victims of

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[20] Alexander Stille, *Benevolence and Betrayal: Five Italian Jewish Families Under Fascism* (New York: Summit Books, 1991), 6.

[21] Ibid, 189.

[22] Ibid, 185.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Michele Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 74.

[26] Robert S. C. Gordon, *The Holocaust in Italian Culture, 1944–2010* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012), 9.

[27] Ibid.

their policies; whilst the Salò Republic still upheld "the racial bureaucracy of the former Fascist state".[28] This complicated state of affairs, he argues, combined with individual narratives of "local acts of solidarity with the Jewish population" led to the Italian population believing that they were subsequently immune to racism.[29] This view became embedded in the public memory of the atrocities, allowing for *brava gente* and other such myths to be built into the Italian psyche. Combining this with the research of other revisionist historians, it is possible to consider how this developed as a notion, especially after Mussolini's very public death, which many have taken to be the collective rejection of the Fascist regime.

However, the truth was much more complex than many in the postwar era were led to believe, owing to a distinct lack of historiography. I believe that this had an unquestionable impact on the collective memory of the Italian people, and the way in which these events were recalled for decades after the war ended. Therefore, I felt it was important to research the impact that more recent historiography has had on the Italian public memory, and the way in which the Holocaust is now remembered. This can be seen in another work by Robert Gordon, *The Holocaust in Italian Collective Memory: Il giorno della memoria*, and the work of Susanne C. Knittel, as they explore the way in which the Holocaust is commemorated in Italy today. Gordon views Italy's first *Giorno della memoria* in 2001 as "a crucible in which public uses of history and memory […] were on vivid display."[30] The date, 27 January, is recognised globally as the day that Auschwitz was liberated by the Red Army in 1945; it is now an International Memorial Day.

The first official commemoration day took place in Italy after the unanimous passing on law number 211 on 20 July 2000, with the view that it would remember "the racial laws, Italy's persecution of its Jewish citizens, Italians who underwent deportation, imprisonment and death, as well as those […] who, risk their own lives, saved others and protected the persecuted."[31] This was groundbreaking on the principle that the government publicly accepted responsibility for the part that they played in the Holocaust. However, the irony is not lost on Gordon that this vote took place in the same houses of parliament where the racial laws had been passed "enthusiastically and unanimously" on 17 November 1938.[32] This once again highlights how complex an issue the Holocaust is in Italian historiography, as it took decades for an official admission that Italy was complicit in the crime.

Susanne C. Knittel also addresses the political tensions raised by the remembrance of the Holocaust in modern day Italy. She notes that in practice, the *Giorno della memoria* still emphasise the period of Nazi occupation, despite the law explicitly recognising the anti-Semitic attitudes of 1938–1942, before the Italians became Germany's collaborators.[33] This shows that although historical scholarship has identified anti-Semitism in Italy prior to the Nazis taking control, the national rhetoric is still very much focused on the image of the Italian people, in that they were all victims of the Nazis and therefore inherently good. Moreover, she discusses the confusion caused by a second commemoration day, *Giorno del ricordo*, which could be "quite deliberate[ly] […] reinforcing the narrative of innocence and victimhood" that had been at the centre of Italian historiography for such a long period of time.[34] This highlights the levels of contention caused by the questioning of Italy's role in the Holocaust, as it has completely changed the national identity of its people.

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[28] Ibid, 11.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Robert S. C. Gordon, "The Holocaust in Italian Collective Memory: Il giorno della memoria, 27 January 2001", *Modern. Italy* 11, no. 2 (2006): 168; *Giorno della memoria* is the Italian term for "Day of Memorial".

[31] Ibid, 169.

[32] Ibid, 170.

[33] Susanne C. Knittel, *The Historical Uncanny: Disability, Ethnicity, and the Politics of Holocaust Memory* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), 178, https://muse.jhu.edu/book/35563.

[34] Ibid, 179; *Giorno del ricordo* is the day of remembrance specifically for Italians that has been held every February since 2005.

It is difficult to disagree with Knittel's confusion surrounding the creation of two commemoration days. I was therefore interested in understanding how they came into existence, especially considering that the premise of *brava gente* was an accepted historical interpretation for such a long time. Thus, I must question why there was a resurgence in Italian historiography towards the end of the twentieth century. During the 1990s in particular, there was a significant push for anti-Semitism during the war to be officially recognised in the form of a memorial day, which has been explored above. The historian Rebecca Clifford discusses a range of factors that may have caused people to seek answers.[35] Most notably, she covers the demographic changes that occurred owing to the aging of the wartime generation. With the people who witnessed the war firsthand becoming elderly, the opportunity to learn more about their experiences- both those of victims and perpetrators- was slowly decreasing. Moreover, she acknowledges the impact of the fiftieth anniversary of the roundup of Rome's Jews on 16 October 1943.[36] Remembering the significance of this event sparked public debates over Fascism and how it had been historicised, as for many it was the nadir of Italy's treatment of the Jewry. Up until this point, Italy had not admitted any guilt, which appears to confirm my understanding that there had been a national rejection of Facism, which Italians believed would erase it from their country's history.

Thus, the controversial dichotomy of splitting Italian Fascism into two periods, 1922–1938, before the passing of the racial legislation, and 1938–1945, served a "clear political purpose" in the 1990s, with the latter period allowing for the deportation and massacre of Italian Jews to be blamed primarily on the Germans, as though they were a scapegoat.[37] Whilst historians attempted to decipher what really happened in Italy during the Holocaust, politicians attempted to reconcile the left and right wing members of the population. "'Reconciliation' was often viewed […] as an act of conscious forgetting for the benefit of national unity," which provided my research with context as to why passing legislation for commemorative events took so long to pass through parliament, as well as showing the nation's unwillingness to face its past and accept that Italian anti-Semitism was real.[38] I believe that this is at the heart of how the Holocaust is remembered in Italy, as revised historical scholarship has shown that the events of this period cannot be suppressed. However, it is worthy of note that the impact of this coming to light has destroyed how many Italians had previously identified themselves. In my opinion, this shows how deeply engrained certain attitudes towards the Holocaust were in the Italian psyche, and how these actions shaped the way that a generation of people saw their country.

In conclusion, as a result of revisionist interpretations of this period, Italy has begun to accept responsibility for the role it played in the Holocaust. Although the complexity of this contentious period cannot be undermined, the acknowledgement of anti-Semitic actions occurring on Italian soil, without Nazi encouragement, has prevented knowledge of this period from being suppressed. We may never know the true extent of what was lost in the adoption of selective memory in attempts to pursue an antifascist identity. However, the changing historiography of the last thirty years or so has had a profound effect on the way in which the Holocaust is remembered in Italy. Therefore, although a lack of early historical scholarship suppressed the extent of Italy's complicity in the Holocaust, and as a result affected how it was remembered for nearly half a century, a subject that was once avoided is now publicly discussed. I believe the issues at hand will never be fully comprehended, owing to the nature of the atrocities committed. The Holocaust was a transnational tragedy that will never be simple to dissect. As such, the commemoration of anti-Semitism in Italy highlights how far historiography has taken a nation which was once viewed as an innocent bystander, even a victim, of mass genocide. While there may have been higher survival rates than other European nations, it is neces-

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[35] Rebecca Clifford, *Commemorating the Holocaust: The Dilemma of Remembrance in France and Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 141.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid, 146.

[38] Ibid, 147.

sary to understand why the Holocaust occurred in Italy. The Italians are culpable, as they played a part in a global phenomenon that impacted many countries. This cannot be ignored. Thus, I think that historical scholarship is fundamental to our understanding of events such as the Holocaust, as has been shown by Italy beginning to remember and commemorate its fascist past. ■

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Suicide, Grief, and Authenticity

Darren Gillies

There are no codes or customs that reciprocate the grief we suffer when somebody we know or love has committed suicide, and neither are such dictates possible. As such, it remains only for us to find our way in coping with our grief in the moments that we live through it. The grief itself can never be eliminated and so we can only choose how we shall confront our situation. The aim of our discussion here is to reveal various attitudes that can be taken in response to the various aspects of the change in our world heralded by somebody's suicide. Understanding what it is to co-exist with the Other who has died allows us to show what it is to now exist with their absence. The disruption that follows is always open to our choosing whether to act in acceptance or refusal of the complications of the situation, to act either authentically or inauthentically. In our discussion, we shall see that by taking an inauthentic attitude we can overcomplicate our suffering by acting in ways that seem to simplify our grief. Considerations of these attempts to simplify will reveal that in taking an authentic attitude we avoid overcomplicating our grief and spare ourselves much unnecessary suffering. At the heart of everything said will be the freedom to choose our actions and beliefs.

> After an authentic action, it should be possible to say,
> '*Nothing* will be the same again.'
>
> — Vincent Descombes[1]

Opening

Grieving is our coping with the disruption to our everyday living created by somebody's death. It is this disruption, but specifically as beginning in suicide, which we shall be considering it in its relation to authenticity, since it seems that there is a discernible difference between how we suffer this grief when it is approached in either an authentic or inauthentic attitude. That is to say that despite our suffering being altogether ineliminable, we can nonetheless still have influence over our suffering. That we are discussing death and authenticity rightly suggests that we will pursue our considerations from the viewpoint of existentialist thought; that we are free to choose our actions and beliefs. Before we can examine exactly how suicide is a disruption and how authenticity orients it, we first require a sketch of what it is to encounter a living being; by arriving at this we can then understand what it is to encounter them as no-longer-alive, specifically as having killed themselves.

The Other

Everything in the world stands in relation to us as being what we are not; everything we discern as being *something* is because it is a separate entity from us. This is the basis of our being able to identify there to be things in the world at all. We are conscious of objects as being surrounded by a range of possibilities as to their instrumental uses; they are there as *for us* as to-be-apprehended. But there is another kind of being which appears to us in the world, which we are conscious of by a differ-

DARREN GILLIES is a student at the University of Glasgow in the final year of his single-honours degree in Philosophy. His central interests are in existentialism and phenomenology. Upon graduation Darren will pursue a masters and PhD at an institution which is focused on the European tradition in philosophy. His career aspirations are to progress to a teaching post in academia. Darren is also a member of the Existential Philosophy and Literature Network based at the University of Glasgow (PI: Ramona Fotiade, Co-I: Alexander Broadie).

[1] Vincent Descombes, *Modern French Philosophy*, trans. by L. Scott-Fox and J.M. Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 34.

ent kind of affectivity upon us—*the Other*. The Other appears to us as a figure against the ground of objects in the world, such is their difference from objects that the Other affectively announces themselves as *alive*. Their activity in the world stands out to us as a being which thinks and acts for themselves, rather than being a mere object in itself. Unlike an object, they are there *for us* only in appearance but escape our plans and schemes that we project upon the world. Even our treating the Other as an object does not remove their subjectivity since we are only denying what they are and have been all along. And the specific affectivity which the Other has upon us is our sense of our own being; we apprehend their look upon us as being the value against which we measure ourselves. This affectivity reflects an aspect of ourselves back to us that is only available to the Other as they see us, which we can never establish without the Other: our own being as it is *for them*. Everyone has their own particular affective relation with the Other that they know for themselves, but in the mean we can say that any relation in which we stand with the Other always involves this affectivity upon us—the Other *is* this affectivity. Co-existence with the Other is not only our being affected by them, but also the giving and receiving of affective touches between us, for we are also affectivity upon them.

It is in the absence of such affectivity that we discern that we are alone, unobserved by the Other or no longer contending with their activities in the world; in the Other's absence our attitude differs. We may behave politely, until the Other leaves the room for a short time, and in this time we do not act in respect of politeness. If the Other we share an abode with leaves to go on holiday, we may change our routine of cleanliness because we do not expect them to be there to observe and judge us. If the Other is imprisoned for an extensive period of time, our attitude in respect of them may be that of lamenting the expected extent of this absence. The key point on which these expectations turn is the possibility of the Other returning to us; their absence is contingent and our actions are always in respect of the Other as one-who-will-return. But when we consider the possibility of the Other's return in respect of the Other's death, we find that our attitude in response to their absence is instead in respect of their return *no longer* being possible. This is the difference between grieving and lamenting the Other's departure: when the Other dies the possibility of our affectively touching each other is annihilated, while their contingent departure always sustains this possibility. It is the possibility of the Other's return, as something that stands before us as a feature of the world, which is disrupted by their death. In this disruption, we find that the Other again escapes our projects for the world, but this time in their *no longer* being alive so as to feature in our plans.

The being who has died is no longer the Other for us. The Other is only an absence for us, somebody who was once alive but is no longer and remains only in our memories, imagination and records of their life. When we refer to the Other in the past we are referring to the once living being, and to refer to the Other presently is to refer to the absence of that living being and as one-who-will-never-return. By this, we see that death is a departure of a specific kind—permanent and without the possibility of return.

Grief

If the Other has led a destructive lifestyle we may have already formed expectations about their premature death, perhaps even that they may die immanently. However, without such expectations, a particular form of disruption is created by the Other's suicide. This disruption is like the tree in the park we find cut down to a brutal torso: it has died because it has been reduced to its body and its limbs stolen, and it is shocking because we expected the tree to die with the grace of exhaustion, to gradually wither and fall apart or simply collapse. Rather than be denuded by blades the gracious death for the tree is for its branches to be scattered around it, broken or twisted where they have separated from the trunk, or for the whole tree to lie its length across the ground. But here its branches have come away from the trunk at straight cuts, what could only be achieved by intention, and there is nothing on the ground around the tree which points back to the event of its "natural" death. All the grace of death we expected for the tree has been disrupted and not because of another event of "nature", like a strike of lightning, but because of an intentional act; a sabotage. Like the tree, the sui-

cide of the Other is shocking to us because the kind of death we expected them to have was not this intentional end which became of them. The difference between the annihilation of the tree and suicide is that suicide is self-annihilation; there are signs around the scene of the suicide that point to the fact that the Other has, by their own doing, not died a "natural" death as we expected them to.

Grief is so overwhelming that it is facile to assume that any detached position on the situation can be attained and sustained while we suffer it. In grief, the world no longer admits of the everydayness of how we lived our lives prior to the Other's suicide, it does not allow us our old way of life. The suicide is antithetical to our previous way of living, since we have hitherto lived with the possibility of the Other being with us. Our old values and new projects are drawn into a *vacuum* created by the Other's suicide; there is seldom something we turn our attention to that is not pervaded by the absence of the Other. Everywhere stands out to us as being a place where their appearance is impossible, the world itself opposes and denies the possibility of their existence; the world has become antithetical to their being alive. We are thus confronted with an inescapable synthesis of our previous way of living and its being disrupted by the Other's suicide: the life we choose to live with the Other as absent-and-without-return. Regardless of what we choose to do the world carries on without the Other and so we have no choice about their absence—except to choose what do with ourselves in response to it. Yet we are also free to believe and make our choices in denial, contrary to the Other's absence. Whence arises the question of authenticity.

Authenticity

It is the great fallacy of discussing authenticity to fall into proclaiming that one can only be authentic by doing *this* or *that* specifically, when it is really only authentic to follow our own way in response to our situation. By thinking of our grieving in such a way we shall discover that by pursuing authenticity in our grief it can help to alleviate some of our suffering. Conversely, we shall discover that an inauthentic pursuit of grief only exacerbates our suffering.

The first aspect of the Other's suicide to be contemplated in respect of authenticity is death itself; thinking about death will reveal to us the distinction between authenticity and inauthenticity. When in response to the Other's death we say, "Well, I half-expected it," we are expressing our having prepared ourselves for that event perhaps coming to pass. In this expectation, we have taken there to be signs that pointed to the possibility of the Other's death. In such cases, we suffer the event less because we have prepared ourselves for this as an eventuality. Which is neither to say that we escape suffering altogether. To do so we would have to expect that at every next moment they will be dead, but this attitude is impractical because the world has to be taken for granted as cohesive in order for everyday living to proceed. However, where we have not expected the Other's death at all it is a greater disruption for us. Yet there was always a sign that the Other would eventually die: every living being, by virtue of being alive, will eventually die. To hold before us the possibility that the Other may die at any time is to be prepared that this possibility may be actualised and immanent, to have the best vantage point on it. The authentic attitude towards death then, as Heidegger points out, is to act in such a way that everything we do is in lieu of our eventual death.[2] To not lose sight of this involves seeing the world in its bare contingency; everyone is apprehended as being they-who-will-one-day-die. Death is to be seen everywhere as a possibility for everyone. But in so doing we are not believing something we did not already know.[3] By taking this authentic attitude we already accept the possibility of the death of the Other and alleviate ourselves of some of the grief of their death, since we do not deny that this was always possible and stand in some manner of readiness to receive it.

Distance

Where the Other has committed suicide it is not unusual to assume responsibility for them

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[2] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time,* trans. by John Macquarrie (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1962) 297–8.

[3] Remember?

having done so. And this is actually a question of knowledge; an epistemic gap appears to us that we struggle to cope with. On one hand, we may be remorseful that we did not do more for the Other, that if we had only made some extra effort or acted differently they might never have chosen to kill themselves. But to do so is to revisit and taint our memories as having possibilities that were never available to us at the time; we seek answers that act as solutions to the event that led to the Other's absence. It is, in fact, a masochism because we can never know, truly, whether our acting differently at the time would have led to their still-being-alive. Since the Other could have very well decided that they were going to kill themselves irrespective of what changed in their life. On the other hand, we may straightforwardly blame ourselves as being the *cause* of their killing themselves, perhaps if the suicide takes place after the end of a relationship or an argument, or if we have acted under the pretence of "being cruel to be kind" to the Other. Indeed, the Other may have made it their maxim, "If the relationship ends, I will kill myself," or, "Now that the relationship has ended I will kill myself, since I cannot bear the void in my life created by it." But it is evident too, by fact of the Other's freedom to choose, that these decisions were not created and executed by us; we did not control their maxim-making thoughts or control their bodies. We did not force them to kill themselves just as much as we did not prevent them from doing so; it was their choice alone. Their decision to kill themselves was never close to us and so neither did we push it away from us.

From this consideration, two positions are revealed: that if we had acted differently we could have stopped the Other from committing suicide, and that we could have controlled their thoughts and actions in stopping them. As such, either position is an inauthentic one. We cannot find the Other in the world as alive and we cannot reverse the event which led to the end of their life. There are two aspects to the event of their suicide, then: first, that there this is an epistemic gap that will never be filled or closed. Secondly, is a distance between our freedom within the present to reflect upon the past and the point in time in the past in which we could have acted differently, which will also never be closed, since the past cannot be changed. Let us refer to these two aspects as together being *the distance.* It is this distance standing before us, as being permanent and necessary, which is our suffering the Other's death. And in order to alleviate some of our suffering we attempt to close that distance by exploring all those possibilities we imagine were available to us at the time prior to the event of the Other's suicide. To be sure of ourselves as having been able to influence the situation all along, we place ourselves next door to the event and therefore only ever having been a step away from having made the right decision that we think would have prevented their suicide. We have all the logical steps laid out before us that show us how to solve the problem in itself. Put simply, it seems to make suffering simpler by accepting blame when it has not ever been there for us to take.

Yet it is evident that by attempting to simplify our suffering in this way we, in fact, complicate it; it is not the application of Ockham's Razor that it at first seems to be.[4] There is nothing simpler than saying, "this is complicated," and nothing is more complicated than over-complicating what is simple. By accepting responsibility for the Other's suicide we do not cancel the distance. That distance will never cease and cannot be swapped for our taking responsibility, or even covered up by it. So by our taking responsibility we are only confounding our woes. Furthermore, by assuming that the Other would not have killed themselves if we had acted differently, we are removing from them the freedom which conditioned their affectivity upon us, which made them the living being that they were, *who* they were, and that we loved and suffer the absence of. In doing so, by reducing them to a substance that was unto natural laws and upon which we could have acted, an object, we contradict and deny the being they truly were. This in itself contradicts and opposes the memories of the Other we hold on to as the last remnants we have of them. We have inauthentically pretended all along that the distance created by the Other's suicide can be closed when really it never can be.

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[4] "William of Ockham," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, last modified 25 June 2015, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ockham/#4.1.

All of this complication comes about by our taking the inauthentic attitude of denying the truth of the situation and it only confounds our grieving. The authentic attitude, then, is to work towards accepting the fact that the Other was always going to die, at no predetermined time no less, and that they died out of the freedom they have always had to kill themselves. Furthermore, their death has created an unsurpassable distance between us and the living being they were and the event of their death. By accepting this we diminish what is to be overcome in our grieving and overcome our grief easier than having complicated it with our assuming responsibility for the Other's suicide and distorting our memory of them.

Absence

Authentically accepting all of the aforementioned does not dissolve the Other's absence. This absence, inherent in the distance created by their death, can also never be overcome. The distance we have just discussed creates the Other as an absence, by their *disappearing*. But this disappearing is not the rotting or the melting of their body, but rather the ending of everything constitutive of their being alive—the affectivity between us. Further to this, is what we shall call the *vanishing* of the *possibility* of affectivity between us. The Other's absence consists in the disappearance of the affectivity between us and the vanishing of the possibility of this affectivity taking place. Further to these terms, we can retrospectively consider the event of the Other's death as being the *vanishing point*, since it marks out where the possibility of our affectivity between each other vanished.

Similar to our discussion of the distance, the inauthentic attitude in response to the Other's absence would be to pretend that it can be filled up or closed in some way; that the affectivity between us and the Other remains a possibility through re-enactment with another Other. But in doing so we will eventually fall short of being able to put paid truth to our pretending because the denial itself already implies what is being denied. So to deny something is already to affirm it as being-there-for-us. If we throw ourselves into the arms of somebody else in order to fill the void of the Other's absence, or in the belief that our affective touches with the Other can be realised again, we do not escape our grief because the very reason for our choosing to do this in the first place was in response to the Other's absence, which is our grief itself. We will eventually return to a visceral awareness of the world as lacking the affectivity between us and the Other, of what we are denying. Since we never truly find that affectivity due to the Other no longer existing and thus their affectivity being realised again is an impossibility. That is, there is nothing which recovers the Other or their affectivity, and denying this in bad faith, as we have said, only confirms it by referring back to it. Denial in itself is an acknowledgement and so to deny something as to disclaim it is futile. This reveals to us that the authentic attitude is to make our choices in affirmation of the Other's absence, and of the impossibility of affectivity between us, rather than in denial. And by affirming this we do not complicate our grieving by developing expectations that we can alleviate our suffering in such ways we really cannot. Suffering the lack of affectivity between ourselves and the Other is not eliminated but our suffering is made easier by accepting it.

Synthesis

Our response to the Other's suicide is also a question of our attitude in becoming reconciled to our new situation without the Other, which we shall call the *synthesis*. This synthesis is conditioned by the existential anxiety we experience in our awareness of having to choose what to do next. Every choice we make in response to our situation *is* our reconciling with the Other's absence; everything we do is a manifestation of our attitude. Given the authentic attitudes already revealed to us, it follows that the authentic attitude towards the synthesis is to affirm our having to choose. To deny that we have to choose is inauthentic because this seeming choice about the possibilities we can choose from —that there are none—is itself a choice about what we believe about choice. And as we have already discussed, denial is an acknowledgement of what is being denied; for us to deny that we have any possibilities to choose from there would first have to be those possibilities in order for them to be

denied. In believing that we cannot choose we consign ourselves to being fated, to being doomed in some way. This reveals another complication for our suffering: it is a belief that denies the possibility of our acting in ways that help us accept our grief. It follows, then, that the authentic attitude is to affirm our freedom to choose. This alleviates us of any such suffering because it maintains the possibility of our grieving being suffered less by itself being a choice to suffer less. Affirming our freedom to choose liberates us from the confines of our belief that we have no choice and as such avoids complicating our suffering further.

Reconciling with the Other's suicide, however, is not a simple task. Beyond establishing what is an authentic and inauthentic attitude toward our situation, there is no dictating exactly what we ought to do in choosing how to grieve and what to choose in reshaping our life without the Other. Having accepted the situation and its complexity, it is as reasonable to religiously devote several hours of the day to the memory of the Other as it is to kill ourselves; such is our freedom to choose. What we have discussed serves only as considerations for those who are grieving the Other's suicide and wish to alleviate their suffering.

Closing

Our discussion has revealed how embracing an authentic attitude in grieving the Other's suicide goes some ways to alleviate our suffering. Further, we found that accepting the complexity of the situation also aids in alleviating our suffering by avoiding confounding it in the first place. Such is the authentic attitude to the situation we have identified. It only remains for us to say that there is no moral attached to the strategy of coping chosen by anyone so long as their own suffering is concerned; it is just as well for somebody to grieve authentically as it is inauthentically.[5] We only set out to show that grieving authentically can alleviate our suffering and is of potential value to anyone who wishes to suffer less in their grief. ■

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"William of Ockham," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* Last modified 2015. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ockham/#4.1.

[5] That said, there is an entire account still to be given, elsewhere, as to how our choice of how to grieve can also create suffering for others, such as in how our choosing self-destruction affects those whom we invite to care about us, in forcing them to witness us do harm to ourselves.

“Bigly” Interpellations: Trump and the Crisis of American Ideology

David O. Hanson

The election of Donald Trump to the presidency sent shockwaves throughout the political sphere both domestically and internationally. The intrusion of such a volatile and abnormal political figure led to lacklustre analyses of the populism that buoyed his rise. This article will show how American populism is both a direct reaction to and an outcome of a dominant ideology upheld by the institutionalised American political class. After first outlining what type of ideological framework will be utilised, this article will then show how Trump is a symbolic representation of the crisis that American ruling ideology is undergoing.

Political pundits privy to and part of the American establishment publicly proclaimed their shock that America, upon the election of Trump, could supposedly deny its values and elect an openly “xenophobic, racist, misogynistic, serially mendacious narcissist”.[1] Op-eds in America’s most illustrious newspapers opined about how the “white working class” had brought to power a man intent on undermining American democracy and prosperity in order to institute superficial populist goals.[2] It created a burgeoning public discourse about what this “populist uprising” truly wanted. Populist came to mean undemocratic and subversive, blind to the norms and institutions of the American political system that kept democracy running smoothly.

Generally, Trump was seen as a disruption to the normal functioning of American politics. Conventional political wisdom dictated that the presidency would switch between the two major parties, but there would only be a modicum of difference between each candidate. Continuity of norms was paramount and presidents were expected to act “presidential”: stately and refined. Trump was none of that. Mainstream pundits and cultural critics attributed his rise to malcontent sectors of society blind to the benevolent hegemony of the political establishment—populists—who helped Trump “by staging something like a coup against [Republican] leadership”.[3] The system, rather than being inherently problematic itself, was given an improper input with Trump that, given time and political manoeuvring, would eventually be averted and fixed, with normal functioning returning after one political cycle.

Truly a disruption to the system, Trump is a highly complex and nuanced intrusion. This essay explores Trump as a disruption to American ideology, particularly the ideology of the institutionalised political establishment. The initial rejection of Trump by Republicans and the wholesale disgust of Democrats indicates that he is viewed as a bumbling outsider by the political establishment. The “political establishment”, a somewhat vague and confusing term, in this essay refers to the electoral and party systems that inform and dominate the American political scene. Thoroughly embedded in

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DAVID O. HANSON is a first year student at the University of Glasgow intending to study towards a Joint Honours Degree in Theology and Politics. He previously worked in electoral politics in California before coming to Glasgow and is interested in the intersection of Christianity and leftist politics.

[1] Jelani Cobb, “Donald Trump and the Death of American Exceptionalism,” *The New Yorker,* 4 November 2016, https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/donald-trump-and-the-death-of-american-exceptionalism.

[2] Peter Goodman, “Trump Rides a Wave of Fury That May Damage Global Prosperity,” *New York Times,* 9 November 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/10/business/economy/trump-rides-a-wave-of-fury-that-may-damage-global-prosperity.html.

[3] Geoffrey Kabaservice, “Wild populism has a long history in US politics, but Trump is surely unique,” *The Guardian,* 15 January 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/15/wild-populism-long-history-us-politics-trump-surely-unique.

the American democratic process, these systems and the various actors within them constitute the political establishment. The prevailing ideology of this political establishment—unable to cope with arising crises within its own ideology and American society generally—lacks political imagination and efficacy to deal with the paradigmatic shift that Trump represents. While not directly responsible for the rise of Trump, I will explore how the political establishment's ideology laid the groundwork for a subversive figure like Trump to rise to power.

Ideology as interpellation

Before explaining how ideology enabled a figure like Trump, a framework and method must be chosen to describe what ideology is and does. Terry Eagleton, in his *Ideology: An Introduction*, gives sixteen different possible conceptions of ideology, from "a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class" to "socially necessary illusion"; this analysis leans toward the former.[4] Describing ideology as conceptualised in the Marxist tradition by the French philosopher Louis Althusser, I utilise Argentinian political theorist Ernesto Laclau's post-Marxist rearticulation. In this vein, ideology creates a system of meaning which allows for individuals to make sense of their lived existence. Central to this theory of ideology is the priority of the philosophical subject, outlined by Althusser in his seminal *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. Formatively, "ideology is made possible only by the subject"; ideology functions by turning individuals into subjects, giving individuals a perceived sense of personal autonomy.[5] Through a complex web of social interactions, subjects are given agency that is on one hand real and on the other imaginary, for "represented in ideology is not a system of real relations which govern existence of individuals, but the imaginary relations of those individuals to the real relations in which they live."[6] This imaginary subject-making system is what Althusser calls interpellation. He describes interpellation as similar to the process of hailing someone; a literal "hey, you there!" The literal and symbolic act of speaking at an individual makes them a concrete subject; it is a form of socialisation born from the act of recognition. The individual you have hailed/recognised in turn recognises you and you are both no longer concrete individuals but instead concrete subjects by nature of your social interaction.

This individuated conception of ideology explicitly rejects the "post-ideological" consensus of much of post-war American sociology.[7] Ideology is not just the grand political narratives of Nazism or Soviet Communism. Ideology is a way of making sense of the world, providing subjects with set narratives that allow for practical simplification of highly complex discursive trends. The attendees in the thrall of a Trump rally are just as much under the sway of ideology as the political pundits sneering at what they see as mass hysteria. Ideology is distinctly manifested in social, religious, and political discourses, creating a map for the subject. Summatively, Althusser says, there is "1) no practice except by and in ideology and 2) no ideology except by the subject and for subjects."[8]

To maintain subjectivity, ideology must constantly adapt and reproduce, ameliorating its contradictions, of which every ideological system has. However, an ideology falters when contradictions in the social space become too great to ignore and the ideological problematic can no longer accommodate or explain them. When the crisis takes hold, the crisis of confidence its subjects experience is "translated into an exacerbation of all the ideological contradictions and into a dissolution of the unity of the dominant ideological discourse".[9] Since individuals are transformed into subjects, when ideo-

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[4] Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 2007), 1–2.

[5] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Mapping Ideology*, ed. by Slavoj Zizek (London: Verso, 2012), 128.

[6] Ibid, 125.

[7] Eagleton, *Ideology*, 4.

[8] Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 128.

[9] Ernesto Laclau, "Fascism and Ideology," in *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism* (London: Verso, 2011) 103.

logy splinters the crisis is not just an ideological crisis, but an identity crisis. Opposing social sectors, fundamentally pitted against each other due to power imbalances, attempt to disarticulate the opposing ideology by narrating a "reconstitution of a new ideological unity".[10]

Whether an ideology is dominant or undergoing a crisis, it is constituted and reconstituted through discourse. Laclau's major contribution to political theory has been the introduction of the conceptual framework of discourse theory to the Marxist canon (he and his partner Chantal Mouffe refer to their contribution as post-Marxism).[11] Grounded in Saussurean linguistics, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and Derridean deconstruction, Laclau and Mouffe explore how political discourses function. Firstly, discourse is the practice of articulation, which Laclau and Mouffe define as "any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice."[12] As such, discourse is "the structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice."[13] Discourse theory largely encompasses Althusser's idea of interpellation, but presents a more developed model of how social and political identities are constructed within an ideological framework. In societies, there are a plurality of social actors constituting a social space holding demands that must be met by the existing social institutions. How society and its structural institutions respond to demands relies on the particularity of the demands and how the variety of competing demands are equivalated and differentiated. In the advent of a social/political movement, a particularity, a specific demand, "assumes the representation of an incommensurable totality" amidst a whole variety of demands.[14] This representation, the privileging of a certain particularity in the position of a master-signifier, is what Laclau and Mouffe call hegemony. Hegemony, a key concept definitive of their post-Marxism, pulls from the Gramscian idea of hegemony, but in a significant departure realises the social totality as a system of discursive relational identities.[15] While ideology functions as interpellation, ideology represents and constitutes its subjects through discursive signs. Ideology may be dominant, but it is not infallible. It is in ideology's fallibility, that the "hegemonic identity becomes something of the order of an *empty* signifier, its own particularity embodying an unachievable fullness."[16] This emptiness of the hegemonic identity is the point around which populist ideology revolves.

The populist interpellation

Individuals within western societies are interpellated as subjects into a capitalist system, fed a narrative, and provided with a discourse. All are in the throes of ideology. But as to how individuals and social actors are interpellated into certain ideologies varies. Marxist theory, with its "determination in the last instance by the economic base", boils down antagonisms to class conflict.[17] While a class-centric analysis of political movements is vital, it cannot explain why individuals contradict their class interests. Middle-class small business owners and rural working-class whites have differing class motivations, but they both predominantly voted for Trump.

Traditional Marxist analysis, while correctly pointing out contradictions inherent in a capitalist social formation, ultimately boils all conflict down to class struggle. For Laclau, especially in his early theoretical work, class is still the basic bloc through which society organises itself and through which we can analyse social struggle; but instead of every contradiction being an instance of class

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, "Post-Marxism Without Apologies," *New Left Review* 0, no. 166 (1987): 106.

[12] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, 2nd ed, (London: Verso, 2014), 91.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason,* (London: Verso, 2007), 70.

[15] Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 120.

[16] Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 71.

[17] Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 105.

contradiction, "every contradiction is overdetermined by class struggle."[18] Class antagonism is not articulated as class struggle because of a deficient interpellation. Laclau outlines two major contradictions and their subsequent interpellations. On the first level, centred on the dominant modes of production—between the capitalist and the worker—there is the basic Marxist premise that the capitalist class appropriates the surplus labour-value of the working class. As such, on the ideological level, agents within the system are interpellated as a class as a result of recognising the material relations between unequal subjects.[19] The second contradiction arises out of the "political and ideological relations of domination and not just the relations of production".[20] Instead of being interpellated by class, agents are interpellated by general, populist terms—the "people"—as there is a lack of ideological problematic mapping or making sense of the imbalance of power present to them. It is this misrecognition of their material relations, determined by the dominant modes of production, that interpellates agents through class contradiction but not as class antagonism. Focused against a small, minority elite, agents attribute the apparent contradictions of the social formation to a deficiency in the democratic system, defying Marxist dogma that all articulated antagonism is class-based.

Before elaborating on the populist interpellation, it must be noted that there are preconditions for populism, which Laclau outlines in his 2009 book *On Populist Reason*. Before the "people" can articulate an antagonistic stance toward the small, minority elite, the generalised social category of the "people" must be formed. Firstly, there must be "the formation of an internal antagonistic frontier separating the 'people' from power."[21] There must be a basic form of antagonism that is definable in ontological terms, distinguishing within the social space the various forms of actors. Secondly, there is "an equivalential articulation of demands making the emergence of the 'people' possible."[22] As mentioned above, before a demand is privileged, adopting the hegemonic position, demands at some level must be equated. In the formation of the "people", who have a variety of demands, the particularity of each specific demand must be diminished before a more coherent and unified rhetorical demand can be made against those in power. When this is attained through political mobilisation, there is finally "the unification of these various demands […] into a stable system of signification".[23] At this point, the "people" have been formed into a more distinguishable group, though as Laclau is keen to remind us, this stable signification is an empty signifier, the demands of the "people" do not constitute a fully realised ontological political identity, but merely the appearance of one.

In this instance, the "people" are now formed into a moderately stable entity pitted against an antagonistic power. The demands against this power constituting populism can stem from outside the capitalist paradigm, but in many cases these other democratic deficiencies can be traced back to forms of economic injustice. Ruling bourgeois ideology in modern capitalism is distinctly linked with the the democratic liberal tradition, such that the "bourgeoisie's successes in asserting its ideological hegemony, is the consensus it has achieved […] that many of the constitutive elements of democratic and popular culture are irrevocably linked to its class ideology."[24] By co-opting the popular-democratic tradition and discourse, bourgeois ideology interpellates subjects into a populist discourse that negates the class element that ultimately underpins the nature of the contradiction bringing about the crisis. This is itself a transformation or reproduction of ideology. When the ruling classes attempt to reassert the established power relations, they do so by "reconstituting the ideological unity". Laclau, in a reformulation of the Marxist critique, posits that ideologies transform "through class struggle,

[18] Laclau, "Fascism and Ideology," 106.

[19] Ibid, 107.

[20] Ibid, 108.

[21] Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 74.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Laclau, "Fascism and Ideology," 111.

which is carried out through the production of subjects and the articulation/disarticulation of discourses."[25] The popular-democratic interpellation is one such attempt at disarticulation. As class antagonisms rise to the surface, they are articulated/disarticulated into a more manageable form of crisis.

The resolution or overcoming of a crisis of capitalism comes from two factors indicative of the relative placement of different social sectors or classes within an ideology. As Laclau says:

> (1) The more separated is a social sector from the dominant relations of production, and the more diffuse are its 'objective interests' and consequently, less developed its 'class instinct' - the more the evolution and the resolution of the crisis will tend to take place on the ideological level.
> (2) The more central is the role of this type of sector in the social formation in question, the more central will be the role of the ideological level in the final resolution of the crisis on the part of the social formation as a whole.[26]

Since in modern capitalism, social sectors are more dispersed and alienated and therefore less likely to collectively organise, the resolution of a crisis will come about through the articulation/disarticulation of social antagonisms. There will always be contradictions in the system—a certain sense of ambiguity that can never be fully explained—but the predominant ideology will continually "absorb and neutralise its contradictions" through popular-democratic interpellations.[27] These contradictions, which the "people" respond to with demands, will nonetheless still be confined to an ideology that manifests itself in an "institutionalist discourse […] that attempts to make the limits of the discursive formation coincide with the limits of the community."[28] More simply, political imagination is stifled by keeping possible solutions within the narrow bourgeois democratic tradition.

Trump as Populist Vessel

It is the populist interpellation through which we must look at Trump. The initial analysis of the 2016 election and the popular narrative running through mainstream media sources was that Trump was riding a populist insurgency to the top, a "populism cut[ting] across party lines like few others before him" and "appeal[ing] to many less-educated voters in the white working class who hadn't previously taken much interest in politics."[29] This populist insurgency was initially deemed to have come from the white working class centred in middle America. An economically and socially disenfranchised social group, the elite consensus deemed that the white working class had genuine cultural anxieties that were inappropriately channeled into a populist firebrand such as Trump. *New York Times'* best-selling books such as *Hillbilly Elegy* attempted to explain to coastal liberals the alienation that white working class people were feeling. Tellingly subtitled *A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis*, *Hillbilly Elegy* hinted at the alienation felt by these once secure American communities but tellingly attributed it to a deficient culture rather than the dire economic conditions they were subject to. As Bob Hutton in *Jacobin Magazine* retorted in a review of the book, "the American hillbilly isn't suffering from a deficient culture. He's just poor."[30]

It is precisely this diagnosis of Trump's ascendancy that outlines the predominant ideological discourse in American politics. Devoid of any class consideration, the explanatory power of both con-

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[25] Ibid, 109.

[26] Laclau, "Fascism and Ideology," 104.

[27] Ibid, 115.

[28] Laclau, *On Populist Reason,* 81.

[29] Michael Lind, "Donald Trump, the Perfect Populist," *Politico,* 9 March 2016, https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/03/donald-trump-the-perfect-populist-213697; Kabaservice, "Wild populism."

[30] Bob Hutton, "Hillbilly Elitism", *Jacobin Magazine*, 1 October 2016, https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/10/hillbilly-elegy-review-jd-vance-national-review-white-working-class-appalachia.

servative and liberal rationales is lacklustre. There seems to be a consensus in American political circles that there is some form of crisis, though few agree on what the nature of it is. What is for certain is that there is a crisis of the ruling class. Trump was not only maligned by the Democratic Party but also by the Republican Party in the early stage primaries of the 2016 election. Party elites on either side assumed that Trump could never clinch the nomination, let alone go on to win. The veneer of respectability that political elites worshipped and Trump eschewed hints at the ideological similarity of the American political class regardless of party lines. For both parties, politics must be conducted within the bounds of respectable discourse, no matter how progressive or reactionary the policies are. Made up of cultural and business elites with different but intersecting political rationalities, they nonetheless constitute the ruling class. Laclau's observation that there is always a "sense of ambiguity" within the dominant ideology holds. While there may be tension between market-oriented neoliberalism and moral-statist neoconservatism they still both constitute a relatively dominant ideology, one that is keen to uphold a capitalist social formation.[31]

If Trump is the rejection of politics-as-normal, then Trump is a rejection, consciously or not, of the dominant ideology. In Marxist terms it is a rejection of bourgeois ideology. Trump himself is not a clear manifestation of Laclau's first contradiction, highlighting the contradictions between a ruling class that benefits from a rising stock market and exacerbated income inequality while the working class suffers from stagnating wages and precarious job security. He is himself part of this ruling elite, "a plutocrat denying plutocrats".[32] Instead, Trump embodies the second populist contradiction: a symbolic figurehead of a populist movement that decries the effects of global capitalism while refusing to name it as such, or as Inderjeet Parmar labels him, a "pluto-populist."[33]

The populism that helped drive Trump to power was a clear example of Laclau's popular-democratic interpellation. Actual economic and cultural anxiety resulting from globalised capitalism and changing demographics were channeled into anger at a faceless and careless elite. Trump's rhetoric denied the class element of his voters anxieties, or at least never affirmed it, articulating instead a vision of a resurgent America where they could once again regain their privileged status. This vision was particularly attractive to the white working and middle classes, who needed a discourse which catered to their specific demands. The established political rhetoric of both Democrats and establishment Republicans could not satisfy these demands, because in an "institutionalist discourse […] all [demands] are considered equally valid within a wider totality."[34] The normal political rhetoric was too broad to satisfy the particularity.

Part of what made Trump's populist discourse appealing to both classes was the particular anxieties that Trump answered to: that of both a racial and economic scope. Any analysis of right-wing American political trends cannot ignore race and, as the political theorist Corey Robin has shown in Trump's political rhetoric, Trump played blatantly to that racial anxiety, to the idea that people of colour were being given unfair advantages via policies such as welfare and affirmative action. However, this racial anxiety, which for many people was enhanced by the "tormenting symbolism of a black president and the greater visibility of black and brown faces in the culture industries", stemmed from "a combination of stagnating wages, rising personal household debt, and increasing precarity".[35] Racial anxiety—to varying degrees a popular-democratic interpellation in certain parts of

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[31] Wendy Brown, "American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization," *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (2006): 691.

[32] Corey Robin, *The Reactionary Mind: Conservatism from Edmund Burke to Donald Trump,* 2nd edn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 246.

[33] Inderjeet Parmar, "The legitimacy crisis of the U.S. elite and the rise of Donald Trump," *Insight Turkey* 19, no. 3 (2017): 9.

[34] Laclau, *On Populist Reason,* 82.

[35] Robin, *The Reactionary Mind*, 243.

America—masked over the material problems facing people, though it was most certainly not the cause of this deep-rooted historical racism.

The support for Trump to some extent came from the working class, but it also came from the middle classes as both were interpellated via popular-democratic means in slightly different ways. Like the working class, the middle class—petite bourgeoisie in Marxist terminology—has antagonisms with the capitalist social formation. Laclau shows that the middle class's "contradictions with the dominant bloc are posed, not at the level of the dominant relations of production, but at the level of political and ideological relations."[36] Distinctly hailed outside of their class position in capitalism, the middle classes adopt a populist discourse to air their grievances with the the dominant class and its ideology. Trump's populism, infused with economic nationalism aimed at the dominant classes, "rejected the central tenets of the bipartisan neo-liberal agenda that has impoverished segments of the middle and working classes".[37] Economic anxiety was real to these relatively well-off classes. Their dissatisfaction with the system, channeled into populist aggrandising which had roots in the anti-government ethos of the Tea Party Movement in the early Obama presidency, needed an outlet which Trump, to an extent, provided.[38] But middle-class ideological discourse was not singular in that it was unique to their economic position. It "incorporated its own elements into the ideological discourses of the basic classes", articulating material anxiety in class-absent terms not directed toward any specific economic system but instead at an antagonistic social formation of elites against the "people": in Trump's language, "the silent majority".[39]

The working class, subject to the same battering of economic forces, were similarly not given an discourse to make sense of their increasing precariousness. The Democratic Party, never truly a working-class-based party like the British Labour Party, has over the decades slowly loosened its ties with major labour unions in favour of donations from the capitalist elite such as banks and large corporations; Hillary Clinton received 92 percent of corporate contributions in the 2016 election cycle.[40] The working class lacks a party to articulate and address its needs. Politically unrepresented, the working class's "objective, structural position […] under capitalism provides the basis for collective, solidaristic radicalism *and* individualist, sectorialist, and reactionary politics."[41] In the case of Trump they opted for the latter, as the dominant ideology disarticulated any sense of solidarity by pitting workers against each other, designating them as competing "individual sellers of labour power".[42] The lack of class interpellation leaves workers as pawns within an atomised labour market, leading them to the understandable conclusion that their lack of economic power is a result of some "other" force. Reactionary politics latches on to this "other", designating it as even more marginalised and downtrodden groups such as people of colour, LGBT+ people or immigrants as its source.

Trump and the Splintered Left

The rise then of reactionary politics—politics latching onto the cultural and economic anxieties of the working and middle classes—stems partly from this lack of "class consciousness". In other words, there is a lack of a strong, genuine, left-wing movement interpellating working class agents as subjects cognisant of the structural deficiencies of modern capitalism. Traditional working-class institutions such as trade unions have only lost members in the face of global capitalism that due to structural changes is making many organised shop floors irrelevant. There are fewer and fewer ideologic-

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[36] Laclau, "Fascism and Ideology," 114.

[37] Charles Post, "Roots of Trumpism," *Cultural Dynamics* 29, no. 1–2 (2017): 102.

[38] Ibid, 101.

[39] Laclau, "Fascism and Ideology," 113.

[40] Post, "Roots of Trumpism," 103.

[41] Ibid, 105.

[42] Johanna Brenner and Robert Brenner, "Reagan, the Right, and the Working Class," Verso (blog), Verso, 15 November 2016, https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2939-reagan-the-right-and-the-working-class.

ally explicit organisations willing or capable of fostering the "collective, solidaristic radicalism" needed to disarticulate the ideology of the dominant class. Trump's seemingly incoherent rhetoric and intellectual deficiency Corey Robin notes, indicates an absent left and a vacuous right: "when the left is ascendant and genuinely threatening, the right gets tough, intellectually and politically; when the left is in abeyance, the right glows sclerotic and complacent, rigid and lazy."[43] Trump is clearly not the best that the right has to offer, but he is representative of a faltering ideology increasingly incapable of intellectually buttressing the contradictions inherent within it. The left, mostly absent from the Democratic Party besides Bernie Sanders and his supporters, has been unable to articulate increasing social and economic precarity into popular universal struggle. Breaching the divide between working and middle classes, though they face similar issues at different degrees, is difficult because of the lack of institutional structure able to articulate class agitation as a popular-democratic goal.

Reading Trump in light of this crisis of capitalism leads to varying interpretations, some more drastic than others. Trump is a terrifying figure, a break from American political norms that makes many worry about the efficacy of American democracy and its institutions. In light of that, a key historical takeaway from Laclau's "Fascism and Ideology" is that fascism arises in modern capitalist societies out of a dual crisis. There is:

> 1) A crisis of the power bloc which was unable to absorb and neutralize its contradictions with the popular sectors through traditional channels.
> 2) A crisis of the working classes; which was unable to hegemonize popular struggles and fuse popular-democratic ideology and its revolutionary class objectives into a coherent political and ideological practice.[44]

In Trump we see this dual crisis. The political establishment, made up of both Republicans and Democrats at the highest echelons of power, are still coping with the election of Trump and the crisis it means for their power structures. While Republicans have mostly fallen in line with Trump and his cabinet, they represent less and less of the actual population. Democrats continue to struggle for ideological coherence, with mainstream Democrats fighting against Bernie Sanders and the populist-left movement that he represents. Hillary may have won the popular vote by almost 3 million votes, but American electoral systems are peculiar and changing them would require constitutional amendments which needs a bipartisanship not present in current American politics. To win the Democratic Party has to respond to populist demands, "but signals […] as to readiness to lead such an effort at political reform are discouraging."[45] The left in America is still weak and Sanders does not have the institutional clout needed to bring about a strong working class populist alternative, despite being the most popular politician in the country.

This is not to say that America is sliding into fascism. To claim definitively as such would be alarmist and ignore the complexity of American electoral systems and diversity of interpellations in American civic life. One could tentatively call Trump a proto-fascist by his shredding of American political norms and sheer vitriol aimed at people of colour and immigrants. Rather, he is a culmination—a synthesis—of the crisis of the dominant ideology and clearly an indication of a new direction in American politics. ■

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[43] Robin, *The Reactionary Mind*, 245.

[44] Laclau, "Fascism and Ideology," 115.

[45] Inderjeet Parmar, "The legitimacy crisis of the U.S. elite and the rise of Donald Trump," 12.

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Literary discourse: do writers put the 'author' in authority? Disruption in literature regarding authorship and authority

Simi Kaur

The exploration of disruption regarding the authorship and authority relationship—if there is one at all—is a beyond challenging concept; and because of this raises ontological questions. The texts *The Pillowman* and *The Good Soldier* provide an interesting scope for this investigation, as the characters are aware of themselves as authors and of the readers within the narrative. Can we ever separate authorship and authority? I will explore the disturbing effect that authority has on the relationship between text, reader and author. Clearly, the lines are blurred when regarding Cora Kaplan's statement—"For me the greatest danger when reading a literary text is to assume that authorship and authority mean the same thing." The factors I will discuss are: subjectivity, power relations, unreliable narration, self-conscious narrative, the meaning of art and egalitarianism and the value of names and texts. These factors appear to blur the lines between authorship and authority. The factors I chose to discuss acquired analysis and further inspection, when looking at the authorship-authority relationship.

> For me the greatest danger when reading a literary text is to assume that authorship and authority mean the same thing.
>
> — Cora Kaplan[1]

For readers, it is quite dangerous to forget who controls the narrative; it can be disruptive. In reference to both Ford Madox Ford's novel, *The Good Soldier* and Martin McDonagh's play, *The Pillowman,* I will discuss "authorship" and "authority" and how this can be dangerous when both can, as Cora Kaplan states, "mean the same thing".[2] The word "author" meant "father" in 1300.[3] The word draws on the Latin root "auctor" with meanings such as "enlarger, founder, master, and leader". The word "authority" shares its origins with the Latin root, "auctor": in its nominative form, the word is "auctoritas," and has meanings such as "invention, advice, opinion, influence, and command".[4] The word "author" therefore connotes paternalistic influence through its etymological connection with "authority". Thus, there is a danger of mistaking authorship and authority for the same thing. This leads to disruption when it comes to power and ownership of texts.

It is dangerous to mistake authorship for authority when the narrative is subjective when it is not from a third person omniscient perspective, which prevents us from seeing who really holds authority. In relation to author, text and reader, we must look at narrative perspective and what this reveals about authorship. *The Good Soldier* is told from a first-person perspective; the narrator is also involved in the story, and so his narrative is limited. In agreement, as Roland Barthes suggests, it could be "the voice of a single person, the author 'confiding' in us".[5] Though, even if they are, we, as readers, could interpret this as both reliable and unreliable, as he could be withholding other parts of

SIMI KAUR is a student at the University of Glasgow studying for a bachelor's degree in English Literature and hopes to pursue a career in journalism and/or writing.

[1] Cora Kaplan*, Sea Changes: Essays on Culture and Feminism*, (London: Verso, 1986).

[2] Albert Russell Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6; Robert Ainsworth, Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1823), 11.

[3] Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 6.

[4] Ainsworth, *Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary,* 11.

[5] Roland Barthes, *Image-music-text*, trans. Stephen Heath (Palabra: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), 145.

the story and/or telling the truth. As readers, we can never know. John Dowell is dishonest, naïve and fickle. This is obvious from his opinionated description of characters in the novel that he is involved with. Dowell believed Edward to be a "good soldier", which is ironic, as we know he is not, yet Dowell describes him a "normal man".[6] Later, Dowell calls him "wicked and mean"; this flighty character construction Ford produces reflects the tone of the novel and its subjectivity.[7] To understand Booth's explanation of the concept of the unreliable narrator it is important to understand the term "implied author".[8] Booth coined the term "implied author" to exemplify the distance between the real author and his or her work, and thus avoids the problems that can arise with an autobiographical reading of a novel.[9] The personality of an implied author can be a complete opposite of that of the real author. The implied author is a disguise that the real author uses to tell the story with a certain effect; is the author therefore projecting himself onto the text? A reader will react differently to different types of implied authors and this reaction helps to determine the reader's response to the work. The writer can alter the guise of the implied author to suit the effect he or she wants. The author, here, is in a significant position of power; the very reason that authorship and authority are mistaken for the same thing.

Despite differences in form, *The Pillowman* also displays issues regarding the authorship-authority relationship, but in a contrasting manner. The play's form exposes less subjectivity due to its third-person perspective. Though, the author's moral of the play is subjective as it is moulded into a contextual play about power relations. Power-relations are important to inspect when focusing on authoritarianism. Katurian's stories inspired Michal to reenact what Katurian "wrote and read out" to him.[10] This is what the authorship-authority relationship embodies when authorship can have such a deep impact on its readers, it leads to action. Katurian cannot stop Michal from acting out his stories and harming the children he sought after. This is the main dilemma in *The Pillowman*; particularly as it is set in a totalitarian state. This dictatorship means There are no limits to authority in the state. In the play, the detectives are able to uncover most of Katurian's life through his stories. If we zoom in on the story of "The Writer and The Writer's Brother", it is uncovered that the story is partially autobiographical for the relationship between Katurian and Michal.[11] As the play goes on, the detectives further their hierarchy over the author (Katurian) and the author's companion (Michal). Ultimately, Tupolski ends up with the power to decide if Katurian's stories go down as his legacy, as it is Tupolski's decision whether to "burn all his stories"; here the power roles are subverted. The author no longer has control over his own stories. The authority that the state holds is shown here; the roles are subverted. The paradox concocted here is the very reason why the dangerous authorship-authority relationship acquires significant danger ethically and philosophically. The choice of what is told or not told is vital; an omniscient narrator therefore holds a lot of power. Many critics, including Culler, uphold the belief that "the narrator's audience is often called the narratee."[12] This implies that the audience is a possession of the narrator, as the name suggests. This is supported by Culler's opinion that "narrators are sometimes termed unreliable," especially when they provide us with information that is subjective, according to their own bias, which inevitably makes us doubt their interpretations of events.[13] This implies that the narrator speaks with authority as he dominates the narrative. This is how the author controls our viewpoint of how things are perceive things by readers, through the nar-

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[6] Ford Madox Ford, *The Good Soldier* (London: Oxford Publications, 2012), 141.

[7] Ibid, 88.

[8] Greta Olson, "Reconsidering Unreliability: Fallible and Untrustworthy Narrators," *Narrative* 11, no. 1 (January 2003): 93–110.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Martin McDonagh, *The Pillowman* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2003), 51.

[11] Ibid, 52.

[12] Jonathan Culler, *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 82.

[13] Ibid, 83

rator, particularly in the texts mentioned; exemplified in *The Pillowman* through Katurian's own description of his life—"that's my life. I stay in and I write stories".[14] The author suggests our society is damaged because of the world's view of text as a commodity. The power relations constructed in the narrative affect the reader's perception, and in doing so the author exhibits authority.

Authors clearly hold authority due to the unreliability of the narrative and the narrator. This is explicit through Dowell's narration being shaped in a psychological order, as opposed to a chronological order; this is something the author chooses to do as they hold authority over the narrative. Looking further into this, Dowell's narration relies on the principle of "progression d'effet" and is presented as free direct thought, occasionally alternated with direct speech where Dowell quotes the other characters in the story.[15] Despite his eloquence, Dowell's free direct thought allows for an impressionist narration in which Dowell is able to tell "the story as it comes" and to digress, emphasise, understate and abbreviate.[16] It also allows him to tell the story in a psychological rather than chronological order. Dowell's narration of his participation in the story forces the reader to question his knowledge: is it possible that he knew about the affair of his wife and Edward Ashburnham? How could he not have known about the affair? What are his true feelings about the other characters in the novel? How does he truly feel about himself? Is it possible that he is continually lying? When, if at all, is Dowell telling the truth? Hampson and Saunders have reiterated that "he who narrates the story lies even if he swears he is telling the truth".[17] The narrator's opinionated view can sometimes sidetrack us from what we believe to be the truth; disrupting our view. This heightens the author's relationship with authority.

Self-conscious narrative intensifies the danger of authorship and authority meaning the same thing; it furthers the disruption of authority, as the readers are controlled to an extent. We tend to fall into the trap of believing the narrator or author on the grounds that "the reader takes the world described in the text as reality," which is what Stephen Bonnycastle reinforces here. The narrator is constantly aware of their authority.[18] They may also be hiding information from us, as well as telling us that they determine the fate of the story or the telling of the story. The blurring between reality and fiction that Bonnycastle demonstrates is displayed in *The Pillowman* when Katurian's stories become reality: they enter the "real world".[19] This emphasises the epistemological uncertainty of ourselves as readers and contemporary society, as this brings about ontological questions of reality and fiction. It can therefore be interpreted as a self-conscious play, through which it becomes a commentary on a metaplay, which is the author's intent. This is another point which elicits subjectivity and leaves the author in control of influence. As readers, we are limited to knowledge imparted by the narrator due to our limited perspective, when "recounting actions without giving us access to characters' thoughts".[20] This highlights the issue that the narrator holds information from the readers. Self-conscious narrative affects how dangerous it can be to assume authorship and authority mean the same thing, as the power authors hold could be inferred as authoritative. This power dynamic is disruptive for readers as we can never know everything we need or want to know.

At times, the reader may be seen as a creator due to the reversal of power, which subverts authority previously held by the author. Another way of looking at authorship would be to explore an-

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[14] McDonagh, *The Pillowman*, 12.

[15] Tim Armstrong, *Modernism: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 13.

[16] Ford, *The Good Soldier*, 108.

[17] Robert Hampson and Max Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford's Modernity* (New York: Rodopi B.V., 2003), 274.

[18] Stephen Bonnycastle, *In Search of Authority* (United Kingdom: NBN International, 1998), 183.

[19] McDonagh, *The Pillowman,* 20.

[20] Culler, *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction,* 89.

other possible definition; "a creator of a work of art".[21] Therefore, we are the creators of the art through our interpretation and imagination; our exegesis differs from reader to reader. In this sense, it is appropriate to ask ourselves where we draw the line at artistry and how this affects who or what authorship is. It is not always the case that the author is authoritative; they are only in control to a certain extent. This illustrates that the text is personal to readers—no one owns anything—however, we can all remain within our own mindsets. The direct address that Dowell possesses as a narrator to his readers highlights the problem of authority, when mentioning "you see; in those days I was interested in people with 'hearts'".[22] The reader may interpret this as a bias; as a character trait; as a theme; as an act of foreshadowing. Readers' identities and beliefs alter how they interpret language. Considerably, on this note, it is possible to separate the authorship and authority. When Dowell states "You, the listener, sit opposite me. But you are so silent. You don't tell me anything," he addresses the reader as someone he knows, and in doing so, creates an egalitarian atmosphere, whereby authority is exhibited less.[23] This is not explored in *The Pillowman*, due to its totalitarian atmosphere. Dowell as a narrator constructs his narrative for the purpose of someone he knows to read it; egalitarianism is introduced. McDonagh's conception in *The Pillowman* is to establish that egalitarianism is lacking in progress. Depending on how we view the authorship-authority relationship, there is a possibility that the author does not express as much authority as they want to.

Texts, and the paratext, enable us to see authorship and authority as a dichotomy that work for socio-political reasons. Texts, particularly novels, are valuable to an author and were seen as a commodity in the pre-twenty-first century; due to early capitalism and industrialism which gave the author power.[24] This is still a recurring issue in our present day, to an extent that texts can control an author's life. We only question this recently in literature due to its prominence in texts. This is evident in the play *The Pillowman*; Tupolski wants Katurian to admit that his stories "are better than all of your stories".[25] Names and texts are considered analogous; equivalent in value. Identity is an essential part of the authorship-authority relationship. Before copyright laws, texts were "valorised without any questions about the identity of their author".[26] For example, if we think about the Bible, many stories are written by unknown authors. Identity affects our perception of a text; "'Literary' discourse was acceptable only if it carried an author's name".[27] This is evident when Ariel talks about his legacy as a police officer; "they're gonna know my name".[28]Authorship is therefore contingent on their intent, as well as the reader's response and action. In Katurian's last moments all he can think about are his texts, "Right at this moment I don't care if they kill me. I don't care. But they're not going to kill my stories. they're not going to kill my stories. They're all I've got".[29] He is consumed by the texts, which is an ironic theme in the play that the author uses to display the power of possessions and consumerist products. A writer is considered more established if they copyright their own product, and in doing so they enter the world of consumerism. In this way, the authority that the author (in this instance, Katurian) holds it lost once he succumbs to Copyright and state laws; the epitome of capitalism. Now we can see authorship as inferior to authority, as the authorities control the author; reflect-

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[21] "Authorship", Cambridge Dictionary. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/authorship. [accessed 14 February 2018].

[22] Ford, *The Good Soldier,* 27.

[23] Ibid, 7.

[24] Mary Louise Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (June 1998): 817–844.

[25] McDonagh, *The Pillowman,* 61.

[26] Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 125.

[27] Ibid, 132.

[28] McDonagh, *The Pillowman*, 53.

[29] Ibid*,* 42.

ing on society's problems. This is also evident in Katurian's stories about "child-killings" that become reality in *The Pillowman*, for which he is falsely imprisoned for. As soon as he tries to escape the tie to the authorities, he becomes trapped. An author is unable to express themselves anymore without constrictions. We cannot escape the ties that come with authority, and neither can the author.

The socio-political and contextual issues encompassing the texts that I have brought up are all aspects of the disruption that arises when looking at the authorship and authority relationship. It can be difficult to see who holds authority when reading texts, which enables us to question our morals and ethics. There are many aspects surrounding the text, author and reader that affect this relationship. Within these components we can see that they build up certain tensions and uncertainties in terms of questioning authorship and authority. After inspecting the key elements, it is fair to say that one can interpret authorship and authority in many ways, and so I put forward the statement that it is dangerous, as it can often be mistaken for authorship. Nevertheless, both terms clearly do not necessarily mean the same thing. This is entirely contingent on how one personally views each term. We may never be able to see ourselves as just readers anymore, as we are limited to knowledge that is perhaps withheld. This disrupts readers from seeing the text as more than it appears to represent. ■

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Defiance through rediscovery: the "Burmese english" memoir, imperial "borders", and nation-building

Isabel L.M. Khine

This article seeks to explore the complicated role that the memoir form of Thant Myint-U's text, *The River of Lost Footsteps*, plays in the development of a combined national identity and literature in the context of Burma. *The River of Lost Footsteps* is read as a literary foray into Burmese sociopolitical history that is focalised through Thant Myint-U's necessarily personalised lens. Through an exploration of "Burmese english" as a radical linguistic act of reclamation and rediscovery, this polemic comes to the conclusion that an understanding of language as a material pursuit is essential to the process of achieving the self-direction of formerly colonised nations and nation-states. I reach this conclusion by developing an argument that deploys the scope of a distinctively racialised authorial perspective. In doing so, post-colonialism can be construed as a twofold operation; to be postcolonial is to be theorised as such, but it also enacts post-colonialism through language use as a means of resistance against the naturalised imperial project of both past and present.

The question of Burma's national and cultural identity has long plagued a global community of diplomats, politicians, and academics.[1] Although the recent politics of Burma are worthy of significant address, its colonial history and subsequent status as a "real" nation has largely been ignored. Burma as a post-colonial nation is non-existent, in the sense that its national literary history and artistic history is entirely hypothetical; little to no critical discussion has been afforded to it in the last century. This is peculiarly problematic when considering the role that literature plays in the process of nation, and consequently, national-identity building. Burma is rendered a static "thing" for diplomats to fight over, for academics to ponder, and for politicians to condemn for the human rights abuses committed by the ruling government. Burma's identity as a nation is complicated by the fact that the state Burma, as politically defined, consists of over forty nations of various ethnic minorities—hence the emphasis here on multivocality. The study of Burma has been largely ethnographic or linguistic, for example, in the case of John Okell's work on Burmese language/dialects; with an interest in the nation and the people as sources of material information that can be used by the literati for one purpose or another in ethnographic museums; and as a side-note in World History university courses. Thant Myint-U's memoir *The River of Lost Footsteps* is a personal foray into the history of Burma. As the grandson of former United Nations Secretary General U Thant, Thant Myint-U's identity as a diasporic Burmese person comes to the forefront of this text as a means of exploring wider questions concerning Burma's development of national and cultural identity. The hybridity of Thant Myint-U's identity manifests itself in the language that he utilises. It is this hybridity that illuminates the notion that the materiality of language and the exploration of that materiality is at the heart of understanding the way in which *The River of Lost Footsteps* functions as an integral part of the laborious process of building a national identity. Certainly under-read and undervalued, *The River of Lost Footsteps* is imperative to the act of building a nation that is free from the shackles of imperialism and its seemingly ceaseless grip on the post-colonial. By the conclusion of this essay, I hope to have participated in the disruption of the geographic and conceptual borders that have defined Burma by highlighting the emergence of a bur-

ISABEL LWIN MAY KHINE is a third-year English Literature student. Her parents are Burmese immigrants living in Hong Kong, and her diasporic identity informs her academic work. She is especially interested in decolonising education, diaspora aesthetics, ecocriticism, and radical left-wing politics. She would like to pursue further study and a career in education.

[1] Burma is officially known as *Pyindaunzu Thanmada Myânma Nainngandaw.*

geoning literary canon, free from the constraints of imperialism, in a language that is hybrid, but uniquely Burmese.

In "1870 a telegraph line was laid linking Mandalay to Rangoon as well as to other towns in Upper Burma […] The idea was that to be modern, there had to be uniformity, definite lines of authority, and clear boundaries of jurisdiction."[2] The key feature of imperially created borders was therefore the need for there to be a clear delineation of who controlled the means of communication. It is not solely language itself that must be controlled, but the means through which such language is communicated, as "[…] the control of the means of communication is the empowering factor in any colonial enterprise".[3] The control of Burmese english through its own writing is therefore imperative to the act of resistance against imperial ideology. Using Burmese english in a multi-vocal, discursive manner—as *The River of Lost Footsteps* is simultaneously polemical, historical, and literary—renders communication the right of writers such as Thant Myint-U. The right to use english as a discourse and communicative medium is not to appease the colonial narrative, but rather to subvert the material control of the conditions of communication as delineated by the imperial project. The act of writing in english with a lower case "e" reclaims discourse; it is an appropriation of the "telegraph lines" and an abrogation of English with a capital "E" in its hegemony.

Within the specifically Burmese branch of post-colonial literature, "it is not always possible to separate theory and practice".[4] To be post-colonial is to be theorised, and also to put into practice post-colonialism. For a state that has been defined by only external forces for almost two centuries, the strength of Burmese post-colonial literature is the ability to write itself. This is not a discussion of, or a return to, a "pure" or "source" Burmese literature as the Orientalists would prefer, but is part of a nation-building exercise that begins from the nothingness of the post-colonial condition. "Nothingness" is used in the sense that imperialism leaves nothing behind that is that of the colonised—it must all be re-appropriated, repossessed, and reclaimed by the new social consciousness that arises out of post-colonial writing. To reclaim "nothing", at the outset, appears to be paradoxical. However, the "nothingness" attributed to the colonised also implies and encapsulates the totality of control attributed to the coloniser; by repossessing the nothingness, the entirety is also repossessed. A new language of resistance against the materialism of hegemonic empires and their lasting ideologies is formed in the use of "english"—and english that is Burmese in its form and usage. Such Burmese english is resultant of authorial identity—in a post-colonial text, it is impossible to separate the hybrid identity of the author from the text, as the language utilised is always an extension of the self. From the destruction of a nation's past comes freedom from the fetters of external definition and the birth of the "real" *Pyindaunzu Thanmada Myânma Nainngandaw*. The rebirth of Burma is manifested in the textuality of Burmese english, and since "each birth represents a new beginning and the introduction of novelty into the world", the birth of a national literary consciousness is the introduction of a literal "novel"ty.[5] The resistance to which I refer as presented in this Burmese english memoir must not be misconstrued as synonymous or interchangeable with "nationalism" as defined by European philosophical norms. As aforementioned, the independent state of Burma is made up of a number of nations and ethnic minorities, and these nations are largely defined by cultural or ethnic ties, not political borders. The nation-building project to Burma is therefore not an isolating, state-focused nationalism but a culture-oriented resistance against the naturalised material order left behind by imperial administration. *The River of Lost Footsteps* as written by a diasporic Burmese person is therefore a

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[2] Thant Myint-U, *The River of Lost Footsteps* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007), 138.

[3] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, "Re-placing Language: Textual Strategies in post-colonial writing," in *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures*, ed. by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge, 2002), 78.

[4] Ibid, 82.

[5] Maurizio Passerin d'Entreves, "Hannah Arendt," in *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, last modified April 2014, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/arendt/.

highly significant act of rediscovery—one that refutes the "discovery" of nation-states as delineated by the imperial project of both past and present. I refer to the present imperial project because it continues materially in Burma through the continued existence of physical railways, buildings, and textually written laws that were imposed by the British. While the formal process of "decolonisation" has been and gone, such material presences allow the imperial project to continue ideologically.

Writing in the post-colonial context is akin to taking; writing back and taking back are synonymous. This notion of not just returning, for there is nothing to return to, but reclaiming, it textualised in the lines, "Three of the world's great rivers—the Yangtze, the Mekong, and the Brahmaputra—come within a hundred miles of one another here, in nearly parallel lines, before setting off for thousands more miles in different ways and meeting the sea at Shanghai, Saigon, and Calcutta. The area […] was the home of the Burmese language."[6] The rivers, independent of imperial jurisdiction in their wholeness as utterly embedded within the physical earth itself, yet flowing freely through it, is the ultimate embodiment of the Burmese english text, and the concept of truly "writing back". To write "back" does not refer to an essential notion of the "pure" or "authentic" Burma before its "discovery" by outside forces. Resistance of imperial ideology is not a romantic adventure back to the green paddy fields of yesteryear—it is imperial ideology that has presumed this purity exists. Purity is what the white-skinned lends of the colonial traveller is fed through Kipling's diaries. To write "back" is an act of reclaiming both language and physical space for the multitudinous Burmese. For the formerly colonised and for their children, as well as for the diaspora, there will never be a true, pure, Burmese "home", for the "home" does not exist. The conventional Burmese language as ethnographically defined, much like the water of the rivers, is embedded within Burma itself, but its embedding is fluid in the sense that it is a social vernacular and highly visible. Less visible is the institutionalised value of the English language as the still-remaining British crux of the modern legal system in Burma. The English language is the ground in which the Burmese flows through. The two, however, appear to require the presence of the other in order to create a full-functioning river of language. English is not just English in Burma, just as Burmese is not just Burmese; both are embedded within systems that intersect in more ways than not—legal (English) jurisdiction is, after all, social (Burmese) control. To undergo the material process of writing in Burmese english is an act of reclaiming the language for Burma. The initial reclamation of language in *The River of Lost Footsteps*, found within the fundamental life source of water, reaches its full potential in the text when the rivers intersect after miles of separation. The reclaimed language flows across imperially created and enforced borders that were coded through ethnography—and, in the twenty-first century, modern Area Studies—towards the polyphony of Burmese english.

The notion of "centres" and "peripheries" is integral to *The River of Lost Footsteps*. Thant Myint-U writes, "The English to the extent that they were considered, were seen initially as just another group of people from the West. And for Burma the West began in Bengal […] All the many and varied visitors and immigrants […] were classified under the single ethnic category of *kala* […] the newer *kala* from Europe was sometimes referred to as the *bayingyi kala*."[7] The instance of contextualising surroundings clearly "offers a frame of reference that exists outside the boundaries of European knowledge production" through sheer indifference.[8] The notion of the "West" in its rigidity as the world's hegemonic power melts away within the use of the term *kala*. *Kala* has no direct translation in the English language, and is therefore decidedly Burmese english in its manifestation as both the sign *kala* in the roman alphabet, and *kala* in that which is signified. By textually placing Burma as the locus of mapping—the course of knowledge—as produced materially (i.e., textually) by human individuals, the "West" as it is known to the reader of English, as opposed to english, no longer exists: it

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[6] Thant Myint-U, *The River of Lost Footsteps*, 351.

[7] Ibid, 108; White visitors to Burma are also commonly referred to as *kala-phyu*, *phyu* meaning "white".

[8] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Grauland, "Introduction," in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by J.D. Edwards and R. Grauland (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 3.

fades away into nothingness with the use of Burmese english. Just as the "West" fades from view, the "East" does too. Burma is no longer part of the Orient that is looked towards from across the ocean; it is no longer the subject of an Orientalism that is involved in the "distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological text" from the "West".[9] Burma becomes the centre, not in the traditional sense of everything else becoming peripheral, but in the sense of reclamation; the text takes "hold of the marginality imposed on it and makes hybridity and syncreticity the source of literary and cultural redefinition".[10]

The "centre" of Burmese english is its fluidity. "The appropriation and reconstitution of the language of the centre, the process of capturing and re-moulding the language to new usages marks a separation from the site of colonial privilege" in a birth.[11] Referring back to the concept of natality, Burma, through the reclamation of not only language, but the discourse created by geopolitical hegemonies, begins its birth from the river of Burmese english. Hybridity displaces the essentialising "Oriental" or "East" and acts as liberating forces by explicitly using plurality to their advantage. The hybridity of *The River of Lost Footsteps* alludes to Hannah Arendt's assertion that "without the presence and acknowledgement of others, action would cease to be a meaningful activity".[12] The "action" in the textual use of Burmese english and the fading of the West/East binary enables to globe to finally become truly spherical int he text through the acknowledgment of a necessarily hybrid Burmese english. There is no specified or fixed beginning and end point. The centre moves fluidly from locale to locale. The centre can be British and Burmese; it possesses the emancipative emancipatory potential to be both simultaneously. The borders of not only nations, but of the philosophical and literary, as formerly delineated by Orientalists and ethnographers alike, are firmly dislocated and displaced for the purpose of a genuinely post-colonial polyphony of discourse.

The practice of post-colonialism, as demonstrated in *The River of Lost Footsteps,* is deeply personal. Gramsci states that "The starting point of a critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is "knowing thyself" as a product of the historical processes to date, which had deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory".[13] The personal history aspect of *The River of Lost Footsteps* is therefore essential to the process of nation building; there are implicit mental (inventory-less, as in not-recorded) borders that have been imposed on the Burmese individual—diasporic or not—that must be dislodged, and, eventually, destroyed completely. English as an area of academic study is an inherently political phenomenon; the study of it was institutionalised in colonially administrated areas for the purpose of "naturalising […] constructed values" and is as such "the language of our intellectual make-up […] but not of our emotional make-up".[14] Referring back to *The River of Lost Footsteps*, whilst the physical "house"—the emotional—in New York was "on the map […] part of Riverdale" for Thant Myint-U, it was "in most other ways […] a small slice of Burma".[15] There is a presumed knowledge here that the sign in English, "Riverdale" signifies a thing that is very different than the English sign "Burma", and the discourse between these two signs is therefore rooted in their difference. In these few lines, Thant Myint-U demonstrates that "all post-colonial literatures are cross-cultural because they negotiate a gap between "worlds", a gap between which the simultaneous process of abrogation and appropriate continually strives to define and de-

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[9] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 12.

[10] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, "Re-placing Language", 77.

[11] Ibid, 37.

[12] Maurizio Passerin d'Entreves, "Hannah Arendt".

[13] Gramsci, quoted by Edward W. Said, in *Orientalism*, 25.

[14] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, "Introduction," in *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures*, ed. by B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin (London: Routledge, 2002), 3; Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, "Re-placing Language", 60.

[15] Thant Myint-U, *The River of Lost Footsteps*, 38.

termine their practice".[16] He does so by taking the English academicism of "abrogation and appropriation" as the "intellectual make-up" of his hybrid being, and brings the presumed intellectualism of English into the personal realm of the physical childhood house. English is therefore abrogated in this context through a denial of Riverdale and its significations as the source of knowledge and experience because it is the "small slice of Burma" that is the contents of the physical "mapping" of Riverdale, irrespective of Riverdale's superficially physical imposition on the map. Burmese english is contextualised in the personal realm of diaspora where Burmese exists within, and provides substance to, the English. This allows Thant Myint-U to reclaim the Burmese english discourse through effectively destroying the notion that the academic and personal—the English of Riverdale and the Burmese of Burma—are separate realms. He once again uses the necessary plurality of Burmese english to demonstrate the hybridity that presupposes is existence.

Remaining within the realm of the personal, Thant Myint-U discusses his trips to Burma as a young boy by stating that "[…] those trips to Burma were always a surprise, a surprise that the inside world, inside the walls of Riverdale, had become the outside world, of people on streets and in markets […] What was particular to my family was suddenly public and everywhere[…]"[17] This is a particularly common experience of diasporic individuals. There is a simultaneous movement of both the physical and mental from the "inside" space of the aforementioned house in Riverdale, to the "outside" space. Seemingly private, incredibly localised rituals are rendered jarringly public. This movement's subsequent memorialisation within the text, lies at the core of *The River of Lost Footstep*s. This experience can be referred to as what Jean-François Lyotard dubbed a *petits récits*: the "local histories that resist systematisation".[18] Such systematisation through the means of Orientalist travel writing or European ethnography is resisted through the exploration of the self by an observation of the material conditions of travel. Language itself is a material pursuit, and Thant Myint-U has therefore moved physically—through his actual travels—through Burma, and has materialised these travels through their memorialisation in the text. Through the act of writing the memoir, Thant Myint-U controls the material conditions of his representation and existence. Burmese english is a means of reclaiming and recreating Burma itself—the notion of Burma as a nation is being reframed by Thant Myint-U writing in a language that is uniquely Burmese. Such signifying of his experiences through the medium of Burmese english brings about the dislocation of the concept that Burma must be internalised. Self-reflexivity is a facet of humanity that the imperial project did not allow the Burmese people, as "Orientals […] were always and only the human material […] in British colonies".[19] The Burmese travel writer, through the material act of writing, is made self-aware of their inherent materialism not just in terms of being an imperial subject, but on a global scale. There is a realisation through the democratisation of Burmese english that materialism, and the pursuit of a material text that can define a nation, is what unites humanity. This is explored through Thant Myint-U's movement as he realises textually that all individuals, and all rituals deriving from the discourse between these individuals, must be materially manifested: either in physical movement, or in the text, or simultaneously. Materialism is reclaimed as a constituent part of Burmese english, and to deny such materialism is to deny the the ability to move within these abundant, varying spaces. Such recovery of the material conditions of existence and the text prevents systematisation because it cannot be utilised by the hegemonic imperial project to ideologically control the formerly colonised; it is the formerly colonised that now control their own material status. The material conditions of being a diasporas Burmese individual who necessarily moves materially through a plethora of spaces therefore renders

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[16] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, "Re-placing Language", 38.

[17] Thant Myint-U, The River of Lost Footsteps, 38.

[18] Paul Smethurst, "Post-Orientalism and Past-Colonial in William Dalrymple's Travel Histories," in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by J.D. Edwards and R. Grauland (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) 168.

[19] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 39.

the movement—both bodily and textual—into Burma not a rediscovery in the traditional sense, but a discovering. "Those trips to Burma" as "always a surprise" lifts the veil of Orientalism from which it is clear, through Thant Myint-U's described surprise, that even the Oriental is not immune. Thant Myint-U's life has been defined by Orientalists in the sense that the "ritualisation" of life within the confines of the house has been as such because of their culturally rendered illegitimacy in the space of imagined "West". Those "rituals" are ritualised through their enforced hiding—it is hiding and othering that is now discovered through the reclamation of the materiality of existence.

Adding to this discussion of the necessary materialism of post-colonial memoir writing is the notion of the sign releasing "language from the myth of cultural authenticity" through the utilisation of the term *longyi* in *The River of Lost Footsteps*: "The UN security guard at the gate […] wore uniforms of light and navy blue, but inside the stone walls a Burmese sarong or *longyi*, even in the Northeast winter, was the more predictable sight."[20] The *longyi*—as a sign created by the Burmese, manifested in the conventional English alphabet, integrated into the Burmese english text—embodies the materially "fundamental importance of the situating context in according meaning".[21] The *longyi*, as an item that is materially created—the cloth the literally woven by a labourer, and textually through its written form—is the "more predictable sight". Within Orientalism, there is a notion that the colonised or non-white person is one that can be presupposed. The longyi as the archetype of the signified image of the "Burmese" is reclaimed within *The River of Lost Footsteps*. The image no longer belongs to the Orientalist who desires to materially essentialise and create the image of a pure Burmeseness, but becomes that of the Burmese, and is repossessed by the Burmese through is manifestation in the dynamic, material fluidity of Burmese english.

This article has begun a discussion of not only Burmese english memoir writing, but Burmese english literature as a whole. Nation building is an arduous and physically demanding process that requires the labour and suffering of those who write it, and of those who choose to discuss it critically. The ability to utilise language as a form of self-direction lies at the heart of such texts, and consequentially self-direction is simultaneously an academic and personal pursuit. It is this deeply personal aspect of the post-colonial that cannot be ignored, for "we have precisely chosen to speak of that kind of *tabula rasa* which characterises at the outside all decolonisation".[22] The painful realisation of the nothingness that presupposed the post-colonial condition brings to light the necessity of self-definition as the crux of resistance. It is therefore through decolonisation by the birth and use of Burmese english that we will see the building of a *Pyindaunzu Thanmada Myânma Nainngandaw* that possesses a self-made critical discourse, which must necessarily begin at the *tabula rasa* that is the dislodging of imperialism. ■

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[20] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, "Re-placing Language", 65; Thant Myint-U, *The River of Lost Footsteps*, 38.

[21] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, "Re-placing Language", 65.

[22] Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin, 2001), 1.

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"You're never coming back you goddamn bastard!": Sound, Safety, and Bereavement in *Phantasm*

Jamie Lewis

Don Coscarelli's 1979 sci-fi horror film *Phantasm* essentially depicts Mikey and his older brother Jody's battle against, and eventual defeat of, an extraterrestrial undertaker: the Tall Man. Ultimately, it is revealed that Jody is in fact recently deceased and the entire plot was Mikey's fantastical nightmare, the product of his grieving imagination. One scene's use of sound is analysed here for its effectiveness in concisely tying together the disparate strands of Mikey's subjective experience. Through the use of hushed dialogue, relational silences—particularly in relation to music—and the strategic repetition of doors being slammed, the soundtrack of this extract functions to elaborate upon the subthemes of sibling affection, abandonment, and ultimately profound terror. The audience is thus led through numerous stages of Mikey's emotionally unstable psyche: from comforting relief, to deep distress, and finally fear.

For the large majority of its run time *Phantasm* ostensibly depicts 13-year-old Mikey and his older brother Jody's battle with the Tall Man, an alien undertaker who reanimates then shrinks corpses—including those of the siblings' recently deceased parents—to use as dwarf slaves on his home planet. After destroying the mausoleum that housed the intergalactic portal used to transport undead captives, Mikey is informed he has just awoken and the entire experience was a grief-fuelled nightmare caused by both his parents' and Jody's recent deaths. The audience is then forced to reconsider everything that they have seen as the film's narrative incoherency is re-contextualised as the product of a child's subconsciousness struggling to overcome multiple bereavements. Due to its open ending, the question of whether or not the Tall Man exists outside of Mikey's dreams has provoked countless online debates. This essay will assume he does not.

The scene to be analysed here takes place before that revelation and shows Mikey returning home having escaped from a violent encounter with the Tall Man's minions. Jody greets him and the two share a brief moment of familial affection before Mikey's older brother locks him in his bedroom and leaves to attempt to kill the film's villain. The youngster quickly escapes only to find the Tall Man waiting at the front door. A combination of dialogue, sound effects and music within the scene gives aural representation to three distinct aspects of Mikey's subjective experience of the narrative. Firstly, his sense of safety within his home and with his subconscious's representation of his deceased brother. Secondly the young boy's profound fear of abandonment and ultimately the danger represented by the

JAMIE LEWIS is a first-year Film and Television Studies student at the University of Glasgow. His research interests include the intersections between postcolonial theory and the horror genre.

Tall Man and its sonic presentation through the film's progressive rock score. While addressing these points, this analysis will pay special attention to the use of the sound of doors closing and opening to imply both physical and psychological barriers, and to what Paul Thebérge has termed "relational silences" between the soundtrack elements.[1]

The opening of the scene is notable for its relative calm, reflected through the soundtrack's lack of music and the dialogue's hushed tones. Opening with a medium close-up of Jody staring off-screen, the score—carried over from the previous scene—fades out and with it the last vestige of the chaos and violence that has just occurred. A door slams and the camera cuts to a longer shot, with Mikey having just entered the room. (Figure 1):

Figure 1: We hear the door slam shut, then cut to Mikey.

Crucially, he is heard before he is seen, introducing a key aspect of his subjective experience while at home: doors as barriers to both protect and imprison.[2] He is now safely inside with a blockade between him and the danger outside. The soundtrack expresses this through the use of "relational silences", understood by Thebérge as the muting of one or more elements of the soundtrack to create "crude juxtapositions of sound components as a kind of special effect" that produce "relationships of presence and absence".[3] The assertion that these "contrasts thus produced are a powerful tool for creating meaning" is applicable to *Phantasm*, as the music's absence in this scene is immediately noticeable and deeply significant.[4] The film's progressive rock score—as will be discussed in greater detail later—represents the danger of the Tall Man, and as Mikey is rarely far from that peril, ominous keyboards, synthesizers and electronic beats are practically omnipresent.

Yet now with aural calm around them, the two brothers have the opportunity to talk, and do so

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[1] Paul Thebérge, "Almost Silent: The Interplay of Sound and Silence in Contemporary Cinema and Television," in *Lowering the Boom: Critical Studies in Film Sound*, ed. by Tony Grajeda & Jay Beck (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 56.

[2] Examples of the significance of doors elsewhere in the film include frequent references to the door to the room housing the Tall Man's portal: "There's this door down here…", "This is the door to their planet."

[3] Thebérge, "Almost Silent", 56.

[4] Ibid.

in hushed tones, with Mikey sat on Jody's knee. The younger of the two updates his sibling on the fate of their friends so quietly as to be close to a whisper, squeezing words out between heavy breathes and a hint of sobbing. The audience hears his every sound as he struggles to both control his breathing and process the violence he has just experienced. The foregrounding of the human voice and Mikey's panting recall Karen Lury's analysis of sound in *CSI*, in which she claims the performance of conversations "in a low-pitched, breathy and intimate manner" represents "the register of secrets and caresses".[5] While her argument is that such dialogue can consequently be erotic in nature and there is no indication of any incestuous relationship in *Phantasm*, the point of intimacy is pertinent as the two are sharing a sibling concern and affection. Mikey and Jody sit with their arms around each other and the soundtrack expresses the younger boy's subjective experience of feeling safe at home with his older brother. Through the muting of the film's score, the scene allows the audience to appreciate that its protagonist is finally able to relax, blissfully ignorant that this reunion is a deception of his subconscious.

Figure 2: Jody secures the screwdriver.

Mikey's emotional condition quickly changes from a feeling of safety to deep distress. As Jody forces him into his room he realises his older brother intends to go to the mausoleum to fight the Tall Man alone, triggering his intense fear of abandonment. This phobia is later explained through the revelation that Jody's death was the result of a car accident while on a road trip. Mikey's choice of words at this juncture is crucial: "You're never coming back you goddamn bastard!" He is evidently not truly worried that the Tall Man will kill Jody and prevent his return or his response would be one more of concern, not exclusively of anger. Rather, his subconscious is aware that Jody has already left and never returned from his travels. Mikey's voice cracks. He screeches rather than yells. Having been near silent seconds before, the scene is now a cacophony of pushing and punching with increasing volume as Jody carries his young brother upstairs, and yet the music track remains silent. Again this relational silence indicates that Mikey believes he is not in danger as the Tall Man is, to his mind, far away. He might be angry, but he is safe.

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[5] Karen Lury, "CSI and Sound," in *Reading CSI: Crime TV Under the Microscope*, ed. by Michael Allen (New York: IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 2007), 113.

After literally throwing his little brother into the bedroom, Jody pulls the door shut. He then wedges a screwdriver in the gap between the door and the wall and secures it with three strong pushes of the flat of his palm (Figure 2).

The sound is an obvious mismatch; his hand inexplicably causes a louder, deeper noise than the audience would expect, closer in timbre to a hammer. These sound effects reinforce the motif of doors as barriers, though this time to imprison Mikey in his room. He is left powerless to prevent his older brother leaving and potentially dying in his dream, just as in waking life. His subjective experience is now one of bitter anger and sadness, the brief respite of his subconscious intimate moment with his brother brought to an end with the crashing thud of a door, a barrier raised between him and what he wants: to be free of the nightmare of the Tall Man and of the reality of Jody's passing.

The bedroom door/barrier does not last long though; as its structural integrity, the relational silence of the scene, and Mikey's safety within the home quickly come to an abrupt and loud end. Barely has Jody left the house when the young boy fashions a homemade explosive out of a hammer, sticky tape, a thumbtack, and a shotgun shell, then proceeds to blast a hole through the door, dislodge the screwdriver, and escape his bedroom. His improvised weapon makes an obviously disproportionately loud noise, more akin to what audiences might expect from a car exploding. Instantaneously, the film's score returns, shattering the musical silence that had previously expressed safety and intimacy. The dramatic sound of the door being removed as a barrier and the return of a keyboard riff that has been developed throughout the film as a leitmotif clearly indicate what Mikey is thinking of: defeating the Tall Man.

The association of this snippet of music with the film's villain has been well established by this point, as has its use to express the connection between him and the boy whose dream he exists within. Earlier for instance, it had soundtracked a scene in which Mikey sees his nemesis in a photo he uncovers in an antique store. The photograph then begins to move as the Tall Man turns to look straight at the boy. As the film progresses towards its climax this leitmotif is used repeatedly, although with increasingly intense accompanying instruments. The melodies however remain incomplete, consistently interrupted and never allowed to continue to a logical conclusion. Richard Dyer has identified a similar effect in the score of David Fincher's *Se7en* and argues that it gives the illusion of a movement towards an ending and a potential wedding of disparate narrative strands.[6] That promise is a lie in both films. Dyer's argument is applicable to *Phantasm*, particularly when he asserts that such repetition represents a "tonal progression that endlessly promises melody and completion but never really delivers it, drawing one endlessly onwards through the darkness".[7] This quote can be taken as an explanation for the film score's expression of the subjective experience of Mikey's dream state. He seemingly moves towards a resolution by discovering more and more about the Tall Man, while only truly regressing further into his subconscious and becoming lost in the darkness of his grief-fuelled fantasy world. The scene analysed here is a primary example of this as the soundtrack lulls Mikey into a sense of safety before encouraging his re-entry in to the most fantastical aspect of his nightmare: the quest to defeat the Tall Man. The keyboard leitmotif draws him further and further through the darkness.

To comment on the score as a whole, it is significant that it relies so heavily on the generic conventions of progressive rock—prog—such as the use of more "technological" sounds and longer form instrumentals.[8] Through its commitment to "improvement and upwards development through experimentation", Paul Hegarty asserts "progressive rock aims to change society, or suggest alternat-

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[6] Richard Dyer, *Se7en* (London: bfi Publishing, 1999), 54.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Allan F. Moore, *Song Means: Analysing and Interpreting Recorded Popular Song* (London: Routledge, 2016), 201–202; Edward Macan, *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counterculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 22.

ives."[9] *Phantasm*'s prog soundtrack functions as the aural manifestation of Mikey's subconscious attempts to suggest an alternative to his waking reality, one in which his brother is still alive. However, that dream is not often a pleasant one, and the score's reappearance warns the audience that danger is nearby, a fear confirmed when Mikey opens the front door to leave and the Tall Man is waiting. (Figure 3)

As the door opens, the music is drowned out and then muted with a large cymbal crash, an aural expression of the destruction of another barrier and of the young boy's subjective experience in that moment: a sudden, overwhelming sense of shock and fear. The Tall Man tells him, "I've been waiting for you" in deep, well-articulated, aged tones, reminiscent of Christopher Lee's performances as Dracula; confirming this is a character to be feared. He grabs his young nemesis by the shoulder; an action that immediately triggers the resumption of the aforementioned keyboard riff. The Tall Man throws the boy into the back of a hearse and slams the door behind him, providing the aural effect that draws the scene to an end. Mikey is again entrapped.

Figure 3: The Tall Man's presence has been foreshadowed by the keyboard leitmotif.

Through the use of relational silences, the scene analysed here establishes the brothers' home as a place of safety and aids the dialogue in highlighting the sibling affection between them. Sound effects are employed to emphasise the motif of doors as barriers, particularly when invoking Mikey's profound fear of abandonment. These two thematic strands are superseded when the film's progressive rock score recycles the keyboard riff it has developed into a leitmotif for the danger represented by the Tall Man. Throughout, the scene thus uses sound to express the intense psychological components of Mikey's subjective experience from comfort to anger and ultimately, fear. ■

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The withdrawal from Empire: Post-war immigration's influence upon English society going into the 1970s

Henry Locke

English post-war immigration has a turbulent history. Surprisingly, directly after the war, immigrants were mostly welcomed into English society with Polish, Irish, and Italian communities forming across the country. This began to change by the 1950s after the arrival of HMT *Empire Windrush* into Tilbury docks saw the first immigrants from outside Europe taking up their rights as a British Citizens to emigrate to the centre of the Commonwealth. "White Riots" broke out across the country in the latter half of the 1950s as traditionally white English communities began to fear what they saw as a "disrupting coloured invasion of their identity". This caused a political backlash and saw the pushing through of the Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968, and 1976 through parliament which outlawed various racial prejudices and discrimination on grounds of colour, race, ethnicity or national origins. Ultimately, the friction caused by increased immigration reached a crashing crescendo in 1968 with Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech which was met with vocal support up and down the country. Today, immigration, and the political and social connotations that come with it, are an accepted part of societal life. This article aims to show how and why this came about and the disruption this caused for English society; tracing the timeline of immigration from directly after the Second World War to the early 1970s.

Following the Second World War, the decline of the British Empire caused a shift of focus to the British Commonwealth. For many policy-makers in London, the process of British withdrawal from Empire and decolonisation simply marked the beginning of a new epoch for Britain. Britain needed to sustain its current global outreach and the understood way to do so was to make Britain the "Mother country" of the Commonwealth, and so create a multi-racial society through immigration and a network of nations.[1] This had transformational and lasting consequences on British society. The initial stages of immigration were accepted due to England's need for labour and the fact that many of the incoming immigrants were ethnically white European. The 1948 British Nationality Act further encouraged immigration from the rest of the Commonwealth and led to a large increase in the numbers of incoming immigrants. By 1962, the matter of "coloured immigration" had entered the public and political consciousness and was often met with harsh criticism from many a public voice; most notably that of Enoch Powell's in his 1968 "River of Blood" speech.[2] As a whole, immigration caused by withdrawal from the Empire transformed England from a relatively isolated society in 1945 into a sometimes fractured and multi-racial society by the 1970s.

The European Voluntary Workers (EVWs) were the thousands of mostly white European immigrants who were invited to Britain by the government in the direct aftermath of the Second World War in an effort to support the struggling English labour market.[3] Additionally, the Polish Resettlement Act of 1947 facilitated the settlement and resettlement of Poles into Britain, creating a large Pol-

HENRY LOCKE is a current fourth-year history undergraduate studying at the University of Glasgow. His research interests focus on the changing role of states, historically, in the international community. Consequently, this paper concentrates on the effects of immigration upon English society during Britain's withdrawal from Empire. He hopes to undertake postgraduate work in the field of International Relations at an institution in the Netherlands with the intention of pursuing a career in diplomacy.

[1] L.J. Butler, *Britain and Empire: Adjusting to a Post-Imperial World* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2002), xiii, 104.

[2] Wendy Webster, "The Empire Comes Home: Commonwealth Migration to Britain," in *Britain's Experience of Empire*, ed. by Andrew Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 159; Enoch Powell, "Speech at Birmingham, 20 April 1968," in *Freedom and Reality,* ed. by John Wood (London: Batsford, 1969).

[3] Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939–1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 154.

ish community in British society.[4] Later that year, EVWs were described in a parliamentary debate as "ideal immigrants" and "as first-class people, who if let into this country would be of great benefit to our stock".[5] There was little social resistance to EVWs, except occasional minor annoyances aimed at the intermarriages between Poles and English women, of which 4,000 occurred.[6] The transformation of English society by white EVWs was welcomed and encouraged. Bilingual road-signs were erected in Bedfordshire for the local Italian brick laying community.[7] In 1948 the British Nationality Act (BNA) was passed in which all Crown subjects were automatically entitled to British citizenship.[8] The BNA saw to open up and encouraged immigration into Britain from the rest of the Commonwealth community. This action was also aided by international incidents such as the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 in the US, which reduced people of Caribbean decent from entering the US, and environmental crises such as the 1944 hurricane in the Caribbean. In the end it achieved its goal.[9]

By 1950, the number of migrant citizens in Britain was at 429,329, almost double the amount present in 1939.[10] Furthermore, a Royal Commission in 1949 called for the need to attract 140,000 immigrants annually in order to meet the economical demands of the capital.[11] However, it was around the same time that cracks began to show in British society and questions surrounding colour and cultural identity were forced to the forefront of English consciousness. The switch of outlook towards incoming migrants occurred when the first passenger ships carrying "coloured" British colonial subjects arrived in Tilbury docks; *Empire Windrush* was the most iconic, having left Kingston, Jamaica with 492 passengers in the summer of 1948.[12]

Despite influxes of white immigrants post-1945, by the mid-1950s the term "immigrant" came to be exclusive to denoting Black or Asian persons.[13] As a result, the term "immigration" soon began to be linked to the idea of a "colour problem" which was touted both publicly in the media and behind closed doors.[14] As Wendy Webster highlights, it was only after the 1940s that continental Europeans, Irish, and Jews gained comparative "invisibility".[15] "The arrival of 'coloured immigrants' created a characteristic opposition between Englishness as white, and 'immigrants' as 'coloured'."[16] This stereotype persisted despite the fact that in the late 1950s twice as many Irish arrived in Britain annually as migrants from the Commonwealth.[17] British legal legislation in the 1940s and 1950s did not create a distinction between European and non-European British subjects. Regardless, discourse surrounding racial identity and the issue of race became more explicit in political and public debates throughout the period.[18]

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Diana Kay and Robert Miles, *Refugees or Migrant Workers? European Volunteer Workers in Britain 1946–1951* (London: Routledge, 1992), 54.

[6] Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, 156.

[7] Ibid, 154.

[8] Dominic Sandbrook, *Never had it so Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: Abacus, 2006), 295.

[9] Ibid, 294.

[10] Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, 155.

[11] Sandbrook, *Never had it so Good*, 295.

[12] Ibid, 293.

[13] Webster, "The Empire Comes Home", 159.

[14] Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, 149.

[15] Webster, "The Empire Comes Home", 159.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid, 128.

[18] Sarah Ansari, "Subjects or Citizens? India, Pakistan and the 1948 British Nationality Act," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, iss. 2 (2013): 285.

As a result of increased "coloured" immigration into England, "White Riots" broke out in Nottingham and Notting Hill in the summer of 1958 with an aggressive, racially motivated narrative painting "colonial war imagery of 'Englishness' under siege on the home front by the issue of immigration"; In the minds of some British citizens, London was becoming the new Khartoum.[19] Between 1950 and 1961, while there was clear social unrest in what were traditionally white communities focused around the issue of immigration, the number of immigrants involved never seemed significant enough to the British government to bring in legislation to combat the disruptions being caused; this is despite cabinet discussing "coloured" immigration on 37 separate occasions.[20] This lack of political action is likely to do with the ideological image of Britain as a liberal and tolerant society in a multi-racial "Commonwealth family" that the Queen spoke of her 1954 Christmas Broadcast.[21] Henry Hopkins, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, also espoused this ideal in 1954 when he compared British citizenship with that of Roman citizenship in the days of Cicero:

> In a world in which restriction on personal movement and immigration have increased we still take pride in the fact that a man can say *Civis Britannicus Sum* whatever his colour may be, and we can take pride in the fact that he wants and can come to the Mother country.[22]

However, British citizenship by no means protected the individual from the mounting disdain towards the "coloured" immigrant population in Britain in the 1950s.

In 1962, for the first time legal framework of restrictions on immigration was enacted with the Commonwealth Immigration Act.[23] Despite the cabinet's efforts to tarry immigration control, it begrudgingly saw it as a sad necessity due to the increased pressures on housing resources and the danger of social tension arising from large numbers of unassimilated immigrant communities.[24] By 1962, non-white British subjects were arriving at the rate of more than 130,000 annually in comparison to the early 1950s when the figure had been less than 10,000.[25] This did not go unnoticed. Academics, such as the Modern History Professor James Tumelty at Glasgow University commented in 1962, "in the last few years growing immigration from the West Indies and Pakistan has caused concern to some people," despite stating the influx was small at less than 1 percent of the total population of Britain.[26] Tumelty argues that the reason for this social resistance was due to immigration being concentrated in a few areas of London and some Midland cities and the feeling that immigrants were complicating the problems of jobs, housing, and health.[27] It is clear that, by 1962, all classes in British society, from the intelligentsia, the political elite to the working class, were being forced to deal with the realities of a multi-racial society. Some high-minded advocates for the Commonwealth in government continued to be supportive of the multi-racial project as "British people's finest contribution

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[19] Webster, *Englishness and Empire,* 164–165.

[20] Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation, 1918–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 315.

[21] Elizabeth II, HRH, Queen. "Christmas Broadcast 1954", The Official Website of the British Monarchy, *The Royal Household,* last modified 25 December 1995. https://www.royal.uk/christmas-broadcast-1954?page=2.

[22] Quoted in Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 21.

[23] Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*, 315.

[24] Ibid, 317.

[25] Butler, *Britain and Empire*, 169.

[26] James Tumelty, *Britain Today* (Glasgow: House of Grant, 1962), 15.

[27] Ibid.

to a happier human civilisation".[28] However, as the campaigning for the 1964 General Election shows, the rest of society were having serious reservations.

During the early 1960s, Labour voiced loud opposition to the Commonwealth Immigration Bill brought in by the Conservative government.[29] However, they soon realised that this stance would be detrimental in winning over potential swing-voters when Labour's long standing seat holder Gordon Walker lost out to the Conservatives' Peter Griffiths in Smethwick.[30] Smethwick was an industrial town outside Birmingham with c.70,000 residents; 4–7,000 of which were immigrants.[31] Griffiths won the seat at Smethwick on the back of a heated, racist campaign aided by the slogan "If you want a nigger neighbour, vote Liberal or Labour."[32] Elizabeth Buettner succinctly summarises the value of this Labour defeat when she stated:

> Early 1960s Smethwick provides a striking example of decolonisation's metropolitan impact, drawing into its web the local, the national and the global at the time of Britain's transition from Empire to Commonwealth.[33]

Within a year of Harold Wilson's marginal election victory, Labour saw to it to tighten provisions of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants legislation.[34] As Richard Crossman noted at the time, the 1964 General Election made it clear to the political elite that immigration was the new "hottest potato" in politics and could be "the greatest potential vote-loser to all political parties".[35] From all this, Labour found it best to abandon its opposition to immigration restrictions and fall in line with public opinion.[36]

It became clear to all that a protectionist "Little England" attitude was being adopted by the public towards immigration. Kathleen Paul further argues that the political elite are to blame for allowing this archaic transition in English society to occur with the government imposing unfair immigration control on British subjects while the more liberal politicians voiced no opposition in fear of public backlash.[37] Nonetheless, efforts were made to stem the racial tension and discrimination and instead promote racial equality. The Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968, and 1976 outlawed various racial prejudices and discrimination of grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origins.[38] These acts were not symbolic either. In January 1967, the first conviction under the legislation brought about by these acts led to a 17-year-old male being found guilty, and sentenced to 18 months in prison, on the back of racial discrimination charges.[39] In actual fact, the politicians nearly always caved into the

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[28] Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire,* 353.

[29] Gavin Shaffer, "'Till Death Us Do Part' and the BBC: Racial Politics and the British Working Classes, 1965–1975", *Journal of Contemporary History* 45, no. 2 (April 2010): 455.

[30] Ibid, 456.

[31] Elizabeth Buettner, "'This is Staffordshire not Alabama': Racial Geographies of Commonwealth Immigration in Early 1960s Britain," in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 4 (2014), 710.

[32] Kathryn Edwards, "Powell's 'rivers of blood' legacy," BBC News, *BBC,* 18 April 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/west_midlands/7343256.stm.

[33] Buettner, "Racial Geographies of Commonwealth Immigration", 711.

[34] Shaffer, "Racial Politics and the British Working Classes", 455.

[35] Richard Crossman, *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister: Minister of Housing, 1964–66* (London: Hamilton, 1975), 149–150.

[36] Shaffer, "Racial Politics and the British Working Classes", 455.

[37] Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 131–135.

[38] Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, 180.

[39] Unknown, "Colin Jordan sent to prison for 18 months on Race Act charges", *Glasgow Herald,* January 26 1967, 7.

pressure of public opinion. For example, in 1968, under the Africanisation policy of the Kenyan government, 150,000 displaced Kenyan Asians could have potentially used their legal right to come and live permanently in Britain.[40] Labour's reaction was a knee-jerk one of fear. Under Wilson, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 was rapidly introduced and effectively ended the freedom of entry of Asian—not white settlers—from East Africa.[41]

Within less than 20 years, the rapid process of British decolonisation lead to a tidal shift from acceptance of "white" immigration, to a vocal denouncement of "coloured" immigration and the rise of xenophobia in English society. The rise in English xenophobia can be explained, in part, by looking at assimilation patterns of immigrants into English society. Prior to 1945, immigrants were expected to adapt to "Englishness" and the traditional British identity and as a result their entrance into British society was likely less noticeable. However, "coloured" immigrants were often more culturally separate from the "English" identity. Upon their arrival they often created a hybrid identity combining British colonial and their own regional identities; such as British Bangladeshi. They drew particularly on common religion and language, or a conferred Pan-Afro-Caribbean identity created from the colonial regions in the British West Indies.[42] This in turn created a much more visible and culturally diverse immigrant community which bred intolerance, fear and contempt among the White English communities.[43]

On the 20 April 1968, Enoch Powell addressed the Conservative Political Centre in Birmingham criticising mass-immigration in his infamous "Rivers of Blood" speech. The speech attacked the influx of immigrants, primarily from the West Indies, Africa, and Southeast Asia, stating it as an attack on English values and made the native English "Strangers in their own land".[44] Moreover, Powell directly linked the social problems affecting Britain, such as pressures on the National Health Service (NHS) and education sector, with immigration.[45] The political backlash to the speech was quick. Powell was immediately sacked by the leader of the Conservative party, Edward Heath, and Labour criticised him for inciting racist sentiment.[46] Additionally, the national press stopped short of supporting Powell's rhetoric in fear of going against Britain's self-imposed reputation as a liberal and tolerant society.[47] Powell found some political support, coming mainly from the rebel Conservative Monday Club, a political pressure group. Sir Ronald McMillan Bell further supported Powell at the Race Relations Bill vote in parliament three days later for not steering the "middle line in politics" and using "[un-]muted language" to tackle the issue of immigration.[48] Powell's speech had a specific appeal to working class voters.[49] Vocal critics, such as Paul Foot, claimed Powell was acting opportunistically in appealing to existing anti-immigration sentiment and as a result led to confirming the "ugliest fear of people who knew nothing of immigrations problems" and making those fears politically respectable.[50]

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[40] Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire,* 352.

[41] Ibid, 352–353.

[42] Tobias Brinkmann, "Immigration and Identity in Britain", in *National Identities* 4, no. 2 (2002): 181.

[43] Ibid, 183.

[44] Powell, "Speech at Birmingham, 20 April 1968".

[45] Ibid.

[46] Amy Whipple, "Revisiting the 'Rivers of Blood' Controversy: Letters to Enoch Powell," *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 3 (July 2009): 717.

[47] Webster, *Englishness and Empire,* 179.

[48] Sir Ronald M. Bell, Talking on the "Race Relations Bill," 23 April 1968, in *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 5th series, vol. 763, columns 109–110.

[49] Whipple, "Revisiting the 'Rivers of Blood' Controversy: Letters to Enoch Powell", 718.

[50] Paul Foot, *The Rise of Enoch Powell: An Examination of Enoch Powell's Attitude to Immigration and Race* (London: Cornmarket Press, 1969), 116, 140.

Public support for Powell contrasted heavily with that of the political spheres. Opinion polls calculated at the time put the percentage of agreement with Powell's narrative at 74 percent and 67 percent of the nation.[51] In addition, Powell received over 100,000 letters of support from across Britain in the month following his speech and London dockers began a strike in his honour.[52] Amy Whipple also suggests that for many, the criticism and repercussion taken by the political elite only elevated Powell from the position of champion to martyr.[53] By 1968, as the realities of the Empire washed-up on the shore of mainland Britain, an identity of "Englishness" that was opposed to immigration, Empire, and the Commonwealth had firmly developed and made root in much of society.

In conclusion, immigration after the Second World War and leading into the 1970s went from a non-issue to a primary concern for many in English society. The extent of the Empire meant that when Britain withdrew from it in the post-war years, huge numbers of British subjects were handed the opportunity to often seek a better life in the Commonwealth "Mother Country"; and many took it. Stuart Hall observed that this created a "tremendous paradox […] where the very moment Britain finally convinced itself it had to decolonize, that it had to get rid of the colonies, the colonised began flooding into England."[54] In this sense, the withdrawal from Empire opened up the possibility of migration to Britain from the colonies and consequently forced British society to meet the multi-racial and multi-cultural nature of the Empire face-to-face. Inevitably, British society was transformed perpetually and immigration became, and has since become, a leading issue in political and social thought. ■

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[51] Douglas E. Schoen, *Enoch Powell and the Powellites* (London: Macmillan, 1977), 37.

[52] Whipple, "Revisiting the 'Rivers of Blood' Controversy: Letters to Enoch Powell", 717–718.

[53] Ibid, 717.

[54] Stuart Hall, "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity", in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives,* ed. by Ann McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 176.

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A rosebush behind the hedge: Josef Hoffmann's Villa Henneberg as a total work of art

Lucie Lollková

The domestic interior provided an important ground for the emerging modernist aesthetics of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. This article attempts to broaden the discourse on the nature of the interior as a total work of art by analysing the interplay of elements such as exterior spaces, gardens, and cultural revival of the Biedermeier, in relation to Josef Hoffmann's commission of the Villa Henneberg (1900–1901). This architectural project puts forward a unique visualisation of modernist thought where the *Gesamtkunstwerk* is embodied on multiple levels, and in which boundaries between exterior and interior become blurred. The villa thus comes to represent not only a synthesis of varied art forms but also a space in which its inhabitants subject themselves to becoming a part of the total work of art.

The idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk,* or the total work of art, represented an integral part of the Secessionist movement of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. This concept, stemming from the Wagnerian notion of an ideal hierarchy of the arts, was transformed into a new vision under the development of domestic spaces for the nouveau riche and Jewish patrons of the upper class, who became the key supporters of modernist architecture and design. This article will discuss the concept of the total work of art in relation to a specific commission to show how the unique artistic, cultural, and political conditions of this time period enabled architects like Josef Hoffmann to refine their designs and achieve a total interior. Projects exemplified by the Villa Henneberg blurred the distinctions between interiors, architecture, and nature, while establishing a sense of shared aesthetic experience. The construction of these spaces thus paved the way for a period of modernist aesthetic innovation, which strove to attain a synthetic resolution to the ever present dialogue between modernity and memory.[55]

Beginning with the Ringstrasse project in the 1860s, Vienna saw the rise of a new class of patrons commissioning art, furnishings, and architecture for their apartment residences in the city, thus laying down the foundations for the emerging aesthetics of the domestic interior.[56] However, it was the Secession group's establishment in 1897 which provided, through its abandonment of the historicist style promoted by the Academy, an ideal ground for the artistic experimentation of modernist architecture.[57] At the heart of this new aesthetic programme of the Secession lay the struggle for attainment of pure and all-encompassing art forms, the ultimate of which was represented by the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.[58] Coined by the composer Richard Wagner in his *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* to promote the synthesis of the arts, the concept of the total work of art underwent an ideological shift in the

LUCIE LOLLKOVÁ is a final year student at the University of Glasgow, studying towards a Joint Honours degree in Archaeology and History of Art. Her academic interests include history of architecture, and textiles and material culture of East Asia. She hopes to continue her studies at postgraduate level, focusing on the archaeology and material culture of Asia, and discourses between art and archaeology.

[55] Iain B. Whyte, "Vienna Around 1900," in *Shaping the Great City: Modern Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1937*, ed. by Eve Blau and Monika Platzer (London: Prestel, 1999), 125.

[56] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 54.

[57] Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alfred Weidinger, *Gustav Klimt, Josef Hoffmann: Pioneers of Modernism* (London: Prestel, 2011), 19.

[58] Elana Shapira, *Style & Seduction: Jewish Patrons, Architecture, and Design in Fin-De-Siècle Vienna* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2016), 59; Ingrid Macmillan, "Gesamtkunstwerk," *Grove Art Online*, *Oxford Art Online,* Oxford University Press, last accessed 27 November 2017, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T031798?q=gesamtkunstwerk&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

works of the Secession. As such, it came to encompass more nuanced principles focusing on the narrative and utopian potential of the artwork.[59] Its application onto the domestic interior culminated in projects led by Josef Hoffmann, and later on in the commissions of the Wiener Werkstätte, who strove to articulate a new luxurious ideal for clients repelled by the designs of the historicist Ringstrasse.[60] Their working programme, published in 1905, addressed many of the ideas regarding the importance of discourse between the architect-designer and the patron, but most importantly, it promoted the belief in achieving a sense of cultural completion through furnishing one's life with beautiful handcrafted objects.[61] The development of these objectives can be traced to the domestic interiors in the Viennese outskirts, created as a collaboration of Hoffmann and the Secession members, where this progress towards a unified and total interior was first realised.

An early example of Hoffmann's work, in which this set of aesthetic principles was fully integrated, can be found in the villa of Dr Hugo and Maria Henneberg on Wollergasse 8 in the Döbling area of suburban Vienna. Built between the years 1900–01, this project was conceived by Hoffmann as one part of an architectural unit of four villas, forming the Artist's Colony at Hohe Warte.[62] The house was designed to accommodate the couple, as well as Hugo Henneberg's studio, corresponding to the plan of the neighbouring Moser-Moll residence constructed earlier. As a photographer and an art collector, Henneberg represented the ideal customer for such a commission. To illustrate this factor, the interiors of the residence were designed not only as a decorative scheme, but were furthermore conceptualised around the photographic works of the patron and his art collection. Spatially, the building was planned in four floors; with a cellar, ground floor, and a first floor, in order to copy the natural steep slope of the terrain and therefore provide access from both the garden and street levels (Fig. 1 and 2). This gradation of space also coincided with the delineation of the social context of the building, from the servants' quarters and kitchens at the lowest floor, through the living quarters on the first floor, and finally to the studio under the roof as a self-sufficient component.[63] Using principles not dissimilar to those of monumental architecture, Hoffmann's plan would lead the visitors through an unusual side entrance and vestibule, before opening into a bright and imposing space of the hall.[64]

Containing Klimt's portrait of Marie Henneberg, the main hall was the central and focal point of the architectural composition and also the most public space, neighbouring the dining room and a boudoir (Fig. 3 and 4). As in Hoffmann's other Hohe Warte villas, the ceiling of the hall stretched monumentally across two stories near the fireplace area, but included a lowered section over the in-built seating niches on the left side. The positioning of the hall, extending along the full length of the house, enabled Hoffmann to provide multiple sources of natural lighting, filtering from the seating area of the hall through a set of large windows, and from the balcony illuminating the space from the staircase and the upper level.[65] The door which divides the main hall is inlaid with glass panels, which not only provides another source of light, but also interestingly features triangular shapes reminiscent of features sketched by Hoffman in the proposed plan for the building, as opposed to the usual

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[59] David Roberts, *The Total Work of Art in European Modernism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2011), 1; Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, "Was Ist Ein „Gesamtkunstwerk"?", *Archiv Für Musikwissenschaft* 68, no. 2 (2011): 157.

[60] Kirk Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design* (New York: MoMA, 1986), 47.

[61] Werner J. Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 42.

[62] Eduard F. Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann: The Architectural Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 269.

[63] Ibid, 46.

[64] Anette Freytag, "Josef Hoffmann's Unknown Masterpiece," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 30, no. 4 (2010): 349.

[65] Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 49.

motifs.[66] Despite the monumental height of the space, the clear focus would have been the portrait itself, as it is framed by the fireplace and the characteristically lowered wainscoting, in contrast to the rough mortar stuccoed walls.[67] Although quite unusually located on the side wall, rather than the primary end of the hall like in the neighbouring Spitzer residence, the fireplace arrangement is in relative position to the furniture and the entrance, and thus naturally attracts the visitor's attention upon entering the room.

Klimt's portrait provides the basis for the complex layers of interrelationships within this space, as it represents the cooperation and exchange of ideas of both artists, and furthermore combines different art forms according to the idea of the Secessionist *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The square frame corresponds to the shape adapted as a motif by Hoffmann, while the greys, blues, and violets mirror the grey and black marble slabs used to furnish the fireplace.[68] The colour scheme set by the portrait then continues in the grey marble table-tops and the wooden panelling, creating a unified sense of harmony.[69] This is further amplified by the arrangement of the seating area positioned on the other side of the hall, which was designed around Henneberg's famous gum prints of landscapes (Fig. 5). The muted greenish black tones of the photographs are translated into the colour of the leather upholstery, creating a harmony with the sparse green brushstrokes in Klimt's portrait.[70] As the painting was still considered unfinished in 1902, it is unclear whether it was the architecture which would have influenced Klimt, or whether the interior was designed with this portrait in mind. Nonetheless, the main hall of the Henneberg villa represents a synthesis of visual arts in the form of painting, photography, and the applied arts, all of which can be collectively seen in Carl Schorske's terms to serve as a form of portraiture in architecture.[71] Hoffmann thus utilises the subtleties of these relationships woven into his architectural programme to successfully present an image of the Henneberg couple through the interior design.

The interior would also have served as a complicated interplay of private and public space, as it was designed to be multi-functional and would have been the primary space for both entertaining guests and for artistic practice.[72] This is reflected in Juliet Koss's definition of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as the collaboration of all form of arts, but "just as significantly – its effect on the audience. It presents a model of artistic production and aesthetic reception that is active, communal, political, and fundamentally utopian."[73] In Henneberg's atelier, the art created in the house is ingeniously integrated into the walls of the hall and interacted with by the house guests. Likewise, the portrait of Marie Henneberg creates a sense of her greeting these visitors but simultaneously a notion of her blending into the composition of the interior, reminiscent of Carl Moll's paintings of his wife in her study.[74] Through this "shared aesthetic experience" the inhabitants become a part of the total work of art

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[66] Ritter F. Feldegg, ed., *Der Architekt: Wiener Monatshefte für Bauwesen und Decorative Kunst VII,* (Vienna: A. Schroll & Co, 1901), 51. http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/annoplus?aid=arc&datum=1901&page=107&size=45.

[67] Amelia S. Levetus, "The Vienna Artist's Colony," *The Studio* 32, no. 136 (1904): 126.

[68] Ibid, 126.

[69] Ibid, 127–128.

[70] Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 269.

[71] Tag Gronberg, *Vienna: City of Modernity* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 43.

[72] Josef Lux, "Villenkolonie Hohe Warte," in *Das Interieur: Wiener Monatshefte für Angewandte Kunst IV* (Vienna: A. Schroll & Co, 1903), 128. https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_jWU6AQAAMAAJ#page/n123/mode/2up.

[73] Juliet Koss, *Modernism after Wagner* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), quoted in Shapira, *Style & Seduction*, 59.

[74] Gronberg, *Vienna*, 44.

themselves, a concept much criticised by Adolf Loos in his contemporaneous writings.[75]

This notion of artistic collaboration resulting to a certain extent in a *Gesamtkunstwerk* is present throughout the residence in a similar manner. The smoking salon on the first floor was designed by Hoffmann to incorporate a cabinet made by Charles Rennie Mackintosh, thus showcasing not only his own skill as the architect-designer but also the status of Henneberg as an accomplished art collector. The influence of Mackintosh's designs on Hoffmann has been a centre of discussion in connection to the Hohe Warte colony, following the display of the Scottish Room at the Secession in 1900.[76] However, it has now been widely accepted that Hoffmann's artistic expression would not have altered markedly as a response, with a few exceptions such as the famous Mackintosh high-back chair.[77] This design was a source of inspiration for Hoffmann's furniture design, and a piece modelled after it can be found in the photographic atelier on the top floor (Fig. 7).[78] Furthermore, the residence was furnished not only with works by Hoffmann and Mackintosh, but also with furniture and textiles designed by Koloman Moser and other artists, anticipating the large scale collaboration of the Wiener Werkstätte in the following years.

However, in order to fully analyse the interior of the Henneberg residence as a total work of art, it is important to also consider its relationship with the exterior, and the setting of the Hohe Warte itself. This notion of interconnectedness parallels one of the alternative definitions of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, where it is represented in the blurred distinctions between two spheres—the exterior and the interior.[79] As is common for Hoffmann's early work at the Hohe Warte, the façade showcases influences of the Biedermeier country house and aspects of the Arts and Crafts movement, which were thought to stem from more "sincere" and "organic" historical traditions.[80] Josef Lux's article in *Das Interieur* aptly uses the allegory of "rosebushes which sprung up wildly behind the hedge" to describe the villas' rustic positioning within the landscape. [81] This strengthens the idea that Hoffmann's aesthetic programme as a whole has to be considered embedded within its setting, in this case closely connected to the memory of simple country life exemplified by the early nineteenth century Biedermeier style. His interest in the simple forms of vernacular architecture of rural cottages, and the rejection of the decorative shapes of the *Jugendstil* culminated in the radical geometric approach which began emerging in these early projects.[82] The dialogue between tradition and modernity is apparent in the contrast between the gradation of decorative elements within the levels of the façade, and is furthermore translated into the interior.[83] Although streamlined and geometric, Hoffmann's adaptation of the square as a central motif in the Henneberg residence has been interpreted by Tag Gronberg as a reflection of a "geometricised representation of nature," connecting the subtle designs of the interior with the exterior.[84] Hoffman's emphasis on this "aesthetic unity" thus permeates all levels of the struc-

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[75] Shapira, *Style & Seduction*, 59; Adolf Loos, "Poor Little Rich Man," in *Adolf Loos, 1870–1933: Architecture, Cultural Critic, Dandy* by August Sarnitz (Cologne: Tarschen, 2003) 18–21; Adolf Loos's theories of architecture and design heavily criticised the idea of ornament, and his vision of modernism therefore diverged markedly from that of Josef Hoffmann and the members of the Secession. In the "Poor Little Rich Man" essay, he makes a direct reference to the *Gesamtkunstwerk* interior in portraying it as an uninhabitable work of art to which the patron has to subject his life and freedom.

[76] Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 40.

[77] Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 40.

[78] Lux, "Hohe Warte", 128.

[79] Gronberg, *Vienna*, 134.

[80] Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 46.

[81] Lux, "Hohe Warte", 129; my translation.

[82] Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900*, 40; Arco & Weidinger," *Gustav Klimt, Josef Hoffmann*, 160.

[83] Eve Blau and Monika Platzer, *Shaping the Great City* (London: Prestel, 1999), 125; Whyte, "Vienna Around 1900," 125.

[84] Gronberg, *Vienna*, 134.

ture from windows and furniture to prints on curtains.[85]

However, it could also be argued that nature in this case is not completely geometricised, as is apparent from Hoffmann's later works.[86] In the Henneberg villa, the architect retains some of the organic elements of the garden, most obviously in the rose themed border running underneath the eaves of the structure (Fig. 9). This motif is then repeated in several of the rooms, either as a border, decorative feature, or furniture (Fig. 6). There seems to be a certain gendering aspect to the presence of these more organic motifs, as they appear within the rooms largely associated with feminine activities. This is especially true for the toilette of the lady of the house, which is furnished with rosewood red panelling, matching Biedermeier polka dots, and a prominent floral border.[87] The furniture in this room, although retaining clean shapes, appears to undulate in curves, a feature which Hoffmann amplifies by dulling the sharp corners and transforming them into quadrants (Fig. 6). Although floral motifs do appear elsewhere in the residence, this space, since it is aimed to be used singularly by Marie Henneberg, presents a sharp contrast to the angular design of the top floor atelier. This perhaps recalls the fundamental associations of the feminine with the organic, but contrasts sharply with the commanding gaze of Marie's portrait in the main hall.[88]

Hoffmann's use of windows and doors as transitional spaces within the interior of the villa provides yet another connection with the natural world. Contemporary architectural magazines such as *The Studio* have often remarked on his "arrangement of the windows" and their pleasing effect.[89] Furthermore, the provincial area of Döbling was highly acclaimed for retaining some of its romantic front gardens of the Biedermeier period.[90] It is therefore important to consider not only the vistas of these windows and the framing of the landscape of the Vienna Woods, but also the elevated gaze aimed at the industrial cityscape.[91] The physical setting of the villa in the liminal space between the city and the country, together with its historical charm, resulted in a sense of material agency of the surrounding nature and the rural landscape. Thus, rather than the garden being seen as a reflection of the interior, it was perhaps the complex relationships between the natural and the domestic which influenced Hoffmann's aesthetic choices for the interior space. His skilful use of framing these views and manipulating natural light manifests itself at its utmost in the hall. Here it is channelled through large windows, and further through a complex system of transparent glass surfaces and sequences of doors, windows, and mirrors. These are a prominent feature in the hall's seating niche, where the mirror represents a counterpart to Henneberg's photographs, while also reflecting nature from the window. Hoffmann's attention to the smallest of details can additionally be seen in the way the semi-lunar ornament placed above the façade windows repeats itself in the garden paths, and further in the main entrance where it forms an arch (Fig. 9). The decorative elements of the carpets and upholstering, also continue this semi-lunar motif (Fig. 8). Although very little information about the gardens survive, the further addition of sculptural settings visible in period photographs can be related back to the original conception of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as a collaboration of the arts, foreshadowing Hoffmann's intricate projects such as the Palais Stoclet and the Skywa-Primavesi residence.[92] It is through this interconnectedness in which the interior and the exterior merge into one, together with the discourse between the patron and the architecture, that they become a representation of a total architectural programme.

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[85] Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900*, 119.

[86] Freytag, "Josef Hoffmann's Unknown Masterpiece."

[87] Lux, "Hohe Warte", 144.

[88] Gronberg, *Vienna*, 126.

[89] Levetus, "Artist's Colony," 126.

[90] Ibid.; Lux, "Hohe Warte", 128.

[91] Gronberg, *Vienna*, 132.

[92] Freytag, "Josef Hoffmann's Unknown Masterpiece"; Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 369.

Josef Hoffmann's Henneberg residence therefore masterfully represents the multiplicity of the notion of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Although not displaying the extensive and lavish detailing which has come to symbolise Hoffmann's later projects, the architectural programme of the villa contains much subtler yet complex interrelationships extending between the exterior and the interior. By creating contrasts between the urban and the rural, as well as the historic and the modern, the Henneberg residence blends into its setting while representing a sense of community, resulting in an almost utopian vision of artistic creation on the edge of the city and the countryside. When considered collectively with its fusion of the arts in the form of painting, photography, as well as garden sculpture and furnishings, the villa creates a unified form of total aesthetic control of the designer, where the inhabitants contribute by subjecting themselves to becoming a part of the total work of art. ■

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Appendices

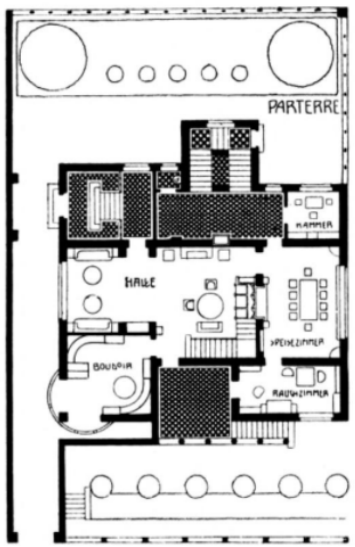


Figure 1: Floorplan of the ground floor of the Villa Henneberg (in *Das Interieur IV*, 152).

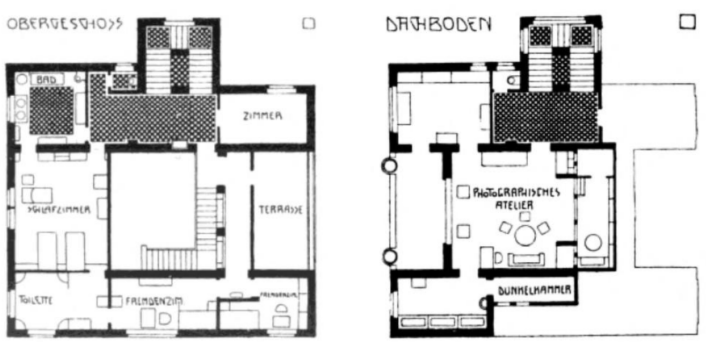


Figure 2: Floorplans of the first floor and the loft of the Villa Henneberg (in *Das Interieur IV*, 152).

Figure 3: View of the main hall of the Henneberg residence, showing Gustav Klimt's *Portrait of Marie Henneberg* (in *Das Interieur IV*, 137).

Figure 4: Gustav Klimt, *Portrait of Marie Henneberg*, 1901-02. Oil on canvas. 140 x 140 cm. Stiftung Moritzburg, Kunstmuseum des Landes Sachsen-Anhalt. (in Husslein-Arco and Weidinger, *Gustav Klimt, Josef Hoffmann*, 25).

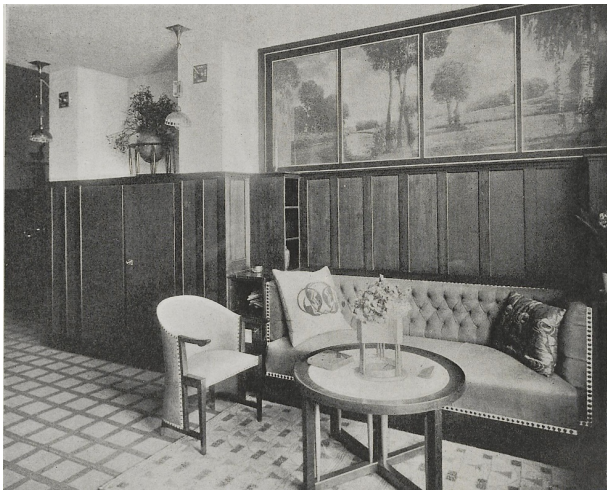
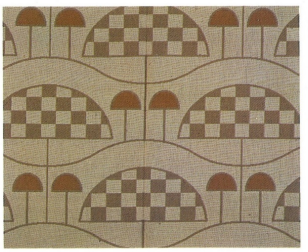


Figure 5: View of the seating niche in the hall of the Henneberg residence, showing photograph*s* by Hugo Henneberg (in *The Studio VII*, 126).



Josef Hoffmann. "Mushrooms" Fabric Sample (detail). 1902.
Fabric, 36 × 46½" (91.5 × 118.2 cm) overall.
Collection Joh. Backhausen & Söhne, Vienna.
Copyright Joh. Backhausen & Söhne

Figure 6: Photograph of the toilette of Marie Henneberg with floral decoration (in *Das Interieur IV*, 145).

Figure 7: Photograph of a high-back chair in the atelier of Villa Henneberg (in *Das Interieur IV*, 128).

Figure 9*:* Watercolour of the Villa Henneberg shortly after completion (R. Völker in Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 47).

Post-War Poetry: The Impact of the First World War in T.S. Eliot's "The Waste Land" and Hope Mirrlees's *Paris*

Clare Patterson

The modernist poems "The Waste Land" (1922) and *Paris* (1919) both respond in oblique ways to the aftermath of the First World War, featuring prominent images of both death and societal decline as well as new growth and restoration. Through close readings which place these two texts within the post-war context and the poetic and literary responses of this period, I examine the ways in which T. S. Eliot and Hope Mirrlees combine emotional and societal responses to the First World War with wider conceptions of civilisation, myth, folklore and cultural history.

Both T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* and Hope Mirrlees's *Paris*, were published in the aftermath of the First World War; *The Waste Land* in 1922, and *Paris*, in Mirrlees's own words, in "Spring 1919".[1] While both of these works make few *direct* references to the war, the influence upon the cities inhabited by the narrators of these works, and upon the emotional states of the narrators themselves, can be profoundly felt. The trauma and destruction of war is present throughout, as both writers look to history and mythology to convey the modern experience of destruction and uncertainty, and to assimilate this trauma into the cultural consciousness. However, both works also offer a sense of hope engendered by the chance to rebuild, and by the potential for a pan-European future, exemplified by the multitude of languages and locations employed across both texts. Both texts are lengthy, intricate, difficult works in which their authors process and consider the long, complex, destructive power of The Great War at both a personal and political level, and come to a conclusion of uncertain hope for the future.

The dead appear, in one form or another, throughout these poems, from Eliot's "crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many/ I had not thought death had undone so many," to Mirrlees's "blue ghosts of Kingfishers".[2] These haunt the Seine, while "the ghost of Pere Lachaise" walks the streets. *Paris* opens with the metaphorical descent of the narrator into the underworld, as the chorus of "brekekekek coax coax", taken from Aristophanes' "The Frogs", doubles as onomatopoeia for the rattle of the metro carriages—in itself another kind of underworld, travelling deep underground and "passing under the Seine".[3] The Seine here recalls another aspect of the classical underworld, which was accessed by crossing over the River Styx. Here, Mirrlees's narrator enters her underworld by crossing *under* the River Seine; a kind of spiritual recollection of the classical descent into the underworld. Her emphasis on classical mythology may be due in part to her relationship with classical scholar Jane Harrison, whose work focused on "ancient Greek ritual and its relation to art, and the powers of its female deities", and who is referenced and written to multiple times throughout the text.[4] As with the frequent invocation of Jane, there is an invocation of history throughout Mirrlees's work. In 1926, Mirrlees herself writes "a swift, fleeting sense of the past is the nearest I have ever got to a

CLARE PATTERSON is a final-year undergraduate studying English Literature at the University of Glasgow, whose work focuses primarily on gender, myth and imagery.

[1] Hope Mirrlees, *Paris* (London: Hogarth, 1919), 22.

[2] T. S. Eliot, "The Waste Land," in *T.S. Eliot: Selected Poems*, (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 40–55; Mirrlees, *Paris*, 14.

[3] Mirrlees, *Paris*, 11, 3; Julia Briggs. "'Modernism's Lost Hope': Virginia Woolf, Hope Mirrlees and the Printing of Paris," in *Reading Virginia Woolf* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006) 84; Mirrlees, *Paris*, 3.

[4] Briggs, "Modernism's Lost Hope", 84.

mystical experience," and that "the written word […] will never be superseded as the best means of telling us about the past".[5] In her invocation of the classical past, as well as many other histories later in the poem, she informs us that death and grief, though affecting and traumatic, are nothing new: Aristophanes's world needed an underworld, just as modern France needs "an elegy for the war dead".[6] Eliot also borrows extensively from classical mythology in his contemplation of mortality. The epigraph to "The Waste Land" reads, in Latin and Greek:

> Nam Sybillam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis vidi in ampulla pendere, et cum illi pueri dicerent: Σιβυλλα τι θελεις; respondebat illa:αποθανειν θελω.[7]

This is taken from the *Satyricon*, written by Gaius Pentronius in the late first century A.D. Eliot translates this as:

> I saw with my own eyes the Sibyl at Cumae hanging in a cage, and when the boys said to her: 'Sibyl, what do you want?' she answered: 'I want to die.'

The "Satyricon" tells the story of the Cumaean Sybil, who wished for eternal life but not eternal youth. While Mirrlees's depictions of the dead tend to focus on the ephemeral and ghostly, death in Eliot's portrayal is far more bodily; Mirrlees offers us ghosts in various forms, while Eliot asks "that corpse you planted last year in your garden/has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?"[8] While Mirrlees's concern is for the supernatural soul, Eliot's interest lies in the body's decay, the bodily suffering of the soldiers who lost their lives in trench warfare; consider the body horror of Eliot's imagery of "rat's alley/where the dead men lost their bones" and the "current under sea/picked his bones in whispers" in relation to Wilfred Owen's first-hand retelling of his experience in the trenches; "the white eyes writhing in his face/His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin".[9] While Mirrlees opens with a spiritual journey to the underworld, Eliot introduces us to an aged body, physically sick and suffering, desperately wishing to die but unable to. Here we have an example of what Paul Fussell calls Eliot's "ironic pastoral", juxtaposing natural, often floral imagery with images of decay; "breeding lilacs out of dead land" or J. Alfred Prufrock's "evening […] spread out against the sky/like a patient etherised upon a table".[10] Mirrlees employs this technique too, with "talk, talk, talk/manuring the white violets of the moon".[11] As Melissa Boyde writes,

> the sense of a city awakening from wartime is realised through images of spring: Lent, the first of May, lilies of the valley, horse-chestnuts and lilac. But above these images of regeneration the 'April moon' is 'wicked […] casting shadowy light.'[12]

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[5] Hope Mirrlees, "Listening to the Past", *The Nation and Athenaeum* 39 (1926): 670.

[6] Briggs, "Modernism's Lost Hope", 83.

[7] Eliot, "The Waste Land", 40.

[8] Ibid, 43.

[9] Ibid, 45, 53; Wilfred Owen, "Dulce Et Decorum Est," in *The Norton Anthology of Poetry,* 5th edn (New York and London: Norton and Co., 2005), 1387.

[10] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 239; Eliot, "The Waste Land", 41; T. S. Eliot, "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" in *T.S. Eliot: Selected Poems*, (London: Faber and Faber, 2009). 3.

[11] Mirrlees, "Paris", 22.

[12] Melissa Boyde, "The Poet and the Ghosts Are Walking the Streets: Hope Mirrlees—Life and Poetry," *Hecate*, 35 (2009): 35.

The imagery of flowers, spring and new growth, is twisted and intruded upon by images of the decaying, the obscene, and the wicked; the feeling of potential post-war regeneration is still imbued with the horror of war, and with uncertainty regarding what may come next. Both poets cast April as a negative force—for Eliot, "the cruellest month", while for Mirrlees it is "the wicked April moon",which she informs us in her notes is "supposed to have a malign influence on vegetation".[13] Here we have an aspect of the magical and the occult that permeates both of these works, a sense of "malign influence" that is beyond human control or understanding—for example, the representation of Eliot's Madame Sosotris and her tarot pack and Mirrlees's "invisible Magi".[14] Helen Williams notes "a common theme in Eliot and in this group was the problem of retaining fertility and spiritual awareness within the context of modern civilisation."[15] Mirrlees, as the author of *Paris*, though not American, can potentially be regarded as another of these "exiles"; as an anglophone and member of both "literary London and lesbian Paris".[16] Here we see how "spiritual awareness" can manifest itself in the modern city, but the spiritual forces of which the poets are aware seem to have an unpleasant, malignant quality, are "cruel" or "wicked", and are presented as destructive forces. Here is a sense of the war as something enormous and unknowable, a hostile force beyond human understanding. This is comparable to the historic perception of natural disasters as "acts of God", or the personification of the bubonic plague in medieval societies as a skeletal Death moving from town to town. There is a sense of the world being dragged almost against its will into the modern; and of spiritual forces being unsettled by this disturbance.

However, the effect of the dead in these works is not confined only to the ghostly and the spiritual: the intrusion of history into the contemporary cityscapes of Eliot and Mirrlees is a crucial element in their understanding of the war. Eliot himself remarked, for example, that "the current superstition that our epoch is Alexandrine, decadent, or disillusioned is parallel; there are no 'disillusioned' ages, only disillusioned individuals; and our time is just as deluded as any other."[17] This sense of history as repetitive across every era is pervasive throughout both poems. Eliot asks:

> What is the city over the mountains
> Cracks and reforms and bursts in the violet air
> Falling towers
> Jerusalem Athens Alexandria
> Vienna London
> Unreal[18]

Here we are presented with a kind of universal city, an amalgamation of all of history's great cities into one, which continually falls and remakes itself in a cyclical fashion. The first three provide historical examples that have been besieged or destroyed in the past, most notably Alexandria, as the destruction of its library is often used symbolically to represent the loss of cultural knowledge between the Classical period and the Middle Ages. The last two, "Vienna London", were the capitals of major powers on opposing sides of the war. Although both cities escaped the war relatively unscathed, the "crowd flowed over London Bridge" in which "death had undone so many" shows the destruction, if not of infrastructure, then certainly of population.[19] Eliot describes in his notes on "The Waste Land";

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[13] Eliot, "The Waste Land", 41; Mirrlees, *Paris*, 14, 23.

[14] Eliot, "The Waste Land", 42; Mirrlees, "Paris", 5.

[15] Here referring to what Williams calls "the American 'exiles' (Gertrude Stein's 'Lost Generation') in Paris"; Helen Williams. *T.S. Eliot: The Waste Land* (London: Edward Arnold, 1974), 12.

[16] Boyde, "Life and Poetry", 29.

[17] Williams, *Eliot,* 8.

[18] Eliot, "The Waste Land", 55.

[19] Ibid, 43.

just as the one-eyed merchant, seller of currants, melts into the Phoenician Sailor, and the latter is not wholly distinct from Ferdinand Prince of Naples, so all the women are one woman, and the two sexes meet in Tiresias".[20]

Just as all people in the poem melt into one person, all cities in the poem melt into one city, all histories into one history in the same cycle of rise and fall.

Mirrlees, too, seems to be interested in this idea of history repeating—she presents her collection of imagined artworks in the Louvre:

Manet's *Massacres des Jours de Juin*,
David's *Prise de la Bastille*,
Poussin's *Fronde*,
Hang in a quiet gallery[21]

These "[create] a historical sequence of acts of French political resistance, that extended from the strike of 1st May 1919, through "les journées de Juin" of 1848 (when the army rounded up, disarmed, and then shot protesters) and the revolution of 1789, to the popular rising of the Fronde in 1652".[22] This is Mirrlees's portrait of France's turbulent history, placing the 1919 strike—which took place around the time at which she wrote the poem—in the wider context of France's historical revolutions. Just as Eliot's collection of cities portray a world of empires in constant rise and fall, Mirrlees's collection of fictional paintings portrays France in a state of constant revolution, of which the strike she is surrounded by is but a single aspect. The fictionalisation of these artworks is particularly interesting, especially when considering that the Louvre has no shortage of real depictions of revolution—yet Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People" does not appear in this poem alongside other genuine artworks she lists earlier: "The Pieta of Avignon, / L'Olympe", among others.[23] This draws attention to the idea of civilisations creating their own narratives from their histories, and in a manner that is almost postmodern, Mirrlees draws attention to the fact that this is what she, as a poet, is also doing; noting with a hint of irony that "whatever happens, someday it will all look beautiful."[24]

Thus far, these poems have been discussed as a method of processing post-war trauma, however they also contain an aspect of positive outlook, which comes chiefly in the form of their use of language. Briggs describes Paris as being written in "the language of international modernism", citing its bilingualism and use of "eccentric typographical features [in] its exploration of space and vision".[25] The same is true of "The Waste Land". The use of multiple languages and unusual formatting, frequently considered to be the height of innovation in modernist poetic technique, present a new kind of poetry that is as international as it is experimental.

Eliot cites two academic works on mythologies in his notes on "The Waste Land": Jessie Weston's *From Ritual to Romance* and James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough*. The former investigates the relationship between the Pagan and Christian elements of the King Arthur legends, while the latter is a comparative study of multiple mythologies and religions, particularly looking at belief systems which "were linked with the life cycle, seasons, and most importantly, the vegetation cycle".[26]

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[20] Ibid, 60.

[21] Mirrlees, "Paris", 15.

[22] Briggs, "Modernism's Lost Hope", 86.

[23] Mirrlees, "Paris", 8.

[24] Ibid, 15.

[25] Briggs, "Modernism's Lost Hope", 84.

[26] Williams, *Eliot*, 59.

Both seek to find common threads across disparate cultures in search of universal characteristics of human spirituality and belief. As Francesca Bugliani Knox notes, "if there are common features in different primitive rites, as Frazer ha[s] argued, then they all testif[y] to a common spiritual longing and to the existence of the divine."[27]

This is crucial to our understanding of Eliot's use of language, as he uses not only European languages (French, German, Latin, Greek) but also Sanskrit, through which he invokes aspects of Hindu tradition and mythology. This is particularly true in the final section of "The Waste Land", "What The Thunder Said," where the words "Datta. Dayadhvam. Damyata." appear multiple times.[28] Eliot elaborates in his own notes as to the definitions of these words and his usage of them; "Datta, dayadhvam, damyata. (Give, sympathize, control). The fable of the meaning of the Thunder is found in the Brihadaranyaka—Upanishad."[29] In said fable,

> the supreme deity, Prajapati, gives instruction in the form of the syllable *Da,* which the Gods understand as 'be restrained' (damyata), humans as 'give alms' (datta), and demons as 'have compassion' (dayadhvam). All are correct, and a divine voice repeats the syllable with the force of thunder.[30]

The incorporation of both language and religion from outside the Western world of thought into "The Waste Land" speaks of a kind of cross-cultural connection, a universal human experience, and the idea purported in both Weston and Frazer's works that "the quest for the divine was an ineradicable feature of human experience".[31] The ideas of the Upanishad quoted are also relatively universal ideas across all world religions. For example, "give alms, have compassion, practice self-control" are tenets of Christianity just as much as they are of Hinduism. The jumbled languages, therefore, of the closing of "The Waste Land", may not be the image of chaos and destruction that is at first suggested when "London Bridge is falling down, falling down, falling down."[32] Though we are left at first with a sense of closing comparable to death; the narrator of "The Waste Land" asks with finality, "can I at least set my lands in order?"[33] "Hieronymo's mad againe",[34] the subtitle of Thomas Kyd's "The Spanish Tragedy," recalls the central character's murder-suicide, and the final two lines speak less of ending than of transcendence:

> Datta. Dayadhvam. Damyata.
> Shantih shantih shantih[35]

meaning "Give. Empathise. Practice self-control", and then a repeated mantra which Eliot translates as "the peace which passeth understanding".[36] If this is a death or a eulogy, it is not one imbued with

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[27] Francesca Bugliani Knox, "Between Fire and Fire: T.S. Eliot's The Waste Land," *The Heythrop Journal* 56 (2014): 236.

[28] Eliot, "The Waste Land", 57.

[29] Ibid, 63.

[30] Margaret Ferguson, Mary Jo Salter, and Jon Stallworthy, *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, 5th edn. (New York and London: Norton and Co., 2005), 1355.

[31] Knox, "Fire and Fire", 236.

[32] Eliot, "The Waste Land", 57.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid, 64.

mourning or grief but of hope for transcendence. In essence what it says is "be kind; be at peace".[37] In the context of the war, here is hope for some kind of rejuvenation after destruction, much like that of the belief systems collected in "The Golden Bough", with its "numerous accounts of sacred kings who participate in the ritual drama of sacrifice that re-enacts the myth of the dying and reviving god".[38] "The Waste Land" itself is "a ritual drama of sacrifice", but here the dying and reviving God represents both the people and landscape of war-damaged Europe.

Paris begins with the declaration "I want a holophrase", a term defined by Mirrlees's muse Jane Harrison as "a primitive stage of language in which long words expressed complex relationships more fully and less analytically than in more developed languages".[39] In other words, she seeks communication, and an ability to easily express complex things; what Briggs describes as "the search for a single word that might encompass the complex range of experiences the poem comprehends".[40] This theme of ease and yet simultaneous difficulty of communication continues as the poem becomes bilingual:

> NORD-SUD
> ZIG-ZAG
> LION NOIR
> CACAO BLOOKER[41]

The capitalised French here denotes the signs and advertisements as the narrator enters the Nord-Sud Metro station, the other names being products advertised by the posters. The use of French continues throughout the poem in various forms; in snatches of conversation—"*vous descendes madame?*"—and in the commentary of the narrator—"Le petit Jesus fait pipi".[42] At times, a single word of French appears in an English sentence – "the silence of *la grève*".[43] Briggs writes of Mirrlees's use of French:

> Paris creates its own gesture of reconciliation, its own commitment to Europe through language, by adopting a strange hybrid of English and French that is part of the process of breaking down national and cultural barriers, while also exploring the many similarities and differences of meaning and usage between the two languages.[44]

The same applies to Eliot's repeated use of numerous languages in "The Waste Land"; this mixing of the languages and cultures of Europe, the comparison of similarities, differences, and quirks is a conscious erosion of language barriers, an attempt at pan-European communication in rebuilding after the war. While Eliot uses a wider variety of languages in brief snatches, Mirrlees blends her two almost seamlessly, switching back and forth throughout the poem, and even mid-sentence. While Eliot makes occasional references to other languages, *Paris* can be considered a truly bilingual poem; Mirrlees moves effortlessly from one language to the other throughout, constantly inhabiting two linguistic spheres and blurring the edges of linguistic, and therefore cultural, difference.

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[37] Ferguson, Salter and Stallworthy, *Norton Anthology*, 1355.

[38] John B. Vickery, *The Literary Impact of "The Golden Bough"* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 214.

[39] Mirrlees, "Paris", 3; Jane Ellen Harrison. *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (London, Merlin Press, 1989), 473.

[40] Briggs, "Modernism's Lost Hope", 84.

[41] Mirrlees, "Paris", 3.

[42] Ibid, 3, 9.

[43] Ibid, 14.

[44] Julia Briggs,. "Hope Mirrlees and Continental Modernism" in *Gender in Modernism* ed. by Bonnie Kime Scott, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2007) 265.

It is not only with language, however, that Mirrlees makes innovation; she uses not only the words themselves but the *shape* of the words on the page to convey her poetry. A passage on the Jardins du Tulleries is shaped, for example, like the design of the gardens themselves, she writes "there is no lily of the valley" as a column, one letter per line, to mimic the shape of the long, thin lily stem on the page.[45] While a holophrase is perhaps out of reach, an image can communicate far more across language barriers than attempts at verbal communication. *Paris* is an example of this, and even wields a line of musical notation, stretching the limits of what a poem can be.

However, no image is more imbued with meaning than the last line of the poem; an image of the constellation of Ursa Major.[46] A private message between Mirrlees and Harrison, Mirrlees signed many other works with this secret dedication, the constellation "perpetually pointing towards the Pole Star at the highest point of the night sky—also stands for art's aspiration to permanence".[47] In a single image, Mirrlees combines personal intimacy, artistic aspiration, and political optimism. She may, in a manner of speaking, have found the holophrase that she was looking for.

Both *Paris* and "The Waste Land" are innovative modernist masterpieces. Pushing the boundaries of technique in both language and form, the influence of their experimentation is felt throughout modern poetry. In a society still left reeling from the aftermath of the Great War, the influence of contemporary narratives is deeply felt in both works also. These political and psychological legacies serve to shape the literary landscape of their era. Through their use of elegy, satire, dream sequence, and dramatic monologue, these complex and intriguing texts both define, and are defined by, the period in which they were written. The raw trauma of post-war society is constantly present in the *gothic* subtext of both works, from Mirrlees's "ghost of Pere Lachaise" to Eliot's "unreal city".[48] However, so too is a hope for growth; in Eliot's "dying and reviving Gods", and Mirrlees's search for something "outside the divisions of language", both poets find, in their respective languages and mythologies, a vision of the future.[49] Just as the artworks of the Louvre "arise, serene and unetiolated, one by one from their subterranean sleep of five long years", so too, in the wake of The Great War, does the innovative spirit of modernist poetry.[50] ■

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[45] Mirrlees, "Paris", 4, 13–14.

[46] Ibid, 23.

[47] Briggs, "Modernism's Lost Hope", 87.

[48] Mirrlees, "Paris", 11; Eliot, "The Waste Land", 49.

[49] Williams, *Eliot*, 60; Boyde, "Life and Poetry", 29.

[50] Mirrlees, "Paris", 8.

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The fatality of scientific monomania: a study of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Christopher Nolan's *The Prestige*

Rachel Smith

In this essay I will investigate the various links between scientific development, death, and monomania in an interdisciplinary analysis of Mary Shelley's 1818 novel *Frankenstein* and Christopher Nolan's 2006 film *The Prestige*. This essay consists of three parts, focusing on the inventor, the invention, and the relationship between science and the arts. The first part of this essay discusses the inventor. It will compare the characters of Victor Frankenstein and Rupert Angier, contrasting and relating their motivations and behaviours in using scientific means to further their careers and reach their objectives. The second component of this essay pertains to the invention itself, primarily by contrasting the characters of Frankenstein's monster and Rupert Angier's Prestiges. This section will also discuss how the narrative structures of the film and novel subdue these voices within their respective texts while provoking the reader to formulate their own critical interpretation of the invention's existence. The third and concluding section of this essay hopes to create further discourse between the scientific discipline and the arts. It evaluates the relationship these artistic texts share with the science which inspires them and argues that they react to the public interest and fears surrounding science rather than aiming to provide an accurate presentation of the scientific subject.

The Inventor

By being victims of scientific monomania, *Frankenstein* and *The Prestige*'s principal characters offer an argument that science is an intrinsically obsessive pursuit. I will go on to discuss their motivations in identifying this bias against the sciences. *Frankenstein*, written in the early nineteenth century, was published at a pivotal moment in scientific development. Mary Shelley is said to have been inspired to write about reanimation through reading contemporary academic sources. This includes the "belief in spontaneous generation, meaning that life could arise spontaneously from dead animal or plant matter" and "the theory of epigenesis, which argued that the process of a single cell becoming a complex multicellular adult is controlled by a vital force unique to living tissue."[1] Shelley's use of galvanism—"chemical reactions involving metals with different infinities for electrons"—is said to reflect contemporary experimentation of electricity's relationship to life (and muscle contraction).[2] These developments progressed alongside changes in the practice of science wherein the introduction of theory surrounding monomania replaced accepted forms of eccentricity.[3] This scientific eccentricity is evidenced by German physiologist Johann Wilhelm Ritter, known for altering the voltaic battery, work on infra-red radiation, and "undefined 'galvanic' experiments with animals".[4] Despite the Prussian government criticising his experiments, Ritter still found a more "libertarian atmosphere" in Munich to continue his experimentation.[5] His ability to find a welcoming community for his work despite ethical concerns exemplifies the earlier standard in the scientific discipline of acceptable eccentricity, but his

RACHEL SMITH is a first-year student at the University of Glasgow studying towards a Joint Honours Degree in English Literature and Film and Television Studies.

[1] Christopher Rose, "How to Teach Biology Using the Movie Science of Cloning People, Resurrecting the Dead, and Combining Flies and Humans," *Public Understanding of Science* 12, no. 3 (2003): 292.

[2] Ibid, 292.

[3] Lennard J. Davis, *Obsession: A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 67.

[4] Richard Holmes, "Mary Shelley and the Power of Contemporary Science," in *Frankenstein*, ed. by J. Hunter (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 186.

[5] Ibid, 187.

unfaltering compulsion to continue in his research demonstrates this shift into understanding "eccentric" behaviour as monomaniacal. The term "monomania" was originally coined by Jean-Etienne Esquirol, continuing a system of thinking which comes from theories of "partial insanity" and nerve theory in which the mind is divided.[6] Most elements of the brain are functioning well while one or two fail to do so, demonstrating the monomaniac's ability to reason alongside and against their obsessions.[7] Frankenstein exhibits this monomania within Shelley's text. Before creating "his" creature, Shelley has Frankenstein recall his addiction to the sciences:

> That application, which at first had been a matter of duty and resolution, now became so ardent and eager, that the stars often disappeared in the light of morning whilst I was yet engaged in my laboratory.[8]

And yet, this interest darkens before the "dreary night of November" in which Frankenstein's creature awakens.[9] Frankenstein's "human nature" causes him to "turn with loathing from my occupation, whilst, still urged on by an eagerness which perpetually increased, I brought my work near to a conclusion."[10] In this, partial insanity is recognised in his single-minded ambition as well as the ability to look at himself, as if from an outside source, and acknowledge the dangers of that obsession. As Davis remarks, "[t]hus there is a conscious 'I' who is watching an obsessed self instead of a deranged and unconscious self dwelling in a lunatic."[11] The argument could easily be made that the narrative voice retrospectively recalling the events of Frankenstein's life to the listening Walton causes this introspection. However, if the understanding is that Frankenstein is also mad when recounting the story, his own misgivings about his practice are still altogether relevant.

Frankenstein explores a complex idea of fulfilment associated with obsession—or rather, the impossibility of fulfilment. Mary Shelley's father William Godwin discusses this idea in his own novel *Caleb Williams*, in which "the insatiable desire of satisfaction […] promises itself in that satisfaction to unknown gratification which seems as if it were capable of fully compensating any injuries."[12] We are to assume as readers that Frankenstein's objective is the pure realisation of his creation, the awakening of his invention, and yet this does not seem altogether likely to satisfy him. Frankenstein shows respect for the early scientific experiments which sought "immortality and power", yet changes his adoration from the "masters of the science" to their modern contemporaries when Waldman convinces him that they have "acquired new and almost unlimited powers; they can command the thunders of heaven, mimic the earthquake, and even mock the invisible world with its own shadows."[13] Frankenstein's interests—and, consequently, his obsessions—shift to wherever the world holds secrets that science may be able to divulge, and does so with an arrogance and superiority which intends to subordinate the natural order. Ultimately, Frankenstein's pursuit of destructive scientific designs leads him to madness. By equating madness with science, then, the text could be said to align science itself with disruption.

Despite similar monomaniacal tendencies displayed by *The Prestige*'s Rupert Angier, there is more ambiguity surrounding Angier's motivation than Frankenstein's. It seems to originate from a prevailing desire for revenge against the character of Alfred Borden for the death of his wife. How-

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[6] Davis, *Obsession: A History,* 38, 53.

[7] Ibid*,* 68.

[8] Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*, ed. by J. Hunter (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 30.

[9] Ibid*,* 35.

[10] Ibid, 34

[11] Davis, *Obsession: A History,* 61.

[12] William Godwin, *Caleb Williams* (London: Penguin, 1988), 128 as cited by Davis, *Obsession: A History*, 55.

[13] Shelley, *Frankenstein,* 28, 29.

ever, as the film progresses, this motivation appears to lose its clarity: increasingly, Angier's desire is not for a simplistic revenge or even to "take" Borden's life out of jealousy, but for competition and pride. There is a distinct impression that love for outperforming Borden as a magician eclipses the love he feels for his wife: "I don't care about my wife. I care about his secret."[14]

The use of costume, acting, and narrative allow for Angier's monomania to be communicated to the film's audience. There is no scene in which Angier, Borden, and Cutter—the third being a character defined by his relationships to the former two—do not appear. Their continuous presence in the narrative does not allow space for the audience to diverge from the rivalry, thus demonstrating its total encompassing of the characters' lives. Along the same line, by moving between three timelines, the narrative also presses the overarching idea that the focus of Angier's life—to outperform Borden—is omnipresent. Costume provides numerous reminders of Angier's pursuits; with few exceptions, Angier is seen with a limp—even before the narrative reveals its origins—and Borden with black gloves, reminding the audience of the antagonism between the two protagonists. Therefore, even when the focus of the dialogue or action is not on Angier shooting Borden or Borden orchestrating Angier's broken leg, their physical presence on screen is inseparable from their rivalry and the suffering which results from it.

Angier's motivation is what one would align with obsessive nature, as "obsession is precisely the disease in which reason and passion exist on the same level."[15] Reason speaks to his desire for revenge while the seduction of praise appeals to his passion. Despite contrasting interpretations of Angier's motivation, monomania unifies his actions. Yet, Angier himself does not display scientific monomania. Where Victor Frankenstein exhibits an insatiable scientific hunger, Rupert Angier uses the insatiable scientific hunger of another to meet his obsessions. Nikola Tesla—the famous scientist known for his contributions to electrical technological advancement—appears in a fictitious iteration which dramatises his time spent in Colorado Springs in 1899 and early 1900.[16] Angier's employment of Tesla's monomania does not disregard the capacity of science to be inherently obsessive. Instead, it underpins this same idea as science becomes the only way in which his desires can be realised, thereby showing its capacity for destruction when discovered. Even if we were to disregard Angier's discovery of science in furthering his own monomania, the scientific obsession shared between *The Prestige*'s Nikola Tesla and Frankenstein is blatant.

Tesla is wary of the machine he is building for Angier but completes it regardless of his own reservations, because he considers himself enslaved to his scientific obsession—"I am their slave, and one day, they will choose to destroy me."[17] Pleading the falsity of the phrase "man's reach exceeds his grasp", he successfully builds the mysterious machine in Colorado with his assistant.[18] The setting of Colorado where Tesla chiefly appears contrasts significantly with the Victorian London designed and built in a Universal backlot.[19] The former is cold, utilising a metallic colour scheme, and wires fall and drape across the space with origins out of the frame, emphasising their mystery. The animated electricity which sparks from the machine, coupled by a loud crackling sound of charged electricity, demonstrates a threatening side of Tesla's science in comparison to the glowing field of lightbulbs which precede it. The allure of science is more obvious in the latter, causing Tesla to use it in this new colder environment, placing a lightbulb in Angier's hand and watching it glow, to endear himself to his potential patron and to the audience. I would also be remiss not to mention the recurring motif of electricity in the arts' exploration of science. This is evidenced in Tesla's invention in *The Prestige*

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[14] Christopher Nolan, *The Prestige,* (California: Warner Bros*.,* 2006), Film.

[15] Davis, *Obsession: A History,* 64.

[16] Britannica Review, 'Nikola Tesla'

[17] Nolan, *The Prestige.*

[18] Ibid.

[19] Nathan Crowley, "Special Feature: Conjuring the Past," in *The Prestige* [DVD] (California: Warner Bros., 2006).

and in Frankenstein's youthful encounter with science when lightning hits a tree as well as other instances of storms in the text.[20]

The streets of London, on the other hand, are worn down and dirty. Extras and actors in period costume, steam and smoke, visible brickwork, dirtied ground, torn posters on walls, extras passing in horse-drawn carriages, and minimal artificial light all join to create a sense of realism *mise-en-scène*. Contrastingly, *The Prestige*'s Colorado is distanced from the populace, referenced as Tesla's "retirement", and demonstrates a likeness to Frankenstein's own enforced isolation when experimenting. Geographical and societal exclusion, for both men of science, indicates the sacrifices they have made. Instead, Victorian London, alongside Borden, symbolises a different kind of sacrifice; that of endurance and "getting your hands dirty."[21] Therefore, Angier uses scientific monomania—that which Tesla criticises for being all consuming and dangerous—in conjunction with his own monomania to choreograph his retribution against Borden.

It may appear that my intention has been to vilify the role of scientists. However, I would like to clarify I am not advancing this view. I have not argued that science is an inherently obsessive pursuit to those who are inclined toward it. Instead, I argue that the dramatised version of science in these texts creates or furthers obsession in the principal characters through self-inflicted victimisation. Victor Frankenstein, Rupert Angier, and Nikola Tesla characterise themselves as victims of science despite the roles they take on in their own destruction. This hypocrisy is recognised within *Frankenstein* through the creature. When given life, Shelley uses similar language of exploration and experimentation concerning the creature as she does earlier with Frankenstein's character. By positioning scientific methodology as a naturally occurring process by which we make sense of the world we inhabit, Shelley's science cannot be considered inherently dangerous. Additionally, I do not argue that monomania is threatening due to its pervading nature, only that it becomes harmful when combined with a disinterest in or willing disregard for moral consequences.

The Invention

These moral consequences are recognised in the figure of the invention: Frankenstein's creature and Angier's Prestiges are both products and victims of scientific pursuits. This comparison raises the issue of narration. In *Frankenstein*, the creature's voice is embedded within other established forms of narration—namely, the narrative Frankenstein creates when recounting events to Walton, who is writing letters to his sister. Therefore, due to the novel's epistolary structure, the creature struggles to be realised as a fully conscious being. Frankenstein creates the creature to be human, but, upon his being stimulated to life, refuses to see him as such.[22] The attempts to apply a species or title—the fiend/daemon/monster—in the text carry their own pantheon of negative allusion. The creature is not given a name, cursing him to the pop culture misconception of his namesake.[23] While this may first appear an easy insight in which the inventor becomes one with the invention—Frankenstein being considered so monstrous that he is inseparable from the 'monster'—it is another example of the creature lacking agency in his own right. A reading of the text which is more sympathetic to the creature allegorically imagines him as an abused child; the creature is viewed as a motherless infant, emphasising the importance of the female role in reproduction, and as a Creator's abandoned offspring, prompting a theological approach.[24] The latter is recognised explicitly within the novel wherein Frankenstein's creature relates his own situation to that of Satan in Milton's Paradise Lost:

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[20] Shelley, *Frankenstein*, 23, 50.

[21] Nolan, *The Prestige*.

[22] Shelley, *Frankenstein*, 33.

[23] Peter Brooks, "What is a Monster? (According to Frankenstein)," in *Frankenstein*, ed. by J. Hunter (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 369.

[24] Joyce Carol Oates, "Frankenstein's Fallen Angel," *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 3 (1984): 547.

> God, in pity, made man beautiful and alluring, after his own image; but my form is a filthy type of yours, more horrid even from the very resemblance. Satan had his companions, fellow devils, to admire and encourage him, but I am solitary and abhorred.[25]

The creature's isolation and physical appearance render him, in this instance, less than Satan. The desperation with which the creature attempts to make connections to others is pitiable. Rejected by his creator, he finds the De Lacey family and watches them, learns from them, sympathises with their misfortune and then, when he attempts to connect with them, he is beaten.[26] As a result, the creature pleads with Frankenstein to create a female creature so that, understanding the contempt humans consider him with, he can escape without being truly alone.[27] Following William's death, when the creature has exhausted his hope to be loved, he commits his life to destroying Frankenstein's. Each murder he commits is painted by the creature as a way of exacting against Frankenstein the punishment inflicted on him:

> I will revenge my injuries: if I cannot inspire love, I will cause fear, and chiefly towards you my arch-enemy, because my creator, do I swear inextinguishable hatred. Have a care: I will work at your destruction, nor finish until I desolate your heart, so that you shall curse the hour of your birth.[28]

The creature's intention is to sentence and punish Frankenstein in the stead of human institutions so that he may exact justice against his Creator. However, the simplistic idea that the creature only needed the love of Frankenstein to prosper conveniently ignores all other societal hatred his existence elicits. Frankenstein's "sweet and beloved Elizabeth", the "purest creature of earth", screams at the sight of him as does William, a child who as the creature hopes has "lived too short a time to have imbibed a horror of deformity."[29] Even the creature's own idols in the form of the De Lacey family—with the exception of the older man who cannot physically see him—faint, flee from, and attack him.[30] The scientific pursuit of bringing life to a composite of dead body parts is not what causes harm in the text; rather, it is society and Frankenstein's failure to understand and fulfil their responsibility to nurture the creature.

Furthermore, contrasting Frankenstein's creature and Angier's Prestiges presents a challenge. The latter do not speak more than once, in a cut off statement, and are then seen in the process of drowning and as drowned bodies. Yet, the Prestiges are assumed to be exact copies of Angier. Given the lack of voice, such a reading is only possible when deriving from Frankenstein's legacy; I argue that, almost two centuries after Shelley began writing *Frankenstein*, *The Prestige* uses the former's zeitgeist within popular culture to ease audience comprehension of its narrative. The audience's awareness of Angier's Prestiges, the willingness to believe in such a perfect cloning, exemplifies Frankenstein's teaching that a body of scientific synthesis can be fully realised as a "person".

The aforementioned cut off statement pronounced when Angier first tests the machine without Tesla, is: "No-No, no, I'm the-."[31] Of course, it seems clear that what the Prestige's speech suggests is that he is the 'real' Angier and not merely a clone, thus raising ambiguity surrounding the conscious-

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[25] Shelley, *Frankenstein,* 91.

[26] Ibid*,* 94.

[27] Ibid*,* 101.

[28] Ibid, 102.

[29] Ibid*,* 136, 140, 100.

[30] Ibid*,* 94.

[31] Nolan, *The Prestige.*

ness of Angier in his final trick. The character's understanding is that it takes "courage to climb into that machine every night without knowing if I'd be the man in the box or the Prestige", but that is only the character's comprehension of a machine he did not design.[32] It may be, as Angier deems, that his consciousness switches to either the Transported Angier in the audience of the theatre or the Angier which falls through the trap door into the drowning box underneath. Equally, it could be that the machine creates an exact double, complete with all nature and nurture that Angier himself has undergone to become individualised. The latter reading would suggest that Angier is simultaneously the Prestige of the trick and the Prestige who dies. Hence the title I have given them as a collective. The possibility of the Prestiges being exact copies eventually underpins the tragedy of Angier as his own murderer and victim.

Angier's dismissal of the Prestige in the box is recognised in contrasting two attempts at the same trick. Aspects of the final trick wherein Angier is the Prestige, who stands high in the audience of the theatre—outstretched arms, smiling face, pristine suit—mirror an earlier attempt which used a double instead. Root, a man chosen for his likeness to act as a double, also played by Jackman with the use of a dental prosthesis and false earlobes, steals the glory of appearing as the Transported Man.[33] Shots of Root and Olivia are interrupted by a shot of Angier beneath the stage, hands outstretched, head tipped back in rapture as stage light filters through the dusty space and while the sound of applauding grows louder in volume. The crucial difference between these two shots on a superficial level is their lighting. In the final trick, Angier is lit starkly by a theatre spotlight. The long shot shows his whole figure from an upward perspective, highlighting the spectacle of the figure and his action of looking down on the audience. Contrastingly, the earlier trick has softer tones of lighting, those stolen from the stage above, and Angier is backlit as he faces away from the camera. The key element here is the audience. The diegetic audience does not acknowledge Angier in the earlier trick, decreasing its value to him as a performer because he does not reap the benefits of the audience's recognition. The sentiment that "no one cares about the man in the box" is brought to the fore, demonstrating Angier's inability to recognise the Prestiges he creates in the final act to the degree of actualisation.[34] They are the men in the box, and therefore, just as he was, meaningless and unimportant.

Thereby, it is not the pursuit of scientific knowledge in *Frankenstein* or *The Prestige* which leads to corruption and disruption. It is not the monomania resulting from that pursuit, either; rather it is the protagonist's failure to fulfil a caring role for their invention. For Frankenstein, this is his inability to love what he created for its physical appearance and the resulting abandonment which is his ruination. For Angier, it is his desire to be loved and adored by a crowd which causes him to willingly disregard the death of his Prestiges, dismissing them as worthy sacrifices for the admiration he seeks.

The Arts and the Sciences

If we understand that scientific monomania is not inherently disruptive unless utilised by an unstable or unthinking force, then how are we reconcile this with the medium in which it is being discussed?

It is important to note that I do not contend that the science seen in *The Prestige* or *Frankenstein* is an accurate portrayal of the scientific process. It is well documented that popular culture has often been guilty of creating "a negative perception of science and scientists" and that their portrayals on screen especially focus on "going mad or else paying for their hubris—think Dr. Strangelove, Jurassic Park and A Beautiful Mind".[35] However, it is possible to acknowledge these inaccuracies and dramatisations while appreciating the power which cinema and novels possess in shaping the public

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[32] Ibid.

[33] "The Prestige FAQ," *IMDB*, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0482571/faq. [accessed 13 February 2018]

[34] Nolan, *The Prestige.*

[35] Rose, "How to Teach Biology," 289; Jascha Hoffman, "Science at the Movies," *Nature* 455, no. 7214 (2008): 734

understanding. Christopher Rose has identified "biology-based movies" as a useful instrument for "discussing the fundamental ideas, techniques, and societal implications of such topics as human cloning, genetic screening, human origins and evolution, artificial intelligence and recombining animals."[36]

Equally, following this line of thought, I do not think these dramatisations should be regarded as responsible for the negative shaping of public understanding. The gothic nature of Mary Shelley's novel does affect the way in which we imagine the science within the text. It is also accurate to state that the science of *The Prestige* is an afterthought and is not dealt with in any specificity, used as a means by Angier to further the competition to become a better magician than Borden. Science, in this instance, is even relegated to "real magic."[37]

And yet,

> [m]any of us have witnessed numerous cases in which scientists' reassurances about the safety of new innovations and the minimal dangers to society of such innovations have turned to ashes. Experts told us that living near a nuclear plant is safer than taking a bath—this was dramatically belied by Three Mile Island and, more tragically, by Chernobyl.[38]

Thus, *Frankenstein* and *The Prestige* were created in reaction to—and to explore the cost of—"value free science".[39] To accuse the arts of solely creating distrust of science is to deny the prevalent fears of severe scientific consequences which are borne of the discipline's own history.

The scientific objectives of Frankenstein and Tesla are eventually met, but at what cost? In *Frankenstein*, the scientific process is kept shrouded in mystery and secret not because Frankenstein is selfish and wants to keep the glory to himself, but because he, believing that the issue is in the "monster" and not in his failure to act as a parent, wants to keep another scientist from repeating his "mistake". Therefore, the truth of Frankenstein's creature, if discovered within the diegesis and to the audience of the novel, would be appalling. In *The Prestige*, the scientific process is glossed over for the sake of the protagonists' rivalry. The audience in the narrative is stunned and awed by "The New Transported Man" trick, but we, as the cinematic audience, are privileged to its inner workings. As in *Frankenstein*, if these consequences were known to the diegetic audience, they would be a cause for horror: "Think of sawing a woman in half."[40] This reflects the overarching idea in *The Prestige* that the reality of events within the diegesis is ugly and, crucially, not enough: "The secret impresses no one. The trick you use it for is everything."[41]

The same can be said of science in reference to these artistic dramatisations. Science is not foregrounded in either narrative for the reasons highlighted above—namely, the dangers of knowledge and the diversion from the central narrative—but it is also because we, as an audience, do not want to know. Showmanship is a recurring concept in *The Prestige* which separates Angier and Borden's success. If we were to allegorically understand Angier to symbolise the arts and Borden to stand for the sciences, then the former concerns himself with entertainment and awe, tricking the audience just as a novel or a film does, and the latter struggles to attain attention with the truth. Of course, these are simplistic characterisations, but they exemplify something important about these texts: they *showcase* science. Shelley uses gothic literary tradition to entertain the reader and Nolan utilises interlocking narrators and timelines, combining them with the drive to uncover the secret of the trick to motiv-

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[36] Rose, "How to Teach Biology," 289.

[37] Nolan, *The Prestige.*

[38] Bernard E. Rollin, *Science and Ethics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 157.

[39] Ibid*,* 11.

[40] Nolan, *The Prestige.*

[41] Ibid.

ate his viewer. Glory and entertainment are absent from the truth. Frankenstein and Angier recognise this within the text—that the "monster" and the Prestiges must be kept secret—just as Mary Shelley and Christopher Nolan recognise this in their "dressing up plain and sometimes brutal truths to amaze, to shock".[42] In this case, "dressing up" science for entertaining and artistic spectacle. *Frankenstein* and *The Prestige* reminds us that the science they portray is inherently dramatised. Therefore, the value of these texts does not lie in their conception of science as a discipline, but rather in their reflection of the expectations, assumptions, and fears that we, as readership or cinematic audience, invest upon science. ■

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[42] Ibid.

A critical assessment of the evidence for selective female infanticide as a cause of the Viking Age

Edward Stewart

There currently exists in the study of Viking archaeology a strong support for the theory, popularised by Barrett (2015), that selective female infanticide in the Late Scandinavian Iron Age to Early Viking Age resulted in the sudden expansion of Scandinavian influence, through raiding, invading, and trading, across Europe that categorises the Viking age. This paper aims to critique the evidence for selective female infanticide as a cause of the Viking age and suggests that it may have been only a partial factor in causing the Viking Age. This paper will review the current literature on the subject and consider the evidence currently available, Archaeological and literary, in order to critique this currently dominant theory.

Within the debate on the causes of the Viking age, there currently exists strong academic support for the theory of selective female infanticide as a primary causal factor. This school argues that a population-wide shortage of females in Scandinavia at the start of the Viking age prompted intense competition to gather sufficient wealth and prestige to win a bride.[1] R. Noort argues that this occurred within an increasingly competitive socio-political landscape, and a culture of honour through martial prowess.[2] It is these factors, he argues, that brought about the cultures of raiding and exploration which characterise the Viking Age. However, there are significant arguments against this theory, which centre around its assumptions about the role and value of Viking women in late Iron Age Scandinavia, as well as issues with the reliability of gender ratio data, based upon existing burial evidence alone. This essay will critically examine the evidence for selective female infanticide as a cause of the Viking Age.

The merits of Selective Female Infanticide theory

James Barrett argues that the cause of the Viking Age, as characterised by the spread of Scandinavian influence via raiding, settling, and trading in Western Europe, was brought about by none of the prior arguments, as these were insufficient in fully explaining the Viking phenomenon.[3] Barrett goes on to argue that the imbalance of male to female graves must be addressed as the root cause, and according to the literary sources, as the causal factor of the Viking age.[4] The Icelandic Sagas reference selective infanticide of female infants in periods of food scarcity, or general hardship.[5] The Sagas state "So you are with child. If you should raise a girl, it shall be exposed, But if a boy, then it shall be raised."[6] Nancy Wicker, a leading proponent of the argument for the existence

EDWARD STEWART is a student at the University of Glasgow studying Archaeology and Geography. He hopes to pursue a career in North West European Archaeology, with a focus on Prehistory and the Early Medieval.

[1] James Barrett, "What caused the Viking Age?," *Antiquity* 82, no. 317 (2015): 682–684.

[2] R.V.D Noort, *North Sea Archaeologies: A Maritime Biography, 10,000 BC–AD 1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 197–198.

[3] Barrett, "What caused the Viking Age?," 682–684.

[4] Ibid.

[5] H. Damico, *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990), 116.

[6] Anon, "Eric the Red and other Icelandic sagas," trans. J. Jones, in *Bordfirdinga Sogur Islenzk Fornrit,* ed. by S. Nordal and G. Jonsson (Reykjavik: Runa Raven Press, 1980), 174.

of selective female infanticide in Viking-era Scandinavia, argues that the disparity in female grave evidence between early christianised sites and their contemporary pagan alternatives is evidence of the practice of selective infanticide of females in the pagan Viking era. This practice would have been illegal under Christian doctrine.[7] There are mentions in the sagas, as well as in other accounts of Viking life, that infanticide was a practice of late Iron Age-Viking culture, often involving the deprival of food or exposure of unwanted children or the ritual killing of infants in sacrificial acts.[8] C. Clover and M.H. Eriksen argue that there is archaeological evidence for infanticide in Scandinavia in the period, and from ethnographic studies of societies in similar conditions, it can be argued that selective female infanticide was likely practiced.[9] Evidence for infanticide in Norway in the Iron Age and Age of Migrations is limited to a single site, Hå in Rogaland, where a selection of fragments of neo-natal skull were discovered within a bog in close proximity to sacred springs: this was argued to relate to a ritual-sacrificial exposure or drowning of infants, though none of the fragments could be sexed and thus this in itself does not prove the existence of selective female infanticide.[10] This deposition and others similar found in Denmark have shown no identifiable gendered bias in victims and have counterparts across much of Northern Europe from the pre-Christian Iron age.[11] Wicker argues that women are mentioned less frequently than men in the sagas, suggesting that this is indirect evidence of a disproportionate sex ratio, though this is questionably accurate.[12] Wicker argues that the disproportionate ratio of male to female graves in Birka (an early mission site in Scandinavia), illustrates the elimination of selective infanticide, as women clearly outnumber men in the burial grounds; a very different trend is found in the rest of Scandinavia for most of this period.[13] It is argued by Barrett that this led to a significant shortage of potential brides for the male population[14]. This increased level of competition, mixed with a culture of prestige gained through martial success, led to raiding abroad as a means to create a worthy bride-price.[15] It has been widely accepted that the common finding of insular Western-European artefacts in Scandinavian female grave good assemblages represents some form of bride wealth. Therefore, Barrett is reasonable to suggest that to some degree at least, the purpose of raiding as part of the male lifecycle was to raise wealth to facilitate a marriage, perhaps as part of the route to becoming a landowner, as without a wife to manage the household, raiding each summer would have been a foolhardy endeavour.[16]

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[7] Nancy Wicker, "Selective Female Infanticide as Partial Explanation for the Dearth of Women in Viking Age Scandinavia," in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by G. Halsall (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 217.

[8] Wicker, "Selective Female," 207.

[9] C. Clover, "THE POLITICS OF SCARCITY: NOTES ON THE SEX RATIO IN EARLY SCANDINAVIA," *Scandinavian Studies* 60, no. 2 (1988): 187–188; M.H. Eriksen, "Don't all mothers love their children? Deposited infants as animate objects in the Scandinavian Iron Age," *World Archaeology* 49, no. 3 (2017): 351.

[10] Grete Lillehammer, "Children in the bog," in *(Re)thinking the little ancestor: new perspectives on the archaeology of infancy and childhood,* ed. M. Lally and A. Moore (Oxford, Archaeopress, 2001): 51.

[11] Lillehammer, "Children in the bog", 52.

[12] Wicker, "Selective Female," 218.

[13] Nancy Wicker, "Christianization, Female Infanticide, and the Abundance of Female Burials at Viking Age Birka in Sweden," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 21, no. 2 (2015): 265–267.

[14] Barrett, "What caused the Viking Age?," 682.

[15] B. Raffield, *et al.,* "Male-biased operational sex ratios and the Viking phenomenon: an evolutionary anthropological perspective on Late Iron Age Scandinavian raiding," *Evolution and Human Behaviour* 38, no. 1 (2016): 323.

[16] J. Graham-Campbell, "National and regional identities: the 'glittering prizes,'" in *Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art*, ed. M. Redknap, *et al.* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 37–38; B. Arrheniüs, "Women and gold: on the role of women in society at the time of the Great Migrations and their relationship to the production and distribution of ornaments," in *Produksjon ogsamfunn,* ed. by H.G. Resi (Oslo: Universitetets Oldsaksamling, 1995), 85–86.

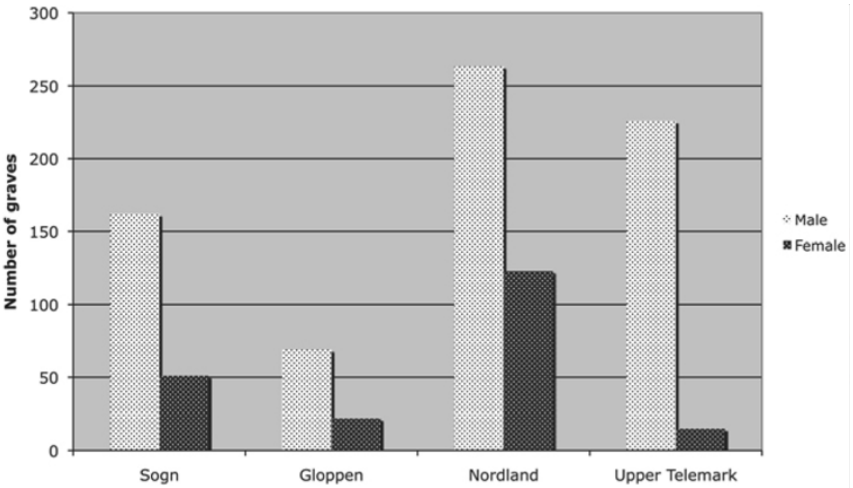

Figure 1: Male/Female sex ratio from Norwegian Graves

There is a distinct imbalance in identified sexed graves from across the traditional "Viking" heartlands. In some cases there is a ratio of three to one, a significant gender imbalance on a regional basis.[17] The graph above illustrates that in the increasingly socially stratified communities of Scandinavia in the late Iron Age, the competition for women took on an increasingly important role in the achievement of status.[18] Practices such as polygyny and the taking of concubines would likely have further increased competition for females, and compounded social hierarchies. Those winning wealth and prestige were then best placed to find multiple partners, whilst also producing a large body of single males, competing more fiercely for status and attention.[19] This is supported by the Ulster Annals, which make reference to the targeted capture of females by Viking raiders in 821 AD.[20] The commonly recorded practice of taking predominantly female captives during raiding suggests that there was a greater demand for females in Scandinavia, or in the Viking camps. Therefore, a high value was likely placed not only on female captives, but females in general.[21] Consequently, if Selective Female Infanticide was the cause of this gender imbalance, the practice would have played a significant role in the formation of the culture of raiding to gather a bride-price, and the attached status coming with successfully negotiating a marriage.

The weaknesses of the Selective Female Infanticide theory

However, there are significant arguments against this theory of female infanticide being the

[17] A.K. Pyburn, *Ungendering Civilisation* (London: Routledge, 2014), 108.

[18] B. Raffield, *et al.*, "Male-biased operational sex ratios and the Viking phenomenon: an evolutionary anthropological perspective on Late Iron Age Scandinavian raiding," *Evolution and Human Behaviour* 38, no. 1 (2016): 321.

[19] J. Heinrich, *et al.*, "The Puzzle of monogamous marriage," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 367, no. 1 (2012): 659; R.M. Karras, "Concubinage and Slavery in the Viking Age," *Scandinavian Studies* 62, no. 2 (1990): 162.

[20] Anon., *Annals of Ulster to A.D 1131*, trans. S.M. Airt and G.M. Niocall (Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies), 227; Raffield, "Male-biased operational sex ratios and the Viking phenomenon," 323–324.

[21] Raffield, "Male-biased operational sex ratios and the Viking phenomenon," 323–324.

primary causal factor of the Viking Age. Wicker admits that there are few sites of multiple scattered infant bones which would be interpreted as sites of ritualistic, or culturally dictated child exposure. Therefore, comment cannot be made on the scale of selective infanticide, as the later Christian sources may well exaggerate such a practice to elaborate a narrative of Viking paganism, as is common in many cultural contexts, where one culture wishes to tarnish the reputation of the other.[22] In those sites that have been identified, such as at Hå, Rogaland, Norway and Hundrup Mose, Zealand, Denmark, infants were deposited into wetland environments, including bogs or wells. However, there are not quantities large enough to denote this as a large-scale practice, and there are only minimal indications of victims of violence, or any particular sex discrepancy—though sexing is impossible in the neonatal remains.[23] The identified sites thus far also only contain remains of between four to seven individuals, not all infants. It is unlikely that a regular culling of female infants is being seen, but rather some ritual sacrifice of infants and probably foreign slaves, the infants themselves in some cases perhaps being the children of slaves. Figure two (below) illustrates the distribution of known sites of suspected infanticide in late Iron Age Northern Europe. Whilst it does show a number of sites within Scandinavia, the number is too small to create such a large biased sex ratio as seen in Early Viking Scandinavia.[24] Thus, to argue that infanticide alone created this sex ratio bias would be against the current bank of evidence.

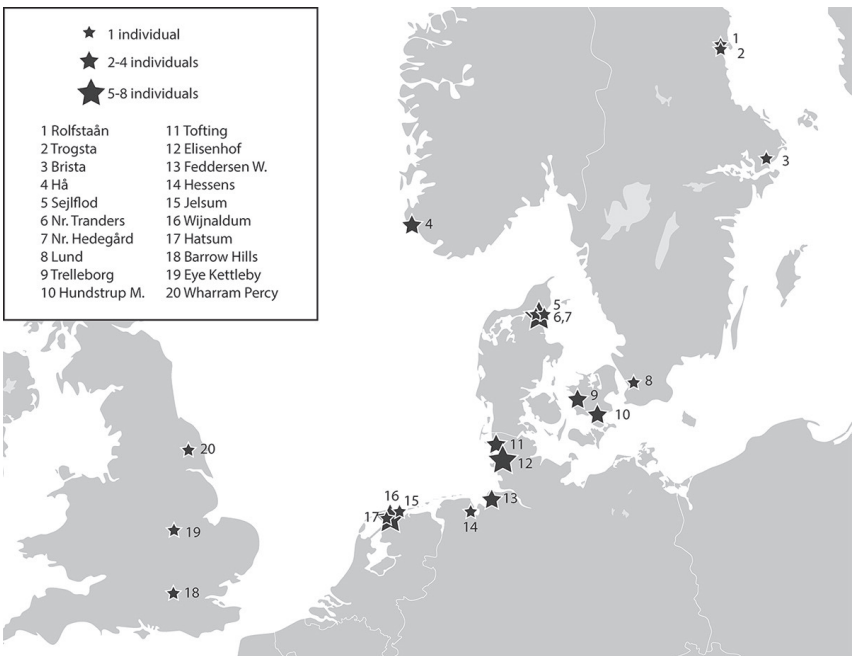

Figure 2: Map of infant deposition in late Iron Age Northern Europe

[22] Wicker, "Selective Female," 220–221.

[23] Eriksen, "Don't all mothers love their children?," 339.

[24] Ibid, 348.

Infant mortality in late-Iron Age Scandinavia is predicted to be around 30–60 percent. It is unlikely that selective female infanticide could have been practiced on top of this to any great extent, without pushing population ratios to the point of crisis. This notion is further consolidated, as it is known that female infants were significantly more at risk than male infants from natural mortality in infancy.[25] L.H. Dommasnes argues that a much higher proportion of female graves are found within mounds and other monumental or prestige burial forms. This suggests that class imbalance exists within female graves, as opposed to a gendered imbalance.[26] These types of burials are associated with claims to land and legitimisation of land or power holding. Therefore, the imbalance in female graves is in fact a disproportionate sample of females in the Viking period, as most female graves appear to illustrate individuals associated with landholdings, and therefore those of a lower class, landless, or lacking power may be unrepresented.[27] Higher status burials have survived disproportionately well due to their significance and status, translated through the generations by the scale of their burial. Meanwhile, graves of lower class females, perhaps less richly buried, have been lost due to a lack of significance being placed on their burial sites by subsequent generations.[28] In a society focused on lineage and prestige it may have been worth ignoring or purposefully removing ignominious forbearers from the record.[29]

Furthermore, in a society where polygamy and concubinage was practiced, it is likely that only favourite wives or partners were disposed of with the full pomp, ceremony, and trappings of a significant burial. It is logical to suggest that less valued members of such households were granted lower status graves, which did not survive to such extent in the archaeological record. Much of what is known about Viking funerary ritual and ceremony suggests a link between forms and practices of funerals, and status during life. This suggests that favoured members of a household would have been granted more significant burials than others, based upon their relative role and status within the domestic sphere.[30] Literary sources on Viking female burial also suggest that, particularly in cremation burials, the practice of sending serving girls, handmaidens, bondwomen and slaves to their deaths alongside their masters in cremation was practiced in some high-status funerals.[31] Therefore, as cremation evidence is much harder to identify, and harder still to sex, a significant proportion of the population, even accounting for some exaggeration, is likely unrepresented in the archaeological records. Wicker argues that the disparity in sex ratio between contemporary pagan and Christian settlements is proof of the pagan practicing of selective female infanticide.[32] However, I argue that this illustrates more the Christian practice of relatively standardised burial within defined cemetery areas. This is an easier death practice under which to find a cross section of population demographics archaeologically, when compared to the unstandardised and widely varied inhumation and cremation practices common in pagan communities.

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[25] Ibid, 339; V.W. Vaupel, *et al.*, "The Impact of Heterogeneity in Individual Frailty on the Dynamics of Mortality," *Demography* 16, no. 3 (1979): 442.

[26] L.H. Dommasnes, "Late Iron Age in Western Norway. Female Roles and Ranks as Deduced from an Analysis of Burial Customs," *Norwegian Archaeological review* 15, no. 1 (1982): 84; L.H. Dommasnes, "Women and Death in Old Norse Societies: an Archaeological Perspective," in *Women, Pain, and Death: Rituals and Everyday Life on the Margins of Europe and Beyond,* ed. by J.E. Haeland (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), 43–45.

[27] Dommasnes, "Women and Death," 24.

[28] Cristina Spatacean, "Women in the Viking age. Death, life after death and burial customs" (Masters diss., University of Oslo, 2006), 119–121.

[29] Ibid, 117.

[30] Ibid, 115.

[31] Anon., *The Saga of the Volsungs: The Norse Epic of Sigurd the Dragon Slayer*, trans. L. Jesse (London: Penguin Books, 1990); Spatacean, *Women in the Viking age,* 118.

[32] Wicker, "The Abundance of Female Burials," 252.

Similarly, a growing body of evidence suggests women had a role, in some instances a leading role, in raids; therefore discrediting the view of women in the Viking age as passive. The Ulster Annals record that, in the 10th century, a Viking fleet active in Munster was led by Ingehn Ruaidh or "the Red Girl".[33] The recent discovery of a Viking weapons burial, wrongly assigned as male in Birka, Sweden, also questions assumptions of gender based on grave goods and implied occupation status. The burial was previously assumed to be male due to the rich body of strongly masculine associated weapons and militaria grave goods.[34]

> The grave goods include a sword, an axe, a spear, armour-piercing arrows, a battle knife, two shields, and two horses, one mare and one stallion; thus, the complete equipment of a professional warrior. Furthermore, a full set of gaming pieces indicates knowledge of tactics and strategy.[35]

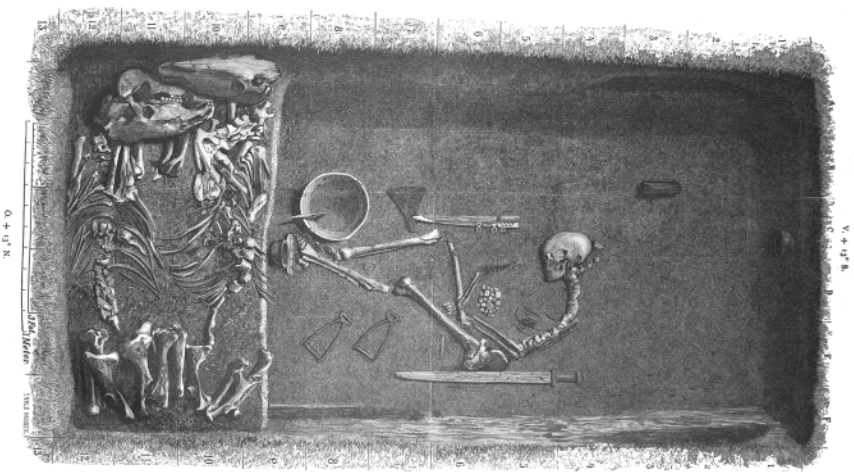

Figure 3: The Birka female warrior and associated grave goods

However, osteological and DNA analysis proved that the individual buried with all the material culture of an elite "male" burial was female; further calling into question the theory that weapons equate to warriors, or that the primary purpose of raiding was to gather a bride price.[36] Figure three illustrates the grave, and the wealth of grave goods. This offers another potential weakness in the female infanticide model based upon sex ratios, as it proves that the common practice of gendering graves based upon grave goods is flawed. Perhaps a significant number of such graves have been mis-

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[33] Anon., *The War of the Gaehdil with the Gaill or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and Other Norsemen*, trans. J.H. Todd (London: Reader and Dyre, 1867), 207.

[34] C. Hedenstierna-Jonson and A. Kjellström, *et al.*, "A female Viking warrior confirmed by genomics," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 1, no. 1 (2017): 45.

[35] Ibid, 45.

[36] Stephen Harrison, "'Warrior graves?' the weapon burial rite in Viking Age Britain and Ireland," in *Maritime societies of the Viking and medieval world,* ed. James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2015), 299–319; Hedenstierna-Jonson and Kjellström, *et al.*, "A female Viking warrior," 45.

interpreted, opening the way for a significantly less biased sex-ratio.[37] I argue from this evidence that women during this period were able to attain positions of martial or socio-political leadership. It is unlikely that the raiding that they were engaged in, or at least indirectly involved with, was for the purpose of finding a bride-price or subjugating potential concubines alone.[38] The high-status weapons burial of a female in Birka, and the leadership of a fleet by a female warrior-chief in Ireland, also evoke questions of what it was that motivated a process of selective infanticide if a female could gain power and wealth through socio-political or martial action.[39] This directly contradicts the arguments of Clover, who argued that the strong and heroic women of the Icelandic and Norwegian Sagas were romanticised reflections of later ideals and that in reality women in Viking Scandinavia were powerless in law and politics. Clover's argument forms the basis of selective infanticide theory, stating that being a female, a product of incest, a bastard, or being physically malformed were reasons to expose a child.[40] However, the finding of this powerful female grave, alongside the evidence from Irish Literary sources and the growing wealth of evidence from rune stones and insular graves, demonstrates that women could, and did, achieve status and power in Scandinavia and the Viking world. This shakes the bedrock of selective female infanticide as a theory for the cause of the Viking era.[41] It is therefore possible that instances of infanticide were significantly less common that assumed by the theory, and any gender ratio imbalance could instead be attributed to slightly higher rates of child and young adult mortality among females than males. I believe that the wrongful gender assumption of graves based on grave goods alone, and a disparity in the survival of female graves of different social statuses, renders the sex-ratios from this period as insufficient evidence upon which to base such a grand theory as the cause of the Viking Age.[42]

Alternative interpretations to be drawn

From the evidence, I argue that a high proportion of the female graves identified so far have been high-status burials. Therefore, it is necessary to offer an alternative interpretation for the importance of acquiring bride wealth in causing the Viking Age. I argue that what is seen is a disproportionate survival and recovery of high status burials, giving an incomplete picture of the gender ratio present in Iron Age Scandinavia.[43] Therefore, while Viking raiding activity may to some degree have been a result of the need to gather a bride price, this was not as a result of a lack of females so much as a restricted pool of high-status females.[44] Evidence for high-status females in Scandinavian burials is common, from Haithabu and the burial of a woman on a cart with among the richest displays of precious metal grave goods to be found in Scandinavia, to the famous Oseberg Ship Burial with its two female occupants.[45] It is known from the Icelandic sagas and surviving accounts of Scandinavian law codes from the Viking Era that women had the right to own and inherit property, divorce and remarry, and engage in trade.[46]

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[37] Dommasnes, "Late Iron Age in Western Norway," 79.

[38] Ibid, 84; Hedenstierna-Jonson and Kjellström, *et al.*, "A female Viking warrior," 45.

[39] Dommasnes, "Late Iron Age in Western Norway," 84; Raffield, "Male-biased operational sex ratios and the Viking phenomenon," 324.

[40] Clover, "THE POLITICS OF SCARCITY," 149

[41] Arrheniüs, "Women and gold," 88; Clover, "THE POLITICS OF SCARCITY," 188; Anon., *The War of the Gaehdil,* 207; J. Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 39.

[42] Vaupel, "The Impact of Heterogeneity," 445.

[43] Dommasnes, "Late Iron Age in Western Norway," 78.

[44] K.M Holcomb, *Pulling the Strings: The Influential Power of Women in Viking Age Iceland* (Oregon: University of Oregon press, 2015), 24–25.

[45] P. Holck, "The Oseberg Ship Burial, Norway: New Thoughts On the Skeletons From the Grave Mound," *European Journal of Archaeology* 9, no. 2 (2016): 200; Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, 39.

[46] Damico, *New Readings on Women*, 116–118.

The increasing social stratification forming in Scandinavia at the time, as described by Barrett, adds weight to this argument. Marrying a woman from an existing or developing elite family would have provided gifts of lands or political support to a union. This may have been more valuable than the physical proceeds of raiding to the young men aiming to gain status within the forming earldoms and Kingdoms of Scandinavia and their diaspora.[47] As Brettell suggests, "perhaps plunder […] could provide the cash needed to succeed in the rural context—to accumulate bride-price, provide a dowry, or buy a home".[48] Thus the second part of Barrett's argument, the "Marriage Imperative" is supported by the body of evidence.[49] I would argue that the high status of women was in some way a product of the raiding culture of the Viking Age and earlier in Scandinavia as women would have been left in charge of homesteads while the summer raiding parties were occupied elsewhere.[50] The suggestion that raiding was fuelled at least in part by the desire to acquire wealth to set oneself up at home proves a plausible causal factor for the Scandinavian expansion of the Viking Age. This explains the common discovery of objects produced in Ireland and the West appearing in female Viking graves in domestic settings, accompanied by insular and domestic grave-goods, probably as a result of raiding.[51] Arguably, the finding of precious objects of Western provenance in Scandinavian graves highlights a key cause of the Viking Age, as the raiding of items dually acted to increase the wealth of the individual, and to improve their reputation as possession of "foreign" treasures likely transferred some status upon their holder in insular Scandinavian settings. The travels of Harold Hardrada in the east show that status and prestige could be won for travelling, exploring, raiding and raising wealth in exotic lands, and that the return with exotic foreign goods could in itself convey and create power even disregarding the physical worth of objects.[52] Furthermore, the gathering of wealth was aimed particularly among young men, for use in offering a bride price and thus gaining a wife. This was probably an important step in the life cycle of a young man in Scandinavia as a wife would then manage one's household while they went viking, allowing for the accruing of non-portable wealth, property, and land, which would have been impossible if one intended to abandon it for the yearly raiding without a family at home to maintain it.[53]

Conclusion

It is clear that the argument for selective female infanticide theory is still not proven as the main or singular factor causing the Viking Age. Indeed, the question will probably never be answered fully until such time as a definite site of infanticide is identified with a heavy gendered bias.[54] Currently there is a lack of reliable evidence to conclusively state that selective female infanticide was occurring in pre-early Viking Scandinavia to the required degree as to create the biases in sex-ratios seen from burial evidence as even some proponents of the theory have admitted.[55] The lack of direct archaeological evidence for selective female exposure, and the disproportionately high volume of high status female graves suggest that instead of a male gender ratio bias, there is instead a gap in the archaeological record, produced by a number of factors of preservation and recovery. However, Barrett's other analyses of the issue are still valid and so the theory can, where the current evidence

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[47] Barrett, "What caused the Viking Age?," 682–684; Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, 39.

[48] C.B. Brettell, "Theorizing migration in anthropology: the social construction of networks, identities, communities, and globalscapes," in *Migration Theory: Talking across disciplines,* ed. by C.B. Brettell and J.F. Hollifield (London, Routledge, 2000), 97.

[49] Barrett, "What caused the Viking Age?," 682–684.

[50] Holcomb, *Pulling the Strings*, 1–25; Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, 34.

[51] Arrheniüs, "Women and gold," 85–96; Graham-Campbell, "National and regional identities," 38.

[52] K. Ciggar, "Harald Hardrada: his expedition against the Pechenegs," *Balkan Studies* 15, no.1, (1980): 401.

[53] Barrett, "What caused the Viking Age?," 682; Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, 34.

[54] Dommasnes, "Women and Death," 45.

[55] Wicker, "The Abundance of Female Burials," 262.

stands, argue for an alternative cause to the Viking age, though this may be best considered as part of, not isolated from, other factors.[56] The formation of a culture of winning prestige through martial success, and sex-ratio bias resulting from polygamy and concubinage, when coupled with slightly higher rates of mortality in girls and young women could provide some of the conditions necessary to push segments of the population into travelling abroad and raiding in order to gain reputation and wealth, with which to set themselves up in a Scandinavian domestic setting.[57] This is made more profound when one considers the increased social stratification and hierarchy that developed in late Iron age Scandinavia with the development of more centralised and permanent kingdoms and earldoms.[58] Therefore I argue that the competition for high status brides, and the gifts of land and political support that this would bring, at least in part formed the social need for the culture of raiding and settling which characterise the Viking age. ■

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[56] Barrett, "What caused the Viking Age?," 685.

[57] Brettell, "Theorizing migration in anthropology," 97.

[58] Barrett, "What caused the Viking Age?," 682.

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Glasgow University Dialectic Society

Founded c.1451 Re-instituted 1861

Glasgow University Dialectic Society is a student debating organisation at the University of Glasgow. It was formally re-instituted in 1861, although the earliest known records date to 1770, and there are claims that it has existed in some form since 1451. Whilst we are an ancient society, our goal of promoting and fostering debate within the University has remained constant. *Groundings* was founded in 2007, and seeks to further this objective. *Groundings Ancients*, its sister publication, a similar collaborative project between the universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews, was founded in 2012.

The Dialectic also organises a variety of events throughout term-time: these range from formal social events such as the New Members Dinner, to grand showcase debates, such as the Founders of the Union Debate, in addition to lectures and panels such as the Dialectic Question Time event. We also promote involvement in debate through more informal events, such as a weekly speaker training and a plethora of social events. In 2013, the Dialectic Society and seven other student societies spearheaded the first student referendum on Scottish Independence, alongside a discussion series.

For more information about the Society, visit www.gudialectic.co.uk.