CONFLUENCES:

Essays Mapping the Manitoba–Szeged Partnership

Edited by

RÉKA M. CRISTIAN
ANDREA KÖKÉNY
GYÖRGY E. SZŐNYI

JATE Press

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Szeged 2017

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CONFLUENCES

BUILDING COMMUNITY.
Plenary Lecture Delivered at the
Biennial Partnership Conference "Communitas Communitatum"
on June 19, 2009 in Winnipeg, MB.

Emőke J. E. Szathmáry
President Emeritus of the University of Manitoba

It is truly a pleasure to speak this morning in the second Biennial Partnership Conference of the University of Manitoba and the University of Szeged, and the first that is held in Winnipeg. As the Canadian signer of the 2004 agreement that binds these two universities, I had looked forward to taking part in the inaugural conference in June, 2007. Unfortunately, fate intervened to prevent my attendance, and while the Manitoba professors were having a terrific time in Szeged, in a Winnipeg hospital I had time to reflect on the Hungarian proverb, "Ember tervez, Isten végez." That phrase is elegantly translated into English as, "Man proposes, God disposes."

The outcome of human plans, however, can lead three ways, and I hope certainly that the outcome of the partnership agreement that Dr. Gábor Szabó, Rector of the University of Szeged, and I signed in June 2004 will exceed our greatest dreams.

As some of you know, the Manitoba-Szeged Academic Partnership is supported by an endowment established in 2008 at the University of Manitoba, by a $350,000 contribution from the President's Fund. That same year, this endowment received a significant gift of $50,000 from a major donor, Mr. Arnold Frieman. To his great regret, Mr. Frieman cannot be with us today. He learned of the dates of this conference too late to alter scheduled business meetings out of town, so he called me and asked that I articulate his own hopes and support for this conference and the partnership itself. Why would a Canadian businessman have such hopes?

Mr. Frieman was born in Sátoraljaújhely, a border city in northeastern Hungary, and was just a young teenager in 1944 when the holocaust reached his part of the world. He lost many members of his family but he survived the war, and eventually he found his way to Norway, then to Israel, and finally to Canada. In Winnipeg he built a new life. Along the way he earned a degree from the University of Manitoba, and as the founder and president of Advance Electronics, today he is regarded as one of Manitoba's most successful entrepreneurs. Arnold Frieman has seen much in his life, but he chose to support the Manitoba-Szeged Academic Partnership because believes that goodness exists in all peoples of the world. Furthermore, he believes that people can discover that goodness if they take opportunities to meet, to interact with and to learn from others. He told me that, "It is fantastic that Hungarian professors can come here." His dearest wish is that students from Szeged will also have an opportunity to experience Canada, a country he calls, "a place with unlimited freedom" to pursue one's dreams, whilst helping others to do the same. He hopes that you, the professors here who have taken the time to come together to explore each other's

ideas, will find areas of common interest. And when you do, he hopes that you will encourage your students to reach out to each other too, so that many more young Hungarians and young Canadians will move between Winnipeg and Szeged to study in our universities, and to experience life as we know it in Hungary and in Canada. Through those experiences they will come to understand the commonalities that bind us, and in those commonalities they will find the faith to transcend the differences of language, place and history that divide us.

The theme of this partnership conference is "Communitas Communitatum," which means, "Community of Communities," an appropriate name for an event that is marked by plurality. Though English is the language of the conference, a significant segment of the participants speak at least one other language, and some have facility in three or more living languages. Several of the participants read and write Latin. Our areas of academic expertise differ widely, ranging from the natural sciences and medicine to literature, to film and to the fine arts. Some of us were born and raised in Winnipeg, some of us were born and raised in Szeged, some of us are transplants to these cities from other parts of Canada or Hungary, as well as from other countries. We are men and women, likely believing in different religions or in no religion. Differences mark us, so what kind of "community" can one build from so many differences? What is a "community" in the first place?

The definitions of "community" vary. On the internet at one site I found nine different meanings in the English language alone, and I read that 50 years ago sociologists had more than 90 different definitions of "community." For non-specialists, definitions of community include:

- "a group of people living in a particular local area: 'the team is drawn from all parts of the community'
- common ownership: 'they shared a community of possessions'
- a group of nations having common interests: 'they hope to join the NATO community'
- agreement as to goals: 'the preachers and the bootleggers found they had a community of interests'
- residential district: a district where people live; occupied primarily by private residences
- (ecology) a group of interdependent organisms inhabiting the same region and interacting with each other"
(http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=community)

To sociologists, a community is a group of people bound by common identity or a common interest, in which people interact with each other. Typically such people live in a common location. Their social cohesion is shown by shared values, and their behaviors carry shared meaning as well as shared expectations (McMillan and Chavis 1986). At the same time, the behavior of community members is not homogeneous. Rather, their behaviors both differ and intersect along lines of gender, education, wealth, and social status among others (Collins 1998).

Social anthropologists do not quarrel with these views, though they would add that identity is central to any notion of community, and identity shifts, with age (Anthro-

pology 2009; Sökefeld 1999). Most human societies mark transition from one life stage to another by rites of passage. Infants become adolescents, who become adults, then spouses, parents, elders, and ultimately become the deceased. Ceremonies such as those surrounding birth, marking the onset of menarche, the coming of age of young men, graduation exercises, marriage ceremonies and the rituals of death are all rites of passage. Their functions are first, to guide individuals through a transition from one life stage to another, with each stage having different behavioral expectations of the individuals. At the same time, members of the broader community and society become aware of the new identity bestowed on these individuals, and interact with them as is fitting for their new identities. Arnold Van Gennep (1961), who first wrote about rites of passage, argued that, commonly they share three features: a phase of separation, a period of transition in which the individual belongs neither to one stage nor the other, and then the reintegration of individuals with new identities into their societies. The concept of a "community" therefore has to allow for diversity, for fluidity, for complexity.

It is quite clear from these sociological and anthropological concepts that the group assembled here does not fit within these constructs of community and identity. It does not exhibit the traits of a 'volk' such as found in German culture (Brubaker 1992), nor do we expect that at the end of the conference the participants will be transformed through socialization and learning into a single people. Our group may not even fit into a more utilitarian definition of "community"—that of a "community of practice"—a group of people who share common goals and interests, use similar tools and employ a common language (Eckert and McConnell 1998). I say this because the methods a community health professional employs in his studies differs greatly from the scholarly methods used by a mediaeval historian.

Nevertheless the medical doctor, the medievalist, the writer, the sociologist, the art historian and the film maker participating in this conference display similarities: each has chosen to participate in a conference in Winnipeg by giving an exposition of findings appropriate to his or her field, in a language all participants can understand, and hoping that, at the very least, the discourse arising in corridors and after hours will yield a germ of understanding of ideas that one holds dear. Furthermore, each has likely wondered if exposing others to the landscape, the climate, the history that have shaped their parts of the world, would raise understanding of the factors that have shaped us as individuals and members of the broader society of western Canada, and the broader society of southern Hungary.

Why would one want "understanding?" As professionals, a shared value we hold is advancing our areas of knowledge, advancing understanding, whatever these areas might be. Accordingly academics attend conferences, which are structured activities where they present their findings, and engage in discussion and critique to obtain insights on the issues with which they grapple. As human beings, however, we likely hope for more than that. We hope for recognition of similar interests, recognition of similar experiences, recognition of similar reactions, and a steady building of respect so that we could work together in the future, even if our interaction are most likely to occur via the internet. But is this akin to building a community together?

The Rector of the University of Szeged and I, on behalf of the University of Manitoba, signed a partnership agreement in 2004, but neither of us did this without con-

sidering a number of factors, somewhat like suitors contemplating marriage—factors that predicted success. On my part, I asked Dr. James Dean, the International Relations Officer of the University of Manitoba, to visit the University of Szeged, to learn if he thought that it was an institution with which we could work. Dr. Dean's views complemented mine, which were based on a number of other considerations regarding the cities of Szeged and Winnipeg in which our universities are located.

Consider that though Szeged was first mentioned by its current name in a document that dates to 1183, and the precursor of Winnipeg, the Red River settlement, did not begin until 1812, each city is laid out on a flood plain. Life in each has been dominated by the course of a major river that crosses a great plain. Flooding was a regular occurrence in each, and each city has experienced catastrophic floods that destroyed buildings, livelihoods and people. In the great flood that inundated Szeged in 1879 only 265 houses of 5,723 houses remained standing and 165 lives were lost. The re-building of the city has produced the Szeged that exists today, because at the same time, flood controls were implemented in the upper waters of the Tisza (Szeged 2009a). In the great flood of Winnipeg, in 1826, almost every building in the settlement was destroyed, though mercifully there were only a few deaths then. In 1852 the second largest flood in Manitoba's recorded history led 75% of the 3,500 people then living here to abandon the settlement. Nevertheless, some returned, and the village grew into a town and then a city, as it suffered repeated floods, until finally the Red River Floodway was built in the 1960s (Bumsted 1997). The power of the river and its ability to impact on human lives nevertheless remain in the consciousness of the people who live in Szeged or in Winnipeg, regardless of the waterways that protect them.

In addition to the presence of a major river, agriculture and the sale of agricultural products was the base for economic development over the past 150 years in both Szeged and Winnipeg. In each region the climate is continental, and the skies are without cloud cover for much of the year. In Szeged, the most important commodity for a long while was paprika, with the food industry prevailing today (Szeged 2009b). In Winnipeg (2009) the grain merchants built financial empires that remain important. Though each city is currently marked by a diversity of economic activity, agriculture remains an indispensable component of regional identity

Both Winnipeg and Szeged are located close to international borders, which make each acutely conscious of international relations. From time to time, each city has welcomed refugees fleeing war and its aftermath, though in the case of Winnipeg, the refugees, like the settlers who came to build better lives also came to Winnipeg because it was the gateway to the west. The Canadian railroads converged here, and from here trains left for Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver. Some refugees and settlers chose to remain here; others went on to populate the Canadian west. Over 100 languages are spoken in Winnipeg today, reflecting the pluralistic character of the city (Winnipeg 2009). The English language dominates, but the Franco-Manitobian dialect characterizes the French spoken in the ward of St. Boniface and in numerous southern Manitoba towns and villages. The inner city of Winnipeg has a large urban aboriginal population. Szeged's population includes Roma, Germans, Slovenes and Serbs (Szeged 2009b), some of whom are refugees from Serbia and Romania, but the city is significantly more homogeneous ethnically than is Winnipeg.

Finally, both Szeged and Winnipeg are located a long distance from their country's capital cities, Budapest and Ottawa, respectively. Sometimes this distance has led to local sentiment that the capital is too far away to be much concerned with lives and economic realities of these provincial centers, and the sentiment has sometimes bred local resentment of the federal government.

What then are the factors Szeged and Winnipeg have in common? Topography, floodplain location, days of endless sunshine, an agricultural component in the regional economy, the near presence of an international border, and location some distance from the federal capital. While the city of Winnipeg is much larger than Szeged, and the diversity of Winnipeg's population is greater than that of the city of Szeged, both cities have populations that differ by language, by religion and by identity.

And why should this matter to two universities that have entered a partnership? I believe it matters because universities reflect the culture of the cities in which they are embedded. The similarities that already exist bode well for building a partnership based on shared understanding of factors that give each city its defined character.

What of the universities themselves? Each has a history of comparable length, with University of Szeged's foundation in 1872 by Emperor King Franz Joseph I, and the University of Manitoba's in 1877. There the similarity, however, ends, because Szeged University's roots go back to the city of Kolozsvár in Transylvania, a province of Hungary that was given to Romania in 1919 under the terms of the Treaty of Trianon. Between 1872 and 2009 this university changed its name 7 times (Kolozsvári Tudományegyetem, Ferenc József Tudományegyetem, Szegedi Tudományegyetem, József Attila Tudományegyetem – 'tudományegyetem' = 'university'), as it moved from Kolozsvár, now known as Cluj, to Budapest, to Szeged, back to Kolozsvár, and back to Szeged. While its organization of knowledge has been typical of central and eastern European universities, its structure was fragmented further during the communist era between 1945 and 1988. However, since the change of the Hungarian regime in 1989, the University of Szeged has incorporated disparate higher education institutions under a western comprehensive university model. Today, the University of Szeged has 11 faculties compared to the University of Manitoba's 20 faculties, including Medicine, Pharmacy, Law, Arts, Science, Agriculture and Education. Its student body, now over 30,000, is slightly larger than the University of Manitoba's which is around 27,000 (University of Manitoba 2009).

The University of Manitoba's history is different from that of Szeged's, as it was created by an act of the provincial legislature. It is worth noting that in Canada education is the responsibility of the provinces, rather than the federal government, hence provincial university statutes are many, and only a handful of institutions were founded under a king's or queen's charter before 1867, the year of Canadian confederation. In 1877, the University of Manitoba was established, not as an entity in which teaching and scholarly work was to be undertaken, but as an examining and degree granting body only. The province did not have the funds to support a university, hence the University of Manitoba had neither instructors nor buildings in which they could teach courses, but it had an academic council drawn in part from the members of three religious colleges that were already in existence in the province. These colleges—St. John's College, owned by the Anglican Church, Manitoba College, by the Presbyterian Church, and the College de Saint-Boniface, by the Roman Catholic Church—did not have the authority to grant degrees in secular areas of knowledge,

but each could carry out core functions needed by the University. Instruction in the first two colleges was in English, and it was and remains French in the third. The churches provided the facilities and paid the instructors and the staff, whilst the University set examinations, and granted degrees of equal value—something that was important to the religious denominations and ethnicities that comprised the majority of the population of Winnipeg in 1877. Other colleges, such as the Medical College and the College of Pharmacy, were established in time, and within a year of their founding, each became affiliated to the University, which granted their degrees. Nevertheless, the need for more intensive education in the natural sciences than could be provided by the staff of the colleges grew over time. Public pressure on the legislature to re-think the nature of the province's only university led to a change in the University of Manitoba Act in 1902. The institution was given the right to appoint its own professors (Morton 1957) and the University of Manitoba has not looked back ever since.

Since their founding, each university can boast some outstanding people and each institution has made great contributions to the advancement of knowledge. The University of Szeged and its medical faculty point with pride to a former member, Dr. Albert Szent-Györgyi, who received the Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine in 1937, "for his discoveries in connection with the biological combustion process with special reference to vitamin C and the catalysis of fumaric acid" (Nobel Prize Internet Archive 2009). The University of Manitoba has not yet had a member of faculty who won the Nobel Prize, but in 1968 its medical scientists discovered how to produce a polyclonal antibody to the Rh0 antigen of the Rh blood group system, which was then commercialized and is used to prevent the development of haemolytic Rh disease of the newborn (erythroblastosis foetalis) (Bowman 1993; Bumsted 1999). In the late 1960s, about 10% of the neonatal deaths in Canada were caused by this genetically produced maternal-foetal incompatibility, but today, the disorder is virtually unknown (Carr and Beamish 1999). With proper treatment of expectant mothers, it should simply not arise. The University of Manitoba also has an international reputation for research on HIV/AIDS based on some 30 years of work partnered with the University of Nairobi, in Kenya (Smith 2005). Its reputation for evidence-based population health research in the Manitoba Centre for Health Policy is equally stellar, with three of its professors on the ISI's "most highly cited" list. In 2008, Manitoba's Faculty of Medicine was among the 6 Canadian faculties of Medicine that were ranked within the top 100 such schools in the world in Shanghai Jiao-Tong University's Academic Ranking of World Universities by broad subject fields.

The Canadians here may remember that I am not a great fan of national or international systems of ranking, so I point to the Rector of the University of Szeged, who first commented on the Shanghai Jiao-Tong ranking of institutions to me. He said that he had compared our two universities, and we were ranked in the same range on the Shanghai Jiao-Tong list, between the 203rd and the 300th rank. That overall placement has not changed since 2004, but I should note that in 2005, the University of Szeged was rated the top school in Hungary, and was among the top 150 universities of Europe. The University of Manitoba, in comparison, was 12th among Canada's 92 universities that year, a position that has remained steady over the years.

As I had noted earlier, agriculture is a historically important part of the regional economies of Szeged and Winnipeg, so one might expect that each university has

made significant contributions in this area of knowledge. Thanks to the research of Dr. Szent-Györgyi, paprika was identified as a source of Vitamin C, a fact important to countries that do not have the warmth to grow citrus fruits. The Biological Research Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, an independent research institute with some 500 staff, is located in Szeged (BRC, 2009), and its director, Dr. Dénes Dudits, is also a professor at the University of Szeged. The University of Manitoba's greatest contribution to date to the national and international agrarian economy occurred in 1974 when the late Dr. Baldur Steffanson and his team released the first double-negative cultivar ("Tower") of rapeseed *(Brassica napus)* (NCGA 2009). This cultivar produces a low-cost, nutritious oil called, 'Canola' that is safe for human consumption and even the fodder can be used safely for animal feed. Today canola is grown world-wide, and its value to the Canadian economy exceeded $13.8 billion in 2008 (Mark Goodwin Consulting 2008).

There are other areas of knowledge to which the University of Szeged and the University of Manitoba have each made significant contributions, but the last I will mention is mathematics. Like the University of Szeged, the Bólyai Institute's roots lie in the city of Kolozsvár, Transylvania, and the Institute moved with the University after the Trianon partitions. In the interwar years thanks to the members of the Institute, the University of Szeged could claim a pioneering role in the founding of mathematical disciplines such as functional analysis and topological groups, and leadership of the Bólyai continues to this day (BI, 2009). Several mathematics professors ultimately became rectors of the University of Szeged itself, so it was no small pleasure for me to note that one of Manitoba's distinguished professors, Dr. George Grätzer, has received the Bólyai Institute's 2003 Béla Szőkefalvi-Nagy Medal for his fundamental contributions to lattice theory, an area of algebra (BSZ-N 2004).

In sum, since their founding, both the University of Szeged and the University of Manitoba have made significant contributions to specific areas of knowledge, and the benefits of their work are worldwide. These institutions have done so in spite of considerable financial difficulties and political turmoil, and this is particularly true of the University of Szeged which is located in a region that was a war zone in the two great world wars of the 20th century. Institutions that will not be shaken from pursuing their mission regardless of circumstance are admirable entities and partnership between such institutions bodes well for their enhanced success.

Building a community of scholars linked by common interest, and drawn from the University of Szeged and the University of Manitoba is not a small task. Their good fortune is that their institutions are embedded in cities that share certain fundamental features, and this enhances the likelihood of a kindred recognition that, will provide a sound foundation for mutual trust and will build a sense of shared values. With these in place, the horizon for comparison and contrast in the humanities and social sciences, for collaboration in the natural sciences and medicine, is limitless. May it be thus!

All of the participants here have taken the first tentative steps to take on a new identity—scholars who cross borders and yet feel at home in the place they visit, as they put mutual knowledge to use to promote learning and to increase understanding between communities in two different parts of the world. That transition to the new identity, the formation of this new community of scholars is not yet complete. But you—the participants—are on your way, and with determination, you and your students can indeed build a better world.

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CONFLUENCES – AFTER 10 YEARS

György E. Szőnyi
Former Director of the Hungarian Studies Center
and the Institute of English and American Studies

To be honest, I did not know much about the University of Manitoba and University of Szeged connection and the partnership agreement signed in 2004 by Manitoba President Emőke Szathmáry and Szeged Rector Gábor Szabó before on a hot early summer day in 2005 Vice Dean dr. Zoltán Vajda called me and asked to substitute him at a meeting with a small delegation from Winnipeg. The topic was to negotiate how to start the partnership, and what useful and meaningful format to create in order to get to know each other.

President Emőke Szathmáry's text preceding my words here were written in 2009 as the opening address of the second partnership conference. As I am writing this introduction in early 2017, I am in the comfortable perspectivic position to look back the ten year's history of this collaboration since the first conference in 2007 to the present day, when we are launching this volume as a monument commemorating the five conferences so far and when, at the same time, we are preparing yet another collaborative action, a highly focused scholarly conference.

Looking back to 2007, the initial purpose was to find a topic which could be attractive to colleagues representing a wide variety of fields, thus bringing people together from the two universities with the hope of further collaboration in the future. The title *Borders and Crossings* allowed presentations on general questions of interdisciplinarity as well as touching upon specific case studies of religion, arts, medicine, sociology, physics, and linguistics. The second to fourth conferences—biannually alternating between Szeged and Winnipeg—followed this initiative and bore the titles of *Communitas communitatum* (Winnipeg, 2009), *Encountering the Unknown* (Szeged, 2011), and *Place, Time, and Their Significance* (Winnipeg, 2013). The fifth conference in 2015 made a step further and aimed at realizing the original goal: after getting to know about each other a lot, let us move towards more focused research areas which would foster fruitful collaboration. Thus, *Discovering the Americas* in Szeged, while remained truly interdisciplinary, brought about some new, very promising dialogues. This is what we envisage as the way of the future with thematically tight and cutting edge publications demonstrating not only the collegial collaboration but also another important contribution to international scholarship.

These conferences—with the abridged programmes attached at the end of this text—so far have revealed many areas of possible cooperation. Emőke has listed several areas in which both universities have achieved international fame. The list can be multiplied by just looking into the present situation and the participants of the partnership conferences. The University of Szeged's most recent pride is the EU-sponsored, world-class ELI (Extreme Light Infrastructure) Laser Research Center, which as of next year starts attracting a heavy weight international body of physicists as well as collateral industrial actors. About the school of laser physics in Szeged we

heard a talk at the 2011 colloquium. In a way responding to this in 2013, in Winnipeg, Gerald Gwinner talked about astrophysics and cosmology. Two years later we were happy to read in the international media that he and his group managed to prove one of Einstein's hypotheses by the help of laser technology.

One could also think of the state of the art medical schools and the faculties of argicultural engineering attached to both universities. The core of the collaboration is formed, however, in the fields of the humanities and social sciences. Szeged's Faculty of Arts is one of the best in the country and scores very well on the international ranking lists, too. A special benefit of the cooperation is that the Hungarian Studies Program of Szeged has been sending for several years graduate students to teach Hungarian in Manitoba; at the same time, these students attended various classes there contributing to the international student community of the Canadian university. Furthremore, Szeged has been ready to receive Manitoba students who are interested in Hungarian Studies or other fields of the humanities.

The high impact of Hungarian scientists contributing to global scholarship since the nineteenth century is well-known. One could think of the Hungarian Fellows of the Royal Society, who became world famous orientalists such as Sándor Kőrösi-Csoma, or Ármin Vámbéry. Of course, everybody knows about the physicists, who played a key role in creating the atomic bomb (Leo Szilárd, Ede Teller, Jenő Wigner) in Los Alamos, or others who fathered computers (John von Neumann), the hologram technology (Dénes Gábor), sent the first radar signal to the Moon (Zoltán Bay); designed the first house running on solar energy (Maria Telkes). One could also add the Hungarian inventors of the car-carburator, or the safety belt, electric train engines, LP records, flat screen TVs, lead-free petrol (György Oláh, also Nobel-prize winner) and many more. In such a context, it is not surprising that in Winnipeg—until recently—the President of the University of Manitoba was a Hungarian anthropologist, Emőke Szathmáry and since 2014, the Rector of the Francophone University of Winnipeg (St. Boniface) is another Hungarian, former swimming and waterpolo champion and doctor of theology and philosophy, Gábor Csepregi.

Academics, like Szathmáry and Csepregi, and the organizers and participants of the partnership conferences did a lot for the success of this cooperation. The Canadian partner has invested an impressive sum of money to help things go. One should not forget about private individual suport, especially the generosity of Arnold Frieman, who was so elaborately praised in Emőke's speech above and whom we were happy and honored to meet in person in Winnipeg in 2013. The Szeged side has not been in the position to equally match the Canadian financial support; however, our two Rectors in succession (both of them named Gábor Szabó, one a professor of agricultural engineering, the other of laser physics), the Deans of the Faculty of Arts (which hosted the Szeged conferences), many colleagues, especially my two co-editors of this volume—Réka M. Cristian and Andrea Kökény—have done their best to provide hospitable circumstances for extremely fruitful meetings and conferences.

Our ambition to bring out the present volume has been fuelled by two motivations: first, to commemorate the results achieved so far; and second, to give inspiration to further similar ways of collaboration, since there is still much to work, we are only at the beginning of the road.

January 20, 2017

PROGRAMS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA AND UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED PARTNERSHIP CONFERENCES (2007–2015)

I.
Borders and Crossings: Inaugural Partnership Conference
University of Manitoba and University of Szeged
June 14–17, 2007
Szeged, Hungary

Opening Addresses
Imre Dékány, Vice-Rector, University of Szeged
Emöke Szathmáry, President, University of Manitoba
Richard Sigurdson, Dean of Humanities, University of Manitoba
Tibor Almási, Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Szeged

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György Endre Szönyi (Arts, English and Hungarian Studies)
    Crossing Medial Boundaries: the Theory of Cultural Representations
Gábor Nagy (Arts, Study of Religion)
    Research of New Religious Movements in Hungary and Europe

Session 2
DeLloyd Guth (Law)
    Comparative Law and Legal Systems: Hungary in the European Union, Canada between Britain and the United States
Mátyás Bencze (Law)
    What Hungarian Lawyers May Learn from the Study of Comparative Law
László J. Nagy (Arts, History) and Andrea Kökény (Arts, History)
    Euroregion Duna-Körös-Maros-Tisza: Past, Present, Perspectives

Session 3
Katalin Kürtösi (Arts, Comparative Literature)
    Multiculturalism
Renate Eigenbrod (Arts, Native Studies)
    Border-crossing Traumas: Interracial Connections in the Novels by Anishnabe Author Richard Wagamese
Myroslav Shkandrij (Arts, German and Slavic)
    Jews in Ukraine: Redefining Cultural Identities Today

Session 4
István Petrovics (Arts, History)
    "May Citizens and Guests Arriving Here, Rejoice in Safety": Foreign Ethnic Groups and Medieval Hungarian Urban Development

Zsolt Hunyadi (Arts, History)
 'Ultra mare, citra mare': International mobility of the military-religious orders in the Middle Ages
Oliver Botár (School of Art)
 _Memorializing Across Borders: Modes of the Celebration of 1956 in the Works of Hungarian-
 Canadian Modernists_
Cheryl Dueck (Arts, German and Slavic)
 Post-Soviet Filmic Projections of the Border

Session 5
Eszter Szabo-Gilinger (Arts, English and French)
 Francophone Culture and Crossing Borders
Anna Fenyvesi (Arts, English)
 _Are There Borders in Language Contact? Outlining Hypotheses for Researching Canadian
 Hungarians_
Derek Hum (Arts, Economics)
 Guarding the Borders of the Social Contract: Immigrants and the Welfare State
Richard Sigurdson (Dean of Arts)
 Nationalism and Immigration Policies in a Comparative Context

Session 6
Chris Fries (Arts, Sociology)
 _Medical Pluralism in a Global Perspective: An Item on the Agenda for Borderless Health
 Research_
Renata Schulz (Education)
 Teaching as Inquiry: Extending Our Learning Circle
Benő Csapó (Arts, Education)
 Research-based Teacher Education: International Trends and National Characteristics

<div align="center">

II.
Communitas Communitatum. Biennial Partnership Conference
University of Manitoba and University of Szeged
June 19–21, 2009
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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Plenary Session
Emöke Szathmáry
 Building Community

Session 1: Localizing Health Communities
Lajos Mester (Medicine)
 Community Health: the Health Status of the Community in One of Hungary's Small Regions
Jackie Lemaire (M.Sc. collaborative research with Dr. Shahin Shoshtari et al; Addic-
tions Foundation of Manitoba)
 Community Health Assessments in Manitoba: What Is It and Does It Work?

Chris Fries (Sociology)
Integrative Medicine: A Global Health Community or Neoliberal Rhizome?
Gerarda Cronin (Medicine)
Communities of Practice in Canadian Paediatrics and Child Health

Session 2: Writing Communities
Katalin Kürtösi (Comparative Literature)
Little Magazines as Communities in Modernist Literature – Canadian and Hungarian Examples
Renate Eigenbrod (Native Studies)
My Winnipeg: Aboriginal Literary Perspectives
Introduction and Screening: *My Winnipeg,* dir. Guy Maddin

Session 3: Establishing Medieval Communities
Zsolt Hunyadi (Medieval History)
Noble Communities in Medieval and Early Modern Kingdom of Hungary
István Petrovics (Medieval History)
Together or Separately: Communities of Foreign Ethnic Groups and Their Culture in Medieval Hungary
DeLloyd Guth (Law)
Comparative Law in Medieval Communities: England, Hungary, Iceland
Roisin Cossar (Medieval History)
Clerical Communities and Notarial Culture in Late Medieval Italy

Session 4: Locating Communities
Andrea Kökény (History)
Borderland Communities: A Comparative Study of the Colonization of Texas and Oregon
Jared Wesley (Political Studies)
Political Culture in Manitoba
Richard Sigurdson (Political Studies)
The Boundaries of Community: The Ethnic vs. the Political Hungarian Nation"

Session 5: Communicating Global Communities
Réka M. Cristian (American Studies)
Communities under Construction: The Fourth World in a Selection of Post 9/11 North American and European Films
Cheryl Dueck (German and Slavic Studies)
Screening Conceptualizations of Community in Eastern Germany
Bertalan Pusztai (Communications)
Festivals in Peripheral Areas: Moments of Communitas or Tourist Attractions

III.
Encountering the Unknown. The Third Manitoba–Szeged Partnership Colloquium
University of Manitoba and University of Szeged
October 6–9, 2011
Szeged, Hungary

Opening: Sándor Csernus, Dean of the Faculty of Arts

Session 1: *Facing Health*
Lajos Mester (Szeged, Medical School)
  Dangerous Behaviour Patterns and Risk Factors
Jackie Lemaire (Manitoba, PhD Candidate, Department of Applied Health Sciences)
  Explicating the Unknown: How Community Health Assessment Converts Data into Knowledge

Session 2: *Encountering Nature*
Michael Trevan (Manitoba, Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences)
  Future Challenges in Food- and Bio-resource Production
Katalin Varjú (Szeged, Physics Institute)
  Lasers, Physics, Szeged, and the Joint Adventure: ELI (Extreme Light Infrastructure)

Session 3: *Encountering Cultures*
István Petrovics (Szeged, Dept. of Medieval History)
  Hungary and the Hungarians as Seen by Foreign Travelers in the Middle Ages
Andrea Kökény (Szeged, Dept. of Modern World History and Mediterranean Studies)
  Encountering the Unknown – The Mexican-American Boundary Survey, 1849–1854
Richard Sigurdson (Manitoba, Department of Political Studies)
  Strained Encounters with the Unknown: Decoding the Failure of Multiculturalism

Session 4: *Intercultural Encounters in Literature*
Andrea P. Balogh (Szeged, English/Gender Studies)
  Intercultural Encounters, Liminality and Strangeness in Marina Lewycka's "Two Caravans"
Myroslav Shkandrij (Manitoba, Department of German and Slavic Studies)
  Myths in Literature: Ukrainian Nationalism in the Thirties

Session 5: *Unknown Vistas in Art*
Katalin Kürtösi (Szeged, Comparative/Canadian literature)
  A Long-Unknown Artist: Modernism and Marginality in Emily Carr's Work
Oliver Botár (Manitoba, School of Art)
  László Moholy-Nagy and Media Art: Into the Unknown
Endre György Szőnyi (Szeged, English / Hungarian Studies)
  The Intercultural Presentation of Hungarian Art

Session 6: *Encountering the Other*

Csaba Maczelka (Szeged, PhD candidate, English)
Encounters with Nowhere: Some English Utopias from the 17th Century

Emőke Szathmáry (Manitoba, Anthropology)
Perspectives on Women's Behavior in North America and Hungary: Comments of 11th and 17th Century Missionary Chroniclers and 21st Century Interpretations

Ildikó Sz. Kristóf (Szeged, Department of Communication / Budapest, Institute of Ethnology)
Encountering "The North:" Canada – Geography, Ethnography, and Stereotypes of Aboriginal People in late 18th and early 19th-century Hungary

Kurt Markstrom (Manitoba, Faculty of Music, Senior Fellow at St. John's College)
Encountering the Unknown in the Histories of Canadian and Hungarian Music

Session 7: *East/West Encounters*

Erzésbet Barát (Szeged, English / Gender Studies)
The Liminality of the East/west Divide: Going beyond the Privileging Claims to 'Authentic' Knowledge

Jules Rocque (Manitoba / l'Université de Saint-Boniface)
Intercultural / Interlinguistic Couples and Francophone Education in Western Canada

Irén Annus (Szeged, American / Gender Studies)
Understandings of European-ness in Hungary: Reflections of Cultural Self-Positioning in Tourism Advertising

Session 8: *Close Encounters in Films*

Réka M. Cristian (Szeged, American Studies)
Concealed Americas in Alberto Isaac's "Rebellious Wives"

Cheryl Dueck (Manitoba, Department of German and Slavic Studies)
Confronting the Historical Unknown: Cinematic Responses to Cultural Rupture

Zoltán Dragon (Szeged, American Studies)
The Image Does Not Exist: Unknown Territories of Digital Cinema

Réka M Cristian and Zoltán Dragon (Editors of *AMERICANA* eBooks)
Ian Ross's "FareWel" in Hungarian. "Isten engem úgy segélyen!" Book presentation.

IV.
Place, Time, and Their Significance. The Fourth University of Manitoba-University of Szeged Partnership Conference
October 10–11, 2013
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Conference Opening and Welcome

Digvir S. Jayas, Vice-President (Research and International), University of Manitoba
Jeffery Taylor, Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Manitoba
Myroslav Shkandrij, Department of German and Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba

Opening Addresses
Emőke Szathmáry (President Emeritus, UM)
György E. Szőnyi (Dept. of English / Dept. of Hungarian and East-Central European Studies Centre, USZ)

Session I: *New Thinking, Civilizational Change*
Michael Trevan (Dept. Food Science, Dean Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences, UM)
  Of Physicians' Advice on the Dietary or Aliments
György E. Szőnyi (Dept. of English, and Hungarian and East-Central European Studies Centre, USz)
  The Revolution of Communication in the Renaissance – As Seen from Today
Gerald Gwinner (Dept. Physics and Astronomy, UM)
  Cold, Laser-Trapped Atoms: The 'Other' Energy Frontier in Particle Physics
Martin Scanlon (Dept. Food Science, UM) and John H. Page (Dept. Physics and Astronomy, UM)
  Multi-disciplinary Approaches to Measuring Cereal Product Properties Using Ultrasound

Session II: *Empire and Native*
Ildikó Sz. Kristóf (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ethnology / USZ)
  'Wondrous,' 'Curious,' and 'Natural:' The Representation of Non-European Indigenous People in Central Europe / Hungary in the 17th–19th Centuries
Elena Baraban (Dept. German and Slavic Studies, UM)
  Nikolai Gogol's "Old World Landowners" in the Light of the Destruction of the Zaporizhian Sich
Andrea Kökény (Dept. Modern World History and Mediterranean Studies, USZ)
  Women in Early Texas History

Session III: *Crisis and War*
Beáta Farkas (Dept. World Economy and European Economic Integration Studies, School of Business and Economics, USZ)
  Coping with the Crisis in the Central and Eastern and the Mediterranean European Countries
Myroslav Shkandrij (Dept. German and Slavic Studies, UM)
  Opening Eastern Europe's Secret Police Archives: The Impact on Scholarship
Alexander Salt (Dept. Political Studies, UM)
  Keynes, War Reparations, and the Origins of the Second World War
Elikem Kofi Tsamenyi (Dept. Political Studies, UM)
  Civil Wars and Lootable Natural Resources. Where Is the Connection?"

Session IV: *Significance of the Local*
Bertalan Pusztai (Dept. Media and Communications, USZ)
  The Fate or Success of Places in Tourism: Local Culture in the Age of Globalization
István Petrovics (Dept. Medieval Hungarian History, USZ)
  The Changing Town: The Significance of Time and Space in the Development of Szeged

Roman Yereniuk (Dept. of Religion, UM)
  Traditional Styles and Canadian Influences: Ukrainian Church Architecture in Western Canada
Hai Luo (Faculty of Social Work, UM)
  Strengthening Social Capital through Residential Environment Development to Support Healthy Aging: A Mixed Methods Study of Chinese-Canadian Seniors in Winnipeg

Session V: *Encounter and Record*
Shelley Sweeney (Head, Archives and Special Collections, UM)
  Promoting Research and Public Use of University Records and Private Archives: The University of Manitoba Archives Experience
Erzsebet Barat (Dept. English, Gender Studies, USZ)
  Competing Discourses of Migration: Negotiating Territorial(ized) belonging
Irén Annus (Dept. American Studies, USZ)
  Hungarian Encounters with Mormonism: Post-Socialist Realities and LDS Conversion Experiences

V.
Discovering the Americas. The Fifth Manitoba-Szeged Partnership Colloquium
University of Manitoba and University of Szeged
October 1–3, 2015
Szeged, Hungary

Opening Addresses
Gábor Szabó, Rector, University of Szeged (USZ)
Emőke Szathmáry, President, Professor Emerita, University of Manitoba (UM)
Introductory Address
György E. Szőnyi (USZ), University of Szeged, *How Did I Discover the Renaissance in America?*
Introduction
Réka M Cristian and Tibor Berta, The Inter-American Research Center (USZ)
Plenary lecture
Guth DeLLoyd (UM), *Transplanting English Common Law and British Military Order in the Forks in the 1840s*

Session 1
Emőke Szathmáry (UM)
  The Changing History of the First Discovery of America
Gábor Csepregi (St. Boniface University)
  What Does It Mean to Discover a New Place?
·Ildikó Sz. Kristóf (Hungarian Academy of Sciences/USZ)
  "Warhafftige Historia der Wilden Menschfresser Leuthen:" Discovering the Americas in Early Modern Hungary

Session 2
Myroslav Shkandrij (UM)
Imitating America: Empire Envy in Russian Literature
Alexandra Heberger (UM)
"They Don't Live Happily Ever After." The Reception of Edgar Hilsenrath's Sarcastic Holocaust Stories in America and Germany
Katalin Kürtösi (USZ)
Stereotypes of the Americas in Guillermo Verdecchia's "Fronteras Americanas"

Session 3
István Petrovics (USZ)
Maximilianus of Transylvania and the Conquest of Latin America
Zoltán Vajda (USZ)
Discovering the Power of Hemispheric Sympathy: Thomas Jefferson's Sentimental Vision of Spanish America
Andrea Kökény (USZ)
Discovering the Pacific Northwest: Immigrants on the Oregon Trail
Tibor Berta (USZ)
On the Origins of Spanish Spoken in America

Session 4
Oliver Botár (UM)
Moholy-Nagy: Discovering the Senses.
Patrick H. Harrop (UM)
The Photonic Maker: László Moholy-Nagy and the Polycinema
Réka M. Cristian (USZ)
Rediscovering the Americas through Transnational Participatory Art

Session 5
Ella Rockar (UM)
Power Resources Theory in Latin America: A Case Study of Argentina
Katalin Jancsó (USZ)
The Japanese in Peruvian Society
Adam Müller (UM)
Discovering a Canadian Genocide

Session 6
András Lénárt (USZ)
The Conquest of the Americas and Its Representation in the Movies
Zsófia Anna Tóth (USZ)
Mae West's America(s)
Zoltán Dragon (USZ)
Discovering the Digital Archive: The Case of Google

II.

ESSAYS MAPPING THE MANITOBA-SZEGED PARTNERSHIP

THE CHANGING HISTORY OF
THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF AMERICA [1]

Emőke J. E. Szathmáry

In North America, everyone learns in elementary school that in 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered America. Dissenters have argued that, proper credit should go to others: to the Italian, Giovanni Chabotte (John Cabot), who had reached mainland North America a year or so before Columbus, or to English seamen who had arrived there by 1470, or to the Norseman, Bjarni who landed in Vinland around 985–986, or to Leif Ericson, who recorded his sighting of Vinland in 1000, or to Abu Raihan al-Biruni, the 11th century Persian polymath, who deduced in his *Codex Masudicus* that inhabitable land masses must exist in the ocean between Asia and Europe (Starr, 2013). Claims regarding African, Polynesian, Chinese and Japanese contact before Columbus have also been made, but none have proved conclusive.

With such a number of claimed "discoverers," the question arises: Who did discover America? The word "discovery" means the act of finding or learning something for the first time. By that definition the first discoverers of "America" were the ancestors of the indigenous peoples who inhabited the Americas before people from Europe arrived there, or anyone in the Old World even contemplated the New World's existence. The first discoverers did not leave a written record, thus deductions about who they were, where they came from, and when and where they arrived, depend on two types of evidence: (1) what indigenous peoples say about their origins, and (2) findings that arise from scholarly investigations. The first approach is straightforward, but the people who have been asked typically say that, they have always been "here."

In the absence of documentation, comparisons of orally transmitted origin narratives have been done, but they yield no single account (Archambault 2006), given the cultural heterogeneity of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. The second approach requires input from specialists who can address questions of time ("when"), place (from and to "where"), as well as biological and cultural relationships ("who"). Archaeologists, biological anthropologists (e.g., skeletal biologists, geneticists), linguists, and ethnologists, have provided the most evidence.

Academics typically expect that scientific evidence trumps all other accounts of the past, but the two approaches to deducing the origins of the indigenous peoples of the Americas have been seen as irreconcilable for at least three reasons: (1) the scientific evidence contradicts indigenous origin narratives (Deloria 1997), (2) the political use

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[1]   The Literature Cited (bibliography) of this chapter follows specifically the style of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. The in-text citation style is typical of the biological sciences.

of scientific data, for example, that indigenous people are immigrants too, has solidified resistance to scientific evidence (Deloria 1997; Bohaker and Iacovetta 2009), and (3) in the view of some aboriginal writers, the scientific evidence is false, and open to controversy in any case (Deloria 1997).

This paper reviews the changing history of the discovery of the Americas to show how that event has been explained by scholars. Reconciliation of different perspectives is challenging, but current research can lend support to indigenous claims that their people have always been "here."

In the Beginning: Late 15th to Early 18th Centuries

Christopher Columbus did not assert that the people he encountered were anything other than people of Asia, that is, India. Agreement that Spanish voyagers had found a "New World" geographically separated from Asia did not occur until 1508–1511 in the writing of Amerigo Vespucci and Pedro Martir de Anglería (Huddleston 1967). With that finding would come profound questions about the nature of the people found in the Indies. The Council of Valladolid (1550–1551) ruled that the aboriginal inhabitants of the Indies were human beings with souls. Though that decision did not save indigenous people from slavery, nor protect their Meso-American and Andean civilizations from destruction, it did set off a trajectory for European consideration of who they were, and how their ancestors had arrived in the New World.

For some 230 years after Columbus, European concepts about the origin of A-merican Indians were dominated by Spanish and Portuguese authors, who also influenced their counterparts in northern Europe. In his masterful account of their writings, Lee Huddleston (1967) concluded that they can be grouped into two traditions. One he named after José de Acosta, and the other, after the Dominican friar, Gregorio García, whose book, _Origen de los indios de el nuevo mundo, e Indias occidentales,_ was published in 1607. Not all who wrote in the "Acostan tradition" had necessarily read Acotas's major text. However, their writings typically contain skepticism about cultural comparisons, minimal construction of theories, and confidence in findings arising from a careful examination of geographic and faunal factors (Huddleston 1967). In contrast, those who wrote in the "Garcían tradition," including some whose works preceded García's, had a "strong adherence to ethnological comparisons, a tendency to accept trans-Atlantic migrations, and to regard possible origins as probable origins" (Huddleston 1967, 13). The limiting factor affecting the perspectives of almost all writers in the period 1492–1729 was the belief that, human beings are the descendants of Adam and Eve, who, according to the Old Testament, certainly did not live in the Americas. By 1729, when Garcías' book was re-published, his views were dominant in Spain, but in northern Europe, Acosta's were more influential.

Deductions of José de Acosta

The Spanish Jesuit, José de Acosta, published his major work in 1589, first in Latin, and a year later, in Spanish. Second and third editions followed, and in 1604 the first English translation appeared. _The Natural and Moral History of the Indies_ was grounded in 16 years of observations on the physical geography, natural history, and the peoples

of the places we call Panama, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, and Mexico (Acosta 2002). In what has been described as a "remarkable display of acuity" (Meltzer 1994, 8), José de Acosta deduced where and how the ancestors of the indigenous peoples of the Americas likely entered America (Jarcho 1959; Ford 1998). Acosta's logical argument stated that the first peoples had to have come from the north, likely overland from Asia, following animals on which they depended. He postulated that at that time the Old World and the New World were either directly connected, or, if some islands intervened, the distances over water were so small that they formed no obstacle to migrating animals and the hunters that followed them. Almost 140 years after Acosta published his deductions, Vitus Bering sailed into the strait that is now named after him – the Bering Strait. He established that, Asia and North America are separated by a channel of water which at its narrowest point is 85 km wide.

Why did Acosta think that the first discoverers of the Americas had to have come from the Old World? Acosta was in the vanguard of a congregation of missionary-scholars who were extremely well-educated by16[th] century standards, and who were encouraged to compare and contrast what was written in the great books with what they actually observed (Jarcho 1959; Ford 1998). The exception to this approach was questioning what was written about human origins, along with all "perfect animals" (mid-size and large mammals: Jarcho 1959:436), which were regarded as descendants of the occupants of Noah's Ark. Accordingly, the human and animal inhabitants of the Indies had to have originated in the Old World. With respect to how they arrived in the New World, or whether the first people were hunters or farmers, Acosta employed a series of logical deductions to reach his conclusions. For example, he used biogeographic information he had obtained himself to decide whether the first people could have come through purposeful sea voyaging, or arrived by chance across the Pacific or Atlantic, or had come overland. Acosta systematically considered the alternative modes of arrival, and decided that the weight of evidence favored overland entry.

Acosta, however, was not the first Spaniard to postulate the origins of the indigenous peoples of the Indies. The Dominican friar, Diego Durán, among others, used biblical history and comparisons of native customs to argue that, they were the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. Acosta examined the evidence Durán presented, and concluded that the claim was "false" (2002, 69). Nevertheless the claim continued, nor did speculation stop about other sources (e.g., Carthage, Atlantis, Norway, Wales, Tartary, etc.), other routes of entry (e.g., trans-Atlantic; trans-Pacific) (Huddleston 1967). With respect to what the indigenous people thought about origins, Acosta discounted the veracity of their accounts. Nevertheless, he asked them, and learned that, they "were certain that they had been created from their very beginnings in this New World where they dwell" (Acosta 2002, 73).

The Garcían Tradition in the English-Speaking World: Emphasis on "Who"

In northern Europe research on American Indian origins was less concerned with understanding the process by which the Americas came to be occupied than, with defining the identity and ancestry of the indigenous peoples in terms of groups known in the Old World. This preoccupation was especially strong in England during the first 60 years of the 17th century. A common approach consisted of making cultural

and linguistic comparisons between indigenous Americans and peoples in the Old World —comparing lists of cultural traits, for example, or word lists— with similarities constituting proof of identity or ancestry. Unfortunately, valid comparative methods in ethnology and linguistics were unavailable at that time because these disciplines themselves had not yet come into existence. Regardless, comparisons abounded. These led to conclusions that have persisted into the 21st century, though they are without scientific and scholarly merit. The episode shows how religious and political agendas shaped explanations about the peopling of the Americas.

The need to explain the identity of American Indians coincided with theological developments in 17th century England, specifically those that argued that the identification of hitherto unknown peoples could provide a means to fulfil what the Judaic and Christian scriptures had foretold. The latter were concerned with the conversion of the Jews, the destruction of the Antichrist, and the restoration of the Jews to Israel (Huddleston 1967; Cogley 2005a; Sturgis 1999). Whether these developments would be followed by an apocalypse, or a Puritan millenium, or a Jewish messianic age depended on the beliefs of differing branches of Protestantism and Judaism (Cogley 2005a). Central to these matters was resolving two basic questions: What happened to the ten lost tribes of Israel, and who were the indigenous peoples of the Americas?

The earliest English-language manuscript that addressed the survival of the ten lost tribes was written in 1611, and was widely circulated in pamphlet form until its publication 66 years later. Its author, Giles Fletcher the Elder, claimed that the Tartars of Central and northeastern Asia were the descendants of the ten lost tribes (Cogley 2005b). This notion had been suggested more than a century earlier by Amerigo Vespucci (Cogley 2007), but Fletcher's contribution was important because he linked his "crude and unsophisticated" comments about Tartar society (Cogley 2005b, 784) with the writings of Thomas Brightman, a banished Anglican cleric, who was Calvinist in his theology (Cooper 1961–62; Cogley 2005b). Brightman's writings focused on the role converted Jewry would play in the destruction of the Anti-Christ (i.e., Ottoman Turks and Catholics), after which they would be restored to their promised lands. Such theological issues made the fate of the lost tribes of Israel important in 17th century Protestant England.

The second issue, regarding indigenous origins, was addressed in 1650, when a Presbyterian minister in Norfolk England, Thomas Thorowgood, published a book in which he claimed that Native Americans were Israelites (Cogley 2007). Thorowgood argued that the lost tribes had migrated through Tartary, crossed the straits of Anian (a mythical body of water separating Asia and America [Sykes 1915]) and became American Indians. In the same year, the Portuguese Rabbi of the Marrano community of Amsterdam, Manasseh (or "Menasseh") ben Israel published a book in which he detailed Antonio Montezinos' claim that there were Jews in America. Montezinos was a Portuguese Jew who had converted to Christianity, and had spent a few years in the Andes. He said that, he met people there who not only knew Hebrew, and were of the tribe of Reuben, but who also continued practices prescribed in the laws of Moses, among them, male circumcision, menstrual segregation, levirate marriage, and specific mortuary customs (Huddleston 1967; Cogley 2005a). Montezinos said that they also kept themselves apart from other Indians. Manasseh accepted this story,

and concluded that the peoples of America had been influenced by Israelites amongst them, but that the Indians themselves were descendants of Tartars.

As Cogley details (2007), other prominent scholars had argued forcefully against the claim that Israelites were in the Americas, and opined instead that all indigenous peoples were descendants of Tartars. Prominent among them was Thomas Brerewood, an English professor of Astronomy who had also published a major work on language and religion in 1614. That influential text was re-published three times, and was also translated into French and Latin (Huddleston 1967). Brerewood equated the Tartars with ancient Scythians, whose culture was regarded as barbaric, whilst others held the Tartars apart. The literature on such intertwined issues was prolific on both sides of the Atlantic, because Puritans believed that the world would come to an end in their time, and before then they would have to know "if the Indians were Jews or Gentiles," so that they could convert them in a proper sequence, as had been prophesied (Cogley 1986–87, 211). By 1655 the following arguments had been made: (1) the ten lost tribes had survived and entered the Americas (Thorowgood's 1950 view), (2) the Tartars (or Scythians) had entered America and were the ancestors of American Indians (Brerewood's 1614 view), (3) the ten lost tribes *and* the Tartars had entered the Americas (Manasseh's 1650 view). Indigenous custom that aligned with Mosaic law was the proof used to establish Israelite descent, and in the 1660 edition of his book, Thorowgood "made the Israelites, the Indians and the Tartars into the same people" (Cogley 2007, 45–46).

What made these fantastic arguments compelling? Huddleston (1967), Sturgis (1999) and Cogley (2007) reached the same conclusions. Regardless of the controversies among these 17th century authors, their writings reinforced each other because they served both religious and political ends in Cromwellian England. Where and how American Indians could be classified according to Christian scripture was as critical in Protestant England as in Catholic Spain. The need intensified with the rise of millenary beliefs among Puritan Englishmen who believed the end of the world was near, and the thousand-year reign of Christ and the Saints was coming. European Jews of the time believed not only that the arrival of the messiah was imminent, but also that messianic redemption would not occur until Jews were distributed around the world. It was therefore in Mannaseh's interest to show that Israelites were in the New World (Sturgis 1999).

The "Jewish Indian theory" was also justification for conversion of Indians, which was a costly endeavor, supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England that raised money for this purpose, as well as by funds obtained through Cromwell's liquidation of royal estates. Manasseh had no interest in conversions, but he did want the right for Jews to return to England, from where they had been expelled in 1290. The "Jewish Indian theory" linked his ideas with those of the Puritans, for if American Indians were Jews whom the Puritans welcomed among them, it made no sense to continue keeping Jews out of England (Sturgis 1999). By 1655, Cromwell privately supported the readmission of Jews, and formal approval for this was obtained in1662, just two years after the restoration of the House of Stuart and the end of the Commonwealth of England. With its fall, Puritans recognized that the millennium had not yet arrived. Nevertheless the notion that indigenous Ameri-

cans were the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel had entered the public imagination. Over the next 200 years the idea re-emerged periodically, and its demise was not assured until formal methods of ethnological and linguistic comparisons showed that the claim was a fantasy.

Perspectives on American Indian Origins: Mid 18th-Late 19th Century

In 1729 Gregorio García's book was re-published, with annotations by de Barcia Carballido (Huddleston 1967). Its methods of comparisons of items of material culture, words of speech, and religious symbols and practices, among others, remained uncritical and credulous (Huddleston, 1967, 76). Advances in science also appeared in the 18th century, and the writings of Carl Linnaeus and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach were of enormous significance to understanding the place of humans in the living world. That development would have ramification for the dominant societies' attitudes towards the Indians of the Americas.

Implications of Linnean classification of humans

In 1735 Linnaeus published a radical advance in systematic taxonomy by using zoological criteria to group humans and animals together. Until then humans had been regarded as unique, distinct from animals. Linnaeus' system created a series of nested, ranked hierarchies, whereby the most similar organisms were grouped into species, similar species were grouped into genera (sing. "genus"), similar genera were grouped into families, and so forth. The grades were arrayed in linear order, from the simplest to the most complex, following the Aristotelian concept of the Chain of Being (Gundling 2005). Linnaeus subsequently refined his classification by adding non-biologic criteria to anatomical ones. By 1758 his four varieties of *Homo sapiens* supposedly also displayed mental and cultural traits that were associated with skin color. Linnaeus placed American Indians before Europeans in his array, perhaps because he had "personal and positive experience with Lapps, who he believed were akin to American Indians" (Brøberg 1997, 617).

Three years earlier Johann Friedrich Blumenbach had described four varieties of humankind also, grouped by geography and using only anatomical criteria. Blumenbach steadfastly refused to add behavioral traits to his grouping criteria, but by 1881 he did increase his geographical clusterings of humans to five, one of which was comprised of American Indians. He considered them to be different cranially from Inuit (Eskimos), whom he grouped with Mongolians. Though some read "rank" into his categories, Blumenbach did not think that any one of his "varieties" was superior to another (Spencer 1997). He stressed that observable changes in biological traits over geographic distances was gradual rather than sharply distinct (Bhopal 2007), and he, like Linnaeus, thought that environmental factors had produced observable differences among humans. Most importantly, both also believed in the biological unity of the human species.

Monogenesis Versus Polygenesis and American Indian Origins

Linnaeus and Blumenbach's belief that varieties of humankind represented one species rested on the concept of monogenesis, namely that, humanity had a single origin. This perspective was challenged by those who believed there had been multiple creations (polygenesis). The latter concept had been triggered centuries earlier, when readers pondered unexplained events in the Old Testament. For example, how could Cain, Adam and Eve's son, have found a wife, when his parents were the first humans that God created (Popkin, 1978)? By the late 18th century polygenists were arguing that the human varieties described by Blumenbach represented different races, fixed in their biological and cultural differences, and had separate origins. American polygenism was especially vigorous, and dominated mid–19th century discussions because its claim of African and American Indian inferiority provided justification for slavery (Popkin 1978).

Avid supporters of polygenism included a group of notable Americans, collectively called the "American School of Anthropology" (Erickson 1997) or the "American School of Ethnology" (Horsman 1975). Their beliefs were bolstered by the craniometric findings of Samuel G. Morton, who had measured cranial size, cranial capacity and cranial structure in some 1,000 skulls from around the world. Morton concluded that races existed, differences in intellectual capacity between races were real, and the differences among races were there from their beginnings. The latter notion was linked to the age of humanity, which he believed to be 5,000 years at the most. This was too short a time for the observed cranial differences to have developed. For Morton, either the biblical chronology on which this time depth was based was wrong, or that "distinct races had existed from the beginning of creation" (Horsman 1975, 156). He favored the latter notion, along with the claimed innate superiority of the white race. Morton's view precluded the migration of American Indians (excluding Inuit) to the western hemisphere.

Polygenism lost credibility after Darwin's book on the origin of species was published in 1859, but as late as 1873 *Nature* carried a letter regarding the origin of American Indians, in which the author, known for his interest in finding evidence for paleolithic Americans, argued that, if "pithecoid man" had entered South America, Indians either evolved from such creatures, or were "created *de* novo" (Abbott 1872, 203). Abbott was hoping to find evidence of the former, but he was aware that creationist arguments had not disappeared, and the notion of the fixity of "racial" characteristics was gaining momentum.

Who Were the Mound-Builders? Presumed Consequences of Separate Origin

One of the great controversies that occurred in tandem with the monogenist-polygenist controversy concerned the identity of the people who had built the great mounds that dotted the American landscape. These were especially common in Ohio and the Mississippi valley, and extended into Canada. Mounds were large, earthen structures, and had been used variously for ceremonial and religious purposes. Some were burial mounds. Others were places on which the elite of Indian societies had residences in the 16th century, when the Spaniards encountered them. By the time of

the American expansion into Ohio Territory, most mounds had been abandoned and were overgrown. The great debate focused on whether the mounds had been built by the ancestors of American Indians, or, by others who had entered ancient America, such as the ten lost tribes of Israel (Garlinghouse 2001). The controversy raged, fueled by claims of the American School of Anthropology that, Indians lacked the ability to build such structures. The matter was not resolved until 1894, when a report based on field-work was issued by the American Bureau of Ethnology. The mounds had been built by American Indians (Rempel 1994), but by then, the idea that some-one else of higher culture had built them, had become entrenched in the popular imagination.

Perspectives on American Indian Origins: The Turn of the 20th Century

Four hundred years after Columbus, knowledge about the first discoverers of the Americas had not advanced significantly beyond what had been claimed in the 1600s. As late as 1898, the editor of the _American Anthropologist_, Thomas Henshaw wrote that

> the Jewish origin of the Indians secured a very strong hold on the minds of the writers and thinkers of the eighteenth century, and so firmly did the theory take root that it has never been wholly given up, but is held to-day by a greater or less number as the only rational belief (Henshaw 1898, 200).

Henshaw also observed that others selected different places of origin, and phrased the evidence supporting differing theories so convincingly that, one could choose ac-cording to one's own bias, whether the ancestors came from Scandinavia, or Ireland, or Iceland, or Greenland, or "across the Bering Strait from Asia, across the North Pacific from Japan or China in junks, of across the Southern pacific in canoes from the Polynesian Islands, or Australia. Even Africa..." (201). Nevertheless, in all in-stances of culturally-based claims, he called the evidence supporting them, "entirely insufficient" (Henshaw 1889, 201).

Henshaw (1899) also reviewed evidence on Indian origins provided by anatomists and linguists. Craniological studies produced contradictory results, thus he was skep-tical towards conclusions based on anatomical traits. Linguistic studies were the most convincing, because studies conducted under the auspices of the Bureau of Ethnology had shown the existence of 58 indigenous language families, containing around 300 languages and dialects in the United States. This suggested great antiquity in North America, either of one original population that diversified linguistically in the conti-nent, or of many single migrations, each with speakers of a different language (Hen-shaw 1889). Regardless of these alternate possibilities, the fact remained that none had any resemblance or relationship to any Semitic language (Campbell 1997). The best that could be said about the origin of American Indians near the end of the 19th cen-tury was that it was shrouded in geological time, that the indigenous peoples of the Americas comprised "one race," (Henshaw 1889, 212), and that their ancestors were either immigrants to the western hemisphere or "may have originated on American soil" (Henshaw 1889, 212).

Would Answering "When" the Ancestors Came Help to Determine Origins?

The first real scientific dents in this quagmire of "who," "where" and "when" involved linguistic studies, learned arguments by physical anthropologists well-trained in anatomy and knowledgeable about the skeletal biology of American Indians, and a chance finding in 1908 of ancient bison bones in Wild Horse Arroyo, some eight miles west of Folsom, New Mexico.

Archaeologists, inspired by paleolithic findings in Europe in the mid–19th century, had been searching for evidence of great human time depth in North America, but they could not prove the age of the antiquities they unearthed (Trigger 1980). More troubling was that Aleš Hrdlička, the first curator of physical anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, decided that the burials archaeologists excavated and he investigated, were fully modern. Indeed, his studies of crania convinced him that even the most ancient were fully modern. Their morphology, as well as the anthropometry of the living suggested that, their ancestors likely arrived in North America via the Bering Strait relatively recently, that is, *earlier* than between "ten or at most fifteen thousand years ago and the dawn of the proto-historic period in the Old World" (Hrdlička 1923, 491). Sources such as Wikipedia translate this to mean "3,000" years, but Hrdlička relied explicitly on morphological evidence for antiquity, and no explicit "date" can be attributed to him. Then, in 1927 archaeologists reported finding near Folsom, New Mexico, a carefully chipped, fluted stone projectile point embedded in the ribs of an extinct species of bison. Its age was "as great but not earlier than *late* Pleistocene" (Meltzer 1994, 16). Such antiquity meant that this point was last used when the major continental glaciers were rapidly receding. However, its exact age could not be determined until 1949, when methods of absolute dating [C^{14}] became available (Highham 1999). By then, another projectile point associated with remains of an extinct species from the Pleistocene, was known. This lanceolate fluted point, found in 1933 near Clovis, Texas, was somewhat cruder and appeared older than Folsom. It was the first of many "Clovis" points discovered across North America.

Perspectives on American Indian Origins: 1950 to 2015

Carbon 14 dating was quickly put to archaeological use, and by 1964 Vance Haynes had examined all of the then dated sites. He noted their ages, and examined the geoclimatic factors that could have allowed human entry from Alaska into mid-continental North America. From Haynes' (1964) observations and deductions, the "Clovis First" paradigm (Fig. 1) was born.

Primary to the model were geoclimatic circumstances that permitted access from Asia into mid North America, and provided a temporal framework for migration. Restated briefly, the model observed that as the climate cooled rapidly between 29,000 and 30,000 years ago, glaciers advanced overland. In North America the ice sheets reached their greatest expanse, the "last glacial maximum" (LGM), by 26,500 years ago (Clark et al. 2009). With the exception of an area in far northwestern North America, during the LGM the northern half of the continent was completely covered by two glaciers—Laurentide in the east, and Cordilleran in the west—which merged along the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains. The unglaciated area comprised much

Figure 1. "Clovis First" paradigm for the Peopling of the Americas
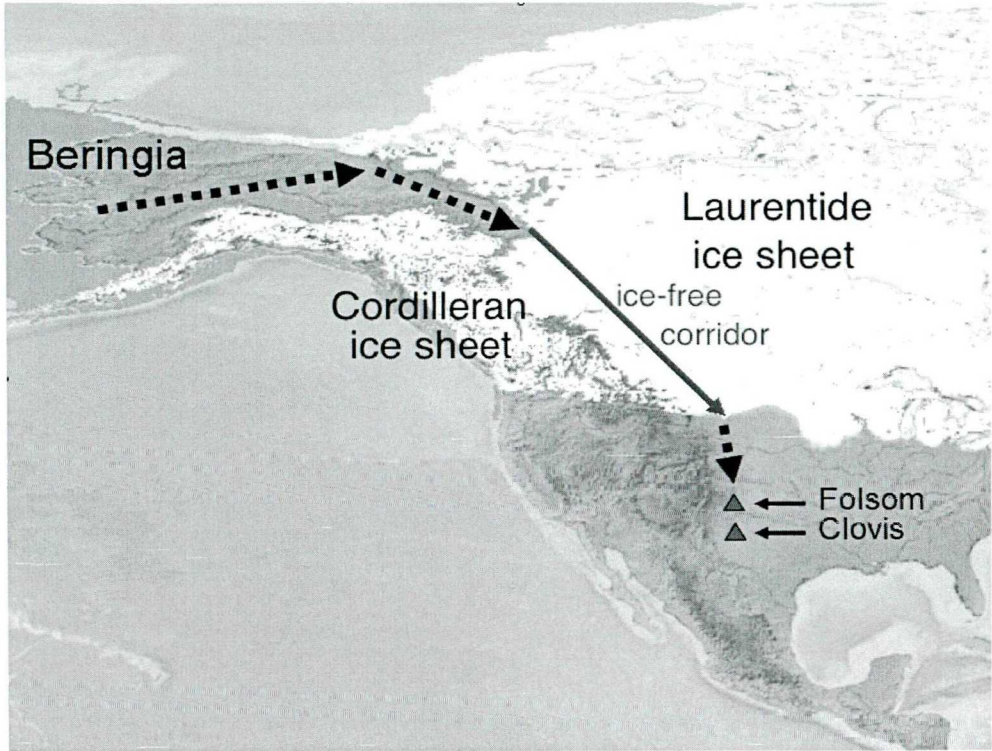
Map created by Roblespepe, and reproduced under the Creative Commons license at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Poblamiento_de_America_-_Teor%C3%ADa_P_Tard%C3%ADo.png

of today's Alaska and some of the adjacent Yukon and Northwest Territories. Also unglaciated was the land that emerged between Siberia and Alaska as sea levels dropped and ice built up on adjacent continents. The newly surfaced land was called, Beringia, and became the "land bridge" between Asia and North America. As the glaciers began to retreat 20,000–19,000 years ago, a narrow corridor gradually opened up between the Cordilleran and Laurentide glaciers, so that by 12,000 years ago an overland route southward was present. To enter America the ancestors of all indigenous Americans (except Aleuts and Inuit) crossed the Bering Land Bridge, and eventually traversed the corridor to emerge onto the Great Plains (Haynes, 2005). These travelers were the Paleo-Indians, whose culture was called "Clovis." Many Clovis sites have been found across North America in the period 11,500–11,000 Radiocarbon Years Before the Present (RCYBP). 1950 is the year given for "the present." Because there has been variation in the amount of atmospheric radioactive carbon (^{14}C) since then, adjustment is required to obtain more precise age estimates.

Calibration of ^{14}C dates is done using the dendrochronological (tree-ring) record that is reliably correlated with chronological age. By convention, ^{14}C dates before the present (BP) are given as Radiocarbon Years BP (RCYBP, or ^{14}C yr BP), and as calibrated years BP (cal yr BP) (see ORAU 2016). Calibration tables are available in Stuiver et al. (1998).

Demise of the "Clovis First" Paradigm

After the 1970s, challenges to this model accumulated. Geological evidence showed that, rather than remaining open throughout the Wisconsin glaciation, the Laurentide and Cordilleran glaciers east of the Rockies merged with each other, closing the "ice-free" corridor. In Alberta, ice blocked the passage for some 6,000 years, and the corridor was impassable for a longer period of time north of 60° N (Jackson and Duk-Rodkin 1996). There were also sites in North and South America that had radiocarbon dates older than Clovis but for which the evidence was deemed insufficient (Adovasio and Pedler 2014). The Monte Verde site (Dillehay 2000) in southern Chile was an especially strong claimant for pre-Clovis antiquity, so in 1997, a group of eminent North American archaeologists made a site visit to examine the evidence directly. When they accepted the antiquity of Monte Verde, they acknowledged that, the ancestors had to have entered America before 12,500 RCYBP (Meltzer et al. 1997). This raised further questions about the identity of the ancestors, and how they could have entered the Americas to have reached the southern regions of Chile before 12,500 RCYBP (14,600 cal yr BP). Perhaps they really had come across the Pacific, or from Europe, and reliably dated skeletal evidence could provide clues to population origins.

Biological Affinities of the Ancestors

The end of the Paleocene corresponds with the disappearance of glaciers and the onset of the Holocene, which in North America was set arbitrarily at 10,000 years ago (Meltzer 2009, 48), or 11,485 cal yr BP (using the conversion table in Meltzer 2009, 9). Although there are less than a dozen reliably dated crania and/or skeletons of late Pleistocene-early Holocene age in North America, their similarities to each other and to populations of other continents have been assessed. Typically, they show such variability that it is unlikely that they represent a single population, even when some heterogeneity is expected because the crania are geographically and temporally disparate (Nelson et al. 1996; Jantz and Owsley 2001). Some North American crania show connections to more recent Archaic American specimens (Nelson et al. 1996; Jantz and Owsley 2001). Others, among them "Kennewick Man" from Washington state, were most closely linked to Polynesians (Nelson et al. 1996). Earlier descriptions, however, stated that "Kennewick Man" resembled modern Europeans, whilst a detailed metric analysis placed him closer to Ainu and Pacific Islanders than to late pre-historic American Indians (Chatters 2000). A Polynesian connection was also noted for the Dos Queiros cranium (11,060 cal yr BP) from Pedro Furada, Brazil (Nelson et al. 1996). Another study, which included 22 well-dated ancient crania in a larger data set from Lagoa Santa, Brazil, found cranial resemblances to Australians, Melanesians and Africans (Neves and Hubbe 2005). Such diversity has renewed speculation that there were different "migrations" into the Americas (e.g., Collins et al 2014).

Attempts to resolve this controversy have reached surprising conclusions. For example, examination of two series of skulls from Lagoa Santa, Brazil (11,500 to 7,500 BP) and Sabana de Bogotá, Colombia (10,500 to 7,000 BP), found that, ancient diversity was moderate in each, and within the range of variability shown by recent skeletal series from around the world. On the other hand, diversity was much higher among recent South Americans. The authors reasoned this could reflect "a new morphological diversity coming from Asia during the Holocene" (Hubbe et al. 2015, 1). It may be so, but skeletal data alone are not convincing because discrepancies have arisen between affinity deduced from morphology and affinity deduced from genetic evidence (Cavalli-Sfrorza et al. 1994). "Kennewick Man," for example, who shows craniofacial similarities to Polynesians, was typically North American genetically (Rasmussen 2015).

Discrepancies between findings based on anatomical and genetic traits occur largely because morphological measurements (size, shape, and colour) are "highly correlated with climate" (Cavalli-Sforza et al. 1994, 72). In any particular locality, some genetic traits may be more affected by genetic drift (e.g., mtDNA variants), whilst others may be more affected by non-random factors, such as natural selection (e.g., cranial traits). To date, only one study has included both kinds of characters in a large sample to determine if genetic evidence supports "two migrations." Perez et al. (2009) examined 283 crania from eastern Argentina that ranged in age from 8,000 to 400 yrs BP. They found that "even when the oldest samples display traits attributable to Paleoamerican crania, they present the same mtDNA haplogroups as later populations with Amerindian morphology" (Perez et al. 2009, 9). As with "Kennewick Man," though Paleoamerican crania may show affinities to peoples from other continents, their genetic traits identify them as American. Genetic evidence has priority regarding biological ancestry, and genetics has indisputably linked the indigenous peoples of America to Asia (Cavalli-Sforza et al. 1994; Adovasio and Pedlar 2014).

Current Model for the First Occupation of the Americas

One part of the puzzle regarding the identity of the first discoverers of America is clear: Their biological roots are in Asia. How and when did they get into the Americas?

Though the corridor east of the Rocky Mountains remains important for full understanding of the process whereby people moved into interior North America (Ives et al. 2014), it remains to be shown how the ancestors reached the southern end of South America by 12,500 RCYBP. A coastal route, first suggested by Fladmark (1979) is regarded as the strongest possibility, but travel down the coast would have been arduous before, during, and after the LGM. Finding evidence for human occupation older than 12,500 RCYBP has also proven difficult because as the ice melted, coastal archaeological sites were flooded by rising sea water. Sites without dating controversies, such as On Your Knees Cave on Prince of Wales Island in southeastern Alaska, are dated around 9,800 RCYBP (Kemp et al. 2007). Further south, undersea sites dated to 10,400 cal yr BP (~ 9,250 RCYBP), are also known from Haida Gwaii (formerly the Queen Charlotte Islands) (Mackie et al. 2014). Other known sites, such as Paisley Caves in Oregon have dating problems (Sistiaga et al. 2013), and the north-

ern Channel Islands of California are contemporaneous with Clovis or are more recent (Erlandson et al. 2011).

These early sites support the idea that there were people along the Pacific coast of North America, but they do not pre-date the Monte Verde remains from South America.

Archaeological Sites on Beringia

If no sites of indisputable antiquity have been found as yet along the Pacific margin, are there sites further north in Alaska? During the Wisconsin glaciation that region was contiguous with Beringia, which was initially defined as the exposed continental shelf between northeast Asia and Alaska. Archaeologists have typically described that area as a "land bridge." Subsequent research has shown that regions west and east of the current coastlines were also ice-free. The glaciers that were present were restricted to their mountain ranges, which are located mostly on the periphery of the region. Today, the western boundary of Beringia is set at the Verkhoyansk Mountains of Siberia, and its eastern boundary is the Mackenzie River basin of the Northwest Territories, Canada (Hoffecker and Elias 2007). Ice sheets formed boundaries on all sides except for a blind corridor reaching into Alberta. The "land bridge" encompassed some 1.6 million km²!

At one time Beringia was regarded as a cold, dry, polar desert interspersed with regions of herbaceous tundra, unable to sustain human life (Hoffecker and Elias 2007). More recent research in eastern and western Beringia has documented a variegated distribution of plant types, with shrub tundra and steppe tundra in some areas, as well as local distributions of a few tree species (Hoffecker et al. 2014). Small mammals are known from late Pleistocene deposits in Alaska (Guthrie 1968). Large mammals, such as mammoth and steppe bison, were also present regionally (Zazula et al. 2009), and within the blocked corridor, ice-free areas served as local refuge for a variety of plants and animals, including mountain sheep (Loehr et al. 2006).

Where there are large animals, one expects human presence if they had the means to survive in extreme cold conditions. The Yana Rhinoceros Horn site at 71° N, 500 km north of the Arctic Circle, is reliably dated at 28,000 RCYBP in western Beringia (Pitulko et al. 2004). In eastern Beringia 23,500 RCYBP old modified mammoth bones were found at Bluefish Caves, Yukon. Whether they were made by humans and used as tools has been long debated (Morlan 2003), but new evidence supports human agency for a small component of this assemblage (Bourgeon, 2015). More recent sites from the Pleistocene-Holocene boundary include Ushki Lake, Kamchatka, where human occupations date to about 13,000 cal yr BP (Goebel et al. 2010), and 46 sites dated 10,000 to 14,150 cal yr BP (8,820 to 12,160 RCYBP) are known in central Alaska (Potter et al. 2014). The number of sites after the LGM suggests that humans were adjusting well to rapid changes in climate that affected the distribution of fauna on which they depended.

Time-Length of Human Presence on Beringia: Deductions Based on Genetics

The last decade has brought a revolution in scientific views about the human occupation of Beringia. Archaeologists and biological anthropologists have shifted from regarding Beringia as a "bridge" that was crossed quickly in the ancestors' movement

south (Hoffecker et al. 2014). For example, the hypothesis that there were three sequential migrations into the Americas—speakers of "Amerind" languages first, then of Na-Dene, then of Eskimo-Aleut—based on a concordance of language, dentition and genes (Greenberg et al. 1986) is likely untenable given current genetic evidence. Linguists had long disputed the model because they regard the "Amerind" linguistic classification as invalid (Bolnick et al. 2004). Further, population geneticists have shown that the genetic structure of a large sample of Native Americans conforms significantly better to a structure that reflects established linguistic classifications than to the 3-step hierarchical structure based on Greenberg's linguistic classification (Hunley et al. 2005). Finally, the time depths obtained for the appearance of diagnostic American NRY (non-recombining region of the Y chromosome) haplogroups from their precursors suggests the variants arose in a single population that then dispersed into America (Zegura et al. 2004). All diagnostic American mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) haplogroups arose after the LGM, and they are also widely dispersed in the Americas, rather than distributed in a nested fashion (Tamm et al. 2007). This too is consistent with their arising over time in one population, and a single, rapid population expansion over both American continents. Today, the "three-migration" hypothesis that dominated biological perspectives for three decades has been replaced by an alternate scenario that regards Beringia as home to hunting bands for several millenia during the LGM (Marangoni et al. 2014; Hoffecker et al. 2014).

The evidence for a long occupation of Beringia and the timing of departure from there is based on information obtained from mtDNA and NRY, which are uniquely useful for tracing ancestry. NRY and mtDNA are uniparental markers, whose transmission is sex specific: males transmit their Y chromosomes to their sons only; both males and females receive mtDNA from their mothers, but only women can transmit it. Such patterns of transmission over generations will form patrilineal NRY haplogroup lineages, and matrilineal mtDNA haplogroup lineages, respectively. Mutations in the nucleotides forming mtDNA and NRY are also transmitted, and these variants also yield sub-haplogroup lineage formations. For any haplogroup variant of mtDNA or NRY haplogroup, one can trace back along the variant's lineage to the original variant from which it descended. Over the past 30 years, the world distribution of mtDNA and NRY variants have also been described, and it is now possible to state with confidence if a variant is indigenous to a continental population or has been introduced through gene flow. Five basal haplogroups of mtDNA called A, B, C, D, and X occur among the indigenous peoples of the Americas. What is significant in terms of Native American ancestry is that mutations have accumulated over time in each haplogroup, such that 15 sub-haplogroup lineages (A2*, A2a, A2b, B2, C1b, C1c, C1d*, C1d1, C4c, D1, D2a, D3, D4h3a, X2a and X2g) are now considered to be <u>founding</u> American lineages (Perego et al., 2010). In men, the basal American NRY haplogroups are C and Q, and these have also diversified over time to form four haplogroup lineages, C3, Q1a*, Q1a3*, and Q1a3a. (Karafet et al., 2008; Marangoni et al., 2014). Marangoni et al (2014, 87) combine the two systems of nomenclature used to identify Y chromosome variants (see also Karafet et al. 2008, 831). In their schema, the haplogroups C3, Q1a*, Q1a3* and Q1a3a are shown as C3b-P39, Q1a*-MEH2, Q1a3*-M346, Q1a3a1-M3, respectively.

Research on mtDNA and NRY included the development of methods to determine the age of each mutation that led to a new lineage. Different methods exist, but their results overlap. The founding American mtDNAs appeared 16,600–11,200 years ago (Tamm et al. 2007). The American NRY variants arose 15,000–12,000 years ago (Zegura et al. 2004). The age of the American haplogroups suggest that they arose in a population that was isolated on Beringia, from where the ancestors then dispersed. Indeed, a "Beringian standstill" has been proposed to explain the time depth of the founding haplogroups (Tamm et al. 2007). The finding of two infants in a common internment dated around 11,500 cal yr BP in central Alaska (Upward Sun River site), one having mtDNA C1 and the other, mtDNA B2 (Tackney et al. 2015) is consistent with the "standstill" model, which expects the presence of mtDNA polymorphism in the Beringian population. With respect to the length of the Beringian standstill, Mulligan et al. (2008) have suggested that after diverging from an Asian source population, Beringia was occupied for around 7,500 years, and perhaps as long as 15,000 years. Expansion from Beringia into the Americas occurred between 16,000–12,000 years ago.

It is worth noting that evidence for a Beringian standstill gives credence to conclusions arising from studies of classical genetic markers (blood groups, serum proteins, red cell enzymes and immunoglobulins), regarding the relationships among Inuit and speakers of languages in the Na-Dene and the Algonquian language families. Szathmary and Ossenberg (1978) had suggested that Beringia had been occupied either by one group of people who were polymorphic at a number of gene loci, or two different populations had inhabited the region, and exchanged genes with each other over a few millenia. Adding more loci to subsequent analyses reinforced and clarified these findings (Szathmary 1981; 1984). After evidence showed that the ice-free corridor had in fact, been blocked for some years, and putative pre-Clovis sites were found below the glaciers, Szathmary noted (1993) that those who remained on Beringia would undergo further genetic differentiation, as would any pre-Clovis peoples south of the glaciers. Over time, differences would accumulate between those remaining in northern latitudes compared to those who had moved to southern ones, but the descendants would retain their core American (i.e., Beringian) identity (Szathmáry 1996; Bonatto and Salzano 1997). This is exactly what we see today.

Research continues to clarify peopling scenarios. Biological evidence indicates that regardless how the ancestors reached the southern part of South America so early, all indigenous Americans without non-American admixture carry uniparental haplogroups that originated in peoples of Beringia. The few rare cases of American mtDNA found on the Siberian side of the Bering Strait have been attributed to "reverse gene flow" (Tamm et al. 2007). Further, with advances in DNA technology, ancient DNA analyses have confirmed that the oldest known skeletal remains display typically American uniparental markers. The 2-year old Anzick boy (11,100–10,700 RCYBP; 13,000–12,600 cal yr BP), found in association with Clovis tools in Montana, carries diagnostic mtDNA and NRY markers (mtDNA D4h3a; Q-L54**M3) (Rasmussen et al 2014). Genetic analysis also suggests he was slightly more closely related to South American Indians than to North American ones. Kennewick Man (8,340–9,200 cal yr BP) from Washington State, whose cranium suggested closest affinity to

Polynesians, carries mtDNA X2a, and NRY Q-M3, and genetically he is closest to members of the Colville Reservation (Rasmussen et al. 2015). The adolescent female found in a water-filled cistern in Yucatan, and estimated to have lived between 13,000–12,300 years ago, does not look like modern Native Americans, but she too had a Beringian-derived mtDNA: D1 (Chatters et al. 2014, 344). In fact, all of the ancient DNA in skeletons from the Pleistocene/Holocene boundary from Alaska to Yucatan carry typical Beringian mtDNA or NRY variants (Tackney et al. 2015).

Origin of the First Discoverers: Summary and Reconciliation

This review of the changing history of first discovery of the Americas has shown that José de Acosta's basic deductions about the source of the indigenous peoples of the Americas have stood the test of time. The first discoverers came from the Old World where it is closest to northwestern North America, and they came overland following the animals on which their lives depended. This much was deduced 425 years ago, but several explanatory detours intervened over time that severely hampered progress in understanding who the ancestors were, when they entered the Americas, and how they populated the continents on which their descendants reside. Some problems were inevitable because without valid investigative techniques that could yield evidence to prove or disprove particular hypotheses, conjectures abounded. Many explanations entered public consciousness because they fit particular religious or political views, among them those of 17th century Puritan England, mid19[th] century United States, and on the brink of the 20th century, those who are "blinded by the achievements of our own Aryan race" (Henshaw 1898, 213). It is a sorry record.

It is only within the last 60 years that evidence-based explanations have displaced those based on speculation. The veracity of the answers to the core questions of "who, where, when and how" rests on the weight of evidence obtained from different fields of inquiry, among them archaeology, genetics, skeletal biology, geology and paleoecology. Where evidence is regarded as insufficient, or does not yet exist, researchers continue to seek data to test hypotheses. More sampling is required to obtain a thorough coverage of the genetic diversity on both American continents. Most especially, patience is needed by scientists and laymen alike, for when a new approach arises, a thousand scientific papers bloom, all testing the new hypothesis, many producing conflicting results, until someone finally puts it all together, and from it all produces a deduction that is likely as close to the truth as the study of prehistoric events can ever produce. There is agreement that the first people in the Americas did not evolve in the western hemisphere (Dillehay 2000). Rather, the first people came from Asia, and were isolated on Beringia for at least 7,500 years where they acquired their unique uniparental genetic traits. As the last ice-age was ending they dispersed, some staying on the Siberian side or on the American side of the Bering Strait, others moving south into the Americas. Their descendants carried their unique traits with them, which also underwent diversification over time, thereby producing differences among the populations of the American continents.

Reconciliation of Scientific and Indigenous Views on American Indian Origins

The recent focus on a Beringian standstill has not yet altered the scientific and public perceptions of the ancestors as migrants from Asia. At the same time, indigenous peoples of the Americas continue to assert that, they have always been "here."

The contrasting explanations of origins seem like a typical impasse between those who claim authority for determining truth—scientists versus creationists. I don't believe it is a helpful characterization. In a secular society, scientists should be confident that scientific explanations will prevail, and their taking a more nuanced view about the causes of indigenous resistance would be helpful. The fact is that, governments in our time have used archaeological findings to achieve ends that indigenous peoples consider detrimental to their interests. The statement that, "we are all immigrants from somewhere" (Deloria 1997, 69), for example, persists in the USA and Canada (Bohaker and Iacovetta 2009, 461). Such declarations are typically silent about a fundamental difference between the "new" and the "ancient" immigrants: the time depths of their claimed universal immigrant experience. Without that acknowledgment the statement creates the impression among the dominant cultures that, indigenous peoples "simply *found* North America a little earlier than they had" (Deloria 1997, 70). This has enormous political ramifications.

Should origin narratives be discounted because they differ from scientific understanding? I think not. Origin narratives and traditional stories provide socially relevant explanations for phenomena that a given people believe are important. They have their place. However, to interpret the past, similarities and differences among origin accounts suggest that, their greatest relevance may be local rather than pan-continental. Whether or not such narratives enhance or are irrelevant to archaeological understanding have been debated (see Echo-Hawk 2000 versus Mason 2000). There are great demonstrations of scientists and traditionalists working synergistically (e.g., Fedje and Mathewes 2005), but not many sites and indigenous narratives can be examined similarly. Regarding the first peopling of the Americas, I find it curious that no one emphasizes that anatomically modern humans were immigrants to Europe, whether one looks at the incoming Upper Paleolithic Aurigancians and subsequent cultures, or looks at mtDNA maps of Neolithic dispersions to Europe from western Eurasia, or the Levant. Humanity's origins lie in Africa. With the exception of Africans who originated there, all modern continental groups of people are immigrants, regardless of the route their ancestors took, or the length of time it took for them to arrive where they now reside. Nevertheless, we reserve the immigrant labeling for the humans who entered the Americas. What justifies such a difference in terminology?

I think there are good reasons to cease calling the indigenous peoples of the Americas, "immigrants." It would be consistent with our not using such labels for the peoples who occupied the other continents. It would also be wise to recognize that the ancestors had genetically differentiated from their Asian antecedents before "leaving" Asia and "entering" North America as the continents are geographically defined today. The ancestral hunting bands that occupied Beringia were there for at least 7,500 years before the disappearance of the ice barriers that prevented their movement elsewhere. Though ancient Beringia is now divided by a channel of seawater there is no reason to select Asian Beringia over American Beringia as the place from which the

ancestors came. The most we know is that, the ancestors came from Beringia. With respect to the indigenous peoples of Alaska, Yukon and the western Northwest Territories, the ancestors were not immigrants at all. They were already there when rising sea water separated the continents. As for those who had moved south along the coast as glaciers receded, they cannot be immigrants either to a continent that was connected to the land mass on which their ancestors were present. Abandoning the "immigrant" idea would be a step towards reconciliation of scientific and traditionalist perspectives on the origin of the first peoples of the Americas.

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TOGETHER OR SEPARATELY:
GERMAN SETTLERS IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

István Petrovics

Between 1000 and 1526, the independent Hungarian Kingdom was a multi-ethnic state. Some of the ethnic groups living in Hungary were "native" inhabitants (for example, the Slavs and the remnants of the Avars) of the Middle-Danube Basin that gave a geographical frame to this medieval state, while others, such as the Khabars and Alans arrived together with the conquering, essentially Finno-Ugrian Hungarians in the late ninth century. The most important component of foreign ethnic groups, however, arrived to the Middle-Danube or Carpathian Basin after the foundation of the Christian kingdom—which is associated with the coronation of Saint Stephen (25th December in 1000 or 1st January, 1001) (Engel 2001) .

The population density of this region was relatively low throughout the entire medieval period and during the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242; the Ottoman incursions occurring from the fifteenth century onwards also decimated the inhabitants of the country. Therefore, Hungarian kings invited foreign settlers in large numbers to their country and provided them with numerous privileges. The influx of foreign ethnic groups to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary was further promoted by the unfavourable living conditions prevailing in the native lands of the immigrants. Before the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242 immigrants came to Hungary both from the Eastern (Jews, Ismaelithes, Patzinaks, Cumans) and the Western part of Europe (Walloons, Italians, Germans, especially Saxons) (Engel 2001, 58–61; Petrovics 2009, 65–73). Those who arrived from the West were referred to as guests (Latin: *hospites*), and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries they came primarily from Flanders, northern France (Walloons), Lorraine and Lombardy. Since they were Romance-speaking people, the Hungarian sources in the Latin language referred to them as *Latini, Gallici* and *Italici*. They were followed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Germans *(Teutonici* and *Saxones)*. From the second part of the thirteenth century, German ascendancy became obvious in most of the towns of the Hungarian Kingdom (Petrovics 2009, 65). Since the history of the foreign ethnic groups living in medieval Hungary is a broad topic, I will focus in the following only on the immigration of the Germans and on the role they played in the urbanization of the realm.

I. Transylvania: the Saxons and the Andreanum

The most significant and at the same time the largest-scale immigration of the Árpádian Age (comprising the period between 1000 and 1301) was that of the Germans in Transylvania (Erdély in Hungarian, Siebenbürgen in German and Transilvania or Ardeal in Romanian), the eastern province of the Hungarian Kingdom. The first groups of those who later came to be called Saxons arrived here from Flanders in around 1150. During the thirteenth century, they were followed by numerous waves of

'Saxons' from the region of the Rhine and the Mosel rivers. Despite the heavy losses caused by the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242, by around 1300 three great blocks of Saxon settlements had come into existence, all of them in the southern and eastern marches of Transylvania. The natural centres of the southern settlements were the towns of Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt/Sibiu) and Brassó (Kronstadt/Brașov). These towns guarded the only routes that led towards the Black Sea through the southern Carpathians with the burghers of cities controlling trading activities of this region. The two main routes were the ways in the vicinity of Hermannstadt/Sibiu led through the valley of the River Olt named Roter-Turm Pass or Vöröstoronyi-szoros in Hungarian and Pasul Turnu Roșu in Romanian, and the ways besides Kronstadt/ Brașov led through the Törzburger Pass or Törcsvári-szoros in Hungarian and Pasul Bran-Rucăr in Romanian. The importance of these routes explains for example why Saxon merchants established close contacts with the Genoese harbour towns of the Black Sea via them.
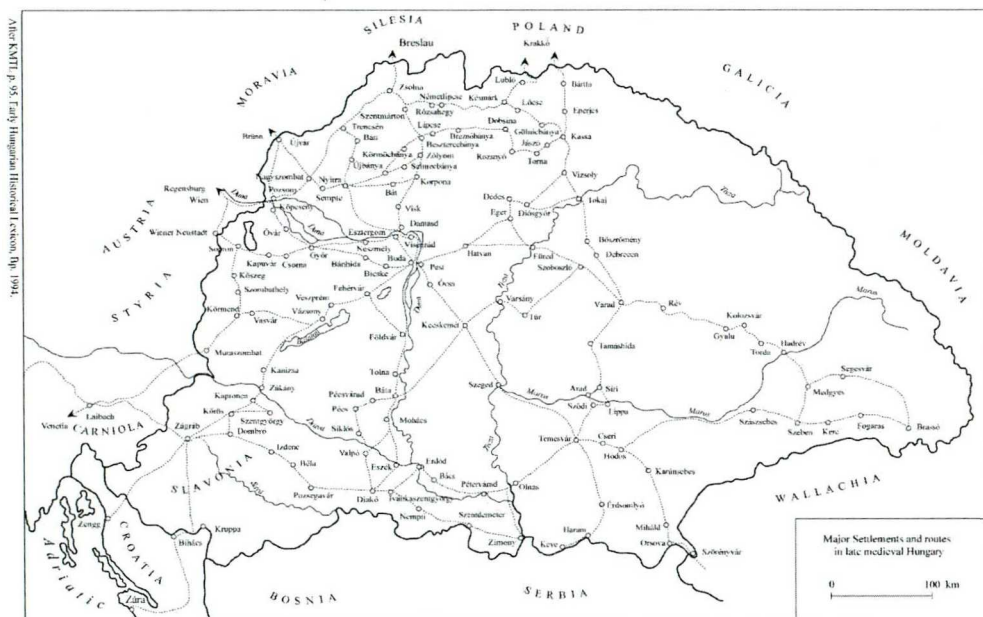
Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt was to remain the first in the rank of Saxon settlements. Around 1190, a collegiate chapter was founded here, one that was taken out of the authority of the bishop of Transylvania residing in Gyulafehérvár (Karlsburg/Alba Iulia) and subjected directly to the archbishop of Esztergom, head of the Hungarian church. The Saxons of Nagyszeben/ Hermannstadt, occupying a territory that spread from Szászváros (Broos/Orăștie) in the west to Barót (today's Baraolt in Romania) in the east, were given wide-ranging privileges by King Andrew II in 1224. In his document, later referred to as the Andreanum, the monarch engaged himself not to

grant away any part of their land, which, as a consequence, virtually became the property of the Saxon community. Their judge remained the count of Nagyszeben/ Hermannstadt and was appointed by the King, but the minor court cases were to be judged by their own magistrates, whom, along with their priests, Saxons had the right to elect. Saxons had to pay to the royal chamber an annual tax of 500 Hungarian silver marks and were expected to host the king three times a year and the voivode of Transylvania twice a year. As military obligation, they had to equip 500 warriors for the campaigns within the kingdom and 100 soldiers for foreign wars. In exchange for all these duties Saxons were allowed to trade freely throughout the region.

By the fourteenth century, the Saxons of Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt were grouped into eight autonomous districts called "seats" (Latin: *sedes*) with their centres at Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt/Sibiu), Szászváros (Broos/Orăştie), Szászsebes (Mühl-bach/Sebeş), Szerdahely (Reußmarkt/Miercurea Sibiului), Ujegyház (Leschkirch/ Nocrich), Nagysink (Groß-Schenk/ Cincu), Kőhalom (Reps/Rupea) and Segesvár (Schäßburg/Sighi oara). At the end of the Middle Ages these were called collectively as the "Seven Seats," although this community of the Saxons was composed of eight seats at that time. In 1402, King Sigismund attached to them the districts of Medgyes (Mediasch/Media) and Selyk (Schelk/Marktschelken/ eica Mare), which were also inhabited by Saxons but had hitherto been subjected to royal lordship through the *comes Siculorum,* that is, the count of the Székely. These two districts later came to from the so-called "Two Seats" (Zimmermann 1996, 36–134; Engel 2001, 113–115).

The colonisation of the region around Brassó (Kronstadt/Braşov) also called Barcaság (Burzenland in German and Ţara Bârsei in Romanian), that spread in the south-eastern part of Transylvania, was started by the Teutonic Knights (The Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem), who were invited and settled there by King Andrew II in 1211. The primary task of the Teutonic Knights was to defend the south-eastern borders of Hungary against neighbouring Cumans. Nevertheless, when the Knights requested Pope Honorius III to be placed directly under the authority of the Holy See rather than that of the King of Hungary, Andrew II, angered and alarmed at their growing power, responded by expelling the Teutonic Order out of Transylvania in 1225. In the late 1220s (but most probably in 1226), the ousted knights were invited to Masovia by Conrad I of Masovia (Konrad I Mazow-iecki in Polish), a Polish duke who needed military assistance against the pagan Prussians. In return for their military support, Conrad I offered the Teutonic Knights the region of Kulmerland in the southern part of Prussia, today's Chełmno in Poland. This land formed the base of the later State of the Teutonic Order (*Staat des Deutschen Ordens* in German *and Civitas Ordinis Theutonici* in Latin), which was originally a crusading state. Learning from the Hungarian incident, Grand Master Hermann von Salza wanted to have the Order's rights documented beforehand, by a deal with Conrad that was to be confirmed by the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope (Hunyadi 2008; Pósán 2012).

The colonisation was not interrupted by the expulsion of the Knights, since the Hungarian monarch allowed the old colonists to remain there and encouraged others to join them. This territory constituted an autonomous Saxon region independent from Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt just as did the three districts of Beszterce (Bistritz/

Nösen, Bistri a), Radna (Altrodenau, Rodna Veche) and the so called Királyi (Kyralia) in eastern Transylvania, which together came to form the third unit. The greater part of the Saxon territory enjoyed ecclesiastical autonomy, as its churches were organised into deaneries instead of archdeaconries and subsequently subjected directly to the archbishop of Esztergom.

There were many other Saxons in Transylvania settling on noble estates, but they became subject to private lords and were over time assimilated by the Hungarians. All in all, German immigration into Transylvania was considerable. It lead in the modern period to 242 localities with a German speaking population, with the Saxon autonomies extended over an area of about 11, 000 square kilometres. The 1920 Peace Treaty of Trianon transferred Transylvania, along with Banat and Partium to Romania; as a result the Saxons found themselves within the frame a new state. At the end of the Second World War, tens of thousands of Germans living in Romania, along with the Transylvanian Saxons, fled before the Soviet Red Army. Due to various reasons —forced assimilation, expulsion and emigration—the number of Germans/Saxons dramatically dropped in Romania in the second half of the twentieth century, especially after the collapse of Nicolaie Ceauşescu's regime. According to the records of the Lutheran Church of Hermannstadt/Sibiu the number of Saxons in Transylvania in 2003 was only around 15,000.

II. The Zipserland/Szepesség/Spiš

Another important area from the point of view of early German immigration was that of the Zipserland (Szepesség in Hungarian and Spiš in Slovak), a region in the north-central section of Historic Hungary, situated between the range of the High Tátra (Vysoké Tatry in Slovak) and the Slovak Ore Mountains (Slovenské rudohorie in Slovak) (Fekete Nagy 1934; Homza and Sroka 2009). The first German settlers appeared here in the mid-twelfth century and were followed by others—primarily after the Mongol invasion—in the second half of the thirteenth century. Although most of them were Franks, Bavarians and Austrians; their urban law code derived from the Saxon Law *(Sachsenspiegel)*, hence they came to be known as Saxons. Because they lived in the region of Zips (Zipserland/Szepesség/Spiš) they were also known as Zipsers (Cipszerek or Szepesi szászok in Hungarian), a term which distinguished them from their brethren, the Transylvanian Saxons (Blazovich 2005).

Zipserland's most important walled cities included those of Lőcse (Leutschau/Levoča), Késmárk (Käsmarkt/Kežmarok) and Gölnicbánya (Göllnitz/Gelnica). By the late fourteenth century there were 24 such towns in the region. The fortress of Szepes (Zipsenburg/Spišský hrad) had become the administrative centre of the county of Szepes at an unknown date, most probably in the first half of the thirteenth century. From 1271 until 1878—with occasional exceptions—Zipserland enjoyed regional autonomy, in other words, it was directly subject to the authority of the king, and not to the local nobility. The city of Lőcse/Leutschau was the region's most important urban and administrative centre, responsible for most of the commerce between Hungary and Poland. In 1370, the 24 Zipser towns promulgated a joint law code based on the German Saxonspiegel. In 1412, King Sigismund borrowed 37,000 schoks of silver groats of Prague (equalling 100,000 golden florins) from Wladislas II

of Poland for the war against Venice, in return for which he ceded him one part of Spiš, including the seigneury of the castle of Lubló (Lublau/L'ubovňa), the towns of Podolin (Pudlein/Podolinec), Gnézda (Kniesen/Hniezdne) and Lubló (Lublau/ L'ubovňa) along with other 13 Saxon towns. The area thus pledged was only regained by Hungary with the First Partition of Poland in 1772 (Engel 2001, 228). Following the First World War, Hungary lost Zipserland along with all of Northern Hungary, to the newly created state of Czechoslovakia. At the end of the Second World War and during the late 1940s, thousands of the Zipsers, along with other Germans living in Czechoslovakia, fled or were expelled.

In Transylvania and in the Spiš (Szepes/Zips) region, where the Germans were invariably called Saxons, settlements formed large and contiguous blocks. Besides these regions, the towns of the western borderland including Pozsony (Pressburg/ Bratislava), Nagyszombat (Tyrnau/Trnava) and Sopron (Ödenburg) or those of the north-eastern part of the realm such as Kassa (Kaschau/Košice), Eperjes (Preschau/ Prešov), and Bártfa (Bartfeld/Bardejov) just to mention the most important ones alongside the mining towns and, of course, Buda (Ofen), the medieval capital, were also places where Germans lived in large numbers in Historic Hungary in the Late Middle Ages.

It is important to note the existence of localities called *Német(i)* [Germans] and *Szász(i)* [Saxons]; their Hungarian names prove that these villages had once a presence of German population. Such villages were part of the ethnic background of the German towns in the Hungarian Kingdom. While some of the German *hospites* or guests settled down in villages, their majority became urban burghers and played an outstanding role in the process of medieval Hungarian urban development from the thirteenth century onwards (Petrovics 2009, 71).

III. Social and Economic changes in the Later Middle Ages

The thirteenth century, especially the period following the Mongol invasion, brought several major changes in the socio-political and economic life of the kingdom. This is the time when trading contacts with Kiev and Constantinople declined and Hungary became integrated into the western European economy. Links tying Hungary to Germany and Italy became ever stronger (Szűcs 1993, 227–240). Conscious royal policy aiming at fostering urban development in Hungary also dates to this period. King Béla IV (1235–1270) issued the first charters securing urban privileges to localities in Hungary: one for Fehérvár in 1237, and another one for Nagyszombat (Tyrnau/Trnava) in 1238. The Mongol invasion accelerated this royal policy. However, the primary aim of Béla IV in fostering urban development was rather to give shelter to the population in the case of a potential new Mongol attack than to strengthen the towns' economies. King Béla's successors, including the ill-fated Ladislas IV 'the Cuman' (1272–1290), also followed this policy, but only to a lesser degree than his predecessor (Szűcs 1993, 50–61; Kubinyi 1997; Petrovics 2009, 72). It was in the fourteenth century, especially the period between 1323 and 1382, during the consolidated reigns of Charles I and Louis I that the number of charters containing urban privileges increased significantly again. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some 50 settlements were granted royal charter in Hungary. This number refers only to localities which were

situated in the region of Hungary proper, that is, north of the river Drava—in other words, Dalmatian and Slavonian towns were not included—and which were not ecclesiastical centres or (arhi)episcopal cities (Petrovics 2009 72–73).

The size and impact of German immigration on medieval Hungary was so considerable that the wealthiest towns of the country then became populated predominantly by Germans (Saxons) and so German enclaves came into being. These enclaves continued to exist throughout the entire period of the Middle Ages—and even beyond. The towns of German settlers had their own autonomous legal life, partly regulated by special German town-laws (law-codes) and they put also emphasis on their German literacy (besides Latin). Most important settlements were dominated and governed, at least in the beginning, by an elite of German origin. Whereas in Bohemia, Moravia and Poland German settlers enjoyed the privileges of prestigious German mother-towns (such as Nuremberg, Magdeburg and Lübeck), in Hungary the situation was different. Building upon the precedent of "the law of Fehérvár," associated with the Walloon citizens of the town, "the law of Fehérvár" was adopted as a model to be followed in the thirteenth century. Thus "the law of Fehérvár" was granted by the kings, among other settlers, to the guests *(hospites)* of Pest in 1231 (confirmed in 1244), of Nyitra/Nitra in 1248, of Győr in 1271, of Sopron in 1277 and of Pozsony (Pressburg/Bratislava) in 1291. Thus town law in Hungary was not pure German law, but rather in the evolution of Hungarian urban liberties and laws a mixing of Latin and German laws took place (Kubinyi 1997, 29–30, 39–41, 61–63, 68–71; Engel 2001, 112; Petrovics 2014, 285–286).

Since Latin was the official language of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Middle Ages, documents were mostly formulated in this language. In the fourteenth century, however, the use of vernaculars (German, Hungarian, Italian and various dialects of western and southern Slavonic languages) began to challenge the primacy of Latin in many areas of urban life. Several contemporary written documents attest the fact that medieval towns in Hungary were not monolingual. German, the most important of the vernaculars mentioned above, was used for internal communication from the first arrival of German settlers in Hungary. Written German first appeared in urban contexts around the mid-fourteenth century: for example in Pozsony/Pressburg in 1346, in Sopron/Ödenburg in 1352—half a century earlier than in the official documents of the royal chancellery (1397) (Mollay 1982, 120–128; Szende 2009, 210–211). From this time on German was widely used in the towns of the realm where this ethnic group formed the majority of the urban population. Even the law-codes of towns, among which the most important was that of Buda, referred to as *Das Ofner Stadtrecht* (Mollay 1959), were written in German. Obviously, in these towns beside the law-codes, other documents were also produced in German; these were tax-rolls, testaments, charters, epistles, chronicles and different town-books, just to mention the most important ones (Mollay 1982; Szende 2009, 214–224, 228).

IV. Pest and the Emergence of Buda

From our research perspective the development of the towns of Pest and Buda are particularly interesting. One of the most significant towns of the Kingdom of Hungary in the first half of the thirteenth century was Pest. This rich town, then populated

by German settlers—*"ditissima Teutonica villa"* as Master Roger recorded in his famous *Carmen miserabile* (Bak and Rady 2010, 160–161)—received its first urban charter in the early 1230s; nevertheless Pest was destroyed by the Mongols in 1241. King Béla IV endeavoured to revive the town therefore after the Mongol invasion issuing a new urban charter in 1244, *The Golden Bull of Pest,* aimed at the surviving settlers of Pest (Kubinyi 1997, 39–41). In 1247, in fear of another Mongol attack, the monarch resettled the dwellers of Pest across the Danube on its right bank, on the area of the castle district of modern Buda. With this process King Béla IV actually founded a new town. The dwellers of Pest brought with themselves their privileges, their seal and the name of their original town, Pest. Due to these circumstances the new town of Buda, for a while, had an alternate name: *Castrum Budense* as it came into being in the vicinity of the original Buda, which from this time on was named Buda Vetus (Óbuda in Hungarian, Old Buda in English), and *Castrum Novi Montis Pestiensis* (Pestújhegyi-vár in Hungarian, Pest's-new-castle-on-the-hill in English), as the settlers came from Pest. Since the new town of Buda had a significant German population in the Later Middle Ages, it had a German name, too. This was Ofen, the German translation of the Slavic name *Pest* (Engel 2001, 255–257; Petrovics 2014, 285–286).

The newly founded Buda, due to its extremely favourable geographical location and wide ranging privileges, which were not restricted by secular or ecclesiastic landlords at all, soon became a prosperous town being—with the exception of certain periods—the seat of the royal household in the Later Middle Ages. In short, in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries Buda functioned as the centre of the kingdom, both in the economic and political sense of the word. From the fourteenth century onwards its law, *Das Ofner Stadtrecht,* compiled in the first half of the fifteenth century, became a template for urban laws and privileges bestowed by the Hungarian kings. According to this code—to refer to one interesting and, at the same time, characteristic case —only two Hungarians could be elected as members of the town council, while the judge (Richter in German, Iudex in Latin) was to be a person whose four grandparents were of German birth (Mollay 1959, 69–71). This situation was changed by a revolt in 1439. By then 'Hungarian' and 'German' parties had emerged in the medieval capital of the kingdom, and the revolt was brought about by the murder of the leader of the Hungarians. The mob attacked and ransacked the houses of the rich, making no distinction between Germans and Hungarians, which shows that, in fact, it was a social conflict disguised in an ethnic jacket. By the time the rebellion was suppressed both parties were willing to find a compromise. Henceforth, German and Hungarian inhabitants enjoyed equal rights within the town's government. The Hungarians were to provide half of the council, that is, to have equal representation in a great council of one hundred members *(Hundertmannschaft),* which elected the judge and the inner (smaller) council. From then on German and Hungarian judges were elected in alternate years, and the 12 seats of the smaller council were divided equally between the two nationalities (Engel 2001, 262; Szende 2009, 215). This model proved to be very successful and was adopted later by others towns with a mixed Hungarian and German/Saxon population (for example, Kolozsvár/Klausenburg/Cluj-Napoca).

After 1247, Pest—the "mother-town" on the left bank of the Danube—was subordinated to the newly founded city of Buda. One striking sign of this dependence

was that the judge of Pest, at least, for a while, was designated by the town council of Buda from among its members. Nevertheless, by the late fifteenth century Pest, whose inhabitants by the 1400s were almost exclusively Hungarians, had become an independent town, and joined the group of the tavernical towns, the most developed group of medieval Hungarian towns (Petrovics 2014, 285–287).

Although Buda and its environment recovered from the first wave of destruction after the fatal battle of Mohács (1526), the election of two competing kings and the ensuing war between the rivals, John Szapolyai and Ferdinand of Habsburg, sealed the fate of the former royal seat. Szapolyai captured Buda in 1529, though only with Turkish assistance, and expelled its German inhabitants, since he did not trust them. The wealthiest German inhabitants of Kassa/Kaschau shared the fate of the German inhabitants of Buda, as they were also expelled by King John in 1537 (Petrovics 2009, 78, 86–87). Ferdinand was unable to re-take the city, and King John ennobled the remaining burghers of Buda. The citizens, however, were not able to enjoy their new status for long, as Sultan Suleiman occupied the city in 1541 and turned it into the centre of a new Turkish province, the Budin Eyalet.

Closing Remarks

The immigration of the eleventh–thirteenth centuries fundamentally modified the ethnic and economic structure and outlook of the kingdom. Regions that hitherto remained uninhabited were now transformed into arable land, where settlements soon sprang up. Overall, the process of colonisation remarkably increased the resources of the country. A particular feature of the colonisation is that, in comparison with the Latin guests, the immigration of the Germans, turned out to be much more significant in the long run. The case of the Germans/Saxons shows that they, along with other foreign ethnic groups living in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, enjoyed wide ranging autonomy. The privileges granted by the monarchs of the realm, enabled the communities of these ethnic groups to organise their lives along the principles of their special legal customs, which at many points differed from the realm's customary law. This situation necessarily led to a certain kind of separation. This is well demonstrated by the case of Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt/Sibiu), founded by Saxon settlers around 1150, where the acceptance of new inhabitants was limited on an ethnic basis. This rule was primarily established in order to keep away Hungarians, Romanians and 'Greeks' who appeared in large numbers around Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt due to the Ottoman advance on the Balkans (Szende 2009, 207). Despite the separation, especially the German burghers of the towns of medieval Hungary greatly contributed to the development of the whole country both in the economic and cultural sense of the word.

The expulsion of the Turks from the realm in the late seventeenth century opened a new chapter in the history of Germans living in Hungary. At this point another wave of German immigration began into the country. This was motivated by the large landowners' need for agricultural labourers, and the Habsburg Imperial Government's desire to repopulate the lands that had been devastated during the Ottoman rule and the Liberation Wars. In contrast with the Germans who had arrived in Hungary in the Middle Ages, those who came in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries were known

as Swabians (Schwaben). This time most of the Germans were peasants, who established prosperous agricultural centres throughout the country. It was a new phenomenon that in the nineteenth century most of the German townspeople—except the Saxons of Transylvania—became Magyarized and came to constitute a significant portion of Hungary's modern middle class and the nation's administrative and scientific intelligentsia.

Even in 1910 over 10 percent of Historic Hungary's population identified itself as German (1.9 out of 18.3 million) (Dávid 1988, 343). Surprisingly enough, after Hungary's dismemberment at Trianon in 1920, Hungary still had nearly half a million Germans out of a population of 8 million. This situation changed only after the Second World War, when most of the Germans fled or were expelled. In 2001, only 62,105 people identified themselves as German and 88,209 had affinity with cultural values, traditions of the German nationality according to the date on Nepszamlalas2001.hu (Retrieved on 2016–01–26). *Sic transit Gloria mundi...*

Nevertheless, old town centres, especially in Transylvania and in the territory of present-day Slovakia, architectural, legal and cultural monuments still bear witness to the legacy of the German settlers who found their home in Hungary (Pukánszky 1926; Niedermaier 1996, 2002, 2004; Homza and Sroka 2009).

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THOMAS JEFFERSON AND SPANISH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: A TEMPORAL APPROACH

Zoltán Vajda

Relying on an exploration of Thomas Jefferson's conception of time by historian Hannah Spahn's, in this essay I examine his understanding of newly independent countries of Spanish America from the perspective of temporality. I argue that as much as a skeptic concerning the southern neighbors of the US in their attempts to form free republican governments, he in fact saw a chance for them to live up to the task and become part of rational time that he associated with fully developed peoples. To achieve that status, however, they were to undergo a process of intellectual and moral development expressed through gradual change, most probably to be implemented by a new generation of Spanish Americans. At the same time, Jefferson also imagined them as living in present-oriented sentimental time with physical features of the land enabling them to preserve themselves at an agricultural stage of development so important for him. In doing so, they had all the conditions necessary to move toward a republican millennium that he hoped for.

In what proved to be a historic business transaction, contributing to the massive territorial growth of the United States, in 1803 President Thomas Jefferson bought Louisiana Territory from Bonaparte Napoleon. Although at the expense of the subjugation of thousands of Native Americans, the area stretching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, would provide land available for white settlers moving west. Alongside this momentous effect, Jefferson's original purpose with the purchase was also fulfilled: it put an end to French control of the Mississippi River, securing its navigation and through that, U.S. trading interests (Tucker and Hendrickson 98–99).

The purchase, then, was originally rooted in Jefferson's strong sense of the presence of France in the North American continent, also meaning to balance it by a business transaction resulting in various economic and political consequences. Yet, following the purchase he was aware that in parallel to France having lost interest in North America, Spain still kept up its territorial imperial ambitions in Florida and the Southwest. Nonetheless, a decade later, Spain's position in the Western hemisphere got shaken by the rise of the independence movements in Central and South America soon to result in its colonial system falling apart there. Mostly as a surprise to him initially, Jefferson extensively commented on these developments as well as on his notions about the region and its people (Vajda 2007, 273–92).

Exploring one particular aspect of Jefferson's musings over Spanish America, in this essay I will address his philosophical understanding of time and its influence upon his views of them. Drawing on a recent account by historian Hannah Spahn of his philosophy of temporality (Spahn). I will examine the way Newtonian or rational time and its ramifications informed Jefferson's speculations about the political character

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of Spanish Americans as well as their ability to change from being a colonized people
a to self-governing one. I will also examine the way in which Jefferson's considering
the people of the region below the required level of rational development was still
related to the problem of progress, gradation and generations, all concerning aspects
of rational time. Also, I will explore how sentimental time as a concept also influenced
Jefferson's thinking about Spanish America and its relationship to the United States.

No study so far has addressed this subject, and although Spahn herself takes a look
at some "Others" (mainly blacks and European aristocrats) in Jefferson's system of
temporal thought, she herself leaves out the southern neighbors of the US from her
analysis, otherwise playing an important role in the republican vision of the Virginian.

* * *

In the 1810s, led by the Creole elite, colonies of Spain in the New World, one after
the other, declared their independence from the metropolitan center and started mili-
tary struggles eventually leading to national sovereignty. US political leaders supported
the new regimes sympathizing with their cause as long as they aimed to establish re-
publican governments, at the same time showing caution about their ability to do so.
Also, they wanted to avoid relations going strained with Spain, a powerful neighbor,
and hence recognition of the new states was slow to come until Florida was ceded by
Spain to the US in 1821. In addition, Americans wanted to minimize conflicts with
Britain having business interests with Spain. Finally, the War of 1812 with Britain also
directed US attention away from its Southern neighbors (Perkins 156–57; Anderle,
62–65; Bethell, 204, 206).

Largely in accordance with the above considerations, Jefferson developed an ambi-
guous attitude toward the region. While convinced that Spain was going to lose its co-
lonies in the New World, he was not sure about their success in establishing free
republican governments in the immediate future. Having experienced military con-
flicts developing among the newly independent countries of Spanish America, he
regarded them as not fully prepared to exist side by side as free countries (Vajda
2007). This, on the other hand, was, in part, due to his knowledge concerning Spain
and its colonies in the New World.

In a very real sense, Jefferson had rather limited information available about the
New World sequels of Spain, hardly accessed by people from outside the region. Not
surprisingly, he found the knowledge gathered about the area hardly sufficient, and
the one he had, he thought, even had to be treated with caution (Whitaker, 1962, x).
Nonetheless, he did receive information basically through three sources, the major
one being contemporary German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, who had ex-
plored most of South America by the early nineteenth century and published his find-
ings regarding the physical features of the land, its people, animal world and vege-
tation. His works found their way to Jefferson, who even corresponded with the
Baron, also receiving him in Washington in 1804 as president of the US (TJ to
Alexander von Humboldt, March 6, 1809, Lipscomb and Bergh, 12:263; Terra, 786,
789–91; Whitaker, 1960, 738; Schwartz, 48–49; also Rebok 328–69).

Jefferson also gathered intelligence about the region from the works that he had
available in his library, such as Antonio de Ulloa's *Noticias Americanas de Don Antonio*

de Ulloa (Madrid, 1772), Abbé Guillaume Raynal's *Historie philosophique et politique* ... *de deux Indes* (Geneva, 1780); or Bartolomé de Las Casas' *Bartholomeo de las Casas del imperio soberano que los reyes de Castilla tienen sobre las Indias* (1552) (Sowerby, 4:209). Finally, Jefferson also had first-had information gathered about the area from visitors he had from the region, most prominently including the noted revolutionary Francisco Miranda, who hoped to assure his support for a revolution attempted against Spain in 1809 (TJ to John Jay, May 4, 1787, Ford, 1892–1899, 4:383–85; TJ to Valentine de Foronda, October 4, 1809, *ibid.,* 9:260. TJ to James Monroe, June 23, 1823, Lipscomb and Bergh 15:453). To a large extent, Jefferson's sources on New Spain were also informed by the "Black Legend," invented by Spanish writers of the sixteenth century, depicting Spanish conquerors in South America as avaricious brutes engaged in cruel deeds against natives. Later it was supplemented by a strong degree of anti-Catholicism associating the Catholic Church with the atrocities committed against natives in the New World. Finally, the Black Legend as it developed in the nineteenth century also blamed the Catholic Church for the backwardness of people living in its American colonies (Powell; DeGuzmán).

Jefferson's understanding of the past, present, and future of Spanish Americans was also informed by his general conception of time and its bearings upon them. Hence it is the relevant parts of Spahn's reconstruction of Jefferson's sense of temporality that I now turn to. For a start, Jefferson's system of time showed basic ambiguities, as she argues. In the first place, largely embedded in the Newtonian tradition of natural laws, he shared the Enlightenment conception of time based on a homogeneous understanding of temporality. Rational time is measured by the clock and is hence based on quantity (22–23, 29, 36). This feature made it suitable for one to make predictions about the future, also involving the ideas of "rational foresight," hence being "future-oriented" (31). Because of its homogeneous nature, rational time also presumed the possibility of anticipating the future for Jefferson. Hence he was, for instance, able to predict the future of the Untied States "through the knowledge of a similar past" (186). Furthermore, Jefferson associated rational time with "progress," the constant accumulation of "human knowledge" (39).

To Jefferson's mind, the rational concept of time was not equally available for everyone. "Rational time perception" was, for instance, absent in "blacks" and "French aristocrats:" they were "incapable of foresights" and thus progress (48, 53, 64). The French nobility particularly lived in "cyclical decadence" (53) instead of the time of permanent progress. These two groups were thus also unsuitable for "self-government," according to him, as Spahn explains (67).

The other concept of time identified by Spahn in Jefferson's thought is the "sentimental" one. It is "subjective," personal, non-linear and can be detected in his accounts of a personal sense of time (74), signifying "unique moments in his past and present life" (75). Given that one consequence of rational time was the passing of events into oblivion, that is, the deterioration of "memory" (93), sentimental time involved the idea of the present to be cherished and prevented from passing. Hence Jefferson's concern "to prevent the present from yielding to the future and becoming past itself" (77). This "presentism" and the sentimental concept of time as held by him and his rational concept of time existed side by side in his thought.

According to Spahn, Jefferson tried to reconcile these two opposing concepts of time by means of "gradualism," or the "gradualist conception of change" (75). He resented sudden change, thus, if his linear concept of rational time contained change at all, that would be slow and gradual only, with due respect to attachment to the present. This is the reason that, Spahn explains, Jefferson, was more in support of the gradual abolition of slavery, because, for him, progress could take place by degrees only (69, 97,100).

One consequence of Jefferson's perception of time was that for him, the people of Spanish America lived outside rational time before independence: they lacked enlightened reason, the appropriate level of intellectual development necessary for self-government. They had lived under Spanish imperial rule thus having no experience with freedom to govern themselves. They lacked *reason* because *of the* subjugation that they had had to suffer by their leaders and clergy. Jefferson wrote in 1811, "'I fear the degrading ignorance into which their priests and kings have sunk them, has disqualified them from the maintenance or even knowledge of their rights, and that much blood may be shed for little improvement in their condition" (TJ to Dupont de Nemours, April 15, 1811, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:204). Likewise, five years later, he also found them under the influence of their "priests" keeping them in "ignorance and bigotry" (TJ to Anne L. G. N. Stael-Holstein, September 6, 1816, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*. See also TJ to John Adams, May 17, 1818, Ford, 1904–1905, 12:95; TJ to de Nemours, April 24, 1816, *ibid.,* 11:524; and TJ to Humboldt, June 13, 1817, *ibid.,* 12:68). In such a situation, Jefferson predicted in 1811, they were most likely to end up in "military despotisms" fighting one another because of the evil influence of their leaders (TJ to Alexander von Humboldt, December 6, 1813, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:351; TJ to Humboldt, April 14, 1811, Washington, 5:581; see also TJ to the Marquis de Lafayette, November 30, 1813, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:358–59). As Jefferson explained to John Adams in 1821, " I feared from the beginning, that these people were not yet sufficiently enlightened for self-government; and that after wading through blood and slaughter, they would end in military tyrannies, more or less numerous." (TJ to John Adams, January 22, 1821, Ford, 1904–1905, 12:199).

Jefferson's major concern about the people of Spanish America was then that because of their low level of rational development they were not only unable to govern themselves, but also, since they were under the influence of their leaders of evil intentions, they could be used against their neighbors in military conflicts. In other words, independence from Spanish rule, in his estimation, did not automatically result in the sequels respecting one another's independence. That is, he saw them repeat the past, returning to their earlier stage of development, and even worse, turning into colonizers against one another. In Jefferson's mind, such positioning of Spanish Americans relegated them into the same group of people such as "women", "black slaves" and "children" different from white middle-class males, living, in Spahn's words, "in another temporality" "in which they could be depicted as incapable of foresight, obedience to day schedules, or exact time measurement" (Spahn 48).

In spite of his low opinion of the people of New Spain with regard to their rationality, Jefferson saw the possibility of their developing a capacity for self-government. Although they were *not* living in rational time they could be turned into a

people capable of making progress associated with quantitative time: they could be made future-oriented instead of present-minded. That, however, could be achieved only by developing their moral sense.

For Jefferson freedom for a people was proportionate to their rationality: more enlightenment ensued more self-government and less reason went with less liberty (TJ to John Jay, May 4, 1787, Ford, 1892–1899, 4:384; Wagoner 118–19). The moral sense was necessary for the people to exist in society in his logic. Its development was also related to self-government providing the individual with the means of participating in politics. The defects of the moral sense, on the other hand, could be corrected by education, resulting in its development. The strong link between intellectual development and self-government induced Jefferson to hail the new constitution of Spain, which made literacy a prerequisite for full citizenship (TJ to Dupont de Nemours, April 24, 1816, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:523; see also TJ to Luis de Onís, April 28, 1814, Washington 6:342. Jefferson to Thomas Law, June 13, 1814, Peterson, 1975, 542–43; see also Sheldon 59; and Yarbrough 27–45).

Colonial rule having prevented the people of New Spain from developing their moral sense fully, its removal, although leaving them in a state of inability to govern, they gave them a chance to improve their underdeveloped moral sense by education. In this way, moreover, they could also develop the ability to live in rational time. The initial push in the direction of the education process would be provided by the revolutions themselves, Jefferson suggested, triggering "common sense" in the revolutionaries developing in them "cultivated reason." That would be necessary for them to be able to resist oppression from above and preserve freedom gained in the revolutionary struggle (TJ to Anne L. G. N. Stael-Holstein, September 6, 1816, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*).

For Jefferson, this education consisted in civic education primarily, that is, instructing the people of the former colonies of Spain in acquiring the knowledge of their "duties" and "rights" as citizens, so that they could govern themselves. And, as he suggested to John Adams in 1821, the first step in this process of education was "the introduction of trial by jury" (TJ to John Adams, January 22, 1821, Ford, 1904–1905, 12:199).

Unlike for black slaves and other groups of people relegated outside rational time, then, Jefferson saw the possibility for Spanish Americans developing a rational sense of time through education mainly aimed at making them suitable for self-government. As part of that, such a training was also to develop their capacity for foresight – characteristic of Jefferson's rational white middle-class men. Jefferson was also willing to imagine Spanish American peoples as part of a different kind of progressive development, as participants in the advancement of a "republican millennium," in Peter Onuf's words. This state of international affairs would involve all nations as self-governing republics in the future, with the United States as its model (Onuf 2000, 15). In other words, the rational time that led to an endpoint of progress would also apply to nations advancing toward a state of affairs that involved republican nations of equal status. Spanish American nations, Jefferson believed, were also progressing toward such a "republican millennium."

In proposing a process of education for Spanish Americans to transfer them from the stage of subordination to self-government Jefferson was, in fact, following a pattern of development set by the Northwest Ordinance in the late eighteenth century. The document, devised by Jefferson himself and accepted by the US government existing under the Articles of Confederation in 1787 became the blueprint for the admission of new states to the Union. It defined demographic and political institutional requirements for a territory to become a state. The process involved the development of a given territory from a quasi-colonial status into that of self-government with political institutions and offered full independence from the federal government. In the interim period the federal government exerted control over the political affairs of the territory by means of an appointed governor and other officers. Once the required level of population and that of legal and political institutions was reached congressional supervision of the territory ceased and republican statehood was granted with a state constitutional convention elected and government established. The ideal of self-government by the people of the state thereby could become fulfilled (Saler 364–68, 75; Onuf, 1995, 68–70, 72; Onuf, 1983, 44–45, 43–44; and also Peterson, 1984, 376–78.).

Jefferson's predictions about the ability of Spanish Americans to form republican governments based on the consent of the governed were also informed by Americans' experience with integrating the state of Louisiana into the Union. With a population of mixed ethnicity, the area having been exposed to colonial rule by the French and the Spaniards, it was believed that the non-English elements of the people were not able to govern themselves and would take a longer period of time to assume republican self-government (Kastor 87, 11, 48).

Hence a close control of the federal government was found desirable and sustained for a long time approximating old colonial rule. Even Jefferson himself advocated only a gradual introduction of civil rights including freedom of the press and freedom of religion, believing that providing more freedom for the people of Louisiana depended on their political and rational development (TJ to Dewitt Clinton, December 2, 1803, Ford, 1892–1899, 8:283; TJ to Albert Gallatin, November 9, 1803, Ford, 1892–1899, 8:275–76). They were expected to reform their character first before gaining full-scale freedom and self-government. Their colonial status, then, could change only by degrees, and before gaining their status of statehood they were governed by means of federal officers. Moreover, even having gained statehood the people of Louisiana had limited power to govern themselves with state officers such as the governor retaining considerable independence from citizens (Kastor, 25, 44, 48–50, 51, 86, 152, 185–86). As has been seen, Jefferson's conception of time largely built on the notion of gradation, that is, change over time by degrees. His thinking about Spanish Americans after gaining independence also involved the notion of gradual change.

We have seen that Jefferson held the peoples of Spanish America unsuitable for free republican government believing that before reaching the stage of self-government they would form governments characterized by military despotism. Hence he believed that independence did not equal a sudden transition from colonial subordination to republican government; instead, Spain was to retain some degree of control

of them thereby preventing their turning against one another. This would last until they became mature enough to establish republican governments. Their becoming self-governing republics, then, could only happen through gradual development. (This supervision by the former mother country would be confined to "peace-keeping".) (TJ to Lafayette, May 14, 1817, Ford, 1892–1899, 10:85; TJ to Anne L. G. N. Stael-Holstein, September 6, 1816, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*)

Jefferson argued that only with their growth in intelligence and morality, would the people of the sequels be able to gain more independence and liberty. In proportion to this growth as a result of education, governmental power could be decreased by degrees, too. Education in that direction would enable the people of New Spain to avoid further military confrontations induced by military despotisms (TJ to John Adams, May 17, 1818, Ford, 1904–1905, 12:95–96). This gradual change of government over Spanish Americans, according to Jefferson, then equaled their shift to the rational time model. Their sudden independence seemed untimely for him, their being unripe to enter rational time, and that was to be corrected by the gradual transition in government that was to take place in parallel with the making of them a more educated and rational people.

Finally, an important feature of this notion of gradualism as held by Jefferson was related to progress as a reversible process. As has been seen above, rational time involved the idea of advancement as a future-oriented movement, and he associated the people of Spanish America with the possibility of participating in it. At the same time, he also admitted that while some of the sequels such as Argentine, were making progress on the road to independence, others, located in the West, such as Peru and Chile had been set back and even got reversed (TJ to Anne L. G. N. Stael-Holstein, September 6, 1816, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*. See also TJ to Lafayette, May 14, 1817, Ford, 1892–1899, 10:84). Yet, he was convinced of the final victory of the revolutionary process even in these countries.

This emphasis on change as gradual development also expressed itself in Jefferson's notion about generations capable of implementing the turn from military despotism to republican self-government. In his philosophy, generations in any given society played a special role. He conceived of them as independent entities, separated from each other by differing interests and cultures. He even positioned generations as quasi-nations being in hostile relationship with each other also regarding them as forming the core of political majorities, the consequence being that constitutions should be changed in order to cater to a new generation of citizens (Onuf, 2000, 153–70. See also TJ to James Madison, September 6, 1789, Peterson, 1975, 444–51).

As has been seen before, Jefferson also held the development of the reason of Spanish Americans crucial to their progression and hence their moral sense and political abilities by free governments. At the same time, he identified the time period necessary for such an education with a whole new generation of Spanish Americans (TJ to Lafayette, November 30, 1813, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:359; and TJ to Dupont de Nemours, April 15, 1811, *ibid.*, 11:204). In other words, for Jefferson, the raising and education of a new generation of Spanish Americans was necessary and defined the time in which progress would take place in their political communities. Only a new generation, different from their parents could become part of rational time, he thus

suggested. Their level of rational and moral development was to be different from their fathers' and so was their form of government. This was also to be the result of gradual change.

As part of his concept of rational time, Jefferson paid special attention to generations also by emphasizing their distinct roles in progress. He posited differences between generations also resulting in their isolation, each signifying limits of rational time. Furthermore, for him, the change associated with generations could take place because of the perishable nature of memory as one attribute of rational time (Spahn 70, 93). New generations were supposed to forget their old culture acquiring a new one based on rationality

The previous generation of Spanish Americans, steeped in colonial rule, was hopeless to get educated in free government according to Jefferson's logic. They could not participate in progress, lacking in foresight similarly to other groups of peoples that Jefferson excluded from rational time. This, however, was also an ironic precondition for the gradual nature of change that he hoped for in connection with Spanish Americans.

In connection with Spanish Americans' capacity for self-government, Jefferson, besides the rational model of time, also utilized the sentimental conception of time. He did so by placing them in his own model of the stadial theory of social development. Derived from French physiocratic and Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, the stadial model of human development held the power of a common pattern based on subsistence in human societies. It was understood that each human society was to undergo change through various stages of progression leading from the society of hunters and gatherers through nomads and agricultural producers to the commercial one. The theory also asserted that being distinct forms of subsistence to feed humans these stages also represented degrees as well as relative levels of development. Thus the hunter-gatherer stage proved the most rudimentary form of subsistence, while the commercial one being the most developed (McCoy 18–20; Meek 68–126; Onuf and Onuf 91–93).

As has been well documented, Jefferson was a believer in the stadial model, also holding the process of development leading from a lower to a higher stage. Furthermore, he also connected one given people's level of general development with the stage that it occupied in this grand schema of civilization (TJ to William Ludlow, September 6, 1824, 1975, 583).

Even more importantly, connecting the United States with the agricultural/farming stage of development most typically, Jefferson deemed it the most suitable for republican government. The reason was that he regarded agriculture as an ideal form of sustenance, securing independence for the producers. Not much of a surprise then that he regarded farmers as a virtuous group of people impossible to keep in dependence on anyone, hence ensuring the virtue that is necessary for republican self-government (Peterson, 1975, 217; Pocock 40). Awareness of and belief in the stadial model also enabled Jefferson to make predictions about the course of development as well as the history of a nation occupying a particular place in the process. Also, it made possible the comparison of nations in view of their level of civilization. This model enabled its believers to formulate links between past, present, and future and make

predictions about the future of any given nation (McCoy 18, 20; Onuf and Onuf 19, 42). Nicholas and Peter Onuf label this method as conjectural history in the sense that its practitioners conjectured about missing information on the basis of known evidence (Onuf and Onuf 18, 25). Influenced by the stadial theory of development, Jefferson saw the land of his nation as fitting the universal pattern, moving from the world of hunter-gatherers through that of shepherds and farmers to the commercial stage (see Jefferson's letter to William Ludlow, September 6, 1824, Peterson, 1975, 583).

Knowing the course of development of one nation, a highly developed one, at the commercial stage, then, allowed the learned observer to predict the future of a less developed one. This is what made Jefferson interested in developed European countries, believing that having reached the commercial stage they, at the same time, could no longer provide for a virtuous citizenry, consequently falling into decadence and finally, into oblivion (Peterson, 1975, 217). Furthermore, he also thought that European nations, since beyond the agricultural form of subsistence, were no longer able to use the land to accommodate surplus population, instead catering to job demands through industry – an economic activity that Jefferson associated with dependence. Moreover, he also believed that the pressure for keeping demographies under control also made European countries wage war with one another – also having the benefit of dealing with excess population (TJ to Jean Baptist Say, February 1, 1804, Peterson, 1975, 498).

How did all this affect Jefferson's speculations over Spanish America? First of all, as I have shown elsewhere, Jefferson identified a line separating the whole of the New World from Europe, based on agriculture for subsistence, thereby forming a basis for cultural commonality between the USA and Spanish America. He argued that with the free land available, the Western hemisphere was able to avoid the fate of Europe, which was involved in constant strife and devastating warfare. The surplus population of the Americas, Jefferson believed, could be occupied in agricultural production (Vajda 2015).

We also have to understand, however, that, because of his preference for agriculture as a basis of republican self-governing politics, Jefferson wanted to preserve the United States in that particular stage of development. The agricultural alliance with the peoples of the sequels was also to serve that purpose. In this way, peculiarly enough, he was not simply trying to place Spanish Americans in rational time, but was also, in a way, trying to emphasize their environmental conditions, the natural resources that would facilitate their commonality with the USA and difference from Europe. The free land available would be a key to that. It was then a means in Jefferson's sentimental temporality —to quote Spahn again— "to prevent the present from yielding to the future and becoming past itself" (Spahn 77). He hoped to avoid movement from this stage to the next in the future resulting in the end of agricultural bliss. His agrarianism, then, was something he hoped to preserve, cherish, and nurture in sentimental time.

In conclusion, informed by his preconceived pattern of the development of national communities, Jefferson identified the people of Spanish America as one lagging behind republican nations in terms of moral and rational development. He believed

that for them to be able to enter rational time and make progress they needed to re-form their characters. For him, independence did not result in a sudden change of that. Similarly to other cases when progress was involved, Jefferson held that it could take place only be degrees, even at the expense of the temporary restoration of some kind of supervision over the former colonies by Spain. As long as the people of the sequels could not be educated to reach an appropriate level of intellectual develop-ment, they could be turned against one another by their malevolent political leaders. Such gradual transformation, according to him was possible to implement by a new generation only. Education would take time to have a whole generation change its attitude to be able to move from a colonial to a republican character.

Nonetheless, for all his skepticism about the ability of Spanish Americans to move into rational time, by connecting them to his ideal of agricultural production, he also associated them with sentimental time. In contrast to overcivilized western Europe, always on the brink or in the middle of war the Western hemisphere, in Jefferson's assessment, had free land available for subsistence for a growing population. He hoped to conserve this ideal stage of American social development, thereby creating a common ground for cooperation between the northern and the southern regions. In doing so, he emphatically hoped to defy the passing of time and preserve the con-tinent in the agricultural stage, hence also realizing sentimental time in relation to a republican millennium.

When acquiring Louisiana at the beginning of the century, little did Jefferson know that in addition to furthering the course of a waning Spanish empire as well as en-larging the Union, it would facilitate conditions for an agricultural empire that could be a basis for cooperation between the US and Spanish American peoples. The dim-inishing Spanish imperial presence would be coupled with the strengthening of Spanish American sequels moving toward a republican millennium grounded in land for a growing population in the North and in the South alike.

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Transplanting English Common Law and British Military Order at the Forks in the 1840s

DeLloyd J. Guth

"Discovering the Americas" conference's theme, begs the question: who is discovering whom? Europeans have made themselves uninvited, ocean-crossing invaders for centuries, since the 1490s or for the past eleven centuries, if you accept the Icelandic Viking claim, since Erik the Red. All such discoverers had self-admitted and total ignorance of who and what they might be discovering. There was always a blank, fearful yet hopeful state of mind about the discovered. As with all geographical explorations and discoveries, the acts and impacts are first-and-foremost about self-discovery, generated inside the discoverer's consciousness: discovery is a state-of-mind experience. Those who are already there, the Native/Indigenous/Aboriginal peoples, do not need to be discovered. They have known for the same centuries who they are and where they belong. They equally have no idea of who their so-called discoverers are, where they come from, and why. Centuries later, in 2015, our evidence for such first contacts is both in the oral traditions of the peoples discovered, locked into their generational memories, and secondly in the written texts of the discoverers, which end up—if we are lucky—in collections such as the Archives of Manitoba, for the Hudson's Bay Company's discoverers since 1670. By combing both the oral and the literal evidences, we can re-visit, retrieve and reconstruct the discoveries. Discovery then is a word-metaphor for new, directly encountered knowledge and for an invasion of mutual ignorance, in the discoverer and the discovered.

From the time of Homer's Odysseus, when wandering for a decade on his own Mediterranean discoveries after the Trojan Wars, our extant discovery evidence reports a huge variety of observed topics, about places, persons and things new to the discoverers. Most prominently, such travel literature emphasizes the twin roles of law and violence. As with Herodotus (cca. 484–425 B.C.E.), law is reported in the form of rules and customs peculiar to the cultures of the discovered peoples, the Natives (from the Latin *natio* meaning birth-place). Violence, as opposed to the law's peaceful process, is recorded in both private acts, done by individuals within their communities, and in public acts, most notably as warfare between different communities. Physical force, or the threat thereof, replaces law's rule-governed behaviour. Both the discoverers and the discovered confront the other's law and the other's violence. Each is a captive of its own history, of its own cultural law and violence. These are the two most basic observable options for conflict resolution, the one orderly and peaceful, the other physical and forceful.

Events manifesting law and violence, then, are the most frequently remembered and recorded, in the minds and on paper, of acts of geographical discoveries. Notice that, for the discoverers, law means civilizing the discovered Natives, and violence

means conquering them. Either instrument, law or violence or often both, places the burden of response on the discovered: accept replacement of their own law with the European assertion of a superior law; or retaliate, violence for violence, in what Europeans always designated "Indian" wars.

The Hudson's Bay Company's presence in what is now central Canada was never exclusively law or violence, civilizing or conquering. From its charter founding days in 1670, the Company was not interested or mandated by that charter in civilizing, or even baptizing as Christians, the Natives. It was all about commercial trade with them. Furthermore, as we shall see, the Company never had or desired any military means or plans when pushing their discoveries westward, northward and southward. In the early nineteenth century, when the Company claimed a need for a conquering army, it was specifically for use (defensively, of course!) against the United States, for potential inter-European tribal warfare, not against their continuously discovered Natives. (Note the huge difference between the Company's lack of any conquest strategy, or even rhetoric, and the consistent state sponsored violence in American militarizing of its so-called "Indian problem.") This is not to say that the Hudson's Bay Company did not bring its own law and violence to confront the law and violence of the discovered Natives.

The remainder of this plenary address will examine one major example each of the law and of the violence that the Company employed; not as any long-term policy to civilize, much less conquer, the discovered. Regarding law, we look at two failed events to see how the Company attempted to move the English law of the discoverers into the discovered lands, in 1819 and in the early 1840s. Regarding violence, we look to the arrival of the British army in 1846, not against the discovered Natives but against real or imagined American military threats of invasion from the south. That expedition to The Forks, Red River Settlement, fizzled out after one year but did secure an existing population base for what became Winnipeg.

The 1670 English royal charter created a strictly commercial trading company with delegated powers to self-govern. For the next 140 years, until the Company negotiated a settlement agreement with the 5th earl of Selkirk (1771–1820), there was no plan or desire among Company discoverers to import, impose or adapt the English common law system in the lands of the discovered Natives, mainly the Cree and Ojibway peoples.

By then the four volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1st edition 1765–1769) by Sir William Blackstone (1724–1780) had become the first attempt ever to consolidate English law out of the total chaos of royal parliamentary statutes since the 1215 *Magna Carta,* the massive mess of case law judgments selectively collected, the unofficial abridgments, digests, law reports—all unauthorized records of the haphazardly gathered daily, weekly, monthly, annually heard and decided cases cluttering the various crown courts of record. No wonder that everyone immediately cited Blackstone's *Commentaries,* in England and throughout the British Empire. By the time of the Selkirk colony at The Forks, at the end of the French Revolution/Napoleonic periods, the accumulations of six centuries of laws in England and France had finally found semblances of order in Blackstone's *Commentaries* and Napoleon's *Code Civil* (1804). As Blackstone said, he was identifying "...a general and comprehensive Plan of the

Laws of England ... [and] their leading Rules and fundamental Principles." His *Commentaries* and Napoleon's *Code* respectively gave substance to our modern great divide: twenty percent of the world's current countries influenced by English common law, eighty percent by continental European civil law.

Regarding the discoverers and the discovered, these two legal transplants from Europe to North America, had no immediate impacts on the Natives of the two Canadas (Lower = Quebec, Upper = Ontario). English laws were applied by the Company only to its European employees and the small parcels of lands that they actually occupied, at least until the 1840s. The rest, labelled "Indian Territories" on contemporary maps, the discoverers left to the discovered Native law.

The Hudson's Bay Company's Archive at the Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, contains three remarkable original documents for attempted legal transplants, England to The Forks. In a year or two before 1819, a mysterious "law code" was drafted, perhaps in London or Montreal, for the Selkirk colony at The Forks. Near its end, at folio 163 *dorso,* the text reads: "Lord Selkirk says it would be desirable to legalize the cohabitation that frequently takes place between Settlers & Indians." Here we have clear reference to the origins of the Canadian *Metis* and, of course, to the person commissioning creation of this "code." The first third of the manuscript addresses "Of the different Officers of Justice & Judicial Proceedings," followed by criminal procedural rules and actions, ending with one page about contract law. This so-called draft "code" and the colony itself died with Lord Selkirk in 1820.

The second attempt to transplant English common law to The Forks centered on the Company's hiring in 1839 of its first lawyer and judge, Adam Thom, from Montreal. He drafted two separate "codes," one Penal and the other Civil, for the Company. Thom affirmed that he had access to "the excellent library of the garrison," which the Company had built since the 1790s and which contained the four volume set of Blackstone's *Commentaries.* That admirable library had grown by the 1840s to more than a thousand volumes, proving the Hudson's Bay Company's early commitment to transplanted English education generally. Having submitted both of his "codes" to the Company in London, where both were probably sent to the Colonial Office, Thom's two efforts hit the brick wall of bureaucracy and sunk without trace.

Thom's two attempts and the earlier Selkirk attempt failed to create a discoverer's transplant for an English legal system at The Forks. Neither acknowledged the existence of Native laws or of any Aboriginal legal system, a political reality that persists in Canadian government and culture to this day. By the 1840s, the Company had evolved a hodgepodge of laws and offices and courts that applied only to its employees and residents. A Court of Assiniboia had begun in 1836 for criminal and civil pleadings (and its extant case files, over 300 in number, are being edited and published as I speak, by my colleague Professor Emeritus Dale Gibson.) The rest of the story about English transplanted law was not consolidated until after the Confederation of Canada (1867) and replacement of the Hudson's Bay Company's sovereignty (1869) with creation of the Province of Manitoba.

And what about rule of law's nemesis at The Forks, systemic violence in its military form? The Company maintained two locations there, Upper Fort Garry at The Forks and Lower Fort Garry, 30 km. north on the Red River. Unlike the United

States, these were not military outposts. Any police powers inside the two forts was exercised by several constables employed within each wooden-walled fort, subject to the law courts. There was no army, British or Company commanded, since the 1670 charter. That simple fact, that this discovery at least was not initiated or sustained as a military conquest, remains a positive statement for both these discoverers and discovered in central and western Canada.

Therefore when the expansionist neighbour to the south began threatening annexation with the Company's territories, under rhetorical license of the slogan of "Manifest Destiny" in the United States in the 1840s, threatening violence to take control of all of North America, The Forks quickly developed a siege mentality. The U.S. annexed Texas on 29 December 1845, declared war on Mexico six months later, and then forced the Hudson's Bay Company to withdraw from its trading posts in the Oregon Territory. The alarmed British government allied with France to support Mexico's sovereignty in the California Territory.

The Company began begging for British troops in January 1846. By May 1st, a troop ship was fitted out with 300 soldiers at Cork, Ireland, for travel to Hudson's Bay, landing at York Factory and thence "to Fort Garry in Boats and Canoes" (15 May 1846). Clothing for the soldiers included: 1200 blankets, 400 great coats, 400 iron bedsteads, hammocks and bedding, and "warm cloaks for the women...strong woollen stockings or socks, and Flannel in bulk." The Sixth Royal Regiment had eighteen non-commissioned officers who were allowed to bring wives and children, six drummers for battle and 270 rank-and-file soldiers. Most challenging, fifteen tons (=33,600 pounds) of their above-mentioned individual supplies left London on Company ships. The British War Department's ships totalled 150 tons of Ordnance, 53 tons of Provisions, and 1 ton of Medical Supplies. From London and Cork they crossed the North Atlantic to York Factory, where the regiment faced an 852 km (530 miles) journey up the Hayes River, south into Lake Winnipeg, then south overland down to Fort Garry. Imagine the scale, weight and pain of this military expedition! Four men would have to carry each of the six three-pounder brass artillery, each piece weighing 344 pounds for the 852 km. trek. Each box of ammunition weighed 104 pounds. By August 1846 the men were carrying this enormous tonnage by hand, by York Factory boats (six oarsmen and a square sail, carrying three tons each) and by ox-carts down to The Forks. Simply reading the original record in 2015 tires you out! They would remain in Winnipeg for two years until the summer 1848, on guard against the Americans, not the discovered Natives. When the withdrawal began, almost the same amount of tonnage and personnel had to be hauled back to York Factory and home to Great Britain.

After this two year military occupation, the British government told the Company to attend to its own defences and fortifications, at its own expense. The American's "Manifest Destiny" was well on its way to success in Texas, Oregon and California. The discoverers were now settlers and the discovered were dispossessed and treated as best as irrelevant, at least in the Company's seven million square kilometres of central and western Canadian lands, from Upper Canada (Ontario) to the Pacific Ocean.

The Hudson's Bay Company's discoverers had promoted little interest or need to transplant an English common law system or a permanent military regime that would

govern the discovered Natives, who equally showed no eagerness to be co-opted into either regimes, of law or violence. Neither the discovered Natives nor the Company discoverers resorted to violence against each other, just as neither sought to impose its law on the other – at least not until after Confederation with Canada in 1867. For law, the stand-off remains, between an imposed discoverer's legal system and a suppressed legal system of the discovered.

At least this historical example for "Discovering the Americas" identifies some subtleties and substantial realities of human encounters that are as old as history itself.

ENCOUNTERING THE UNKNOWN:
THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN BOUNDARY SURVEY, 1849–1854

Andrea Kökény

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed on February 2, 1848, concluded the US-Mexican War of 1846–1848, and resulted in a major shift in the power relations of the American continent (Israel 733–751; Kökény; Perrigo 134; Calvert and De León 103; Connor 155; Chávez 214; Vázquez and Meyer 61; Salvat and Rosas 1806). The new boundary dramatically altered the political geography of North America. The Republic of Mexico was forced to cede the northern half of the country—a territory of 529,189 square miles—to the United States. Thus the boundary was moved to the southern edges of today's California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, an expanse of nearly two thousand miles (Israel 736–737). Some of the land was settled by Mexican ranchers and farmers, but much of the territory was unexplored, and to Americans, it was an unknown land.

In the Peace Treaty, the two countries agreed to send representatives to survey and mark a new international boundary from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. Article V specified that

> In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish upon the ground land-marks which shall show the limits of both republics, as described in the present article, the two Governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte [i.e. Rio Grande] (Israel 737).

The ratified copies of the Treaty were exchanged at Querétaro on May 30, 1848, and the fieldwork lasted from the summer of 1849 to the fall of 1853 (Goetzmann 153–208; Meinig 151–152; Pletcher 567; Werne 15).

In my paper, I will outline, analyze, and evaluate the work of the American boundary commission. Their responsibility and power was extensive, as the Treaty provided that "the result agreed upon by them shall be deemed a part of the treaty, and shall have the same force as if it were inserted therein" (Israel 737). Thus, the members of the boundary commission had to be individuals who possessed not only a thorough knowledge of topographic and survey skills, but also diplomatic abilities.

Logic suggests that the work be done by the nation's best-trained and most experienced surveyors, West Point-trained members of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. Domestic politics and regional interests, however, required that politicians lead them. 1848 was an election year, and, in its last few months in office,

the Democratic administration of President James K. Polk filled the position of commissioner and surveyor with people affiliated with the Democratic Party. This eleventh-hour appointment in December 1848 by a lame-duck president infuriated Whigs, who controlled the House of Representatives after the election. The new president, Zachary Taylor, was also a Whig, and was eager to dispense patronage to the boundary commission and appoint his own men (Goetzmann 153–154; Rebert 435; Weber and Elder xx).

Today, Mexicans and Americans crowd up against the border, but, back in the middle of the 19th century, beyond a few small Mexican settlements (for example, San Diego, El Paso del Norte, and Matamoros), the border region was mainly the domain of independent Indian tribes who had no reason to recognize lines drawn through their territory by distant diplomats. Even though, in the end, the threat from Indians never put the boundary commission in real danger, distance from settlements and supplies, summer heat, and difficult terrain made the surveyors' work quite strenuous.

Surveying on such a large scale had to take the curvature of the Earth into account, and that required geodesic surveying, which depended heavily on astronomy. Plane surveying, used to measure and mark small portions of Earth's surface, was not sufficient. Long stretches of the new border followed two rivers, the Gila and the Rio Grande. Along those rivers, the surveyors had to find the deepest channels, as required by the Peace Treaty (Israel 736). Between the Pacific Ocean and the Gila River and between the Gila and the Rio Grande, their task was even harder. No rivers or other geographical features marked the new border. In the absence of landmarks, the surveyors had to mark a line on the ground and erect or place physical markers. They only put up a few of these, as they supposed that neither Mexicans nor Americans would ever settle in the arid border region in significant numbers (Emory, 5; Weber and Elder xviii, Werne 32, 35).

However difficult the American surveyors found conditions in the field, the greatest impediment to their work came from Washington D. C. In addition, conflict between political appointees and topographical engineers began almost immediately, and it plagued the survey to the end (Goetzmann 167–195; Werne 22–23, 34).

The job of boundary commissioner for the United States was assigned to John B. Weller. By profession a lawyer and politician, he had previously been a three-term Democratic congressman from Ohio and an unsuccessful candidate for governor of that state.

As he was a political appointee of James K. Polk, Zachary Taylor, the new president, called him in June 1849 and replaced him with John Charles Frémont. The famous explorer, however, declined the commissioner's post and ran for the senatorial seat of California instead – and won. All this caused considerable delay in the work of the surveying party, especially because the new boundary commissioner was only appointed on May 4, 1850. John Russell Bartlett had no surveying, or diplomatic skills. He was a prominent bibliophile and amateur ethnologist from Providence, Rhode Island, who, at the time of his appointment, ran a bookstore and publishing house in New York City, which specialized in foreign books and travel accounts. He organized a party of topographical engineers, civilian surveyors, mechanics, and field scientists and left New York at the beginning of August, 1850. However, it took him

several months to reach El Paso (Emory 1; Goetzmann 163–173; Weber and Elder xx–xxii; Werne 20–21, 45–50).

James K. Polk gave the post of surveyor to 29-year-old Andrew Belcher Gray. He was an experienced surveyor who worked for the Republic of Texas on the United States-Texas Sabine River Survey in 1840. However, his civilian status and rudimentary knowledge of astronomy put him at odds with the survey's West-Point-trained topographical engineers (Bailey xi-xiii; Goetzmann 158, Rebert 436; Weber and Elder xx–xxi).

Appointed as "Chief Astronomer and Commander of the Escort" for the survey party was Major William Hemsley Emory. His qualifications for inclusion on the delegation were exceptional. He had graduated from West Point in 1831 and entered the Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1838, when it was formed under the War Department. By 1849, his considerable experience included two years of surveying the Canadian-U.S. boundary. Moreover, he was the only American scientist to have travelled across the Southwest, from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. When the United States declared war on Mexico in 1846, Emory had been assigned to accompany General Stephen Watts Kearny on an almost two-thousand-mile trek to New Mexico and California — through much of the territory scheduled for survey by the boundary commission. Along the way, Emory had mapped the route, and he produced a scientific report upon his return (Emory 1; Goetzmann 128–130, 158; Weber and Elder xix; Werne 2–4).

Emory's assistants were Lieutenant Edmund L. F. Hardcastle, who had conducted a reconnaisance of the valley of Mexico, and a young lieutenant from Massachusetts, Amiel Weeks Whipple. Whipple was a West Point-graduate, and, for the previous five years, he had been working on the Northeastern Boundary Survey dividing Canada and the United States. Altogether, the total complement of the commission consisted of thirty-nine men directly involved with survey operations, an army escort of a hundred and fifty soldiers, and a variety of civilian employees. Their contingent included a physican, an interpreter, a quartermaster, a laundress, a carpenter, and a draftsman, as well as cooks, butchers, tailors, several servants, instrument carriers, target men, chain men, and stone cutters. As the task of the boundary commission was not only surveying and marking the boundary, but also scientific exploration, there were meteorologists, geologists, botanists, and naturalists, magnetic, barometric, and thermometric recorders, mining engineers, and artists in the survey party (Emory 3; Goetzmann 158, 201–205; Rebert 439).

Most of them received their appointment in February, 1849, and were supposed to meet the Mexican commissioners in May, 1849, and start the boundary survey from a point specified by the peace treaty south of San Diego Bay. However, not all left for San Diego under similar circumstances. Soon after the group's organization, news reached the East Coast of the discovery of gold in California and caused such congestion of available modes of transportation that it looked as if the boundary survey would have to be delayed. Most of the crew eventually obtained passage on several ships departing from New Orleans for the Isthmus of Panama, where they planned to make connections with steamers leaving for the West Coast. (Goetzmann 158, Weber and Elder 2; Werne 22)

By the middle of March, 1849, most of the commission's major members had arrived in Chagres, Panama (Emory 1). Their progress, however, was impeded by some 4,000 gold seekers who anxiously awaited steamers to complete their journey to California. The few vessels that were available quickly began charging such an enormous price for tickets and were so crowded that the survey party soon found itself virtually stranded. Emory did not consider it a waste of time, instead "seeing that there was little probability of our obtaining passage to San Diego before that middle of May, I unpacked the instruments, and set them up for the double purpose of practicing my assistants and making observations at Panama for latitude and longitude, magnetic dip and intensity, and other phenomena" (Emory 2). At long last, after a wait of two months, during which a cholera epidemic also hit the region, a ship was finally secured to transport some of the commission to San Diego.

They reached California on June 1, much later than planned. They were surprised to discover, however, that the Mexican commission had not yet arrived. Experiencing delays comparable to their American counterparts, they only arrived in the San Diego harbor on July 3. Commissioner General Pedro García Conde was accompanied by surveyor José Salazar Ylarregui, two first class engineers, two second class engineers, and Felipe de Iturbide, a son of the Mexican Emperor, who served as official translator. Some one hundred and fifty soldiers also accompanied the Mexicans (Emory 3; Goetzmann 159–160; Weber and Elder 47; Werne 23–27).

The joint Boundary Commission held its first meeting on July 6 (Emory 4; Werne 28). The essential task facing the delegation involved the plotting of the boundary's western terminus in the Pacific, and the exact location of the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers. According to the terms of the Treaty,

The boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called Rio Bravo del Norte, or Opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea; from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico; thence, westwardly, along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso) to its western termination; thence, northward, along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same); thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean.

The southern and western limits of New Mexico, mentioned in the article, are those laid down in the map entitled "Map of the United Mexican States, as organized and defined by various acts of the Congress of said republic, and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell," of which map a copy is added to this treaty, bearing the signatures and seals of the undersigned Plenipotentiaries (Israel 736–737).

Major Emory took charge of determining the initial point in the Pacific, while Gray surveyed the port of San Diego. One of Emory's assistants, Whipple, who had recently arrived from Panama, was given the task of charting the junction of the Gila and Colorado. Lieutenant Hardcastle was assigned the job of gaining a basic knowledge of some of the topography between these two points, so they could be connected in longitude by gunpowder flashes (Emory 4; Goetzmann 161, Weber and Elder 49; Werne 28–30). On each of these operations a Mexican engineer was on hand to verify the results by means of his own observations. In fact, the Mexicans, because of their inferior instruments, were forced to depend on the services of the American engineers.

For most of the survey, the two commissions worked together, often complementing and always double-checking each other's work. Trouble arose, however, when it came to marking the boundary between El Paso and the Rio Grande. The Peace Treaty said that the boundary should turn west from the river at a point eight miles north of El Paso, but the astronomical readings taken by the surveyors showed that El Paso was, in fact, about thirty-six miles farther south and about a hundred and thirty miles farther west than the Disturnell map indicated. The disputed area involved a few thousand square miles, and the territory had about three thousand inhabitants. The biggest problem was that, if the inaccurate map was used in marking the boundary, the United States stood to lose the Mesilla Valley, which appeared to be the only practicable pathway for a southern rail route to the Pacific Ocean. After four months of arguing, the American and the Mexican commissioners made a compromise. They agreed that the treaty map would prevail with regard to El Paso, so the Mesilla valley would remain part of Mexico, but the boundary would be extended a hundred and twenty miles farther west than the Disturnell map had shown before it turned north toward the Gila River. Major Emory, Lieutenant Gray, and southern Democrats in Congress, who favored a Texas-New Mexico rail route, attacked Commissioner Bartlett for surrendering the Mesilla Valley and blocked further funding of the boundary survey. The Mexican government, on the other hand, welcomed the compromise and made an effort to extend the jurisdiction and administration of the neighboring province, Chihuahua, over the Mesilla Valley (Emory 16–19, 20–21; Goetzmann 173–177, 191; Kluger 491–492; Reinhartz and Saxon 163; Weber and Elder 162–164).

In the end, surveying and marking the boundary was carried out according to the Bartlett-Conde compromise, and, on December 22, 1852, the American boundary commission was disbanded. Bartlett and Emory left for Washington D. C., where they arrived by February 1, 1853 (Goetzmann 193; Werne 128–131).

High-ranking officials from both Mexican and American sides left a substantial written record of their difficulties and achievements in surveying the border. There are also personal accounts of individuals who report on the survey party's logistical and financial problems, the personal and political rivalries of leading figures, the quarrels between the civilian and military members of the survey party, and the homely details. Unfortunately, they say very little about the day-to-day routine of the survey party. One such recently published personal account is George Clinton Gardner, Major Emory's junior assistant's correspondence from the boundary survey (Weber – Elder).

The official *Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey* of the American Boundary Commission was published between 1857 and 1859 in two volumes (Emory). Major William H. Emory's name appeared on the title page as author, but in fact it was a collection of reports and studies by many authors. The different parts make up an encyclopedia of the Southwest, as the *Report* presents not only the results of the boundary survey, but also the results of the scientific investigations connected with the survey. As I have indicated before, some of the land the Peace Treaty transferred to the United States was settled by Mexican ranchers and farmers, but much of the territory was unexplored, and it was an unknown land to Americans. The *Report* also contains essays on the geography of the region and the Indian communities that inhabited it. There are also articles on geology, paleontology, meteorology, magnetism, minerals, and plants, as well as vast catalogs of the plants, animals, and fossils that the boundary commission's collectors gathered for study by scientists.

The administrative center for the American Boundary Commission was in Washington, D. C. It was directed by the topographical engineers, who superintended the production of the boundary maps and the work of civilian clerks, who worked on computations, compilations, and drew all the finished maps. The commissioners entrusted with the establishment of the U.S.-Mexico boundary intended that the maps and points of view together would document the boundary survey and demonstrate the location of the line, and would thereby legally establish the boundary. However, neither the maps nor the views could show the boundary in all its detail as a feature on the surface of the earth. Additionally, the sketches are neither systematic nor complete in their geographical coverage (Emory 15; Rebert 440; Weber and Elder 328).

Still, the *Report* is one of the most highly illustrated government publications of the nineteenth century. In addition to the pictures in the natural history chapters of the *Report,* there are also scenes of Indian and frontier society. Views of cities and forts built by Spanish and Anglo settlers further reveal border life. The *Report* contains three maps, including a general map of the West, a geological map, and a map of magnetic observations. Conspicuously absent from the *Report,* however, are any maps of the boundary. Although at least some of the boundary maps were originally planned for publication with the *Report,* the American Congress did not provide funds, and they were never published (Emory 2; Goetzmann 205).

The desert lands between the Rio Grande and the Colorado River, so difficult to survey, were regarded by the boundary commissioners as inaccessible and thus of little interest to American or Mexican citizens. Consequently, the boundary was marked with only a few monuments. The boundary between the Rio Grande and the Colorado is some 530 miles long, but only forty-six monuments were established, and many of them were made only of piled-up rocks. As a result, in the 1890s it was necessary to resurvey the line and build additional monuments. (Werne 226–227)

Between 1849 and 1853 the American and Mexican commissions performed an enormous task in surveying the border under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, despite difficult circumstances and undependable support from their respective governments. Just as the surveyors completed their work, however, a new treaty made parts of their survey irrelevant.

The region of present-day southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico was purchased by the United States for 10 million dollars in a treaty signed by James Gadsden, the American ambassador to Mexico at the time, on December 30, 1853 (Israel 753–758). The purchase also included the Mesilla Valley, the area debated during the Mexican-American boundary survey. The lands south of the Gila River and west of the Rio Grande – a region of 29,670 square miles - were the last major territorial acquisition in the contiguous United States of America, which was essential for the construction of a transcontinental railroad along a deep southern route (Goetzmann 194–195; Kluger 499–504; Meinig 152–153; Weber and Elder 325–326; Werne 188–189).

The Gadsden Treaty called for the U.S. and Mexico to appoint boundary commissioners, who would meet in El Paso three months after the exchange of ratifications and begin surveying. (Israel 754) Once again, Major William H. Emory won the assignment, but this time he held all three positions of commissioner, surveyor, and chief astronomer. He did not have to answer to a civilian political appointee, so he could work much faster. He reached El Paso at the end of November, 1854, and, by the end of September the following year, he and his Mexican counterpart, once again José Salazar Ylarregui, had finished the fieldwork. (Goetzmann 195–197; Weber and Elder 326; Werne 194–210)

Exploration of the new lands and discovery of their resources were goals as important as marking the boundary. Scientific discovery and mapping the boundary were the first steps in the process of incorporating the region into the United States of America.

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THE JAPANESE DISCOVER PERU: NIKKEI IN THE PERUVIAN SOCIETY

Katalin Jancsó

The Beginnings

The majority of studies published about Japanese immigration in Peru cover the first period of the arrival of Japanese and also the period of the Second World War, when a great number of immigrants of Japanese descent were forcibly deported from Peru and interned in U.S. Internment Camps. Recently, an increasing number of articles has been published about the economic relations between Japan and Peru, and also about the importance of the Japanese influence on Peruvian cuisine. The rapprochement between Peru and the Asian countries has been outstanding in the last few years, being that China, Japan and South Korea are the most important economic partners of Peru; free trade agreements signed in 2009 (with China) and 2011 (with South Korea and Japan) demonstrate these processes. In this paper my aim is to examine the role of the Japanese community in Peruvian society and economy and briefly analyze the current relations between the two countries.

Relations between the viceroyalty of Peru and Japan existed already in the 16th century. According to a census taken in 1613 in Lima, about twenty indios xapones lived in the viceroyalty (Tamashiro 2013), and they formed a small community with other 94 Asians, the majority of whom arrived via Mexico as slaves (Sánchez Albornoz 1977, 95). In the 19th century, Peru was the first Latin American country that established diplomatic relations with Japan (signing the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Navigation in 1873), and also was the first country that received immigrants from the Land of the Rising Sun (1899). The first Japanese immigrants, who arrived in the Americas during the Meiji period in the second part of the 19th century, were mostly migrant workers and chose the United States, Hawaii and Canada as their first destination. Such early immigrants appeared in Latin America from the beginning of the 20th century; later on, it became a more favoured destination (from the 1920s) partly due to the adoption of The Gentlemen's Agreement (1907) and principally as a consequence of the Immigration Act of 1924, which barred Japanese immigration to the U.S. (Toake 2009, 17–19). Canada decided to stop Japanese immigration one year before, in 1923.

During the entire 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, Peru had to face the lack of manpower on the coastal sugarcane and cotton plantations. The abolition of slavery in 1854 and the promulgation of the Tien Tsin Treaty in 1874, which put an end to Chinese immigration of contract labourers, forced plantation owners to look elsewhere for labour. Unlike the Peruvian government, which tried to foment European immigration (adopting different laws), the coastal landowners tended to promote the arrival of Asian immigrants, the only source that seemed to be able to provide cheap manpower needed on the coast. The efforts of the government ended

in a less-than-perfect result: only a small number of European labourers arrived, in contrast to successful Asian immigration (Contreras 1994, 16–18). This period coincides with the rapid modernization and the industrial revolution in Japan; its effects on Japanese society included exceptional population growth and unemployment. The circumstances forced the Japanese government to foment the migration of unskilled workers to foreign countries (Laborde Carranco 2006, 155–157).

Various processes in both countries contributed to the signing of the above-mentioned Treaty of Friendship along with the beginning of the organized labour immigration to Peru, which goes back to 1899, when the first boat, Sakura Maru, shipped 790 Japanese contract labourers to the port of Callao. There were four shipping companies, which carried more than 18.000 contract workers to Peru by 1923 (when the bilateral agreement was terminated) in 82 boats (another 121 boats reached Callao by the beginning of II World War). The top destinations of the immigrants were Chancay, Cañete, Lambayeque, Supe and the surroundings of Lima (Lausent-Herrera 1991, 15–16). According to their contracts, labourers were obliged to work during a four-year period on sugarcane and cotton plantations (a small number of Japanese went to the Amazonian region to work in the extraction of rubber), but due to the unfavourable conditions (weather, diseases, mistreatment, abuses), a great number of immigrants died before completing their contracts. In the meanwhile, many of them participated in collective protests, demanding better conditions, wages and sanitation and against physical punishments (Moore 2009, 82).

After concluding their contracts, instead of returning to Japan, immigrants tried to find better possibilities in towns, especially in Lima, where they could run their own small businesses. The Yobiyose immigration began in 1924 and those who re-migrated to towns called their families and friends to work in their businesses. They paid their relatives' passage and sponsored their arrival to Peru. Another type of immigration was the so-called "picture bride," that is, arranged marriages. In the first period of the Japanese immigration, a very small number of women arrived in Peru but their number began to grow during the years. Such new wives, after arriving in Peru, later on helped their husbands in running their business (Shintani 2007, 81–82). Soon, many immigrants in towns became owners of small stores, barbershops, bakeries, butcher shops, grocery stores, cafetines (café-restaurants) and tailor shops. In 1934, more than 63% of the people of Japanese descent worked in the third sector and only 28% in agriculture (Morimoto and Araki 2004, 259–260). By 1930, Japanese composed the largest foreign group of the population of Lima, representing approximately 30% of the immigrants living in the capital (Shintani 2007, 82).

From the 1910s until the 1930s, the Japanese community in Peru was flourishing. The first Japanese immigrants arrived in Brazil in 1908, and, in much smaller numbers in Mexico to work on coffee plantations. In Peru, this was the time when members of the community started to feel the positive benefits of their hard work, the group solidarity and the strong co-operation in family. They accumulated a little capital to invest in businesses, established their first organizations and founded their first newspapers. In fact, the Japanese community became the most organized among any other foreign groups. First of all, the Japanese Barbers' Association (the first commercial association) was founded in 1907, and two years later the Japanese Brotherhood As-

sociation began its activity. These communities were followed by many others: the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, the Central Market Association, the Lima Restaurant Association and the Central Japanese Association (formed in 1917) which coordinated the activities of all of them. Besides the associations, the community laid emphasis on the founding of Japanese schools to provide education to second-generation immigrants. In this sense, between the two World Wars, young Japanese could study in about fifty schools (Baily and Míguez, 2003, 118–119; Haney 2001, 17–18).

Moreover, during the first years of the immigration (in 1903), three Buddhist missionaries arrived in Peru to work among Japanese plantation labourers; they were the first Buddhist missionaries in Latin America. Two of them returned home after a few years of stay, but the third, Taian Ueno, spent 14 years in the country as an enthusiastic monk and established the first Latin American Buddhist temple, the Jionji temple in Cañete. Next to the temple, with the local community, he helped built the first Japanese school in Latin America, where he also worked as a teacher. The temple functions today, too, and it is currently the only Buddhist temple in Peru (Ota 2003). The first Japanese newsletter, Nipponjin, was founded in 1909, which was followed by Jiritsu in 1913 and several other newspapers until World War II; all were publishing news and reports about everyday life, economic situations and events in the community (Sakuda 2010).

Anti-Japanese Propaganda

Although Peruvians experienced various advantages of the Asian immigration, an increasing anti-Asian and anti-Japanese feelings was perceptible during the pre-war period, especially in Lima, where a more concentrated Asian community lived. The Peruvian press's propaganda encouraged discrimination and prejudice (Jancsó 2015): various articles (part of the anti-Japanese campaign) claimed that Japanese were not able to adapt to Peruvian customs and emphasized that they didn't attempt to integrate with Peruvian people; moreover, they were said to threaten Peruvians' living; furthermore, they were accused to planning to take possession of Peruvian businesses and land (Lausent-Herrera 1991, 27), all seen as part of an economic invasion and military conquest. These anxious voices were rising parallel with the growing Japanese aggressive military imperialism in the pre-war years (Shintani 2007, 83–84; Morimoto, 2001; Miyake 2002, 166–167).

The anti-Japanese campaigns had serious results: from the 1930s, a series of decrees were promulgated and violent manifestations emerged. In the August of 1930, during the revolution of Luis Sánchez Cerro, violence and looting were directed against Japanese groups of immigrants. A law in 1932 affected the Japanese, demanding that foreigners should have at least 80% Peruvian nationals among their employees. The administration of Oscar R. Benavides continued with the protectionist measures: a decree in 1936 limited the possible number of immigrants. Only 16.000 foreign citizens per nation were allowed to live in the country, which actually meant the closing of the Peruvian borders to all Japanese newcomers, since more than 22.000 people of this nation lived in the country at that moment. According to another decree issued in 1937, the Nisei (that is, people of Japanese descent in America) born after 1936 could not obtain Peruvian citizenship. The May of 1940 was the be-

ginning of an anti-Japanese march that soon turned into a more violent event: local people started to attack Japanese commercial properties and assaulted immigrants. Many of the attacked people left the country and travelled back to Japan. Afterwards, more than 600 families lost their properties (Shintani 2007, 83–84; Miyake 2002, 166–167; Haney 2001, 37–38; Baily and Míguez 2003, 119–120). Similar anti-Japanese sentiments were present in Brazil—in the same period.

But the worst was still to come. At the outbreak of World War II, agents of the FBI began to investigate the activities of Japanese immigrants in the United States and in Latin American countries. After the Pearl Harbour attack, the U.S. administration's influence led to the detention of various Japanese immigrants in different parts of Latin America. Several meetings of Latin American foreign ministers were held, and in 1942, after accepting the suggestions of the U.S., these countries agreed to support the Allied powers, to break relations with Japan and order the arrest of suspicious people of Japanese, Italian, or German descent. Such detainees were deported to Internment Camps in Texas or to other parts of the United States. Approximately 2200 Latin Americans of Japanese descent were so deported, a high percentage of them were from Peru (about 1800 people). The United States could take advantage of a great number of the internees by sending them to Japan as part of prisoner exchanges. At the end of the war, the remaining internees were subject to deportation and repatriation. Peru, like almost all of the Latin American home countries, refused the return of Japanese; therefore, they were deported to Japan, and only a small number of them were allowed to remain in the United States (Miyake 2002, 167–179; Haney 2001, 40–52). Finally, approximately 100 Japanese internees could also return to Peru. Recently, a number of projects and organizations in the United States were founded to preserve the remembrance of internees, to document oral histories and to investigate human rights violations during the war. These are the Campaign for Justice, The Enemy Alien Files Consortium, Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project, Texas Historical Commission, and The Children of the Camps Project.

The Post-War Period

During the post-war period, diplomatic relations between Peru and Japan countries began to improve. The signing of the Treaty of Peace of San Francisco in 1951 was the first step in the reestablishment of the relations, which was followed by the reopening of legations and embassies (1956) in both countries. Also in 1955, the Peruvian government returned the properties that were confiscated during the war and commercial relations started as well. The Japan External Trade Organization was created in 1958 with the two countries signing a trade treaty in 1961 (Riger Tsurumi 2012, 24–25; Lausent-Herrera 1991, 51–53).

In the 1960s, Japan became an important economic partner of Peru; by 1970, Japan was Peru's second commercial partner after the U.S. The first Japanese firms were also established in these years (Aquino Rodríguez 2001, 137). Exportations of raw materials to Japan reached their peak in the 1970s, especially during the energy crisis. Meanwhile, Japanese companies made significant investments, principally in the oil sector and copper mines, and financed national projects as the construction of the Nor Peruano Pipeline (Lausent-Herrera 1991, 54–55). Smaller firms assembled bi-

cycles and produced toys, metal and plastic accessories, ceramic dishes, fish-meal, and so on. In 1989, there were more than 4800 companies in Pere owned by people of Japanese origin. The majority of these firms were small businesses but many of them disappeared by the 1990s. One of the most significant of all was San Fernando (established in 1948), today still the largest poultry company in Peru. It was created by Julio Soichi Ikeda, who arrived in Peru in 1926 and, after the World War II, initiated a poultry farming business. Today, his entire family is working in the enterprise that exports its products to various foreign countries and provides work to more than 5000 people (Morimoto and Araki 2004, 261–266).

The social life of Peruvian Japanese was also resurrecting. The community founded in 1948 the Taiheiyó Kurabu club and a stadium, La Unión, in 1953. With the support of the Central Japanese Society, the Japanese government and the Nikkei companies, the members of the community founded a Cultural Centre in Lima in 1967. After almost 10 years of silence in the publishing business, the Peru Shimpo an important newspaper that exists to this day (Shintani 2007, 85–86) appeared in 1950. In the 1960s and especially the 1970s, the emergence of Nikkei sportsmen, artists and authors became perceptible. Poets such as Rafael Yamasato and Nicolás Matayoshi and writers such as Augusto Higa Arakaki began to publish their works; José Watanabe Varas (the son of Japanese father and an Andean mother) was the most distinguished author and he became Peru's favourite poet (Moromisato 2007). In addition, Tilsa Tsuchiya, the most important plastic artists of Japanese descent, was the daughter of a Japanese father and an Andian (a Chinese-Andean) mother. Although she died at an early age, today Tsuchiya is considered one of the most important Peruvian painters.

Similar to Brazil, the so called dekasegi phenomenon emerged from the second part of the 1980s in Peru. Among various factors that accelerated the emigration of Japanese and Peruvian Nikkei to Japan were the fact that Japanese descendants could apply for work visas thanks to new legislation while the Peruvian economy entered a deep crisis; consequently, economic relations between the two countries slowed down. Meanwhile, Japan entered an economic boom; therefore, the country had a great demand for cheap(er) work force. Higher wages were also enticing for poor Peruvians. It is estimated that approximately 50–60.000 Peruvians immigrated to Japan, but only a half or one third were truly Nikkei (Morimoto and Araki 2004, 267; Morimoto, 2009). In contrast to these processes and according to the calculation of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, only 2615 Japanese immigrants arrived in Peru between World War II and 1989 (Hirata Mishima, 2009) but to obtain a more precise picture, the Japanese community financed a census in 1989, along the publication of books and articles about the history of Japanese immigrants in Peru.

Later one, the presidential elections of 1990 put the Japanese community into the limelight. As far back as 1980, a considerable number of Japanese participated in legislative and municipal elections with slogans like "work, honour and dedication" (Lausent-Herrera 1991, 70–71). The success of Alberto Fujimori, "El Chino," was also a success of the Japanese community in Peru, although his candidacy and election campaign were not supported wholeheartedly by the Peruvian Nikkei. Nevertheless, as an elected president, Fujimori enjoyed the confidence and support of not only the

Peruvian Japanese but also the Japanese government. His controversial presidency, which included some achievements in economy but was full with battles against terrorist groups and corruption scandals, terminated in 2000, when he fled to Japan. Fujimori was found guilty of human rights violations and many other crimes and sentenced to 25 years in prison (Morimoto 2011). In spite of the scandals, the accusations and the imprisonment that damaged the Fujimori's reputation, his family has remained in politics. The ex-president's daughter, Keiko Fujimori, entered politics at the age of 19 and she became Peru's First Lady in 1994. In 2006, she was elected to congress, with the highest vote count in Peruvian history. Since then, she has been working on gaining the Peruvian people's confidence and respect. She ran for president of Peru in 2011 with her party Fuerza Popular, following her father's political philosophy. She got into the run-off against Ollanta Humala and won 48.6% of the vote, hence Fuerza Popular became Peru's most important opposition political party. She is expected to run for president in the next election, and she leads in recent polls. The most important questions of the next election year will be the following: how will the conflict between followers of fujimorismo and antifujimorismo affect the runoff of the elections? Will Keiko be able to put some distance between herself and fujimorismo to win people's confidence and get more votes? Will other parties collaborate against her? Her Japanese origins will not be an influential factor, but her overtures towards Indians in the Andes (who still remember her work among poor communities in rural areas as Peru's First Lady) can be significant (Peru Riports, El Mundo, La República, 2015).

Nikkei Today

It is estimated that some 80–100.000 people of Japanese descent live in Peru today (0.2–0.3% of Peru's population), the third-largest Nikkei community in the American continent, with an approximate numerical parity between men and women. For comparison, about 1.500.000 Japanese descendants live in Brazil (1% of Brazil's population), and approximately 1.300.000 in the United States (0.4% of the population). According to the census of 1989, top businesses run by Nikkei owners are restaurants, larger or smaller stores, bazaars, hardware stores, bakeries, and tire repair shops. There still are some popular traditional shops, like barber's shops, pharmacies and photographic studios owned by the Nikkei.

The Nikkei have generally high levels of education. The most popular professions among them are engineering, administration, medicine, accounting and education; many Nikkei doctors even participated in several health programmes in underdeveloped regions (Morimoto-Araki 2004, 268–271). Today, Japanese schools have a very good reputation among Peruvian people. They are private schools financed by both the Peruvian and Japanese communities, but also by Japanese foundations and religious sects. These are bilingual schools that have a better quality of education than the national colleges; therefore, they have not only Nikkei students, but also many Peruvian students, whose families decided to enrol their children in these institutions (Lausent-Herrera 1991, 62–63). Today, there are six Japanese schools of this kind in the country (five in Lima and one in the city of Huaral) including preschool, primary and secondary education levels. Additionally, a great number of Nikkei Associations (regional and provincial), cultural centres and other institutions flourished: clubs, founda-

tions, associations of scholarship, women's associations and forums thrive throughout country. In the 1960s, many Japanese periodicals appeared, but not all survived the times. Peru Shimpo, the oldest Japanese newspaper in the country, still exists in both printed and online, Spanish and bilingual versions and defines itself as the leading newspaper of Nikkei community. Also, the Spanish Language Prensa Nikkei was established in 1985 and is today the only tabloid of the community; furthermore, Kaikan is a monthly informative magazine edited (also in an online version) by the Peruvian-Japanese Association (Sakuda, 2010). Anotehr media, Mi querido Japón the community's radio programme has a one-hour Saturday broadcast on the most important events and news of Peruvian Nikkei community.

The traditional centre of Japanese population in Peru is Lima. More than 80% of Nikkei residents live there today, and only 3.58% of them in the department of La Libertad, the primary destination of Japanese sugarcane workers in the first part of the 20th century. The rate of endogamy is still quite high among Nikkei people, especially in Lima. In the census of 1989, about 92% of the community claimed themselves Catholic, which shows a significant level of syncretism and acculturation. A number of families, however, use Japanese language and eat Japanese food, but these customs are slowly disappearing with more and more families speaking Spanish in everyday life and eating traditional Japanese food only on holidays or over weekends. Interestingly, Nikkei food has become more and more popular in recent years, which is an apparent symbol of the fusion of the two cultures. Many Nikkei owned typical Peruvian restaurants in the past, and, as a result of the boom of sushi and Japanese food, a new fusion cuisine appeared so that Nikkei food is now one of the most popular among Peruvian people and has become (along with the Chinese food) an important component of Peruvian cuisine, gained popularity and appreciation all around the world. Thus even Lima has become an important destination for gastronomic tourism in the last few years, thanks to the presence of these new genres of Peruvian cuisine (Shintani 2007, 89–90; Morimoto 2009; Takenaka 2014).

Peruvian – Japanese Relations

The election of Alberto Fujimori as president of Peru could have created prosperity in Peruvian-Japanese economic and diplomatic relations. In some measure, it did give relations a boost: Fujimori made more than ten state visits to Asian countries during his presidency. Before him, only Manuel Prado visited Japan and Asian countries but that was during the 1950s. Since 2000, various reciprocal visits between the two countries have been made on both presidential and ministerial levels.

Japan provided outstanding economic support during Fujimori's presidency and also helped the country approach the Asian-Pacific region. It also supported Peru's aspiration to join APEC, the Asia-Pacific Economy Cooperation and Peru became a member in 1998, an event that contributed to the development of its economic relations with the whole Asia-Pacific region. This achievement was in great part due to the origin of the president, despite the fact that Japanese private investments did not grow at an expected pace; moreover, commercial relations, especially Peruvian exports to Japan, decreased in the 1990s. Instead, China has become a much more important partner in trade and also investments over the last twenty years (Aquino Rodríguez, 1999: 2–6).

Although the escape of president Fujimori to Japan in 2010 froze diplomatic relations between the two countries, since 2006 diplomatic and economic relations have been continuously improving. Exports reached their peak in 2007, and Japan was the 6th highest destination of Peruvian exports. But this relation was asymmetric: Peru was not an important market for Japanese products, although this asymmetry has changed to a certain extent in the last few years (González Vaguéz, 2011). The Free Trade Agreement and the Economic Partnership Agreement, both signed in 2011, opened the door to a closer relationship. New Japanese firms investing in different sectors of Peruvian economy emerged soon after. Japan offered important economic support to the country after the earthquake of 2007, and is opening its markets to Peruvian agricultural products. Cultural relations have also improved in the last years. For decades, Japan has been interested in the energy sector and has mainly imported minerals from abroad. The market has diversified since 2011, and Peru started to promote its fish and agricultural products, offering more than 250 new products for the Japanese market. There are hundreds of new Peruvian companies exporting to Japan now, most of them being small and medium enterprises; the most important products of export are copper, zinc, natural gas, lead, fish products, tin, mango, asparagus, alpaca and llama fibre and fleece, vegetable oils, fish oil, banana, coffee, citrus fruits and grapes. Imports from Japan to Peru remain concentrated to vehicles, electronic equipment, machine tools and chemicals (Sunat, 04–2015; Andina, 06–2015). Recently, Latin America in general and Peru in particular seem to be more and more important parnters for Japan and their exchanges have an important role in Japan's economic diplomacy. Besides Peru, Brazil, Mexico, Chile and Colombia are the main targets of the cooperation strategy and the start of the negotiation of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement can strengthen these processes. Peru joined the negotiations in 2008, and Japan did the same in 2013 with the goal to create in the future an Asia-Pacific free trade area (Acuerdos Comerciales del Perú, 06–2015).

Conclusion

Peru's high economic growth in recent years has improved commercial relations with Japan, which was also encouraged by political stability, democratic progress and the reduction of poverty. These factors contributed to a slight increase in immigration, too. In contrast to immigration flows in the past, today Spanish, Argentinean, Chilean, North American, Brazilian, Bolivian, Colombian and Chinese immigrants arrive in the country (Immigration to Peru, 06–2015). This leads to several question. Can the Nikkei community survive and conserve its traditions in the absence of new Japanese immigration? Will they assimilate into Peruvian society entirely? My answer is definitely no. The still strong community cohesion supported by a great number of institutions and press, not to mention the prestigious Japanese schools and the success of Nikkei cuisine, alongside the strong diplomatic and economic ties between Peru and Japan in recent years and, in general, the plans of both countries to strength their presence in Pacific-Asia region are all important factors in the maintenance of the Nikkei identity of an aging community. Perhaps a new president of Japanese descent could revitalize activities of the community. 2016 will show us if it can occur for the second time in Peruvian history.

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THE BORDERS OF POWER RESOURCES THEORY: A CASE STUDY OF ARGENTINA

Ella Rockar

Power Resource Theory and Argentina

Power Resources Theory focuses on labour strength, or the working classes' power resources, and labour's related ability to develop and shape the welfare state. Like other Marxist approaches, Power Resources Theory views the conceptualization of power as crucial to theorizing and argues that power is overwhelmingly possessed by the capitalist class, due to its position within the capitalist economy and its ownership and control over the means of production; therefore, class conflict between labour and capital is intrinsic to capitalism. It also states that, in spite of this power imbalance, that power relations are flexible and can shift when high levels of labour strength result in a working class with significant power resources and the ability to create and shape social policy to reflect their interests and demands; in this view, welfare states are formed and continually shaped by the acts and demands of political and social actors whose influence is based on the amount of power they hold. Unlike rival theories, Power Resources Theory seeks to explain changes across time and between countries (Esping-Andersen 1990; Korpi 1998; Olsen 2002).

This theory does not assume that social policy advancements that favor the interests of the working class are simply compromises orchestrated to control labour's power. Instead, it observes that when the working classes' impact achieves concrete change, labour strength is typically reinforced, which allows for a cycle of increasing power resources and policy advancement. This approach elaborates on the working classes' ability to shape policy by distinguishing between two types of power resources: political power resources and organizational power resources (Olsen 2002). Political power resources include the presence of a strong political party willing to represent the interests of labour; the working classes' power resources are advanced dramatically when labour is able to either create or affiliate with such a party. When a large and well organized working class strategically supports (and keeps in power) political parties that favor their common interests, labour's power to develop and influence the welfare state increases. (Olsen 2002). Organizational power resources include labour groups, such as unions and coalitions. Power Resources Theory argues that labour strength can be achieved through high union density, well organized labour (for example, through federations that are able to lobby with a single, unified voice), broad coalitions with other classes, and a strong sense of solidarity and unity. These power resources are amplified by multi-scalar rationality; in the view of Power Resources Theory, the actions of effective and powerful labour movements are well-organized, intentional, and strategic, with the aim of improving the conditions of the working class in the present and long term (Korpi 1998; Olsen 2002; Olsen 2011).

The literature on Power Resources Theory is focused specifically on the advanced capitalist nations of the global north referred to as the core countries. Studies of these nations have revealed that high levels of power resources within the working classes are correlated to higher levels of welfare expenditure, increased social citizenship rights, better quality social programs, increased labour rights, greater income equality, and more generous and comprehensive welfare states; in addition, labour strength is correlated with lower levels of unemployment, commodification, poverty, and social inequality (Olsen 2002; Olsen 2011). Power Resources Theory has not, however, been rigorously applied outside of the core countries to peripheral or semi-peripheral cases. The semi-peripheral Argentine case is especially interesting as it not only pushes the boundaries of Power Resources Theory beyond the core countries, but also offers a dramatic case study as a country in which power resources have shifted significantly over time.

Neoliberalism in Latin America

During the 1980s and 1990s across Latin America, international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, United States Agency for International Development, and the World Bank, became involved in Latin American economic and social policy that was coupled with significant fiscal deficits, high administrative costs, growing unemployment, high inflation, and rising debt through the Volcker Shock debt crisis. With an emphasis on limited government intervention on behalf of the working class, laissez-faire elite economic policies, and decentralization, as well as a heavy overreliance on the power of the market and private property ownership, these neoliberal principles diminished economic regulations, liberalized capital flows and trade, increased incentives for foreign direct investment, accelerated the privatization of enterprises previously owned by the state, and severely reduced government expenditures (Huber & Bogliaccini 2010). In terms of providing and financing social services, the private sector was emphasized and the role of the state in redistribution was severely reduced.

Those aligned more closely with social democracy advocated alternatives to the neoliberal reforms. The International Labour Office, for example, stressed the importance of social and labour market policy underscored by solidarity and equity. However, lacking financial and political power, these alternatives were typically overwhelmed by the combined force of the international financial institutions and national neoliberal governments. In spite of this, internal opposition did retain power and, although the influence of neoliberal reform was felt across Latin America, policy implementation varied across states depending on the power resources of internal pressure groups. These particular arrangements of pressures within each state created unique power struggles across Latin America during this time period. Factors included the popular attitudes towards neoliberalism and the power of the ruling government in relation to external factors, the presence of internal groups and actors in contact with the institutions, the presence of coalitions, and the power resources held by internal groups in opposition to drastic reform—for example advocates against neoliberalism, stakeholders, unions, and resistance groups (Huber & Bogliaccini 2010).

The Case of Argentina

Of the Latin American states, the case of Argentina is especially intriguing. An example of many of the trends in Latin America in recent history, it is a case study that highlights the outcomes of drastic changes within the welfare state. Considered a pioneering country within Latin America, Argentina boasted a comparatively high percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) allocated to public social spending, low poverty rates, and among the highest levels of social security, health, and pension coverage by 1980. Brought to fruition by populist-authoritarian regimes and significant industrialization, Argentina was considered a leader in social security within the Latin American world (Huber & Bogliaccini 2010).

At the beginning of the 1980s, Argentina enjoyed high scores across all of the social policy institution indicators including life expectancy, population age, salary tax rates, social insurance coverage, active and passive citizens in the pension program, sending levels, and financial deficit (Lo Vuolo 1997). However, this situation changed at the end of the 1980s as drastic neoliberal policy reform altered the Argentine welfare state and ended in the most severe economic crisis in Argentine history (Grugel & Riggirozzi 2007). Typically categorized amongst the conservative welfare regimes, Argentina has experienced significant movement along the continuum from institutional to residual welfare state and has incorporated both social democratic and liberal regime tendencies at various points in time (Usami 2004). As a case study, Argentina has the potential to engage existing theory and to highlight the impacts of the welfare state and the working classes' power resources by documenting change over time.

In Argentina, seven years of horrendous military rule followed the death of Juan Perón in 1974 after a military coup toppled his successor and third wife, Isabel Perón in 1976. In 1983, Raúl Alfonsín of the Radical Party was elected President of Argentina though the first democratic election since Perón's last term in 1973. Similar to much of Latin America, Alfonsín's government led Argentina through dire periods of the Volcker Shock, economic deterioration, massive inflation, huge debt, rampant unemployment, and falling wages; Argentina's economic situation was further worsened by a weak industrial base and severe international dependency, as well as the global recession which reduced the prices of Argentine exports. Socially, the government was also struggling with the aftermath of the extensive and violent human rights violations committed during the military rule. Attempting to deal with this complex situation, Alfonsín introduced a new currency, cut government spending and social services, introduced wage and price controls, and increased foreign loans from the International Monetary Fund (Keen 1996; Vacs 2002).

In the 1989 presidential elections, Carlos Menem ran as a Peronist candidate promising a productive economic and social revolution, as well as renewed success for Argentina. Backed by the Peronists, powerful unions, the working class, and various middle-class sectors, Menem was successfully elected in 1989. As the economic and social situation continued to worsen under Alfonsín's government, Argentina was placed under a nationwide state of siege; demonstrations, strikes, and food riots plagued the country. In the midst of this chaos, Alfonsín cut his presidency short and transferred power to Menem on July 8, 1989, five months before Menem's scheduled inauguration. Expecting an immediate rejection of Alfonsín's policies, which had

aided in the hitherto unparalleled crisis, Menem's actions once in power further shocked Argentina (Keen 1996; Vacs 2002).

Democratically elected in 1989 and 1995, Menem was the first Peronist to be elected as President of Argentina since Juan Perón. Although Menem had a background with the Peronist party and ran on a Peronist platform, his policies once in office stood in stark contrast to traditional Peronist ideals (Vacs 2002). Menem's first priority upon inauguration was to quell the chaos in Argentina by stabilizing the economy. To the surprise of his original supporters, Menem fully embraced the Washington Consensus and introduced drastic neoliberal social, economic, and labour reforms. Driven by neoliberal principles and the recommendations of international financial institutions, Menem's market-oriented policies called for the liberalization of trade agreements and labour laws, as well as the privatization of state-run corporations, pensions, and healthcare. Through new policies, workers' accident compensation insurance was pushed towards privatization, the pension system was broken up into a tiered system with a private capitalized component, and health insurance was divided by complex reforms. Family allowance was also drastically scaled back; assistance available to spouses and large families was cancelled and, of the programs that remained, qualification became strict and programs became more difficult to access; a stress on highly targeted and paternalistic social assistance programs also began to emerge. During Menem's government, the welfare state was dismantled as public social spending was withdrawn, social security was decentralized, and the responsibility for wellbeing was shifted to the family, private charities, and the market (Usami 2004; Vacs 2002).

Through these drastic reforms, Menem created a residual welfare state by overpowering the largely conservative regime with traditional liberal elements. Public social spending, income redistribution, benefits, and social programs were reduced. In addition, coverage became less complete and far narrower. With a heavy emphasis on the market and private welfare, the social programs that did exist were far more reactive and targeted, with more barriers to eligibility and accessibility. Politically, competition, commodification, stratification, and inequality increased. With the new reforms, citizens needed to have strong links to employers and the market in order to secure their wellbeing. Without strong links, those without formal employment were faced with a highly fragmented and very restricted social safety net.

Resistance to Neoliberalism

These drastic reforms were not met without resistance. Many unions, as well as the *piqueteros*—a new group of demonstrators—actively opposed the reforms. A history of strong social involvement and the legacy of Perón, who created heightened expectations of the role of the state and a concrete understanding of the ability of the working class to shape policy through their collective power resources, fuelled the opposition (Turner 1983; Usami 2004; Vacs 2002).

During Menem's presidency, the labour movement was far from the largely unified entity it had been during Perón's government. Following Perón's death, the strength of organized labour was weakened and the number of industrial workers fell dramatically. Military rule deteriorated the power of the labour movement by taking control

of unions and by kidnapping, exiling, or killing influential labour leaders. Menem's presidency further weakened the labour movement as union density plunged, coalitions broke apart, and rival groups arose within organized labour and Argentina's General Confederation of Labour (*Confederación General del Trabajo* or CGT).

The divisions occurred for two main reasons: first, there was a divide in support for Menem as some supported Menem fully as a Peronist leader, while others remained loyal to Peronism but opposed Menem and the neoliberal reforms; second, whereas Perón had attempted to consolidate labour into a unified force, Menem pitted unions against each other by creating a strategy in which unions frequently had to compete against each other for increasingly scarce benefits (Usami 2004; Vacs 2002). This fracturing between the working class and Menem's government weakened the force of the labour movement by reducing the working class' political power resources. By systematically undermining unity, the labour movement's organizational power resources were also largely dismantled during Menem's presidency; as the power of the capitalist class increased, labour's single and unified lobbying voice wavered.

Even under such conditions, the labour movement continued to be a significant force and trade unions maintained power and exerted pressure through strikes. Due to this, trade unions were actively involved in negotiations and were able to influence labour and social policy reforms; furthermore, "the CGT remained the biggest support organization of the Peronist Party and despite its weakened political influence, it was almost impossible to carry out policies in complete disregard of its demands" (Usami 2004:235). This loyal opposition aided in shaping the welfare state by maintaining existing policies or in keeping parts of past policies. For example, the labour movement was able to halt the proposed full privatization of the pension system and health insurance; furthermore, in the case of health insurance, the right to operate health insurance through trade unions was secured. Thus, due to the involvement of the labour movement, Menem was not able to adopt a market-oriented economic approach in full, but rather was forced to retain parts of past policies.

Even with the concessions achieved by the labour movement, the neoliberal reforms had drastic negative consequences for the people of Argentina as inequality, poverty, and unemployment increased rapidly. With increased privatization and the liberalization of labour laws, massive layoffs created a large sector of unemployed workers. It was from this dire situation that the *piqueteros,* or the picketers, emerged in 1996. Comprised of Argentine workers who had become unemployed due to neoliberal reforms, the *piqueteros* showed their fierce opposition by setting up road blocks and cutting traffic from main thoroughfares—sometimes for days at a time (Colmegna 2003; Giarracca & Teubal 2004).

Though pickets had been used previously during strikes to prevent entrance to factories, the actions of the *piqueteros* reconceptualised and reconfigured the practice: "the *piqueteros* set up barricades made of burning tires, nails, and broken bottles, thousands of men and women sit on the road, preventing the traffic from passing and only allowing emergency vehicles through. They cook, eat and take turns to sleep" (Colmegna 2003:4). At first, these demonstrations were intended to fulfill the immediate needs of specific groups; in the early stages, mass layoffs were considered to be exceptions. Yet, as reforms increased and the state withdrew further, unemploy-

ment and the informal economy increased, and the *piqueteros* became a symbol of the destruction caused by neoliberal reform, failed democracy, and economic instability. Demonstrations expanded as solidarity between those exploited by the reforms and outcast from the system grew to include youth, women, the poor, and union members. Becoming more formally organized, spreading throughout Argentina, and demanding more dramatic social, political, and economic change, the *piqueteros* constituted concrete resistance to Menem's neoliberal agenda (Colmegna 2003).

As the economic situation continued to deteriorate, the *piqueteros* formed more organized social groups and established concrete and formal power networks. Some *piquetero* groups allied with political parties—for example the Communist Party or the Workers' Party—while others allied with unions; others remained entirely independent. Many *piquetero* groups advocated for direct representation through a reconceptualization of the politics and democracy that have betrayed them; "instead of delegating power to representatives during elections only, leaving the government to make decisions in the name of a 'majority', a permanent participation of the citizenry has been arising" (Giarracca and Teubal 73:2004). Led through assemblies, these groups have operated on consensus-based decision making and a rejection of hierarchical power; by ensuring equal participation in decision making and constantly changing delegated representatives, the assemblies enforce horizontal power as opposed to vertical power. The groups further provide for members through a solidarity economy in which resources are pooled and used for projects to enhance the wellbeing of all participants. In addition, barter and exchange is promoted, food is purchased communally, and workers are supported in turning abandoned factories into cooperatives.

Though ousted from the capitalist system, the *piqueteros* have exerted significant influence over government through resistance and opposition. Consolidating their political and organizational power resources, the *piqueteros* reconceptualised mass demonstrations, lobbying, government, the role of the citizenry, informal economies, and cooperatives. Though the *piqueteros* never reached the same level of political or organizational power that the unions did—particularly during the presidency of Juan Perón—the movement grew to constitute an alternative power resources institution during a time when unions were severely weakened. As one *piquetero* stated: "We advance very slowly, but we go along together... Maybe we will take longer to arrive, but we will do so all together" (Giarracca & Teubal 2004:75).

At the end of Carlos Menem's term in 1999, Argentina had been reshaped by neoliberal reforms, and inequality, poverty, and unemployment were rampant. Fernando de la Rúa, Menem's successor, was inaugurated on December 10, 1999. Under de la Rúa, Menem's neoliberal policies were heightened; health and education were further reformed, labour laws became more flexible, massive capitalist flight occurred, the recession deepened, wages continued to fall, unemployment increased dramatically, and living conditions deteriorated. In response, protests, demonstrations, strikes, and *piquetero* road blocks increased. On December 3, 2001, with the intention of stopping alarming capitalist flight, the *corralito* measures were introduced; these measures effectively froze bank accounts, leaving Argentine citizens unable to draw money from the banks.

With the introduction of the *corralito* measures, protests grew to include the middle class, who now found themselves instantly unable to access their savings. Massive protests increased and food began to be looted; this prompted the government to declare a state of siege on December 19, 2001, under which all gatherings were prohibited. The public announcements stimulated an immediate response and people took to the streets in defiance of the state of siege throughout the country. In Buenos Aires, demonstrators gathered at the Plaza de Mayo, a historic main square and center for political protest. Many stayed throughout the night; the next day, the crowds grew. The chant, which came to encapsulate the fury of Argentina, arose during these demonstrations: *"¡Que se vayan todos!"* or "throw them all out!" (Colmegna 2003; Giarracca & Teubal 2004). *"¡Que se vayan todos!"* was a call for the ousting of not just the corrupt politicians, but the entire economic system of neoliberal capitalism that had come to dominate Argentina (Klein 2009).

The next day, on December 20, 2001, the government ordered the repression of the demonstrators in Buenos Aires. At noon, forced control began in the Plaza de Mayo; from there, repression spread outwards through the city center. Over 4,500 people were arrested and violence resulted in over thirty people being killed (Lavaca Collective 2007). With at least seven being shot at point-blank range, the incident was "one of the worst repressions by a democratically elected government in the history of Argentina" (Giarracca & Teubal 2004:57).

Due to the impacts of these events in Argentina, as well as the international media coverage, de la Rúa resigned and his presidency was cut short on December 20, 2001. Following de la Rúa's resignation, protests, demonstrations, strikes, and road blocks continued and multiplied throughout the country (Colmegna 2003; Giarracca & Teubal 2004). Over the next twelve days, Argentina introduced and ousted five Presidents—a testament to the power of the Argentine people, the *piqueteros,* and the labour movement.

Impacts of the Crisis: Rising Inequality

The impacts of the Argentine crisis were extreme. Economically, it is estimated that between 1974 and 2002, Argentina's GDP fell 25%. Production decreased dramatically as factories began to close in 1999; by 2002 the industrial sector was operating at only 50% of its capacity. Likewise, in 2002, Argentina's unemployment rate was over 23% with an additional underemployment rate of 22% – over 45% of the population was either entirely unemployed or without sufficient employment.

For those who remained employed, incomes fell and, as illustrated below, disparities increased substantially (Giarracca & Teubal 2004).

Table 1 – GDP Distribution and Disparity in Argentina (1974 – 2002)

Year	GDP received by: Poorest 10%	Richest 10%	Level of Disparity Richest strata receives X times more than poorest strata
1974	2.3%	28.2%	12.3
1990	2.3%	35.3%	15.3
2002	1.1%	37.6%	34.2

Source: Giarracca & Teubal 2004

In 1974, with a distribution of wealth that approximated developed countries, the richest strata of Argentina received 12.3 times more than the poorest strata; as the graph outlines, by 2002, the rich received 34.2 times more. This figure only continued to rise throughout 2002 and into 2003, when the level of disparity reached close to 50 times greater (Giarracca & Teubal 2004; Lavaca Collective 2007).

The number of Argentines living below the poverty line also increased dramatically: 15% in the early 1990s increased to 30% by 2000. In 2002, over half of Argentina's citizens were below the poverty line and 22% were living in extreme poverty. Vulnerable age groups were especially susceptible to poverty, with 58% of the youth under 14 years of age living below the poverty line and many retired Argentines, whose pensions had been drastically reduced under the neoliberal reforms, falling into the category of extreme poverty. While most of the unemployed lived in extreme poverty, even employed Argentines experienced drastic hardships; in 2002, 733,000 jobs paid wages so low that employees lived in extreme poverty – a 70% increase from 1998. During the crisis, 1.8 million employed Argentines lived in extreme poverty. Many of those who became destitute during the crisis were categorized as "the new poor" – previously middle class Argentines who experienced a rapid transition into poverty (Giarracca & Teubal 2004).

In spite of the fact that Argentina produces a tremendous amount of food, hunger and malnutrition also rose alarmingly across the country; millions of people turned to sifting through garbage as the population began to starve. Children suffered tremendously as food in schools disappeared due to government cuts and the situation became direr; for example, in 2002 in Buenos Aires, more than 58% of children were undernourished and, in the northeast province of Misiones, 60% of children experienced anaemia due to malnutrition. To complicate matters, the quality of healthcare worsened and medical accessibility decreased due to reforms and funding cuts (Giarracca & Teubal 2004).

Considered one of the most extreme and rapid transformations in history, the level and speed of deterioration in Argentina highlights the impacts of neoliberal reform and economic collapse. Overall, over 80% of Argentines were impoverished by the crisis through unemployment, poverty, hunger, and malnutrition. The economy was ruined, citizens lost their savings instantly with the introduction of the *corralito* measures, and industry was devastated. It is

> no wonder that almost all walks of life have gone to the streets, because of the massive nature of the damaging being done. Not only the unemployed were robbed of their jobs, the workers of their wages, the middle classes and pensioners of their saving and pensions, but the very foundation of the capitalist system has been put in question. (Giarraca and Teubal, 2004: 67–68)

As extreme, deregulated capitalism ran rampant, so too did the emphatic public opposition to inequality-fueling neoliberalism.

Conclusions: Shifting Power Resources

As a radical and relatively new theoretical approach, Power Resources Theory has engaged in considerable self-reflexivity. The most relevant self-critique of Power Resources Theory is that the theory does not expand past the borders of the state; there-

fore, by focusing heavily on the working classes' power resources, Power Resources Theory struggles to grapple with increasing global integration and the new actors and institutions that have emerged from this integration (O'Connor & Olsen 1998). It can be argued that, as it becomes ever easier for capital to transcend national boundaries, power resources become less meaningful. With growing deregulation, international considerations become ever more important as assets become more mobile and elite economic actors gain more power, leverage, and flexibility. This shift benefits capital and increases its strength significantly. In contrast, global integration has an inverse effect on labour and the working classes' power resources, which are situated heavily within national borders. In addition, government power has been constrained (at the very least ideologically) as economic globalization has increased. Power Resources Theory has had a difficult time theoretically accounting for or incorporating these rapid structural changes (Korpi 1998; O'Connor & Olsen 1998; Olsen 2002; Olsen 2011).

Unlike in core countries, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries suffer largely external economic destabilization. Therefore, Power Resources Theory's self-critique is exceptionally relevant in the semi-peripheral case of Argentina where global integration and international financial institutions induced massive economic and policy changes. Beginning during Menem's presidency and culminating in Argentina's economic collapse, the drastic neoliberal policy reforms and the Volcker Shock, which brought about increased deregulation, liberalized trade agreements, inflation, devaluation, and capitalist flight, were instigated by economic globalization and international pressures. Therefore, despite labour's power resources within the nation, much of the structural changes were influenced by factors beyond Argentina's borders and out of the reach of the working class.

Yet, as the analysis shows, welfare state theory cannot disregard the power resources of the working class. As documented, even when systematically weakened by the state, the capacity of the Argentine working class (bolstered by the innovative *piqueteros*) continued to moderate the neoliberal assault. Therefore, while accounting for the influence of the working class through a power resources lens, an additional external intervention variable can be specified as the susceptibility to external economic destabilization. The implication is that central to welfare state robustness and resilience is a country's capacity to buffer external destabilization, such as creditor-debtor relations, capital flight, and capital strike.

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ON THE ORIGINS OF THE SPANISH SPOKEN IN AMERICA

Tibor Berta

In this paper I would like to present the most important 20th century theories that explain the dialectal features of the Spanish spoken in America with the determining factor of the place of origin of Spanish-speaking peoples arriving in America. These theories emerge from the idea that the immigrants to the New World took the particular dialect of their place of origin that later became sample language for the next generations born in the new country as well as for the assimilating autochthones, and this is how the version could spread in Americas. In accordance with a former theory I analysed in 2015, in the following I am going to see how other theories use this otherwise common starting point in different ways and how various generalizations led to conflicting views and even to misconclusions.

Among the theories concerning the origins of the American Spanish language, the so-called Andalusian theory *(teoría del andalucismo del español americano)* attracts most attention. According to this theory developed by Navarro Tomás (1918, §3–4) and Menéndez Pidal (1940, §35:5), the common features—especially phonetics—of the Spanish spoken in southern Spain and in America, were mainly due to the linguistic import of the people who spoke this dialect because they were originating from southern Andalusia, migrating to and colonizing the New World; they settled down in the areas conquered and used their native dialect afterwards. In this approach, the American Spanish derives primarily from this very Andalusian dialect.

According to Zamora Vicente (1967, 378) and Rafael Lapesa (1981, 126), the American Spanish forms a surprisingly homogeneous unit despite its vast geographical expansion. Moreover, certain phonetic characteristics of this version show great similarity with the features of the dialects spoken today in Andalusia, which are more innovative compared to other, northern Spanish versions. The Andalusian dialect, due to its vast expansion, is considered typically American, while in the Iberian Peninsula, it is named simply Southern Spanish. Among the most well-known phonetic characteristics is the *seseo* (with the example /θínko/ pronounced /sinko/) and *yeísmo* (with example, /káʎe/ is pronounced /káye/), as well as the pronunciation of the end-of-syllable /-s/ as a hiss (for example, [móʰka] instead of [móska]), the occasional permutation of *liquid* consonants /-r/ and /-l/ (as in *carbón* that is pronounced [kalβón]), and the milder, pharyngeal pronunciation of the consonant marked with the letter *j* (for example, [hórhe] instead of the Castilian [xórxe]).

The theories of the Andalusian origin based on the linguistic facts mentioned above have been supported also by the demographical researches Peter Boyd-Bowman (1956, 1963, 1967, 1974) started to publish already in 1956. These proved that the southern, primarily Andalusian language contingent dominated among the first settlers in the New World, at least in the first phase of the colonization.

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However appealing and well-founded was, the Andalusian theory did not enjoy undivided success, especially on the part of American linguists. They saw the Andalusian theory as a rather derogative attempt to attribute the originating language of Spanish America to the economically poor and quite disadvantaged Andalusians. Of course, from linguistics' purely scientific perspective, it is a groundless misconception that the qualifiers "better" and "worse" can be associated with a geographical variation of a language (Berta 2015); however, it is a well-known fact that the use of a given language in a society, can bring positive or negative connotations attached to its variations. Although it is not justified by a large sociocultural context, this approach can easily explain the negative attitude of linguists towards the Andalusian theory, especially knowing that these linguists supported their approach with acceptable scholarly arguments.

The opponents of the Andalusian theory, first of all negate (or, rather they say it is a delusion) the statement that American Spanish forms a single homogeneous dialectal unit with southern Spanish features. Pedro Henríquez Ureña (1921, 358–359) and Amado Alonso (1953/1967, 12–13) argue that the expansion of southern features mentioned above shows a very different picture in various parts of America and that is why there cannot be a uniform, homogeneous American Spanish, similar to the Andalusian dialect. Furthermore, several studies done throughout several time periods insist on the dialectal diversity of the Spanish spoken in the Americas. According to Juan Ignacio de Armas y Céspedes (1882), Henríquez Ureña (1921), José Pedró Rona (1964), Zamora Munné (1979–1980), and Philipe Cahuzac (1980), the number of the possible American Spanish dialects vary between four and twenty-six, depending on applied parameters. These scientists conclude that it was not exclusively the Andalusian people taking part in the process of colonization; as a result of a larger population involvement, traces of each dialect of Spain can be thus found in various American Spanish languages, at least to some degree. In this context, Pedro Rona (1964) goes as far as to call the existence of a single, dialectically homogeneous American Spanish just a "commonplace" and coins it, "a myth." His opinion is also supported by Lope Blanch (1992, 318–319), who quoted Lapesa's view but also mildly criticized it calling attention to the fact that superficial impressions and well-supported scientific data and historical facts should not be confused in this question.

I hope that in spite of the necessary brevity I have succeeded in showing the seemingly irreconcilable conflict between the two theories on the Spanish spoken in the Americas, which stems from different interpretation of the attributive *American*. According to the Andalusian theory, the variation of Spanish spoken on the American continent can be identified with the Andalusian dialects of southern Spain on the basis of linguistic criteria, considering its typology and origins. In this sense, according to the supporters of this theory, the American Spanish is similar to the Spanish of southern Spain because historically, originates from that part of Spain. According to the other theory, however, the Spanish language *spoken in America* or the American Spanish cannot be traced to a given place of origin; this theory's advocates claim that due to its typological diversity and dialectical fragmentation, American Spanish cannot be attached exclusively to any single variation of the Spanish in the mother country.

Of course, a more nuanced interpretation of linguistic facts would significantly alleviate the tension between these theories above. And luckily such a more refined interpretation does exist. Rafael Lapesa (1994, 44) himself also faced, at least partially, the facts supporting the dialectal fragmentation; he even admited that in whole Spanish America only two such common features exist: these are the *seseo* in phonetics and the replacement of *ustedes, les* or *los, las* and *su, suyo* with the pronouns *vosotros, os* and *vuestro,* while the use of the other innovative, southern features listed before can be considered a regional characteristic, since these are limited mostly to the Caribbean region, the zones of the Antilles, and in general to the Atlantic coast. By this approach, Lapesa practically agrees with the dialectal grouping of Montes Giraldo (1984, 83–84), that projects the dialectal division of the Iberian Peninsula to Spanish America, where a conservative and an innovative dialectal block along it can be distinguished (Berta 2006, 560). Therefore, in the western area of Spanish America that practically follows the ranges of the Cordilleras, conservative dialects prevail (in the Iberian Peninsula context, it is the northern version); while in the zone embracing the Caribbean, the Antilles and the planes of the Atlantic coast, innovative dialects have gained more terrain.

In connection with the geographical distribution of conservative and innovative dialects, it is worth mentioning the theory of Max Leopold Wagner (1927). This explains that the conservative dialects spread along the western coast and the innovative ones in the eastern coast only due to different climatic circumstances. According to Wagner, the immigrants coming over from the cooler climate of Spain chose the western high altitudes, while the Andalusians preferred the low-lying, warm and humid climate of the eastern coast—and this was primarily the reason for the development and now still existing distribution of dialects.

The concept of the so-called *Atlantic Spanish,* however, is of much greater significance in the interpretation of the aforementioned dialectal distribution. The concept was spread through Diego Catalán's (1958) work. The great merit of this concept is that it is capable of resolving the sharp confrontation between two fundamentally opposing theories. According to Catalán, the Spanish language variations showing innovative features (that is the Spanish dialects spoken in southern Spain, in the Canary Islands, and on the eastern coast and its nearby islands of America), form a bigger dialectal unit that is distinct from both the dialects of northern Spain and western America. The denomination *Atlantic* in the name does not only refer to the fact that the Atlantic Ocean assures geographical continuity between these dialects but also that the historic expansion of Andalusian dialects became possible due to the passage over the ocean—and this is especially significant here. Catalán's theory was a very important step in the process of reconciliating the two opposing theories because he accepts both the dialectal division of the Spanish spoken in the Americas and the geographical limits of the innovative dialects as well. At the same time, he also implies that the colonizers and immigrants speaking southern dialects have had a more significant historic role in the forming of the linguistic features of the eastern areas, which were colonized at an earlier time, due to their geographical proximity. Moreover, in this respect, the analysis of linguistic facts can result in the clarification of socio-

historical conclusions. The importance of this methodological concept is proved by the fact that it reappeared recently in Rodríguez Muñoz's 2012 scientific bibliography.

Nevertheless, on the basis of this idea other researchers—Juan Antonio Frago Gracia and Mariano Franco Figueroa (2003, 29)—claim that the southern feature actually played a primary role in the initial phase of linguistic spread affecting mainly the Atlantic coast, adding that later the significance of the regions of Spain taking part in the various colonial processes of the New World probably evened out. This theory of levelling or *teoría de la nivelación* has essentially led to the levelling of the tension between conflicting theories also in the history of science, ultimately resulting in the decrease of the significance of the whole issue.

Nowadays, the question of the origin of the Spanish spoken in the Americas is not considered to be among the topics of paramount interest for contemporary researchers. The reason is that this briefly presented episode from the history of Spanish linguistics (depicted in detail in Berta 2015), has altogether a happy ending, at least in my interpretation: at the end, the conflict and tension between two opposing scientific theories is solved thanks to tenacious examination of solid scientific facts.

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COLUMBUS & COMPANY:
THE CONQUEST OF THE AMERICAS ACCORDING TO THE MOVIES

András Lénárt

Historical Films and Reality

Historical films reflect the mentality of a certain nation and society, showing specific attitudes towards the historical event depicted in the movie. Similar to the case of conventional historical sources it is essential for the researcher (and also for the viewer) to be able to approach the material with appropriate criticism and to decide whether the given audiovisual document holds any historical value. However, filmic stories cannot be treated as true reflections of the period and the events represented in these films are mere subjective interpretations of historical facts. Some historical films exaggerate the importance of certain details or figures, others treat real events quite freely, while a couple of filmmakers simply falsify facts.

According to the French film historian Marc Ferro, it is impossible to "write" history genuinely with films. The filmmaker, even if he aspires to be authentic, is forced to reinterpret the existing and codified visions of the historians, but he also adds his personal point of view to it. Nevertheless, this does not mean that films cannot help us in mapping the past, says Ferro (162–163). The personality, the political views, the knowledge, and the implicit or explicit intentions of the filmmaker, as well as the social and political circumstances of a given film, all have direct influence over the representation. The director sorts out, emphasizes, and conceals some fragments of history; therefore, it is indispensable to evaluate any film and to not accept unconditionally what we see on the screen. (It is a quite complex question whether representations of history should appear to be true.) Pierre Sorlin says that the screen does not show us the way the world is, but it displays what people think of the world in a certain age (33). This statement is also relevant to traditional historiography because historical films usually reflect the period when the film was shot and not the one that it represents. A film usually explains the prevailing attitude(s) towards the national or foreign history of a society, and it also shows us what the crew thought to be important to show or important to disclose or modify, teaching viewers interesting points about the perception of the past and that of the present.

The conquest of the Americas is one of those historical events about which several countries have crafted their own impression, judgement and approach, in accordance with the nation's role in the new continent during and after the arrival of Christopher Columbus. The literary and filmic representations of the most important figures and events indicate the producer nation's and the time period's general attitude towards the topic.

International Representations of Christopher Columbus

The most famous explorer of the Americas, also the official discoverer of the New World (setting aside the previous arrival of the Vikings and other peoples), Christopher Columbus has been the leading or supporting character of a great number of films shot is various countries. Being the first and the most notable discoverer in the New World, his popularity has not been overshadowed by other conquistadors, although his personality, behavior, and actions remain controversial. Depending on the country that produced the film, Columbus was depicted as an exceptional hero who carried out something extraordinary, an everyday sailor, who simply lost his way and discovered the new continent by mistake, or a bloodthirsty, merciless European, who found pleasure in subjugating and slaughtering masses of innocent indigenous peoples in the new world. Among these different approaches, filmmakers usually make use of the heroic treatment of the famous and infamous Genovese seaman. The positive attitude has its own scales: for example, the Spanish nation regarded Columbus as one of its own (despite him being Italian by birth), and so he was reckoned to be the ultimate Spanish national hero in the period of the nationalist dictatorship of Francisco Franco.

The earliest motion picture about this key figure was the first short film of the French director Vincent Lorant-Heilbronn, *Christopher Columbus (Christophe Colomb)*, shot in his home country in 1904. Ten years later, another French production were screened, this time in co-production with Spain: Gerard Bourgeois's *The Life of Christopher Columbus (La vie de Christophe Colomb*, 1917). Both films told the story of the Italian navigator following the well-known biographies that had been written on him concerning his childhood, the preparations for the voyage, the first encounter with the indigenous peoples, and his life and death after the discovery. The quality of Bourgeois's film bears comparison with the quality of the silent movies of the 1910s (with the two producing countries being able to provide necessary financial support). Another interesting early example is the German *Christopher Columbus (Christoph Columbus*, 1922), directed by the Hungarian Márton Garas, a film that ignores the historical facts and treats events with remarkable freedom (Payán 44, España 190) and an interesting fact here is that in the cast and the crew of this film we can find several Hungarian actors. In the silent era the United States also made two films about this seaman, Colin Campbell's *The Coming of Columbus* (1912) and Edwin L. Hollywood's *Christopher Columbus* (1923). In the latter motion picture, which was commissioned by Yale University as part of the *Chronicles of America* series and was adapted from the book written by Irving Berdine Richman, apart from other contemporary adaptations, the earlier discoverers (the Vikings and Asians) are also acknowledged (Munden 140).

Mexico's contribution to the discovery movies started with the film entitled *Christopher Columbus*, also known as *The Greatness of America (Cristóbal Colón / La grandeza de América*, 1943), directed by José Díaz Morales. The film's approach to Columbus conforms to the attitude of the earlier silent versions both in form and content though Díaz Morales' picture lacks solid historical foundation. In this film, the explorer's explicit purpose is to discover a new world. This is the supreme goal of his heroic mission, but it is well-known that Columbus first had no idea of having discovered a new continent. In this movie, the members of the Council of Salamanca laugh at the

protagonist when he argues that the Earth is round, but in reality this council had no problem with the sphericity of the Earth, although they had serious doubts about the reliability of Columbus's geographical theories. Both Mexican and foreign critics disagreed on the evaluation of this explorer representation in this film: while the Spanish critics, under the influence of the Franco regime, saw it as part of the "Black Legend" (embodying the collection of negative stereotypes about the Spanish nation as ruthless colonizer), in Mexico the film was promoted as a celebration of the Hispanic heritage (España 190).

One of the most interesting but also politically committed interpretations of the discovery of America was made in the dictatorial Spain. In General Francisco Franco's country, films and film policy had a crucial role and movies about the nation's past and present were required to adjust to the regime's ideological guiding principles (Lénárt 2015). Moreover, Christopher Columbus had an additional importance for the Spanish *Caudillo:* in 1948 Franco conferred himself the title of "Admiral of Castille" in the friary of La Rábida (Palos de la Frontera, Andalusia), where Columbus had spent two years before his voyage. According to the British historian Paul Preston, with this act Franco assigned himself the title of the Columbus of the 20th century (152). At the end of the 1940s, the Institute of Hispanic Culture commissioned the production of real "national" movies in order to acquaint the public with the glorious moments of the Spanish history. In 1951, the regime's favorite filmmaker, Juan de Orduña, had the privilege to direct one of the most symbolic propaganda movies of the dictatorship, *The Dawn of America (Alba de América),* which presents the life of Columbus from his seclusion in the above-mentioned Andalusian monastery to his arrival in the New World. This film was a response to the British *Christopher Columbus* (David MacDonald, 1949), in which Columbus appears not as a hero, but as a more complex character who lacks self-confidence. According to Orduña, the British film humiliated the Spanish nation and past with various controversial elements and scenes (for example, the Catholic monarchs appear as ridiculous figures, Columbus slaps King Ferdinand's face, Queen Isabella is made to look down on her people, etc.). The Spanish government shared this opinion, and, as a result, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, who was Franco's confidant, took the lead and asked the Institute of Hispanic Culture to find the adequate script to straighten the dispute (according to rumors, Carrero Blanco himself penned the screenplay) (Castro, 296). The result was an ideologically perfect, but a truly boring and an excessively sentimental film.

According to *The Dawn of America*'s Queen Isabella, the discovery of America was enabled by the patriotic activity of the superior Hispanic race, which spread civilization to another continent, with the Catholic religion and the Spanish language as the two basic bonds that tie together Spain and the new continent, so America is seen as the extension of the Hispanic civilization and the notion of *Hispanidad* (a kind of metaphysical exposure of the Hispanic consciousness, together with its cultural, traditional, historic and linguistic layers). Columbus, despite being Italian, becomes in this film integral part of the Spanish nation and Spanish empire: he even claims that his new home is Castile. He also declares that, after the Reconquest of Spain from the Moors has come to an end in 1492 (in one scene even Columbus himself takes part in the reconquest of Granada, which is an impertinent falsification of true, docu-

mented historical facts), Spain has become united again, but the civilized world still needs spiritual reinforcement. This movie implies that God chose Castile to accomplish the mission of establishing contact with this unknown part of the Earth and Columbus was designated in this process as an important intermediary. Therefore, in the movie, explorers were not attracted by the treasures of the New World, they just wanted to spread Christianity and their civilization by protecting the innocent souls of the indigenous peoples.

Guided by divine providence, Columbus arrives in America, and the film concludes at this moment making no mention of the afterwards negative consequences (for example the depredations and massacres committed by the Europeans). The whole film is thus the ultimate manifestation of the regime's "imperial will," of the Spanish national Catholicism and Castilian traditions. In this context, Christopher Columbus becomes the messenger and the representative of these ideals. This film received unconditional financial support from the Franco regime, but the viewers got tired of the historical films with overt propagandistic messages, and *The Dawn of America* failed to live up its box-office expectations.

Before the 1990s, Columbus was present in various films as a secondary character of minor importance. In the anti-Nazi propaganda *Are We Civilized?* (Edwin Careve, 1934), an overt audiovisual attack against European totalitarianisms and dictatorships, he appears in a *tableau* among various heroes from the history of mankind, while in the musical *Where Do We Go from Here?* (Gregory Ratoff, 1945, with lyrics written by Ira Gershwin), a genie tries to send the main character into the Second World War, but by mistake he relocates him to other historical periods (like the flagship of Columbus, where the characters perform a spectacular mini-opera).

The 500th anniversary of the discovery of America in 1992 gave a boost to the filmography of the Columbus-themed productions. The British *Carry on ...* comedy series, quite popular especially in European countries, produced its last feature film under the title *Carry on Columbus* directed by Gerald Thomas. Critics and viewers insist that this is the worst episode of the franchise; some even say that it is one of the worst British movies ever made. According to the author of the series' guidebook: "*Columbus,* at best, is a weak pastiche of the later films. At worst, it is a horribly dull and unfunny mess" (Campbell 136–137). From the same year, a special mention is due for the 26 episodes Japanese-Italian anime *The Man Was from Spain* (Fumio Kurokawa) and the German animation *The Magic Voyage* (Michael Schoemann).

Additionally, in the emblematic year of 1992, two motion pictures were also made about Columbus that are quite well-known all over the world. John Glen's *Christopher Columbus: The Discovery* and Ridley Scott's *1492: Conquest of Paradise* are both controversial movies (especially the first one), but today they are generally regarded as the official Columbus tributes. They contended with each other to captivate the audience, but neither of them became a box-office hit. The weakest element of both films was the protagonist: in one of them, the Italian Christopher Columbus, in service of the Spanish monarchs, was played unconvincingly by the Greek-French actor Georges Corraface; in the other film, he was embodied by the French Gerard Depardieu (ironically also a Russian citizen since 2013), who spoke English with a terrible accent. Furthermore, the globally wide audience was visible less interested in these filmic adventures than other films that came out that year.

Christopher Columbus: The Discovery, based on a screenplay co-written by Mario Puzo (author of *The Godfather*), failed especially due to its miscasting. This filmic project was first offered to Ridley Scott, but he turned it down in order to take on the other Columbus movie (Mathews 1992). In case of the supporting roles, this film was even more disastrous than Scott's movie. King Ferdinand was played by Tom Selleck, in a way that convinced no one that he could rule a kingdom. Not surprisingly and as a consequence, he won the Golden Raspberry Award as Worst Supporting Actor of the Year in 1993, while the film received altogether six nominations for 'worst' categories (Razzie Awards homepage 1992). Marlon Brando, playing the role of the inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada, also delivered one of the worst performances of his career. Glen's Columbus lacks deep characterization despite the fact that he seems to be a real adventurer, a kind of Indiana Jones of the period, who seeks new challenges. As a consequence of the film's financial disastrous outcome, the producers Ilya and Alexander Salkind even got into a legal suit against each other for the breach of contract, fraud and racketeering (Brennan 1993), and their career as producers sank in oblivion along with their film, while the fate of *Christopher Columbus: The Discovery* was to provoke one of the most famous scandals and failures of Hollywood in the 1990s.

With *1492: Conquest of Paradise,* the director Ridley Scott and the writer Rosalyne Bosch wanted to portray Columbus in a way that did not previously meet any preconceptions. Scott claimed that "[h]e was a visionary and he was certainly a man with a conscience. But most of all, he was a man of his times, and the times were different", while Bosch added: "For a long time there was the cliché of the hero [...] and now I'm afraid there is the cliché of genocide. The truth is in between. He was not Cortes, he was an explorer. He imposed his view once he got here, but to blame him for the massacres that followed is like blaming Christ for the Inquisition" (in Mathews 1992). In fact, Scott's Columbus doubted whether the indigenous people will benefit from the arrival of the European civilization; and while it is undeniable that both the photography and the music (composed by Vangelis) of the film are flattering, it is also clear that the creators sacrificed the authenticity in exchange for mere grandiosity and sensationalism.

Some TV productions have likewise put Columbus into a central role. These were the BBC's *The Man with the Cloak Full of Holes* (W. P. Lipscomb, 1946) and *Bye Bye Columbus* (Peter Barnes, 1991), the West German *Christopher Columbus or The Discovery of the Americas* (*Christoph Kolumbus oder Die Entedeckung Amerikas,* Helmut Käutner, 1969) alongside two French productions under the same title, *Christoher Columbus* (*Christophe Colomb,* Pierre Cavassilas, 1975 and Jean-Paul Carrère, 1976). Moreover, it is worth mentioning two television mini-series that focused their storyline on this central character that gained popularity in some parts of the world. Some historians say that the Spanish-Italian *Christopher Columbus* (*Cristóbal Colón,* Vittorio Cottafavi, 1967) is the best biographical representation of the explorer (Payán 46), while the international coproduction *Christopher Columbus* (Alberto Lattuada, 1985) was regarded as the most popular series among the audience, undoubtedly due to its outstanding cast (Gabriel Byrne, Max Von Sydow, Oliver Reed, Eli Wallach, Faye Dunaway), despite its historical inaccuracies and its mediocre *mise-en-scène.*

Other Aspects and Figures of the Conquest

The discovery and the conquest of America did not end with Columbus; many other adventurers and conquistadors made their own contributions to introduce European civilization into the American continent, although their intervention often had unpleasant or even tragic consequences.

Surprisingly, the conquest of the New World that coincides with the birth of the American myth did not inspire a great number of films in the United States. Some film historians explain this as the result of Hollywood's moral and commercial censorship, according to which their movies had to show respect for all religions and countries. By dealing with the topic of the discoveries, directors had to touch upon some elements of the Black Legend, and this threatened the well-established moral policy (España 203). Nevertheless, some films clearly demonstrated that the encounter between Europeans and the indigenous peoples might end in a tragic outcome.

For example, *The Royal Hunt of the Sun* (Irving Lerner, 1969), based on Peter Schaffer's theatre play, narrates the tragic consequences of the conquistador Francisco Pizarro's arrival in the Inca Atahualpa's empire. One of the film's official movie posters tells us quite a lot about the nature of the conquest with the following lines: "The Birth of a Hero. The Death of an Empire. The Adventure of a Lifetime. Invading the Kingdom of Gold with just 167 men, Pizarro conquered an empire of 12 million Incas – and changed the course of history." Although the film resembles a theatrical production more than a historical movie (Christopher Plummer's performance as Atahualpa especially lacks authenticity on the big screen), it offers an overview on Hollywood's attitude towards the arrival of the civilization in the land of the (seemingly barbaric) Natives. This clash of cultures is the main topic of Cecil B. De Mille's silent film, *The Woman God Forgot* (1917), although in an absolutely romantic way: in this fiction film, the Aztec king Moctezuma's daughter falls in love with one of the Spanish soldiers who serves in Hernán Cortés' army, and, as a result she helps conquerors invade and occupy her people's empire. More important and of better quality is Henry King's *Captain from Castile* (1947). In this film, a Spanish adventurer (played by Tyrone Power) joins the Mexican expedition led by Hernán Cortés, where he becomes part of intrigues, schemes, and love affairs. This film is a real exception to the rule of moral censorship: it not only describes the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition and the blind religious fanaticism of Christianity, but also gives us a negative depiction of Cortés, who is led by his thirst for gold and blood. Although the film does not include the most violent parts of Samuel Shellabarger's book, it still shows a less-than-positive portrait of the 'civilized' Europeans, so it's not a surprise that this film was banned in Spanish cinemas (Payán 52). Nevertheless, director Henry King gave the impression that Christianity could be evaluated in a double manner, depending on whether the physical exertion of Christian principles appeared under European (that is, civilized) circumstances, or by merely imposing of other civilization's rules on the 'barbaric' America. An Aztec even declares in the film: "Maybe your God and mine are the same." According to film historian Rafael de España, "*Captain from Castile* is a clear demonstration of the ideological confusion of Hollywood in case of Hispanic American topics, and helps to understand why they have treated the period of the conquest in a quite sporadic manner" (205).

One of the most characteristic figures of the New German Cinema, Werner Herzog, has an individual way of looking at the topic that ensures that his films should occupy a special place among visionary productions. As such, *Aguirre, the Wrath of God* (*Aguirre, der Zorn Gottes,* 1972) can be regarded as one of his most emblematic films. According to the story, after having defeated the Incas, one of the conquistadors of Pizarro, Lope de Aguirre leads a group of soldiers through the Amazonian jungle in search of El Dorado, the mythical city of gold. The grotesque atmosphere of madness, alienation, religious fanaticism, human frailty, and moral decay is combined with true aesthetic value, presenting a dark but also surreal vision of the period's South America and the role of the conquistadors. The story is loosely based on the diary of Gaspar de Carvajal, a Spanish Dominican missionary, but Herzog's film is a personal and imaginative view that creatively combines reality with fiction. It usually does not show any respect for the historical facts. Klaus Kinki's performance in the title role is shocking and astonishing; the actor's unpredictable personality and erratic behavior form a unique symbiosis with the suffocating atmosphere, this showing an almost genuine parallelism with the real Aguirre's life (Waller 55–59). Lope De Aguirre and the search for the city of gold happens to be the central topic of Carlos Sauras's *El Dorado* (1988) as well, which in the 1980s, held the record of being the most expensive Spanish film. The legendary Spanish director made use of various novels, historical accounts, and contemporary chronicles in order to recreate an authentic story. Saura's Aguirre is a selfish and cruel fighter motivated only by his desire for gain. The film also depicts the merciless Spanish conquistadors trampling on each other as circumstances require it. In the 1940s and 1950s, the Francoist regime's intellectuals yearned to over-represent the glorious mission of the Hispanic race. As a contemporary film journal stated: "[T]he epic Discovery, the Conquest, the presence of Spain on the continent, are undeniable sources for the Spanish movies. But of all these aspects, the more important value is the creation of the mixed blood, the creation of a new race, the origin of the American man, son of an Indian woman and a Spanish man [...]" (Serrano de Osma 10–11). But the authorities were aware of how difficult it was to rebuild the common past without provoking animosities in the relevant countries (España 196).

The Latin-American contribution to this topic tended to concentrate on the arrival of the Europeans in certain regions of Latin America by emphasizing their direct and immediate influence. The Argentine *Villa Rica del Espíritu Santo,* also known as *The Caravel of the Illusion* (*Villa Rica del Espíritu Santo / La carabela de la ilusión,* Benito Perojo, 1945) shows the first steps of the colonizers and a Spanish woman, who struggle to establish a new home in America, while *The Araucaniad* (*La araucana,* Julio Coll, 1971), inspired by Alonso de Ercilla's famous epic poem about the conquest of Chile, narrates the encounter of the Mapuche-Araucanian Indians with the ruthless conquistador, Pedro de Valdivia. The Mexican *The Other Conquest* (*La otra conquista,* Salvador Carrasco, 1998) depicts, through the conflict of a Spanish friar and the illegitimate son of Moctezuma, the ways in which the Aztec people suffered the so-called the 'other conquest', which was a spiritual one, showing the imposition of the new culture and religion on the traditions of the Natives. In the film, some Aztec survivors seek to op-

pose the Europeans' overwhelming takeover, but it is clear that their desperate resistance will be brutally suppressed.

Besides Columbus, also other notable Spanish explorers deserved representation in motion pictures. Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, who was the central figure of _Cabeza de Vaca_ (Nicolás Echevarría, 1991), for example, was one of the few survivors of the Narváez expedition (a tragic journey of exploration in Florida in 1527). He got in touch with the Native Americans, befriended them, adopted some of their traditions, and later embarked on a new mission, this time towards the inner regions of Mexico. Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the first European whose expedition reached the Pacific Ocean through the Isthmus of Panama, appeared in the Spanish _The Conquistadors of the Pacific_ (_Los conquistadores del Pacífico,_ José María Elorrieta, 1963). Although this film was shot during the Francoist dictatorship, in the 1960s Spanish movies were relieved of the former, severe ideological burden due to a less rigorous film policy; therefore, Elorrieta's film could concentrate on Núñez de Balboa's adventures.

As a closing item, I would like to shed some light on make a Spanish film from 2010, _Even the Rain_ (_También la lluvia,_ directed by Icíar Bollaín), which builds a real visual bridge between the past and the present. It is a film within a film, focusing on a group of filmmakers who adapt a story about Christopher Columbus in Bolivia. The shooting of the film takes place during the Cochabamba protests of 2000 (also called as the Water War in Bolivia) lead against the privatization of a local water supply company, which affects the film crew's well-planned schedule and the employment of the local actors and extras. It becomes clear that the situation of Native Americans is not very different today since other but quite similar forces determine their fate: previously the white conquerors threatened their future; nowadays international corporations want to deprive them of their water supply. The filmmakers' story about Columbus gains here various levels of interpretation; their approach to the conquest finds diverse metaphors in the circumstances of the shooting of the film, even by drawing a parallel between the consequences of the arrival of the conquerors (slavery and colonization) and the present's neoliberal economic policy. Bollaín's film is not the only one that tries to establish links between the period of the conquest and present (and even the future) situations of turmoil: one of the storylines of Darren Aronofsky's _The Fountain_ (2006) relates a conquistador of the Mayan empire to questions of mortality, eternity and rebirth. Furthermore, the colonial period, from the American North to the Center and South of America, the stories of adventurers, colonizers, pirates and missionaries, key figures like John Smith, Pocahontas or Bartolomé de las Casas, have offered more possibilities for movie adaptations. But that's another story – both in written and filmed form.

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"No Visitors Beyond This Point:"
Rules of Conduct for Tourists in Native American Reservations and Their Cultural-Political Contexts in the USA

Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

One should not be an anthropologist of tourism to practice the anthropology of tourism, at least for a while. It is to the increasing and increasingly complicated impact of intercultural tourism as well as to my personal experience of it that I owe the subject of the present study. What follows is not an ethnographic case study. It is more of an essay on the cultural and political significance of certain requirements of behavior that tourists visiting the Pueblo Indian communities in the Southwest of the USA have to meet.

I made a journey to the American Southwest with my husband in July 2001 when we visited four different *pueblos* in Arizona and New Mexico, those of the Hopi, the Zuni, the Acoma and the Taos people. The original purpose of our trip had little to do with tourism as such. We drove from Lawrence, Kansas where we stayed down to Arizona to follow the trail of the excellent German art historian, Aby Warburg who visited the region in 1896. Touching *Mesa Verde,* the cliff dwellings of the ancient Anasazi people and crossing the Navajo Reservation, we intended to visit the places – natural sites as well as Native American pueblos—that Warburg himself visited. We wanted to get an impression about how the landscape and the people living there changed through more than one hundred years. The German art historian not only held a diary but took dozens of photographs during his journey so we had his files to compare to what we would see and experience. The final goal of our journey was to reach the reservation of the Hopi Indians in North-East Arizona and to learn whether the Native Americans living there know about the collection of Aby Warburg's photographs which had been published by the Warburg Institute, London and which contained a good many of the pictures taken in the Hopi as well as other pueblo Indian villages more than one hundred years ago (Cestelli Guidi and Mann 1998; Sz. Kristóf 2004 and 2014b).

This was a study trip of art history and the history of anthropology, but we stayed in places—motels and other lodging facilities—established for the *par excellence* tourists of the Southwest. We have visited national parks and cultural heritage centers, museums and shops of Indian "arts and crafts," and we have attended a number of the so-called Avillage tours organized by the local, Native American inhabitants of the region for their non-Native visitors. We have thus encountered people, programs and events in all our journey that seemed to serve the aims of international, national and also local tourism.

No one travelling in the American Southwest can avoid meeting the enormous industry of the "frontier tourism" functioning there. Its origins go back to the second half of the 19th century. Due to the arrival of the railroad in this region in 1879 and

Major John Wesley Powell's geographical and ethnographical explorations made during the 1880s and the 1890s, Grand Canyon tourism emerged first. It was developed and promoted primarily by the Fred Harvey Company. In the same period, due to the fieldwork of an increasing number of ethnographers and archeologists (e.g. Frank H. Cushing, Adolph F. Bandelier and Jesse W. Fewkes) the Native American cultures of the so-called Four Corners region (i.e. Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico) were "discovered" in the late 19th and early 20th century, Anglo-American historians used to say. According to the historical-philosophical ideas of the age, local indigenous cultures have been popularized in front of a Euro-American audience of ever growing size as relics of a distant and "half-primitive" past (Basso 1979; Hinsley 1994, 125–230; Weigle and Babcock 1996; Dilworth 1996; see also Sz. Kristóf 2004). From this period of flourishing evolutionary classifications and well into the 20th century, the Asemi-desert Pueblo Indian culture"—as it was designated in scholarly literature—was regularly depicted as a transitional (settled, agricultural and pottery-making) "stage" between the so-called "savage" (hunter and/or gatherer) societies of the Northern prairies and the "high civilizations" of Central America in the south. The Native American cultures of the Southwest as constituting an entire—and, as was imagined—unique cultural "stage" or (as was described later) "area"[2] have become a touristic commodity indeed for the North American as well as European visitors, together with their "primitivism" allegedly preserved (Kroeber 1928; Benedict 1963 [1935]: 41–42; Kirchhoff 1959; Hinsley 1994, 192; Weigle and Babcock 1996; Dilworth 1996). The picturesque ceremonial dances of the Pueblo Indians, held half a year round to invoke rain and render the corn harvest abundant attracted masses of Anglo-American visitors already in the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries. There was another peculiar boom of tourism—this time, a "spiritual tourism"—later, in a different social and cultural context. During the 1960s and the 1970s, and especially after the publication of the rather controversial Hopi "ethnography" of Frank Waters, the *Book of the Hopi* (Waters 1977[1963]; Geertz 1983), hundreds of young American hippies arrived to the Southwest in order to live together with and learn from the Pueblo Indians. They considered the latter as their Agurus" possessing secret knowledge that would help them to find their right way (James 1974, 218–220; Geertz 1992, 342–350; Whiteley 1998, 163–187). Although *Book of the Hopi* is still on sale and, oddly enough, it can be purchased in the bookshops of the Hopi Indian Reservation itself, much has changed since.

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[2]   American anthropologist Alfred Kroeber has criticized the prevailing – and in his view, all too generalizing – ethnological assumptions about a distinctive Pueblo unit or stage of the development of indigenous cultures which would consist of pottery making and Astoried masonry, community construction, the kiva [underground ceremonial chamber with ladders going down], cotton, the matrilineate, direction-color symbolism" and Aperhaps priesthood by learning to fill a recognized office, altars, masks, ancestor impersonation [the so-called *kachina* figures], the importance of the ideas of emergence from the underworld and of sex fertilization." Relying not so much on evolutionary but ecological considerations, Kroeber argued for the existence of a Pueblo cultural "area". See Kroeber 1928 (citation from p. 379).

Nowadays, no one visiting the American Southwest can avoid experiencing the peculiar *reactions* of the Pueblo Indians to the tourist industry. The Native Americans seem to have learnt to use it for their own purposes. They make profits from it, but they also do their best in order to regulate it, to shape it according to their own ideas and way of life. This remarkable *indigenous regulation* of tourism is well worth considering and it is a particular aspect of it that I would like to focus on in the following. It is namely an etiquette for tourists, a body of normative texts compiled by the Native Americans themselves aiming to teach visitors how to behave in their communities.

Such normative texts proliferate inside as well as outside the Indian reservations of the Southwest; they can take every form and channel of (post)modern communication used there. They are to be found in travel books as well as in the homepages of the individual native communities on the Internet (for the Zuni Pueblo, see for example www.zuni.k12.nm.us/tribe/tourist.html); in the case of the Hopi Indians there are specific web pages for what "to do" and also what "not to do" in their reservation (see, for example, the following pages: www.hopi.nsn.us/Pages/Tourism/todo.html and www.nau.edu/-hcpo-p/visit/nottodo.htm). Rules of conduct are in information leaflets and colorful brochures published about the Pueblo communities which are allowed to be visited by foreigners, but you can find them also on paper-based as well as digital editions of specific newspapers for visitors (among the former, the Hopi Indians have for example a *Special Visitor's Guide: Welcome to Hopiland!* and a *Yee see Welcome to Hopi,* accessible at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in the village of Kykötsmovi, Arizona). The picture below shows my own copies of this leaflet:

Special Visitors' Guide: *Welcome to Hopiland!*

HOPI:

Story of our People

©A. Dawahoya 1997

Welcome ...

HERE IN ARIZONA, WE TRACE OUR HISTORY BACK TWO MILLENNIUM. WE EMERGED HERE OVER 100 GENERATIONS AGO, MAKING US ONE OF THE OLDEST CULTURES IN NORTH AMERICA.

Photos in Visitors' Guide property of The Hopi Tribe
A Hopi Water Maiden.

Hopi clan markings and ruins of ancestral villages clearly mark traditional boundaries of our homeland. We are one of the oldest cultures in North America.

We Hopi are descendants of an ancient people, the Hisatsinom. Hopis and our ancestors lived in these arid lands long before the coming of the Paiutes, Navajo, Apaches, Spanish and Americans. We have struggled hard to maintain our livelihood and protect our land. Our traditional ceremonies include renewal of our life pattern, migrations and spiritual connection

zealous and unwanted efforts to four other villages. For the next 50 years, the Spanish tried to suppress the Hopi religious and ceremonial practices. This consequently led to the Hopi joining the Rio Grande Pueblos to the east, in the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, when the Pueblo people rose up in unison and destroyed most of the priests

troops. This campaign became known as the "Long Walk." Within a few years after entering into a treaty with the United States, the Navajos once again began moving into Hopi country, ignoring their treaty.

In 1882, by Presidential Executive Orders, President Chester A. Arthur

Navajo Tribe. Hopis objected to this view, but government indifference and inaction prevented any meaningful use of the remainder of the Hopi area by Hopi people.

Finally, in 1958, the Hopis were able to obtain legislation (P.L. 85-547) which

Furthermore, one finds such rules inscribed also on wooden boards, notice-boards on the border of the reservations and/or the entrance of the individual villages. Inscriptions and signs are to be seen all over in such places. They remind visitors of the Euro-American traffic signs; information, warnings, mandatory signs, prohibition signs, signs giving orders—signs that are used by the Native American communities to direct and control the ways of cultural encounter these days. They are sometimes purely textual, sometimes they form a mélange of textual and visual, figurative elements; and sometimes again you see a single visual sign and nothing else. Let me cite here from some of the written, textual etiquettes that testify to a wide range of requirements and rules of conduct that tourists are supposed to follow in an Indian reservation and, compared to one another, they also indicate how similar these requirements and rules are in the different Pueblo communities of Arizona and New Mexico. A big notice-board at the entrance of the Hopi Indian village of Kykötsmovi, Arizona says: "Welcome to Kykötsmovi. Please respect our privacy and obey our regulations. Absolutely not permitted: 1. Photographing, 2. Sound recording, 3. Hiking foot trails, 4. Removal of objects, 5. Sketching." In the sense that I did take photos of such etiquette boards, I have violated the ban on photography myself. This ban is the most frequent prohibition on the Native American reservations (see also Lippard 1992). I have taken pictures, however, only of those notice-boards, and we have asked the permission of the village leaders or those available for anything else that we were expected.

Photograph by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

A small green leaflet accessible in the bookshop and information center in Old Oraibi, another village of the Hopi Reservation says: "Welcome to the Village of Old Oraibi. *If you wish to visit the village, PLEASE DO NOT pick up any objects from the ground. *Stay distance from the Kivas (Chambers with STEP LADDERS going down). *Walk only in the streets and NOT (beyond) the village AND NOT to the church. [A drawing of the ancient Mennonite mission church of the reservation is inserted in this place in the leaflet and then three visual signs follow: no cameras, no videos and no sketching. At the bottom the leaflet says:] Thank you and Have a nice day!" (My own leaflet copy with capitals and highlights as in the original text.)

Moreover, a huge notice-board in the entrance of Acoma Pueblo and Indian reservation, New Mexico announces: "Attention Visitors. A camera permit must be purchased before taking pictures. [A sign of no camera is drawn in this place in the text.] Absolutely no picture taking allowed inside the [ancient Catholic mission] church, the cemetery, or in the museum. Prior permission must be obtained before taking pictures of any individual or their art work. [A sign of no video camera is drawn in this place.] Absolutely no video cameras allowed on the entire Acoma reservation! Violators will have their videotapes confiscated." A smaller board painted in red and white and to be found in the entrance of the same pueblo, next to the huge one says: "No visitors beyond this point."

Photograph by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

As for the Zuni Pueblo of New Mexico, a brochure printed in black and white and entitled _"Visitor Information"_ contains the map of Zuni Indian village and details the following instructions: "Visitor's Etiquette. ✱ Absolutely no photography, video/ audio recording or drawing of ceremonial activities is allowed. ✱ Absolutely no interacting with ceremonial participants. ✱ Keep a distance from participants and ceremonial areas. ✱ Kivas, shrine areas and lower area of plaza are strictly off limits. Roof tops are designated for your viewing, if you wish to observe. ✱ No biking/hiking/climbing on or around ruin areas. Removal of artifacts is strictly prohibited (e.g. pot sherds, flints). Violators of these rules are subject to penalties in accordance with tribal and federal laws." (My own leaflet copy.)

Finally, let me cite the rules of conduct distributed in the Zuni Museum and Heritage Center. It is a xeroxed sheet containing a list of regulations for tourists and consisting of seventeen different points. I would like to cite only nine here. These nine points, together with the Zunis' welcome of visitors (see below) can throw light on the very reasons for the existence of such etiquettes. The Zunis' list of regulations is one of the best sources to indicate in what ways former visitors (treasure hunters, tourists, hippies, New Agers and the like) intruded in Native American communities, their local social as well as private spheres, and clashed with the norms of the 'Other' culture. The welcome paragraph reads: "Welcome to Zuni Pueblo or Halona Idi:wanna, the Middle Place of the world. You are welcomed as a special guest to our community. Help us to preserve our ancient and honored way of life by observing the following guidelines _[and hereafter the seventeen rules of conduct can be read]:_

✦ BE RESPECTFUL AND USE COMMON COURTESY WHEN VISITING OUR COMMUNITY. Zuni Pueblo is not a "living museum" but a LIVING COMMUNITY comprised of private homes as well as sacred areas. Only enter a home after being invited. ✦ AVOID ENTERING OR DISTURBING PLAZAS, KIVAS, SHRINES, ROOFTOPS, AND GRAVEYARDS. ✦ OBSERVE OUR TRADITIONAL DANCES AND CEREMONIES WITH RESPECT AND QUIET ATTENTION. PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT THESE ARE HIGHLY SACRED RELIGIOUS EVENTS AND ARE NOT PERFORMANCES. Avoid interrupting non-dancing participants' concentration by asking questions, talking, or visiting with friends. Applause after a dance is not appropriate. DO NOT APPROACH, TALK TO, OR TOUCH ANY COSTUMED DANCERS OR MEN DRESSED IN CEREMONIAL ATTIRE, because they are engaged in their solemn duties. ✦ ABSOLUTELY NO VIDEO / TAPE RECORDING, PHOTOGRAPHING, OR SKETCHING OF RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES, including inside the Old Zuni Mission. [...] VIOLATORS OF THESE RULES ARE SUBJECT TO PENALTIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH ZUNI TRIBAL AS WELL AS FEDERAL LAWS" (My own leaflet copy with capitals and highlights as in the original text).

Such regulations emphasize particularly that a foreign visitor cannot even take a walk in these communities without getting a previous permission from the local indigenous authorities. It is also only with the local, Native guides or "cultural interpreters" as the Zunis say, that (s)he is allowed to enter the pueblos and/or the archaeological sites. The written regulations tend to be put in practice as we have experienced in many places. Similarly to their normative texts and figural signs, the Pueblo Indians

try hard to make a clear distinction between "todos" and "nottodos" during the official village walks, too that they organize for visitors. We attended two "walking tours" in two different pueblos, in Sichomovi on the Hopi Reservation, Arizona and in Acoma Pueblo, New Mexico. We wanted to visit the Zuni Pueblo, too, but we were informed in the Zuni Museum and Heritage Center of the old pueblo has been closed because tourists had violated the regulations during the previous week. The fact that the indigenous sanctions could go as far as closing down entire villages for tourists is testified for example by an earlier photograph made by Cradoc Bagshaw back in 1975. The year before that a big sign was placed outside the pueblo of Old Oraibi on the Hopi Reservation, Arizona by the village chief that said: "WARNING – NO OUTSIDE WHITE VISITORS ALLOWED BECAUSE OF YOUR FAILURE TO OBEY THE LAWS OF OUR TRIBE AS WELL AS THE LAWS OF YOUR OWN. THIS VILLAGE IS HEREBY CLOSED" (see Fig. 5 in Clemmer 1979, 537).

During the official walks, a rather restricted use of the space was imposed upon us, visitors by our indigenous guides (middle aged women in both cases). Showing us around in their pueblos, they have carefully constructed a proper frontier between spaces and places that were free and other spaces that were off limit and thus forbidden for us. Free spaces included primarily the places of sale and consummation; the "vendor tables" of the indigenous merchants and artists, the public places for the sale of the indigenous artifacts (mainly pottery and, for Sichomovi, *kachina dolls;* [3] see also Colton 1959 and Brody 1979). The forbidden spaces consisted mostly of the places of privacy, the more or less restricted, or secret spaces of the other aspects of their indigenous way of life (e.g. houses, ceremonial buildings, etc). We were allowed to stop and communicate with the indigenous inhabitants –let alone to enter their houses- only there and when the latter were selling their wares. This rather commercial aspect of the indigenous "walking tour" is clearly revealed by the so-called *"Tour Guide / Vendor Guide Evaluation"* of the Acoma people, a one-page questionnary that the visitors are asked to fill after having attended the tour. Questions like the following are to be found there: "Did [the tour guide] allow 2–3 minutes at vendor tables?", "Were you informed of the vendor guide system?", "Were you satisfied with the Vendor Guide System?" (*Acoma Sky City Tour/Vendor Guide Evaluation* sheet, my own copy). As for the forbidden spaces and restricted areas, they consisted not only of private houses, but also ceremonial places and buildings such as kivas, and "water cisterns, cliff edges," and finally ruins of ancient buildings together with a number of particular areas, like the one "behind the church" which was used as a cemetery in the Pueblo of Acoma (*Pueblo of Acoma – Acoma Sky City. Oldest Continuosly Inhabited City in the United States,* printed brochure for visitors, my own copy). The division of space for tourists was quite similar in the Hopi pueblo of Sichomovi, too. As our Hopi guide noticed a young American couple wandering around and entering an off limit space behind a shop of pottery and kachinas—this shop was to be found exactly on

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[3]   The so-called "kachina dolls" are dolls of small size made of wood, clothes, feathers etc. by the Pueblo Indian artists for the purpose of selling them to tourists. In traditional Pueblo Indian culture, such dolls were crafted for children as a gift but also as a means of learning about the kachinas.

the boundary of the area which was designated for us to enter freely—, she cried out angrily, ran towards the youngsters, gesticulating wildly with her red umbrella and drove them back from there.

What we experienced in July 2001 in the Pueblo Indian reservations—a particular Native American use of tourism for their own (economic and other) purpose, with severe restrictions of the visit, that is a remarkable mix of making money and establishing cultural secrecy in the same time[4]—is inscribed in a broader historical-political context. Apart from its economic and artistic aspects, it has its roots in a cultural-political movement which goes back to the 1960s/1970s and which has become known as the "American Indian Ethnic Renewal" (Nagel 1996; Hertzberg 1988). Concerning especially the Native American tribes in the United States (but in some respects also those living in Canada) and studied by now by a number of sociologists, anthropologists, museologists, historians and legal scholars, this movement aimed/aims at reviving the specific American Indian values and ways of life while it accepts and uses various aspects of the surrounding Euro-American culture. According to its fundamental and widely shared Pan-Indian principles, being "Indian" should take on a new and honorable meaning in modern times. Native Americans should learn to be proud of their cultural heritage, they should preserve it and they should develop it while integrating in (post)modern American society in the same time. It is in the spirit of this new American Indian cultural pride that a good number of tribal museums were established from the 1970s, that elementary and secondary schools came into being on the reservations to (re-)teach children and adults their ancient language, that local newspapers were founded and, later, electronic homepages were made for the different Native American communities to find modern expression for their old/new indigenous identity (Archambault 1993; Nagel 1996). The Zuni Museum and Heritage Center, for example, which opened in 1991 demonstrates this newly formed identity in the very items of its permanent exhibit, aimed as much for visitors as tribal members. A drawing representing the Zuni clans in the exhibit says: "Our clans are the Zuni community. Celebrate with us our proud A:shiwi heritage!" The general message of the exhibit is written on a board above the huge, life-size photos of Zuni leaders: "Proud to be Zuni." (Text based on my photos; as an exception to the general prohibition, it was allowed to take photos *inside* the Zuni Museum and Heritage Center.) The general message of the Hopi Cultural Center Museum was similar, and big noticeboards were to be found in the streets of the community of Kykötsmovi announcing: "By embracing Hopi values, together we can heal and rehabilitate our future."

This is a completely different image (of the self) from the ones that the early Euro-American explorers or the late 19th and early 20th century US advertisements conveyed

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[4] In contrast, a touristic village walk organized by the indigenous inhabitants may include the exhibition of the local, "traditional" culture as other cases testify. This culture may even be constructed as "primitive" and "jungly" to meet the expectations of the visitors, like in the case of the Tharu villages in Nepal's Chitwan district (Guneratne 2001). Some of the Native American tribes themselves rely on such ways and means of representing their own culture; it is however not widespread in the North American reservations (Sz. Kristóf 2007 and 2012c).

of the Pueblo Indians. The latter do not like to be considered "archaic," "primitive," exotic any more. They appreciate their past, the ancient features of their indigenous culture and they make use of them in their own advertisements aimed at visitors. But this past is now considered entirely their own. Acoma pueblo for example is described in the local brochures for tourists as *"Pueblo of Acoma - Acoma Sky City. Oldest Continuously Inhabited City in the United States."* And it is the Acoma Indians themselves who want to tell *their* version of the colonial—and also postcolonial—past. Just like our tour guide did during the village walk. The communities of the Hopi Indian Reservation address visitors in a similar way: "Take a step back in time. Come visit the beautiful plateau country in northeastern Arizona, homeland of the Hopi, experience an ancient culture, tradition and history as it has continuously existed for thousands of years, one of the oldest cultures in North America" (*First Mesa Consolidated Villages, Walpi, Sichomovi, and Hano/Tewa. The Hopi Reservation,* xeroxed information sheet, my own copy). This "experience" is however restricted and controlled by the Hopi elders (and the village guides) themselves. The Hopis seem to use their past for their present purposes, like the Zunis. The latter announce: "Our community-directed eco-museum is committed to honoring, nurturing, and cultivating the dynamic process of A:shiwi culture. Join us as we celebrate the past for what it can teach us about our present and future!" (*A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center,* brochure for visitors, my own copy).

The emergence of such a locally regulated tourism as well as the implied cultural secrecy are related to another important aspect of the contemporary efforts of the Native Americans to preserve their culture. Since 1990, a federal law on *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (NAGPRA) established "a legal framework for repatriating human remains and ritual objects to Indian tribes that request them, provided that claimants can substantiate direct descent or, in the case of objects, prior ownership" (Brown 1998, 194). During the many years preparing the way to this legislation and in the spirit of the AAmerican Indian Ethnic Renewal", a number of Native American tribes submitted requests to the archeological and ethnographical museums, universities and other public collections of the US to claim back pieces of their "cultural patrimony" that have been possessed by the former. So did for example the Zunis, to whom the Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC gave back their Twin War Gods already in 1987. These sacred figures had been removed from the Zuni reservation by the anthropologists, Frank Hamilton Cushing and James Stevenson in the 1880s, and, following their repatriation, were placed back in their local, indigenous shrine (Merrill-Ladd-Ferguson 1993). Since NAGPRA being in effect, such requests from the various Native American tribes have multiplied (Mihesuah 2000; Thomas 2000). I would mention only one more case relating to the Pueblo Indians. In 1999, Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico got back the remains of not less than 2067 ancestors from the Peabody Museum in Harvard University, Cambridge, which had been removed in 1914 by archeologists. Having got them back, the people of Jemez Pueblo reburied them ceremonially on their reservation in 2004 (Tarpy and Block 2000; Reed 2004). The history of NAGPRA constitutes a success story for and of the American Indians. It adds to their indigenous pride, honor and self-consciousness which are emphasized both in visitors' etiquettes and organized village walks. It seems thus that the current forms and features of the Pueblo Indian tourism are embedded in a com-

plex—and as yet unfinished—historical-political process of the construction of a new Native American identity. They reveal a remarkable (post)modern indigenous cultural policy developed by the minorities oppressed in the past gradually finding their ways of controlling—and in the case of the visitors' etiquettes and the repatriation of indigenous cultural patrimony, even dominating—their ex-controllers/ex-dominators: the Anglo-American majority.

The question of repatriation seems, however, more complicated than that. As it was suggested by Michael F. Brown, anthropologist at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, the boundaries, the scope and the range of NAGPRA are rather vague. Consequently, the law itself can Aset the stage" for Native Americans to claim back cultural pieces *other* than human remains and ritual objects (Brown 1998, 194). To mention a case relating to the Pueblo Indians again, the chairman of the Hopi tribe sent a letter to the US museums in 1994 in which he expressed the tribe's Ainterest into all published and unpublished field notes derived from research of the Hopi Tribe. Of specific interest to us -as he put it- are field notes and other records that document esoteric, ritual and privileged information on religious and ceremonial practices and customs." The request of the Hopis went, however, even further. "We are also requesting that you place an immediate moratorium on all research activities which require access to Hopi archival material by universities, colleges, independent researchers and organizations not authorized by the Hopi Tribe and whose purpose do not address current repatriation efforts of the tribe. The archival material includes sensitive information contained in field notes, artifact/material collections and photo and film archives. This request is meant to address the 'last minute rush' by researchers to access Hopi information and collections before they are declared 'off limits' or are actually repatriated back to the tribe. All future research requests on the Hopi will be with the expressed written permission of the Hopi Tribe" (Haas 1996, 4; *emphasis added*).

The ongoing war of representation fought by the Native Americans for indigenous "cultural copyright" (Brown 1998) is also to be found in the background of the visitors' etiquettes. In this light, it seems no surprise what we learned in the summer of 2001 about the indigenous reception of the above-mentioned collection containing Aby Warburg's Pueblo Indian photographs (Cestelli Guidi–Mann 1998). We were informed in the Tribal Office in Kykötsmovi that the Hopi leaders have launched a proper campaign against the latter with which they want to stop the publication and distribution on the ground that Warburg's photos have been taken without Native permission claiming that they violate the intimacy and secrecy of the religious ceremonies of the tribe (information based on personal conversations in the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykötsmovi and on correspondence between the Hopi Tribe and the Warburg Institute, London; all in my possession and courtesy of the Hopi Tribe, not public; Sz. Kristóf 2004 and 2014b). Just as the notice-board says on the border of the village of Oraibi that Warburg himself visited in 1896: "Welcome to Old Oraibi. No pictures. Thank you."

Photograph by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

It has by now become a scholarly commonplace inside as well as outside cultural anthropology that visiting 'Other' cultures is never an innocent, neutral procedure, neither culturally, nor politically (Geertz 1973 and 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Rosaldo 1989). All the less it has been recently as we witness a rapidly increasing political self-consciousness of those "Others", that is, post-colonial minorities not only in the US, but also in Canada (Jacknis 2000), Australia (Whittaker 1994), New Zealand (McKenzie 1993), New Caledonia (Kasarhérou 1993) as well as in numerous countries in Africa (Adedze 1995; Schildkrout 1995; Hodgson 2002). These minorities–indigenous people living in those lands already before the arrival of the Europeans and Euro-Americans–themselves struggle these days to shape the new forms of the Encounter while asserting their indigenous Acultural property rights." Museologists and legal scholars have to learn to cope with the new challenges involved in this development (see especially Kahn 2000 on how the Burke Museum of Natural History in Seattle, Washington has established an exemplary Community Advisory Board consisting of Asian, Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander and Northwest Native American members to plan a new anthropological exhibit in 1990 about the multiplicity of cultures living on the Pacific Rim; similar issues were discussed in Rosenblum 1996; Handler 1997; Berman 1997; Tsosie 1997; and Welsh 1997). Scholars of the social sciences—anthropologists, sociologists, historians, etc. —should they elaborate, case by case, a compromise between their own ideas of the domain of the "public" and the various indigenous expectations and requirements of its restriction (George 1993; Zempléni

1996; Brown 1998; see also Sz. Kristóf 2007, 2008 and 2012c). As for my own com-
promise in the case of outlining the different aspects of the Hopi Indians' reception
of Aby Warburg's photos, it is to be read in the paragraphs of the present essay. I
have written about the history of the journey of Aby Warburg to the Southwest in my
previous publications, too (see Sz. Kristóf 2004, 2014b), and have discussed the recent
views of the Native Americans about the preservation of their culture and the implied
cultural secrecy in further writings (see Sz. Kristóf 2007, 2008, 2012c).

However, my experience in the summer of 2001 on the Pueblo Indian reservations
have confirmed my conviction that anyone attempting to understand recent (or, for
that matter, older, historical) cultural phenomena—such as Pueblo tourism, Pueblo
Indian identity in this case—needs a holistic approach, but in another sense than it
has been used in cultural anthropology insofar. (S)he would need not only historical-
sociological-anthropological viewpoints to apply, but also political and reflexive ones.
The latter are needed to make the observer sensitive to the multiplicity of the local
conflicts, social problems and the agents implied in them as well as to the various
ethical considerations that emerge in and with them. If tourism is indeed an "an-
thropological subject" as it was suggested a long time ago (Nash 1981) and as it has
become by now indeed, more researches would be necessary into the dynamics, the
clashing and a possible reconciliation of the ideas about the freedom of information
and cultural secrecy. In my view, this type of dynamics constitutes one of the most
important issues of intercultural encounters at the beginning of the 21st century. In
this context thus, the present essay is a mere modest contribution from a historian/
anthropologist aiming to turn scholarly attention to these questions and also to em-
phasize the most fundamental implication of repatriation studies. In other words, the
understanding of the broader, deeper historical-ethical contexts of the recent emer-
gence of new indigenous identities can contribute to a better orientation in our post-
colonial, post-modern world. We have to learn to respect one another's rules of con-
duct; we have to learn to accept one another.

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Note:

This is an updated version of my article published previously as "'Welcome to Old Oraibi! No Pictures.' Etiquettes for Tourists in the American Southwest in 2001 " in *Touristic Construction and Consumption of Culture(s). Papers of the 8th Finnish–Hungarian Ethnological Symposium, Lakitelek, Hungary, August 25–31, 2003.* Miklós Cseri, Zoltán Fejős and Zsuzsa Szarvas, Eds., Budapest–Szentendre, 2004, pp. 73–84. I have not changed its argumentation and examples, I still hold them valid and hopefully convincing. I have also included my studies concerning the European representations of Native Americans that have been published since in it; I have been working on three particular aspects of those representations, namely a recent (Sz. Kristóf 2004, 2008 and forthcoming), a historical (Sz. Kristóf 2004, 2012a, 2012b, 2014a, 2014b), and a third aspect that takes the inner, Native point of view of the American Indians into consideration (Sz. Kristóf 2007, 2008, 2012c). I have inserted these studies in a number of relevant places in this text, with the source indicated at the end under the Works Cited. This study represents the beginning of my investigations in the historical approaches, as well as recent forms of Eurocentrism, colonialism and the indigenous responses to them.

MAE WEST'S AMERICA(S)

Zsófia Anna Tóth

My aim is to present and analyze the wide interpretive realm of America and Americas by Mae West in her works. I will primarily focus on her films but also include some of her plays and novels to explore her concept of America/Americas. In her oeuvre, West geographically as well as culturally covers almost the entire United States (from New York, to New Orleans, to San Francisco, to Alaska etc.) while making trips to Latin America as well (where she lives for a while), also incorporating her activities there into a wide concept of America. Additionally, she addresses the age-old debates and love-hate relationship between the US and the UK, which is sometimes comically referred to as the 51st state. Apart from the geographical as well as cultural coverage of America/Americas in West's works, the following issues are also addressed (these can be related to the opening up of the interpretation and discoveries of various Americas): race, class, gender and sexual orientation. In West's America/Americas, people from various races, ethnicities, nationalities get a voice and have visibility; even their accents are considered part of their identity. In addition, class issues are also targeted and thus people from various classes also have a right to tell their stories and have the chance for positive representation, as well as women of all colors, nationalities and social layers just as people of non-hetereonormative sexual orientation.

Although we cannot claim that West managed to achieve a Whitmanian depth in her works, she did not even mean to do so, but somehow she is a carnivalesque kind of Walt Whitman in that she tries to capture America in its universality or wholeness. She always tries to present how varied and multifaceted America is and she is not uncritical in her assessment. In general, the phenomenon known as Mae West will probably not trigger thoughts that she was a serious artist but only a platinum blond, dumb sex goddess, who did not concern herself with issues of race, class, gender sexual orientation or the concept of America; however, she discussed all these things, but covered all by her sparkling and overwhelming personality as well as her magical web of humor. That is why she can appear to be a non-significant artist, who only capitalized on her sex appeal and animal magnetism, providing merely light entertainment. Interestingly, the use of humor is one of the major reasons why she seems to be non-disturbing or insignificant, while it is exactly this tool that makes her the truly subversive and dangerous. Her power can be mainly attributed to her being a prime entertainer and a great humorist. Humor critics, in general, agree that the production and use of humor is a male privilege and a woman venturing into the 'wild wild world' of humor risks her femininity as well as her status as a so-called proper woman. Mae West, as a humorist and a comedian, was not a typically feminine or sexy woman but a strong, phallic presence with obvious androgynous features, who provided us with a quite egalitarian view of Americans.

Although she had undoubtedly all these above-mentioned features, she was still viewed as an attractive and desirable woman; however, she was not sexy but sexual.

In fact, according to Douglas Brode, she is similar to Alice in Disney's early *Alice* shorts: "[w]hile Alice is not uninterested in men, Disney's character differs significantly from most of her female onscreen contemporaries [...] by projecting a commonsense wisdom" (Brode 168). West and her impersonated female heroes are always sensible and rational women, yet capable of true feelings; they have a strong commonsense while being wise—also in connection with men (which is only a seemingly weak point). However, what is quite intriguing is that for West, as "[f]or Alice [as opposed to Betty Boop], though, there's no incompatibility between feminine attractiveness and feminist attitudes" (168). It is again true in the case of West's protagonists. She and her female heroes are all attractive women, with ample feminine allure, and while they enjoy this, they usually do not lose their heads over any person. What is more, this feminine allure and attraction is generally heightened to a ridiculous degree, which obviously leads to questioning and challenging cultural and societal codes, the expectations and roles of women as well as their appearance and behavior.

Another significant feature of West is her iconic posture involving the hands on her hips. It is striking to recognize that, whenever she is on screen, most of the time she has at least one of her hands on her hip(s), a sign of dominance. Brode, when interpreting the character of Snow White in Disney's animated film, argued that this posture is, in fact, not of a servant or an oppressed person in her relation to the Dwarves, but "[h]ands on hips, she is a take-charge woman who unrelentingly insists they wash [...] before sitting down" (179). Eventually, these little men, "child-men" (176), become a group of adults functioning as a group, with real male bonding between them as a result of Snow White's leadership; they all "come to see a woman in charge is not necessarily a bad thing. It all depends on the individual woman who holds that position" (179–180). Additionally, there is a mess in the world of the (male) dwarves "until a right-minded woman takes charge" (175), and "by a gradual but full acceptance of a female leader do they become 'men' (that is, adult persons) in the truest sense" (176). About the funny singing-dancing sequence of the film, Brode claims that "Snow White is formidable" while it is visually implied "that the strong woman is worth any two men" when it takes two of them to dance with her, while she eventually "remains, however, as feminine as she is feminist" (180). West, while being overtly and exaggeratedly feminine, is always a feminist, and, being an extremely strong woman, she is not only worth two but thus quite even more men (which is often visually presented is scenes, for example, when she is surrounded by a big group of men). This is also relevant concerning her sexual and social relationships with men, since for her, two or more of men were never enough. This primarily refers to the 'dancing' part of West's performance since, as Elizabeth Bell cleverly remarks, "the seamless quality of the dance at once representing and replacing the sexual act. The carefully encoded and constructed aesthetic of eroticism is transformed ultimately into (an)aesthetic asexuality" in Disney (113), and Bell here cites Agnes de Mille who states that "[d]ancing represents sex in its least costly from, free from imprisonment and free to a great extent from the emotional responsibility and, above all, as a sure thing, independent of someone else's pleasure" (qtd. in Vincent 1979, 150; Bell 113).

Moreover, West is always very rhythmic (even her walk) and ready to 'dance', which is usually a rather 'dirty dance' and resembles much more a foreplay than (an)-

aesthetic asexuality. Since many such scenes were not allowed to be produced due to the regulations of the Production Code, the references and various uses of dance and rhythm are all to reflect on or to indirectly point to the sexual act in West's works. For example, in *I'm No Angel* (1933), while she changes her clothes, her lover waits outside in the hall and starts to play the piano. She remarks with a knowing expression and a smirk to her maids that "that guy's got rhythm, hmmm?", and the maids start to laugh (Ruggles 59 min).

West looks formidable in all of her appearances. She has never been a fragile flower or has had a thin figure, and she was a commanding, imposing person; she always appeared physically bigger than life, which is interesting, since she was only 5' (1, 52 m) (cf. IMDb source). However, she always capitalized on her boisterous figure; thinness or fragility were never her priorities. While, in reality she was not a woman to take for granted, her seemingly-physically 'big appearance' was the result of cinematographic techniques and montage that emphasized her formidable personality and star ego. Although West was never the director of her films, an example of Molly Haskell's claim about Orson Welles applies to her as well. According to Haskell, other characters in the story (as well as people outside the story who contribute to its production in any way) "must squeeze in after Welles' ego or alter ego has taken its place" (204). And so they did with West. Saul Austerlitz is of a similar opinion when declaring that:

> West is so much larger than life, so thoroughly demanding of our attention, that her supporting cast—the hustlers and whores, gangsters and politicians, maids and chauffeurs—are wooden dummies, coached to walk and talk in the precise manner designed to best display the star. (76)

Nevertheless, West, through her intelligence, acute perception and keen sense of humor, managed to create such female heroes, as well as male characters, who were much more complex than they might first appear. As a result, these representations are much more subversive than an openly opposing or protesting character. As writer, auteur, actress, performer and public persona, she posed challenges to the issues and boundaries of gender, sexuality, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, nationality and class. Through her witticisms and comic acts and actions, she transgressed many boundaries. While, in fact, she hardly ever did or said anything with which she actually committed those transgressions, she always appeared to do so; her art of subversion managed to have a lasting impact.

West was never faint-hearted and she dared to openly tackle delicate issues such as sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular, interracial sexual relations, prostitution, criminality, the working of the underworld, drug use, suicide, and murders; that is why she was a favored and frequent target of various censors. Yet, in spite of the controversial themes of her works, she did not cross the unwritten rules and lines of decency society required of her. This is specifically true about her films produced under the strict censoring eyes of to the Production Code but she was much more daring in her plays and performances on stage or in her novels, in which she posed a real, provocative challenge to the decades' notions on personal freedom, human rights and equality in general. Whenever she decided to discuss a controversial topic, her aim was to ameliorate the situation of those oppressed by it, especially women, but also homosexuals or people of color. In her oeuvre, as well as in her real life,

West promoted the social and cultural equality of disadvantaged groups and minorities with the help of humor.

As an author as well as a performer, West managed to convey her transgressive and subversive ideas tailored to her fictional characters that she often played. The central female characters are usually performed by her, which adds a new level of challenge and subversion to the often already risqué written material. She wrote her own roles and lines and performed them the way she wanted to; she was not only a performer-actress that most people would know, but also an author-writer behind the scenes. In this context, I fully agree with Lillian Schlissel that West "was a writer as much as a performer, and the likelihood is that if she had not written her own material, there would have been no stellar career" (1). However, it is also to be emphasized that she had a particular, trademark performing style, yet all this could not have raised her to such success and fame without her clever writing imbued with humor.

Many women artists convey their criticism towards the system and its ideologies that entrap them into specific gender roles through the use of humor. For example, Jillian Heydt-Stevenson argues that Jane Austen's witty and bawdy humor is "tendentious," which is "(Freud's term for humor's aggressive purposiveness)," in a way that provides an outlet for her hostility toward ideologies that dominate women (337), which could likewise be said about Mae West, since she is also very straightforward, often to the point of being rude; moreover, she usually behaves quite shockingly and is aggressive with her witty and bawdy remarks and one-liners. According to Regina Barreca, women's use of humor can be viewed as a mode of protest against the injustices of society: "[w]omen's humor emerges as a tool for survival in the social and professional jungles, and as a weapon against the absurdities of injustice" (2). Eileen Gillooly is of the opinion that humor can be both aggressive and defensive independently of gender. Nevertheless, those in the "culturally feminine position" are always more vulnerable, as it "comprises, for both genders, a complex set of defensive and aggressive strategies, [however] its defensive function is peculiarly acute for those occupying a culturally feminine position" (Gillooly 22). Furtermore, Kristen Anderson Wagner carried out a study examining why women as comedians and humorists are still viewed as danger and threat. She drew the conclusion that it is because of these women's power of subversion, challenge and critique by saying that "[w]omen who engage in comic performances have the potential to subvert the social structures that keep them oppressed; by poking fun at those in power, especially men, women have the ability to expose their weaknesses and challenge their authority" (40). Joanne R. Gilbert writes in a similar way, claiming that women humorists have the potential for subverting the status quo by being able to initiate transformation and change. They are dangerous exactly because they show resistance, and they do not stay silent and are able to critique the dominant culture exactly because of their marginalized and distanced position (Gilbert 3–5). Hence, West as a female comedian and humorist has a significant impact on society, and by bringing delicate issues into the open, she makes people discuss them, and this involves powers of subversion and change.

Another slightly unusual aspect of her works, characters and performances is that she seems to be the embodiment of the Horatio Alger myth: she creates a female version of this specific myth of America of the self-made man, here rather the self-made

woman that she is. I already argued in a former paper entitled "Mae West. The Dirty Snow White" that West was, in many respects a masculine figure, mainly because of her use of humor that is considered traditionally a male privilege but also because of her acts and behavior similar to a male *Vice* figure. Hence, we could add another masculine theme to her repertoire that she appropriates by creating her own version(s) of the Horatio Alger myth, popular in American culture. Therefore, apart from being a sexually alluring woman providing prime entertainment and being a clever woman writer who also uses the powers of humor, West's success can also be attributed to her use, appropriation as well as alteration of the Horatio Alger myth of the success story.

While discussing Disney's animations, Jack Zipes argues that Disney actually "celebrates an American myth of Horatio Alger: it is a male myth about perseverance, hard work, dedication, loyalty, and justice," and another central concern of Disney was "the triumph of the banished and the underdogs" (37). This is all applicable to West's works and heroines or rather female heroes. They always persevere against all odds; they always work hard even if it seems to be easy; they are always dedicated to what they do and also to the people they are closely connected with; and, although loyalty does not seem to be among West's strongest points, she and her characters are actually always loyal to their friends, colleagues and the good people they interact with. However, these women are not loyal to any man, but only to the ones they are in love with. And although, these women frequently change partners, they usually play straight and do never cheat. But what is even more important concerning this myth is justice: West is always on the side of justice and tries to do everything in her capacity to serve it. Additionally, "the triumph of the banished and the underdogs" (37) is also of central concern for West. She always serves justice to those who were wronged and helps these people become succeed. Zipes also adds an interesting feature of Disney's works concerning the 'feminization' of the Horatio Alger myth, which again leads us to Mae West. He writes that "[i]t may seem strange to argue that Disney perpetuated a male myth through his fairy-tale films when [...] they all featured young women as 'heroines' [...]" (37). In a similar vein, West perpetuated the very same male myth in her own fairy-tales of success, hard work and dedication through her female heroes: she applied the Horatio Alger myth to her own female characters and protagonists. Despite its intensely masculine attribute, this myth is actually applicable to everyone, and as can be seen in Disney's example.

According to Dominique Mainon and James Ursini, *Baby Face* (1933) is another Horation Alger myth with an "ironic, feminist twist" (172). This story -- and Barbara Stanwyck -- are entirely Mae West's contemporaries, and undoubtedly *Baby Face* is an important work of great value of the period while Stanwyck's performance is also brilliant here. However, in this story, the female protagonist uses only her sexuality to get ahead and in spite of being clever and intelligent (and a good worker when she wants to), she does not mean to work hard or to become a self-made woman. She gets from the bottom to the top, but not through loyalty, justice and hard-work or self-realization and improvement. She only wants to get to the top and into riches with the least effort possible so, in the end, she converts and starts anew with her beloved husband after her stellar rise and comet-like fall. Despite all this, I am not

convinced that this is an ironic, feminist twist of the Horatio Alger myth, while the irony can apply to all Mae West works and protagonists.

Enikő Bollobás claims that also Gatsby is similarly a typical Horatio Alger myth embodiment: a story of a young man who comes from a poor background (often from the countryside or rural territories struck with financial deprivation) and who manages to become successful and rich (383) while moving up the social ladder. This is, yet again, the typical trajectory of West's heroines, who are rarely from rural areas and most of the time they stand for the urban poor as well as for the deprived social groups impoverished by the financial, social hardships of the underside of metropolises. Since the social and financial upward movement is always a central theme that West, her protagonists manage to achieve in their own interpretations of the Horatio Alger myth, which promises that "through hard work and perseverance, *anyone* can achieve wealth and status" *[emphasis added]* (Perrucci and Wysong 214 cited in Brislen and Peoples 77). In this sense, anyone in America has the right and possibility to achieve this, and Mae West believes that she and her characters have the right to success in life and so she works hard and with perseverance to get what she wants, becoming a good example for everybody from all walks of life, from all genders, social classes, minorities and races because she shows in her stories that anyone, even those who are not WASPS, can achieve success.

According to James V. Catano, "[t]he myth of self-making is strong in American culture," enjoys "a broad influence because it addresses an equally broad spectrum of needs," and one of its central aims is "to enunciate ideals of democratic progress and individuality" (421). Thus even average people (through West's examples) can be made to believe they can succeed against any odds. Catano quotes Carl Brucker and claims that even by the end of the 20th century there is "an indication of the endurance of the Alger myth and the relevance of this myth [. . .] a myth that continues to shape the beliefs and actions of college students today" (Brucker 270 quoted in Catano 421). However, what is even more important, Catano points out the inherent problems of this myth, namely that it actually ignores the social realities of most people. Catano writes:

> Unfortunately, the myth also urges its audience to *ignore the actualities of mundane social training, sexual bias,* and institutional determination. The pressures and conflicts that inevitably arise from this *gap between an ideological myth and the reality of social formation* lead to difficulties for us both as individuals and as educators. *[emphasis added]* (421)

That is why it is doubly significant that West, a woman living in the early 20th century, managed to appropriate this myth and applied it to her protagonists as well, in a period of time when the opportunities for achievement were limited to a smaller group of people. Catano cites John Cawelti, who defined the socio-historical context of this myth:

> John Cawelti has identified three interwoven strands in the versions of the myth that have unfolded in the last two centuries, particularly in the United States: 1) the conservative protestant ethic, 2) the formation of individual and social virtue first defined by Franklin and Jefferson and later embodied in the Emersonian dictates of self-reliance and the Chautauqua assemblies, and 3) the

> popular definition of the self-made entrepreneur, *often broadly and somewhat incorrectly described as the Horatio Alger myth* (4–6). *[emphasis added]* (423)

This thorough definition of the ideological and conceptual sources of the Horatio Alger myth provides answers to the inaccuracies behind it. According to Catano, the strongest point and greatest appeal of this myth is obviously "the Franklin/Jeffersonian thread" that involves the "democratic ideal of the free pursuit of personal and social growth" (423). This is one of the strongest points of West's stories as well, since she and her female protagonist are always winning in the end, no matter what obstacles had to be mounted or what problems had to be solved. Catano reveals the ways in which the rags-to-riches stories, imbued by the American Dream, came to stand for the Horatio Alger stories in effect that project egalitarian ideals while covering (but not addressing) the discrepancies of these ideals and the social realities behind them:

> This *egalitarian appeal* and its *masking of social reality* surfaces in revised form in the second major strand of the myth identified by Cawelti, the rags-to-riches tale commonly known as the Horatio Alger story. In the Alger tales, the autodidact is the ultimate hero, and the tales' dual focus on *personal growth* and *economic success* lays at least equal stress on the former, with economic success often presented as the *reward for* striving to achieve *intellectual growth*. *[emphasis added]* (424)

This all is relevant in connection to West's world, except that all of this is done with humor and from a woman's point of view. So, here is a twist to the Horatio Alger myth when applied to West. This twist is impressive and noteworthy, because as Catano claims, this myth is strictly and aggressively masculine and the ideal of the self-made man:

> These positive appeals to *masculinist aggression* are paired, of course, with an underlying fear that if a man is not correctly masculine then he is something else. And while the myth focuses its positive appeals on *defining masculinity*, it also tries to clarify the self-made man *against that something else*. The most obvious opposition is that with the *feminine*, and as Nina Baym has so cogently demonstrated, *American cultural myths draw heavily on* the *desires and fears* that surround the resulting *stereotypes*. *[emphasis added]* (426)

West, in this sense, is to be twice lauded as a woman author and performer. However, as I have mentioned it before, there are several masculine aspects in West's works and performances, which resulted in various gender debates in connection with her artistic output as well as real-life person. West's excessive and aggressive femininity functions as a cover for her overt masculinity (Tóth 2015)

Through entire her life, West was fiercely fighting for the egalitarian ideals of America and to everyone's right to the pursuit of happiness. She relentlessly granted this to her characters and her *alter ego* female heroes. In this sense, she was a warrior woman, even if she looked the opposite at first sight. West evidently believed in the words of *The Declaration of Independence* (1776) which state that "[w]e hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with CERTAIN *[inherent and]* inalienable Rights; that among these are Life,

Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness; [...]" (Peterson 235). And she did not allow anybody to stop her or her female protagonists from fulfilling her and their dream(s). Mae West's egalitarian view of the people of America(s) is a topic far too large for the scope of this paper and that is why I focus in the remaining part only on those works that she wrote (not only performed), having had absolute creative control over these scripts and texts. Her play entitled *Sex* (1926) is West's first and perhaps the greatest success and scandal in one; it is about a prostitute named Margy LaMont, who, at the beginning of the story, lives in Montreal's red light district. She later moves to Trinidad, spends some time in a wealthy home in New York, and in the end decides to make a new life in Australia. For LaMont, the land of the free, the home of the brave (as it is stated in the national anthem of the United States) and the place for new opportunities, a renewal and a restart is ironically Australian and not America (92), her native land, where the basic ideals and values are *youthfulness, beginnings, new beginnings, restart, renewal* (Campbell and Kean 20–43, Kroes 28–32). She also says to Agnes, her friend, that it is no use going home (to the US) because society will never let her go straight even if she means to change and therefore she will always be considered stained (41). This story is also one of the most powerful ones concerning class issues, since Clara, the society lady whose life Margy saves (and whose son she later wants to marry), is extremely rude and looks down on her (the upper classes are deeply criticized here). This is what Margy tells Clara:

> You were almost dead when I found you in this room. I brought you back to life, and you try to frame me to save yourself. I don't count, I suppose, because I'm what I am, but I'll tell you something. I'll remember this night as long as I live. And if I ever get a chance, I'll get even with you, you dirty charity, I'll get even. (West 56)

West always considered it significant to make someone's nationality, ethnicity or race authentic in her stories, and if it was possible, she used authentic actors to play it (even their accent was used and seen as important concerning their identity). In *Sex,* there are also several lines written in Spanish. For example, Condez, the host of the Café Port au Prince, tells Margy:

> Señorita, that is the young millionaire, señor Stanton! He is son of the Stanton U.S.A. He is – what you call him – inspector for his father's plantation. He is a very fine gentleman and he is very wealthy. Ah – sí, sí, tiene mucho dinero, y ojalá tenga la oportunidad de conocerle senorita. Perdone, regreso después. (59)

The Drag (1927), another West play, openly discusses the issue of homosexuality and show what happens when somebody is forced into a heterosexual marriage in spite of this. One explicit conversation between the 'husband,' Rolly Kingsbury, and one of his colleagues and employees, Allen Grayson, who is interested in Rolly's wife, reflects on how Rolly tries to live his life the way he wants to while also trying to meet the expectations of his family -- and society:

> **ROLLY:** Why do you suppose I've had you come here so often? Haven't you noticed the friendship I've had for you since the day you stepped into the office? All I could do was eat, drink, sleep, think of Allen Grayson.

GRAYSON: Why, Rolly, I'd hate to have you think of me in just that way. *(Rises.)* I've always looked at you as a he-man. God, this is –

ROLLY: I *(Rises. Crosses toward him and over to table. Hums song.)* I thought you had some idea of how I felt toward you – my great interest in you.

GRAYSON: Yes, I did think it extraordinary. *(Crosses center, turns and looks at him.)* But what about your wife?

ROLLY: You mean why I married?

GRAYSON: Yes.

ROLLY: That is very easy to explain. Clair's dad and mine were very good friends, it was their one ambition that we should marry. It was practically arranged ever since we were children together and Clair is the same today as the day I married her, if you know what I mean.

GRAYSON: Why, I think that's the most contemptible thing you could do – marry a woman and use her as a cloak to cover up what you are. (West 123–124)

This conversation is very expressive because the love 'interest' seems to be rather on the side of the majority's opinion, while the relationship of these two men is destroyed despite the fact that it seemed to be a promising one. It is a powerful and beautiful presentation of an intimate relationship between two people and how devastating the failure might be on the person making the first step, while undoubtedly it is also very disappointing and detrimental for the person approached. Later in the text, when Rolly Kingsbury is killed, during the investigation another expressive and passionate discussion on homosexuality and class issues takes place. West condemns those people who try to take advantage of their superior social position and situation by reminding her readers and viewers all the time that we are all equals and didactically emphasizing how upper class people are spoilt by their privileges. This example also shows the harsh official opinion of the times concerning homosexuality and how science, medicine, psychology, sociology, law and politics treated this issue then. When the two fathers (a physician and a judge, typical representatives of the law of the *pater familias*) discuss the issue previously, they speak about it only in scientific terms, and it is obvious that they do not even want to understand the question. They consider homosexuals 'abnormal,' absolutely refusing any constructive solution to the problem that involves them. However, they finally get a lesson and have no other choice but to think the issue over, even if the final solution leads to murder, in line with 'Ostrich policy', since the Judge tells the police to report instead suicide, so that the family name would not be besmirched with the label of homosexuality.

JUDGE *(Struggles with detectives to get at David):* You killed my boy! You killed my boy!

DAVID: I killed him because I loved him. *(He collapses.)*

JUDGE (Gazing at David): A madman, a madman.

DOCTOR: This is the poor, abnormal creature we discussed the other day.

JUDGE: Take him out of my sight, before I strangle him.

DAVID: Strangle me, strangle me! You Judge Kingsbury – the great supporter of justice – you would crush me, destroy me – but your son was the same as I. Yes, I killed him. I came into the garden – I heard the music, the singing, the dancing – I waited until they were all gone. Then I shot him. When you con-

demn me, you condemn him. A judge's son can be just the same as another man's son – yes a king's son, a fool's son – Oh! I loved him. (West 139).

The next work to be mentioned is *The Pleasure Man* (1928), another play that takes place in "a small Midwest town" (144), mostly in the theatre and, in the end, in the owner's wealthy home. The central topic is the sexual and amorous pursuits and exploits of the 'Pleasure man,' Rodney Terrill, but there are a few wonderful lines presenting the colloquial and vernacular language use on West's part. She is absolutely authentic in her language use: she is life-like with her slang, colloquial words and phrases or use of vernacular language with which she presents a particular group or class of marginalized people. An example of this is the following dialogues when three working class women talk (scrubwomen):

> **LIZZIE:** You're no one to be preachin', Bridget O'Shea. I see you watchin' that good lookin' pianer player. An' what I seen in your eyes – meant no good.
> **BRIDGET:** Let me tell you, Lizzie McSwiggin, When I get so old I can't appreciate a good lookin' man, may the Lord forgive me, then I'll make a box fer meself.
> **MAGGIE:** Ye ould Divil! Talkin' as if ye wuz sixteen. etc. (West 146)

The Constant Sinner (1937) takes place in New York – West's home ground and favorite place (she was a hardcore New Yorker) – and is full of everything that is hidden and dark in society, such as the working of the underworld, prizefights, drug use and abuse, alcoholism, prostitution, criminals, murder and suicide, yet West talks about each issue as if nothing was be more natural. She describes the sexual liaison between an African-American man, Money Johnson, and Babe Gordon, the protagonist, a white woman, with minute detail and precision. The following example is a strong erotic one, even slightly reminding of soft pornography about the lovemaking between the two and about how they think while they make love to each other; we also get the reaction from three other African-American women, who listen to the 'frolicking' in the flat above them. Here again, West pays attention to the special word and language use of the representatives of the given social and racial groups.

> As he sat down on the arm of a chair, his fleshy robe, which was not buttoned but tied at the waist with a silk cord fell open. Babe hesitated a moment; her eyes travelled over his symmetrical body. Finally her eyes met his. They were both thinking. Babe thought: 'Oh, what the hell. A couple of hours won't hurt.' She picked up a cigarette and Johnson quickly lit a match and held it for her. 'Get me a drink!' she commanded. He poured her a whisky straight, and she drank it down. He also had one. Then he went over to her. 'Ah knows yo' wouldn't leave me. Ah knows yo' couldn't leave me, when yo' know how much Ah wantcha.' He held her in his arms and kissed her. [...] He intended to keep her there. Never to let her out of his sight. She couldn't go back to the other man now. If things got too hot for him here, he figured on going to Paris with her where black and white could live openly. [...] Lisa cocked her head to one side and listened for a moment. Her lips twisted into a grin in the darkness: 'Dat man up dere,' she said, 'after bein' in gaol for three months, is feelin' lively.' 'Shut yo' mout', Liza, goddam yo'!' Big Ida growled. 'Ain't Ah busted up enough inside widout yo' remindin' me about dat low slut up dere?' (174–176)

In *I'm no Angel* (1933), Tira has several African-American maids and her closest friend ois one of them, Beulah; but Tira has a friendly relationship with all of them and all live in a general democratic and egalitarian atmosphere in which they have a right to express their opinions or tell their (life) stories, can chat about men and love, are allowed to dance and sing together – so, they are all granted a voice and visibility. Here, class issues are again strongly debated by West, and those who try to stress and take advantage of their superior position within social hierarchy in her fictive world are always ridiculed or even humiliated. For instance, Tira spits cold water onto the naked back of one of the society ladies who denigrates her (Ruggles 39 min); she also throws the fiancé of her new lover (the same woman from the previous example) out the door when the fiancé insults her by pointing out her social position and 'what she is' by claiming that "you are lucky that I am more refined than I used to be" (Ruggles 48 min). Still, concerning the way of talking, accents and pronunciation, West (and her protagonists) always talks as a 'tough gal.' Like most common people on the streets, West uses slang and jargon in her works. She stands for the everyman/everywoman, while (similarly to Disney with the often fake and enforced British accent) the upper-class characters usually use refined manners in speech and action: they speak in a British-like or standard English. West, also embodied in her protagonists, is always sensitive about her lower social position and status. She always teaches 'the rich' a lesson and sets an example to the people of America how to rise in society, how to be a self-made woman, how to achieve financial independence and how to triumph against all odds.

Goin to town (1935) is one of the richest stories concerning the wide view of West's America(s). It actually starts out in 'the wild wild west' and the protagonist woman becomes a rich widow by the 12th minute of the story: she has cattle, a lot of fields for agriculture, a ranch and, most of all, lots of oil wells. Here, central topics are again class issues (rising in society, becoming an English aristocrat, and what it means to be a lady and to become one). The protagonist eventually reaches her goal, yet turns it into a burlesque situation, too. This is the film that tackles in an amusing manner the question that the United Kingdom could be seen as the 51st state, because Cleo Borden, the protagonist, even conquers this land and makes it one of her homes. In one scene she states: "I'm Mrs Flatcher Colton of New York, Miami and Southampton" (Hall 49 min). According to Jonathan Crowther and Kathryn Kavanagh, the two countries, the US and the UK, "have always had a special relationship" (17) in spite of the fact that they were once enemies and fighting each other. Somehow this love-hate relationship is still the strongest tie between the two countries, and no other country can stand between them: "the mother country" (17) and the 'child,' who grew into 'a rather big boy/girl' eventually, and who engulfed 'mommy' in a sense while symbolically turning her into "the 51st state of the union" (69). This British-American love-hate relationship is presented in the love-hate relationship of Cleo, an American woman, and Edward Carrington (later inheriting the title of the Earl of Stratton), a British man. Despite of their fights and differences, they cannot live without each other and are madly in love, and eventually they get married and thus 'united.'

Later on in the play, other specific accents and pronunciations are highlighted, too: Russians (Ivan Valadov) speak with their own accent or the Native American emplo-

yee; Taho, also has his own accent and way of talking. The Italian singing teacher and the person responsible for the performance of *Samson and Delilah* is also talking with his own specific accent, mannerisms and wide gestures. What is more, West's main character even speaks Spanish in the film when they are in Buenos Aires. When one of the men says goodbye to her, "Buenas Noches," she replies with a smile, "Same to you, Hasta Mañana" (Hall 26 min).

The relationship between Cleo Borden and her employees is again quite democratic. For example, Taho, who seems to be her valet, is an intimate friend and associate, yet there is no sexuality between them; they are only buddies. When she performs *Samson and Delilah* and goes on stage, the African-American men are there on stage as servants and take part in the performance. When she accidentally drops her long shawl on one of them, she apologizes and even calls him by his name: "Oh, pardon me, Joe" (Hall 59 min), showing that they are not just 'no-name somebodies' in her spectacle but true partners. When aristocratic ladies pay their official visit to Cleo in Southampton, England, after her marriage, one of them inquires whether her ancestors have been traced, to which she answers, while cracking a nut with a tiny hammer, "well yes, but they were too smart and they couldn't catch them" (Hall 48 min).

Here, Cleo starts out as a hardboiled dame in the wild west, becomes an oil millionaire, then goes to Buenos Aires where her horse wins the international horse race, then she moves to Southampton, England because she buys herself an impoverished British aristocrat for a husband to get his title (they mutually and willingly make a business agreement, her money for his title, no emotions, no sex), but she soon becomes widowed again (for the second time in the film) (Hall 58 min). Although Cleo is the richest among all of them and the inherited money grants her entrance into the highest circles of society even on the international level, the rich and famous do not want to accept or include her and look down on her, and even Edward Carrington calls her "vulgar American" by referring to her as "crude oil" at the beginning (Hall 15 min). In the end, she ends up with her love interest, who, by that time, is a titled English aristocrat: the Earl of Stratton. She has become also 'an English lady' and a 'British aristocrat' by that time. However, her closing song reveals a lot about her 'ladyhood:' "I, step by step, hit the top of the ladder. It was a dangerous climb. But now, I am a lady, come up and see me sometime" (Hall 1 h 11 min). Although she is married to the man she loves, still, in these last shots, she is shown alone, and her performance of these lines suggests that ladyhood is not really her business—after all. *Belle of the Nineties* (1934) is set in New Orleans, with the protagonist Ruby Carter moving there from St. Louis. Her African-American maid and a possible suitor for the maid talk in the Southern Drawl, and there is a specific, quite long scene dedicated to presenting the singing-dancing and religious rituals of the 'black folk,' while Ruby sings together with them, although from a balcony in the distance. Her relationship with her maid is, as we have seen before, in other West works, friendly and equalitarian. In this film, there is also song sung about the American beauty at the beginning, and the culmination of all this is when West (as Ruby Carter) appears on stage as the Statue of Liberty, as herself a symbol of democratic values. Moreover, *She Done Him Wrong* (1933) is one of West's most celebrated and successful ventures and works as

a writer and as a performer as well. It was Cary Grant's great introduction to cinema, launching his filmic career. Additionally, this film allegedly saved Paramount from bankruptcy. (Osborne 00:30 min) The story takes place in New York's Brewery and underworld and discusses several delicate issues such as white slavery, prostitution and the workings of the criminal world (even with Russian people speaking with accents). Lady Lou or Diamond Lil (West's protagonist) is on very friendly terms with all the other workers and employees, for example, with her African-American maid named Pearl, who even states that she loves to work for her (Lowell 13 min). At the beginning of the film, when entering the pub, Lady Lou immediately greets scrub-women and smiles at them, then welcomes the business associates of her lover and pub owner.

In *Klondike Annie* (1936), the story starts out in the Chinatown of San Francisco, with the biggest and most famous Chinatowns in the US. In the film, there are real Chinese actors and people cast, yet the main villain, an evil Chinese man named Chan Lo, is portrayed by a Caucasian man in mask or makeup. However, West (playing the role of The Frisco Doll / Rose Carlton / Sister Annie Alden) again has a truly close relationship with her Chinese maid, Fah Wong, whom she helps to escape with her from Chan Lo and takes her to her fiancé in Seattle. During the travel, West shares her breakfast with her and on the ship, they even have a brief conversation in Chinese. It is also quite interesting issue to show because the film was done well after the Chinese Exclusion Act, which ended Chinese immigration in 1882 when "[t]he federal government began a piecemeal listing of banned groups that, in time, included convicts, prostitutes, the Chinese, lunatics, idiots, paupers, contract laborers, polygamists, political radicals, the Japanese and illiterates," so that "in 1924, the Asian Exclusion Act ended all immigration from Asian nations" (Mauk and Oakland 56–57, 90).

West was quite daring to treat this issue, when one of the greatest fears of America concerning immigration was the Chinese. Yet, the story turns in a way that she even spends quite considerable time on a ship on the Pacific Ocean travelling along the West Coast of the US and ends in Alaska. This is where she acquires her name in the title: Klondike Annie. Here, she joins the do-gooders to save the possibly endangered souls of the men and women trying to strike for gold, but only because she is hiding from the law. Still, she works hard and means well. It is a rather spectacular experience to see West as 'a temperance lady,' almost a Puritan; however, her cover falls and she returns to 'civilization,' which seems to be much more like the wilderness, and decides to give herself up to the police since the murder she committed (Chan Lo) was, in fact, self-defense.

In West's above-mentioned works I have briefly tried to make a bird's eye view on the most important aspects on how West showed her America and Americas in its plurality, diversity and versatility concerning geography, cultures, ethnicities, races, genders, sexual-orientation, languages, dialects, and accents. Additionally, she even went further and tried to discover all of the Americas, including Canada, Central and South America as well as 'good old' England through her own lens. While moving along and across various borderlands, she discovered and helped many of her fans discover and rediscover Walt Whitman's *Song of Myself* and all of its messages about the universality and unity of all living things from the tiniest to the largest ones in the

Americas. She attempted and in many cases quite truly realized in her works the national motto of the founding fathers: *e pluribus unum,* which in Whitman's words sound in the following: "I celebrate myself, /And what I assume you shall assume, / For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you" (Whitman 2758).

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LIES AND DECEPTION IN ENCOUNTERS WITH THE UNKNOWNS OF THE PAST:
November Child (Germany) and *An American Rhapsody* (Hungary/USA)

Cheryl Dueck

The 2011 Manitoba-Szeged partnership conference was organized around the theme of *Encountering the Unknown,* a fitting topic for an international and interdisciplinary research conference with a focus on intercultural connections. Encounters with the unknown are a precondition for discovery: they occur on the path toward understanding or knowledge. In the decades after the collapse of state socialism in Europe, there have been many encounters with the unknown, as travelers cross previously impermeable borders, open archives, or investigate unlit corners of their individual or collective pasts. But what happens if the path to discovery of the past is littered with lies? This paper is occupied with two on-screen representations of such encounters. In the case of the two films discussed here, family narratives of their past in socialist Germany and Hungary are steeped in lies and deception, in which lies told by the characters open up spaces for living, however uncomfortably, with the traumatic past, and are used strategically by the filmmakers themselves to direct or challenge audience response.

Canadian Psychologist Vasudevi Reddy told us in 2007 that babies learn to lie and deceive as early as 6 months (Reddy 621). As researcher Sanjida O'Connell puts it, "We are primates who are experts in deceit, double-dealing, lying, cheating, conniving and concealing" (155). While honesty is an important value in all cultures, we lie early and often. The scale and the nature of the lies, of course, determine the way in which the lies and the liars are judged by those affected. One of the main challenges of coming to grips with the painful aspects of the socialist past has been the effects of deception either perpetrated by the State organs or seemingly made necessary for personal survival in the State. There are many of examples of the cinematic representation of these lies in Central European Film since 1989–90, the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the beginning of large-scale political and social change. Two of the best known post-unification German films involve deception as a survival device: *Good Bye Lenin* and *The Lives of Others.* Films from neighboring post-socialist countries also reveal deception and lies in families and close relationships as a narrative device, including the Oscar-winning *Kolya* (1996) from the Czech Republic, the more recent *Identity Card* (Czech 2010), or *The Exam* (Hungary 2011), just to name a few. This paper presents a comparative reading of two films in which the protagonists encounter the unknowns of their past in socialist Germany and Hungary respectively, and must contend with the lies that they have been told as children separated from their parents. *November Child* is an early film by German director Christian Schwochow (2008) and

American Rhapsody is a Hungarian/American co-production directed by Hungarian-American Éva Gárdos (2001).

November Child narrates lasting individual losses and ruptures precipitated by the divided Germany. Now twenty years old and living in Malchow, Inga learns from a visiting professor (and hopeful novelist) from the West that her mother did not drown in 1980 as she was told, but rather chose to defect with a Russian army deserter. She travels to trace her mother's history and confront the past. Similarly, the protagonist of *An American Rhapsody* who joined her parents in the U.S. at the age of six, returns to Budapest to unearth the deception-riddled history of her parents' emigration and her own delayed unification with them. In both of these cases, babies were left behind unwillingly by their mothers when the mothers fled the country for political reasons. Those who raised the girls concealed the truth from them. In their early adulthood, both girls confront the past, encounter the unknown, and decipher the versions of the truth. Inga, the girl from East Germany now years after the opening of the border, follows the trail of her mother to the West, unaware of what will await her there and whether her mother is alive or dead, while Zsuzsanna (later called Suzanne), must encounter the unknown twice: once as a 6-year-old travelling to the U.S. with the help of the Red Cross to meet her birth parents, and again at age 17, back to Hungary to discover her family's history there.

Lies are inherent in the telling of stories, whether in family histories, in print or on the screen. Filmmaker Errol Morris captures the close relationship of truth and lies in filmmaking when he says: "I've never liked the idea expressed by Godard that film is truth 24 times a second. I have a slightly different version. Film is lies 24 times a second. Almost the same, slightly different." Filmmaker Michael Haneke puts it that "film is 24 lies a second in the service of truth, or in the service of the attempt to establish truth"[5] *(24 Wirklichkeiten in der Sekunde)*. Lies are a tool for these filmmakers, just as the lies told in the films discussed here serve a purpose, at least for those who tell them. In her essay, "Lying in Politics," Hannah Arendt wrote about the functional characteristics of lies and, while she is no proponent of political lying, she describes the new space that can be created through the denial of facts:

> A characteristic of human action is that it always begins something new, and this does not mean that it is ever permitted to start *ab ovo*, to create *ex nihilo*. In order to make room for one's own action, something that was there before must be removed or destroyed, and things as they were before are changed. Such change would be impossible if we could not mentally remove ourselves from where we physically are located and *imagine* that things might as well be different from what they actually are. In other words, the deliberate denial of factual truth--the ability to lie--and the capacity to change facts--the ability to act--are interconnected; they owe their existence to the same source: imagination. [...] we are *free* to change the world and start something new in it. (5)

The families of these two young protagonists, Inga and Zsuzsanna, experience social and political rupture, and have a strong desire to create new space in which to con-

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[5]   *All translations from the German are my own.*

tinue their lives: for Inga's grandparents in Malchow, and Zsuzsanna's guardians in rural Hungary, that means a family narrative that is acceptable within their social environment, in the socialist state. For each of the characters in the films, the lies have different effects. The films, in themselves producing "lies 24 times a second," take different roads to understanding the unknowns of the past —one with an easier resolution than the other—and generate different forms of audience engagement with the histories that are told. *An American Rhapsody* draws the viewer into the subjectivity of the protagonist, while *November Child* pursues what Dominick LaCapra terms "empathic unsettlement," or empathy without overidentification with subjects, which presents events in a way that can enable readers/viewers to work toward understanding rather than merely sentimentalizing subjects. Specifically addressing representation of Holocaust traumas, LaCapra considers the question of empathy, and posits that "empathic unsettlement" in audience reception may aid in the process of coming to terms with past traumas:

> Being responsive to the traumatic experience of others, notably of victims, implies not the appropriation of their experience but what I would call empathic unsettlement, which should have stylistic effects or, more broadly, effects in writing which cannot be reduced to formulas or rules of method. [...] At the very least, empathic unsettlement poses a barrier to closure in discourse and places in jeopardy harmonizing or spiritually uplifting accounts of extreme events from which we attempt to derive reassurance or a benefit (for example, unearned confidence about the ability of the human spirit to endure any adversity with dignity and nobility). (42)

While the representations of the Holocaust are of a different magnitude than the individual traumas precipitated by the political circumstances in post-war Hungary or the German Democratic Republic, the question of the role of empathy in cultural understanding of these historical developments is pertinent here, as well. A narrative of identification and healing is the usual device of mainstream film—we want to feel what the screen protagonist feels, and respond on an emotional level. The alternative requires a certain complication of this process and demands more of the viewer. Both of these approaches are supported to some extent in the reception of the films discussed here, although they make different contributions to cultural memory and the construction of the past for the next generation.

November Child's action is precipitated by the West German would-be novelist, seeking out the drama of a story that touched him years ago. He visits Inga in Malchow and gradually reveals parts of the story of her mother to her in order to write about it. This layered film conflates the lies and manipulation of the writer from Konstanz seeking material for his novel with the deception and ethical compromises of Inga's grandparents and friends in Mecklenburg. The chronology of events in *November Child* is unraveled as brief memory flashbacks in grainy, orange-filtered film. It begins with a deception, which sets off a sequence of lies. In the year 1980, the mother of an infant, Anna, is surprised in her cellar by a Russian army deserter from the nearby garrison. She feels sympathy for him and impulsively decides to hide him in her apartment. The intimacy leads to a love affair and a plan to escape to the West. At the last minute, the baby has a fever and won't be able to make the trip in a car

trunk. Anna must decide whether to go with Jurij or stay with her child. Wanting to believe the (false) assurances that someone can come back for her daughter, she leaves the baby with her parents with a promise to come right back from the pharmacy, and joins Jurij. We are later to learn that it was in fact Inga's father – Anna's former boyfriend Alexander – who organized the escape especially for Anna, and took Jurij along as a price for getting *her* over the border: yet another deception. When Anna has gone, Inga's grandparents raise her, and tell her a story about how her mother died on a holiday at the Baltic Sea. Plagued by regret and traumatic loss, Inga's mother is able neither to live with Jurij nor with Alexander, and is ultimately completely unable to function.

For Shoshana Felman, trauma refers to "events in excess of our frame of reference" (5). Inga's mother Anne's attempt to narrate her loss and trauma finds expression as a poem that is used as a motif in the film:

> Noone teaches me to forget
> Would there were a greeting from back home
> And I were able to myself seek
> I would hope, a little

She wrote this simple poem in Konstanz, in Robert von der Mühlen's creative writing class. She seeks to forget, or to assimilate the past into a new life, but can't, and is forever caught in the traumatic moment of division, regret and guilt. Ultimately, she takes her own life in 1992, in a mental health facility, shortly after unification. Now, after the political division that separated them is gone, it is up to Inga to deal with the past alone. As she gradually uncovers the story of her mother's plight, we watch to see whether she will similarly collapse under the burden of truth. Inga tells Robert early in the narrative that the truth leaves her worse off than she was before: "What do I know now? That I have a mother who didn't want anything to do with me, who leaves me sitting there like a load of dirty laundry?" It is at this moment that Robert, as a manipulation of her motivation, shows her the poem that her mother wrote. The acknowledgement, through the poem, of her mother's pain, drives her to pursue the full story and to discover her mother and her self. Her means of responding to the moment of rupture differs from her mother's; she is not speechless and paralyzed. The times are different, and what was concealed can now be brought to light. Although she was the one abandoned, her discovery of this so many years later is painful but not ultimately the trauma that it was for her mother.

The generational difference in the response to the rupture is notable in *American Rhapsody*, as well. Like many immigrants to North America, Margit (played by Nastassja Kinski) teaches her children to speak only English, and is largely silent about her painful past in Hungary during the war and in the Stalinist period. The film is framed as the daughter's exploration of her own and her parents' past. It opens with the 16-year-old Suzanne, played by the young Scarlet Johannsen, giving a voice-over narration of black and white footage, drawn from the Hungarian film archives, of the bombed out chain bridge in Budapest, the large-scale presence of Russian troops, the parades during the Stalinist Rákosi period, and public hangings: "My father used to say that this was a time when everyone he knew was either in jail, or going to jail, or worse." The sequence then cuts to an infant's room, where mother Margit is embrac-

ing her baby before leaving for their escape. The shot is romanticized, with Kinski in soft focus, and set to somber string music. The black and white functions in the film both as a marker of historical authenticity and, to a lesser extent, to memory that is fragmented and retains only certain moments and perspectives on the past. The shift to color film occurs only when the family has crossed the border, the beginning of their new life, leaving the history behind them.

We learn late in the film that Margit's father was shot by a Russian soldier when he rose to protect her, and he fell back and died on top of her (shown in black and white during an account of it later). Part of the intelligentsia, her family was targeted by the communist government after the war, and faced restrictions and setbacks at every turn, such that she and her husband were prepared to take the extreme risk of the flight across the border with one of their daughters, crossing through barbed wire and mines, out of sight of patrol towers. The infant Zsuzsanna was supposed to be hidden in an old woman's clothes and smuggled across separately, but at the last minute, the grandmother panicked at the risk and could not hand the infant over to the smuggler to be put in a potato sack and drugged. The secret police appears at the door the next day, and the baby is whisked off to the countryside to safety, by their friend György, where she is raised by a peasant family while the grandmother serves time in prison. Although Margit is devastated and nearly paralyzed by the separation from her daughter, there is nothing to be done—going back would only mean prison for them and no help for Zsuzsanna. A political letter-writing campaign and the cultural thaw in Hungary finally leads to assistance by the Red Cross. Her Hungarian caregivers, whom she calls mother and father, have not told her that she has other parents, and she is taken from them without their complicity.

On a visit to Zsuzsanna and her foster parents, Teri and Jenő, the family friend György argues for truth (dialogue in Hungarian with English subtitles):

> **TERI:** Time goes by so fast. Soon she will be in school.
> **GYÖRGY:** And soon you will have to tell her the truth.
> **TERI:** Why should I tell her something she wouldn't understand?
> **GYÖRGY:** She has the right to know who her real parents are.

This sequence is followed shortly by the departure of Zsuzsanna for Budapest, where she, Teri and Jenő believe she is to spend time with her grandmother, who has now been released from prison. Instead, she is driven directly to the airport, and film script fills in the justification for the lies in live action dialogue (not a memory sequence) in the car on the way to the Ferihegy airport to be escorted by the Red Cross to California:

> **GRANDMOTHER:** Teri and Jenő are really good people. They love you like you were their own.
> **GYÖRGY:** That is why we couldn't tell them the truth.
> **ZSUZSANNA:** Did you see the beautiful red bicycle I got from Papa?
> **GRANDMOTHER:** Yes, I saw it darling. You are a big girl now. You have to understand that they are not your real parents. Your real parents are waiting for you in America. [...] Your parents worked very hard to get you out of Hungary. And today you will be going to America.

These lies have provided space for the new, in that they made it easier to take Zsuzsanna away, albeit not easier for her to leave. She experiences this departure as a traumatic separation, much more than the first separation from her birth parents in infancy.

In a vivid sequence from the film, set to Elvis Presley's "I'm All Shook Up," the 6-year old Suzanne wakes up in her new house, puts on her old clothes, stares at the strange food in the refrigerator (Coca Cola, Jello and ketchup), and skips down her American street to the park. Amazement turns to disorientation and alienation when she realizes that she cannot find her way back—there is no fixed point of identity when *everything* is different—the cars and houses are the same in their suburban otherness. To her, these are not her parents, this is not her house, this is not her language, this is not where she should be. Despite her full-scale assimilation over the next decade, to the point that she can no longer speak Hungarian and rebels against her parents like every teen, this loss and shock is something that remains with her and divides her from her mother. 17-year old Suzanne demands that her father make good on his promise to his 6-year-old daughter to buy her a ticket to Hungary if she still wanted to go back when she grew older. In 1965, she returns to visit her caregiver parents, who have had their farm expropriated and live in a dilapidated apartment in Budapest, still marked by the loss of the young girl, and to see her grandmother, who lives on memories. It is through the grandmother that young Suzanne is able to put the pieces together, learn about her own past and to see for herself the difficulties of life in Hungary. She learns of a truth that her mother had not shared: that her grandfather died in an incident at a restaurant, in which he was shot by a Russian officer and landed on his daughter Margit.

This film is a straightforward melodrama, with a symphonic soundtrack heavy on strings, and a focus on family redemption. The final sequence of the film is set at the airport, as Suzanne arrives home. At the end of the trip, she has taken bittersweet leave of Teri and Jenő, and declared that she recognizes that her home is in America. She tells her mother, Margit, when they reunite, that she now understands, and Margit, in a moment of newfound awareness, replies that she now understands that "we are who we are because of our past." The film structure has little artifice: the tale is told chronologically, beginning with the historical clips, the flight from Hungary, the adjustment to America in parallel with Suzanne's happy childhood on the farm in Hungary, the eventual reunion of Suzanne and her parents. This is followed by a ten-year leap to the teen years of Suzanne and culminates in her voyage of discovery. Her feelings of loss and otherness can ultimately be incorporated into a cohesive identity: a narrative of recovery that is neatly concluded by the closing dialogue: there is no "barrier to closure" advocated by LaCapra for trauma narratives.

The narration and the end result of the film *November Child,* like the month of November: are marked much more by shades of grey. The original title of the film was *Novemberlicht,* or *November Light.* November is the month of German anniversaries: the 1918 November Revolution, the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, the 1938 Kristallnacht, and the 1989 fall of the Wall. The film was released in November 2008, 19 years after the fall of the Wall. The truth, like the month of November, is difficult, cold, and clouded. We are meant to be unsettled. Where the question of truth, ethics and narra-

tion becomes part of the immediate present is in the character of the writer, Robert von der Mühlen. After a heart attack, he is driven to write his first novel. The story of Anneliese Kaden and her daughter Inga has fallen into his lap. The reviewer in *Die Welt* describes the writer's role as vampire-like (Rodek, "Dieses Novemberkind"). The writer recognizes the exploitative nature of his endeavor—the bloodsucking Westerner in pursuit of his own ends. His deception is in the lack of information that he provides to Inga: he does not tell her that he knew Anne and that she is dead. Instead, in the interest of his novel, he follows Inga on her pursuit of answers. Ironically, the Western intruder can be likened to a Stasi agent. As one critic puts it: "In his person, the whole of GDR history is reflected, since he serves as a control, an immanent State Security force that arranges life around her" (Kiontke). Just as the State Security Police exerted psychological pressure and manipulation on individuals to serve the interests of the authoritarian State, the writer manipulates his subject and sacrifices her interests for the interests of his story. He disguises his intent as a magnanimous desire to help her, but he is plagued by his own guilt. While Inga visits Alexander's medical practice in Konstanz to ask him about her mother, Robert sits in the hall and speaks into his Dictaphone his narrative, with a palpable mixture of pleasure and self-disgust:

> She is looking for Anne, and in Anne she is seeking herself. But Anne went away and never arrived anywhere. She won't find her. This girl could have grown to be 100 and been happy. It's too late for that now. I'm taking her biography, I'm taking her identity, and what do I offer her in return? Lies.

The desire for the story and its resolution drives him onward, even as his culpability for Inga's painful journey is abundantly clear to him. To write fiction is to lie; it is inherent in the act. What is different here is that the protagonist of the fiction is, within the film, a real person. Note that Robert refers to his book as a novel, not a biography or a history. He is deliberately manipulating the action, and implicates himself in the ethical transgressions of the story. What happens to his protagonist is happening to this flesh and blood person, as the master narrator directs the action.

Robert disrupts not only Inga's life, but also the lives of her grandparents, friends, Jurij, Alexander, and Alexander's new family. Each has engaged in his or her own lies and deceptions, for a variety of motives. Her grandparents Christa and Heinrich, left behind in Malchow with the baby and feelings of shock and betrayal engage in what they perceive as necessary compromises in order to survive in the GDR. When Heinrich is dismissed from his job as school principal after his daughter's defection, he agrees to break off all contact with his daughter in order to be reinstated in his position.

In the GDR, there was a practice of compulsory adoption, or "Zwangsadoption," first exposed by a *Spiegel* report in 1975 ("DDR: Die Kinder fest verwurzeln"). If those who crossed the border as political refugees, or attempted to do so, had children in the GDR, then these children could be taken into State custody and adopted into homes of families who were party faithful. It is suggested by the narrative that Heinrich may have lost both his position and his granddaughter if he had not been prepared to break off contact with Anne. Allegedly to protect Inga, but also to protect their standing within the State, Heinrich and Christa fabricate a story about Anne's death by drowning. In an early scene, when asked about the best local literature, Hein-

rich quotes Uwe Johnson at length, about the rivers of his life, concluding with Johnson's nostalgic words about the geography of home, the home also of Heinrich and Christa: "But where I belong in truth, that is the thickly wooded lake district of Mecklenburg, from Plau to Templin, along the Elbe and the Havel" (qtd. in *Novemberkind*). Heinrich's comment, following these lines, is that Johnson went to the West and died a wretched death there, and wasn't even found until days later. It is clearly his judgement even today that leaving the GDR was the wrong answer. This phrase, "where I belong in truth" is part of a nostalgic longing for Heimat, but the "in truth" points to the impossibility of being in this space in which truth is desired but so elusive.

All those around Inga are complicit in the deception. Anne's best friend Steffi received a letter from her after her departure, but, like Anne's parents, was too intimidated to reply to her pleas. She went along with the story of the drowning death, but eventually told her own daughter, Inga's best friend, the truth. For Inga, the lies about her mother's death extended over a decade longer than the regime in which they originated. Once the lie existed, it was difficult to retract. It is not only in the narratives of the films, but also in the reception of them that the tensions of truth and fiction are a significant factor. This is common to history films; there is a great deal of pressure to get the historical details right, while at the same time serving the different audiences that are either familiar or unfamiliar with the background. Filmmakers take the perspective of their own time and place in the representation of events. For *November Child,* this relationship with current debates is personified by the actress cast for the protagonist. Christian Schwachow, director and co-writer of the screenplay, had Anna Maria Mühe in mind for the role of Inga from the very beginning, although he did not tell her this until after she was cast in the role. As with the majority of films of German division and unification, the biographies of the filmmakers and actors have been heavily scrutinized for parallels to the story, as well as for integrity and authenticity. In this case, the scrutiny has focused predominantly on Mühe. She is the daughter of renowned GDR actors Jenny Gröllmann, who died in 2006, and Ulrich Mühe, who played the State Security officer in *The Lives of Others* shortly before his death in 2007. At the time of both deaths, at the peak of the worldwide attention on them, there were embroiled in a legal battle in which Mühe publicly stated that Gröllmann had been an IM and reported on him during their marriage (1984–1990). To summarize, Gröllmann claimed that the files in the archives had been fabricated by a State Security employee, and gave evidence that the events and meetings with people were reported in the file could not possibly have happened. According to *Welt Online,* Marianne Birthler stated: "The files in the case of Jenny Gröllmann are, in our view, fully clear and unambiguous" ("Er will nichts mehr über Jenny Gröllmann sagen"). Mühe agreed in 2006 to say nothing more about it, but stated that the information had already been made public, and quoted Heiner Müller: "...words that fall into the machinery of the world are irretrievable" ("Er will nichts mehr..."). Posthumously, in 2008, the Berlin court of appeal found in favour of Gröllmann and disallowed the publication of the allegations (Waehlisch). What these developments meant for Schwochow and for Anna Maria Mühe was that the reception of *November Child* would, for better or worse, be intertwined with the pre- and post-unification story of

her parents, and the blurred lines of truth and deception in the GDR's personal stories and State Security files. In interview after interview, she resisted the request to comment on her parents' story. She said to the *Spiegel,* "Through my parents, I'm very often associated with the GDR. I don't personally have any memories; I was just four years old when the Wall fell and I grew up deep in the West. So I'm associated with something that doesn't fit with my own image of myself at all" (Beier and Beyer). I would contend that, although it is not to Mühe's liking, Schwochow intended for his film and the reception of it to engage with the real biographical history of his star. His own story is one of the desire to reclaim a lost sense of the GDR past. He was 11 in 1989 and his parents had just received an exit visa when the border was opened. The family moved to Hannover and Christian was the first Eastern student in his school. In the West, he felt like an Easterner and obligated to defend the GDR, but when he returned to Berlin at age 20, was told, perhaps in jest, that he was just half Easterner. Just as Mühe is, Schwochow is part of a generation in between, part of a shifting identity, and this affects both the story and the reception of it:

> *November Child* is not least an affirmation, by the generation now in their 30s, of their roots. The GDR belonged to their childhood like a chimera. You aren't really Eastern anymore, and probably never will be really completely Western. It's an examination of an inner homelessness. (Decker)

Whose actions, and whose lies, must be judged in this German-German story? Who are the Others here? As one critic puts it, "20 Years after the Fall of the Wall, the Lives of Others cannot be differentiated as separate. The Others are among us" (Rodek "Dieses Novemberkind"). Visually, the film portrays for us many moments of physical closeness, pairings of subjects that reveal tensions but also points of contact. Initially, Robert has an external, voyeuristic curiosity about Inga and Anneliese's story, but gradually, he is drawn into it and develops both compassion and intersubjective connection. For Inga, he is at various points a truth teller, a liar, a father-figure and a potential lover. Near the end of the film, they have a moment of intimacy at a restaurant, in which they are talking about Inga's mother. Inga imagines her bourgeois lifestyle as a doctor's wife, and Robert represses the urge to tell her what he knows. Instead of verbal, the contact is physical, romantic touching of fingers. Although he continues to deceive her, the camera close-up and the staging encourages empathy with him and a sense that he may have gained a certain awareness and understanding that wasn't there before. The attraction and repulsion are still present, but there is some sense of an authentic connection through paralinguistic communication between these two strangers. Rather than simply exposing lies and deception and dividing the players into victims and perpetrators, the film, I would argue, is effective both in its portrayal of the all-pervasive presence of deception—of ourselves and of others—and the contradictory need to pursue understanding of ourselves and of the German past. Both literary and film fiction are challenged here. It is the sparsity of the visual and dialogue cues on past trauma that leaves us with our own interpretation of these fictive past events. We are left with questions about our own role as viewer, or voyeur, and reevaluate our reactions of empathy, suspense and pleasure. The whole history is released to the viewer bit by bit, to maintain the narrative tension, such that the filmmaker also becomes complicit in acts of deception within the world of the

film. Despite the fact that the film ends and seemingly resolves with a hopeful note, as Inga puts pen to paper and begins to write her own story, the audience has undergone an experience that can be described as empathic unsettlement.

Like the reception of *November Child,* critics of *An American Rhapsody* reported on the story and the history behind the story. Éva Gárdos' biography is similar to that of her protagonist, although she emigrated to Canada rather than California; she was separated from her parents in Hungary in infancy and reunited with them at age 7. Most reviews make reference to this remarkable biographical root of the story, and also to the representation of the generational pasts of Hungary and the USA. Americans reference "Stalinist horror," praise "evocative location compositions," and the *New York Times* reviewer praises the authenticity of the depictions:

> Unlike many immigrant sagas, *An American Rhapsody* does not seem to have been subsidized by the State Department. Instead of a stirring tribute to the land of opportunity, the picture is largely a story of a childhood interrupted, of an idyllic natural youth replaced by something artificial and grotesque (Kehr).

Roger Ebert wrote about the film as an accurate reflection of the American immigration experience: "The American children of immigrants from anywhere will probably find moments they recognize in the movie." However, reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic found their own cultural histories to be overly simplified. *Image*'s David Gurevich criticized the depiction of Scarlett Johansson "as a generic exchange student in Europe, who gapes in equal awe at picture-postcard views of oddly unpopulated Budapest and at the locals' half-hearted attempts to buy her blue jeans," while Canada's *Globe and Mail* referred to "Fifties suburban America that seems inspired by insipid brightly opulent images from Life magazine. These picturesque scenes are no more convincing than the Hungarian politburo's vision of a proletarian paradise" (Courrier). Hungarian response, while mixed, expressed disappointment with clichés. A largely positive review for *Origo* praises the touching personal drama of the film, speaks both of the biographical accounts of Gardos and of the producer, Andy Vajna, but identifies its one fault:

> It is mostly made for the American and Western European public. The script is formed to their background and expectations. Thus, the descriptions of the period and the Hungarian affairs are 'over Hungarianized' for the Hungarian audience, even unbelievable at times. ("Az Amerikai rapszódia hazaérkezett.")

The memories represented on film are thus perceived, perhaps not as inaccurate or untruthful, but certainly as oversimplified.

Both of these films received warm receptions in different venues, particularly film festivals. *An American Rhapsody* was the 1998 grand prize winner of the Hartley-Merrill International Screenwriting Competition, received the audience award at the Nantucket Film Festival, where it premiered, and received an enthusiastic response as the opening film at the Karlovy Vary International Film Festival in 2001. *November Child* received the audience award at two German film festivals *(Max Ophüls* and *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern),* won an award for best feature debut, and the lead was nominated for a German Film Prize *(Deutschen Filmpreis)* as best actress. Both of them explore the biographical ruptures and the lies of survival for those faced with the extreme circum-

stances brought about by ideological repression. How the filmmakers choose to represent these lies and circumstances differ significantly in these two instances; one, by presenting an account that is intended to set the record straight and leave the viewer with a happy Americanized ending to the Cold War past, and another that suggests that the deceptions that are rooted in the past are ongoing. Part of the difference can be accounted for by the identity of the screenwriter/directors of these two films: one a young Eastern German with his own immediate family past, and the second the perspective of a fully assimilated American, fifty years after her family's departure from Hungary. However, I think that they also point at different modes of contributing to cultural memory, representing the historical unknown, and both offer lies in search of the truth, as Michael Haneke put it: one offers a readily assimilable, subjective account of the past, and the other insists on the daunting complexities that move from the past to the present. Both call for encounters with the past in which truths can be uncovered. There is a kind of truth telling here, in the sense that Hannah Arendt describes, that "facts need testimony to be remembered and trustworthy witnesses to be established in order to find a secure dwelling place in the domain of human affairs" (6). While audiences respond both to the *empathic identification* with a protagonist like Suzanne in *American Rhapsody* and the *empathic unsettlement* of representations like *November Child,* the latter arguably adds to the breadth of cultural memory by providing audiences with encounters with the past that may complicate what they had thought to be known.

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CONCEALED AMERICAS IN ALBERTO A. ISAAC'S
MUJERES INSUMISAS

Réka M. Cristian

For Ruth, Avital and Alicia

This essay will briefly survey several visual and cultural representation of inter-American identities that appear as America's concealed facets in a Mexican filmmaker's work. Alberto Ahumada Isaac's movie, *Mujeres insumisas,* titled variously in English as *Rebellious Wives, Defiant Women, Untamed Women* and *Untamed Souls* (1995), is in this regard a symptomatic display of both personal and public, and of national and transnational hidden domestic affairs in the Americas. This film pictures a group of Mexican women, who decide to leave their families and village homes of their native Comala (situated in the Mexican state of Colima) behind and move to the United States, to Los Angeles. Each woman's journey—allegedly based on true stories—discloses secret encounters within and outside their households; it exposes untold individual stories and uncovers the veiled identities of their subjects.

According to Rosa Maria Fregoso, "[i]n male-directed [Chicano] films" the audience is most frequently directed to "see how commercial, aesthetic, and political contingencies, circumscribed by male privilege" that coalesce "making it literally impossible to frame the woman as the central subject of cinematic discourse;" in consequence this type of narrative cinema tailors "a socially pertinent discourse to the problem of the [Chicano] male-subject" (95). However, apart from the stream of American Chicano/a and Mexican films—most notably in those produced at the end of the 20th century—Isaac and his celluloid story do the contrary. Directed by a well-known (and according to the urban legends a truly macho) Mexican artist, this movie turns out, paradoxically, to be a rare gem of feminist representation of Mexican women through a film that bears the mark of the "pleasurable negotiation of an enjoyable counter-cinema" (Cristian in Cristian and Dragon 96), where the visual pleasure characteristic of classical narrative films is pragmatically fused with conscious practices of alternative filmmaking in order to have a more realistic and a genuinely political correct mode of gender and identity representation. Having the qualities of both commercial and art film alike, it is no surprise that this movie achieved considerable critical success (de la Mora 159) when it was launched in Mexico in the mid–1990s. However, in spite of the initial achievements, *Mujeres insumisas* became quickly forgotten on the North-American cultural markets—a paradox in the light of the overall development of Xicanisma and post-Xicanisma movements of the film's decade—today being virtually unknown outside the Americas as well.

The film's screenplay writer and director (1923–1998) had an intriguingly complex artistic activity throughout his life: he worked as a schoolteacher, was a film critic, an Olympic swimmer representing Mexico in the 1948 London and 1952 Helsinki

Olympic Games, and a popular newspaper cartoonist (especially during his Guadala-
jara period); moreover, Isaac was also known as a painter, actor, and ceramic artist.
Moreover, he became the editor of the entertainment section of a Mexico City news-
paper and was appointed as the director of Radio, Televisión y Cinematografía (RTC),
being the first director of the Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía [Mexican Film
Institute] (IMCINE) (Wilt 2001), a government agency overseeing the production and
promotion of Mexican national cinema to which Isaac contributed in many ways.
After its founding in 1983, this agency was vital, especially from the beginning of the
1990s, for the breakthrough of many Mexican film directors including Alfonso
Cuarón, Carlos Carrera. María Novaro, Busi Cortes, Maryse Systach, Guillermo del
Torro, Alejandro González Iñárritu, among many others (MacLaird 4). Isaac's filmo-
graphy, still little known outside the borders of Mexico, is as diverse as his other
works and includes various films such as *En este pueblo no hay ladrones [There Are No
Thieves in This Town]* (1964), *Las visitaciones del diablo [The Visitations of the Devil]* (1967),
Los días del amor [The Days of Love] (1971), *El rincón de las vírgenes [The Corner of the Vir-
gins]* (1972), *Tívoli* (1974), *Cuartelazo [Military Coup]* (1976), *Las noches de Paloma [The
Nights of Paloma]* (1977), *Pum!* (1979, story and screenplay), *Tiempo de lobos [Time of the
Wolves]* (1981), *Mariana, Mariana* (1986), *Sabor a mi (El último bohemio) [A Taste of Me:
the Last Bohemian]* (1987, co-screenplay), *¡Maten a Chinto! [Kill Chinto]* (1988), *Mujeres
insumisas [Rebellious Wives]* (1995) and documentaries *Olimpiada en México [The Olympics
in Mexico]* (1968), *Fútbol México 70 [The World at Their Feet]* (1970), *Cita en Guadalajara
[Appointment in Guadalajara]* (1973), *Entrevista Echeverría-Ford [The Echeverría-Ford Inter-
view]* (1974), *El pueblo del sol [The Town of the Sun]* (1980).

In this text, however, I will only focus on his work as narrative filmmaker with
special regard to his highly acclaimed last movie *Mujeres insumisas,* a film that received
16 Ariel nominations from the Mexican Film Academy Award in 15 categories, win-
ning the Best Editing and Best Supporting Actress category in that contest. Isaac's last
movie does not only give a voice and an authentic portrayal of a group of Comala wo-
men but was also filmed in that geographical location (in most part with non-profes-
sional actors) and with occasional production stints in the cities of Colima (the state
of Colima), Guadalajara (the state of Jalisco) and Los Angeles; moreover, the movie
has not one main individual figure but a group of protagonists with voices made
heard through the celluloid world: Clotilde, played by Lourdes Elizarrarás, Chayo,
acted by Regina Orozco, Ema, embodied by Patricia Reyes Spíndola, and Isabel, en-
acted by Juana Ruiz; they personify the complex figure of the American woman as
such through an amalgam of identities representing the visibly simple but otherwise,
quite complex figure of the rural Mexican *mujer.*

The initial, Comala setting of the film has a strong symbolic meaning for the entire
plot of this visual narrative: *comalli* in Nahuatl means the place of the *comals* (a flat,
pre-Columbian griddle used in Mexico and Central America for cooking primarily
nixtamal maize tortillas), alluding both to the domestic, gendered realm of its inhabi-
tants and to the indigenous, pre-conquest cultural roots of its characters. Moreover,
Comala, a place close to the river Amería, is a border town nearby Sierra de Ma-
nantlán Reserve situated between the state of Comala and Jalisco, and as such, sym-
bolizes an inherently contradictory duality, suggesting the possibility of various border

transgressions in the region. Furthermore, Comala neighbors an active volcano, the frequently dangerous Volcán de Fuego and the famous Hacienda de Nogueras (built in the 17th century, later the possession of the synchretist artist Alejandro Rangel Hidalgo, Isaac's friend and contemporary, today a university art museum); these geographical and cultural components of the place also connote for the film's symbolic codes the presence of adventures and risks but also the possibility of aesthetic pleasures. By picturing the general place of the intradiegetically invisible but nevertheless emblematic Colima *xoloitzcuintle* dogs and the site of abundant crops of rice, chilies, corn, tomatillo, jicama, mango, tamarind, avocados, mamey, guave, coffee and sugar cane, *Mujeres insumisas* is Isaac's visual tribute for his hometown of Comala, first immortalized in 1955 by Juan Rulfo in his acclaimed novel *Pedro Páramo* (which, in turn, impelled Gabriel García Márquez to write *One Hundred Years of Solitude* in 1967), an intriguingly exquisite settlement claimed—since 2002—the *Pueblo Mágico de América,* the White Village of America.

Isaac's film sets its discursive mode right from the beginning with a San Onofrio quotation, an important motto highlighted also by several critics, which says that "[W]oman, with respect to man, is neither worse nor better; [she] is something else" (Wilt 2001). The women of Comala in this filmic narrative seem, at the beginning of the movie, to be like everyone else in the village but soon it becomes evident that behind the public idyll of their compulsory, everyday stories these individuals conceal most of their private lives; in other words, they live a masked, false life. Confined for the greater part of their days and nights to the domestic realm of their kitchen and house, being forced into an imposed 'proper' place within the ossified patriarchal symbolic order, they live and act accordingly—but only to a point in the intradiegetic time, when they decide to change the world around them. Since such change at the local level would be virtually impossible, they decide to take control of their lives by leaving their kitchens *(comal)*—and so, the town of Comala as well. This is the moment in the movie when the housewives cease to be those 'normal,' ordinary wives confined in stereotypical roles in most mainstream narrative cinemas and become *mujeres insumisas:* rebellious, defiant women developing into extraordinary actors of their ordinary lives. Indeed, as David Wilt writes, "[w]hile the actions of the women in *Mujeres insumisas* are out of the ordinary, the most touching and impressive aspect of the movie is the representation of the true friendship and support which exists between the [...] protagonists" (2001). This strong, sisterly tie binds them into an unusual protagonist-group of actors, each embodying various identity features invisible up to a certain point in Isaac's visual narrative, which gradually grows into a visual documentary reflecting the trio's life narratives intertwined into a coherent plot of gender subversion; it becomes a story of stories, unveiling, with every event an important aspect of each woman's intriguing personality. The characters' concealed liveepisodes include, besides obscured past stories, a number of suppressed domestic assaults: Clotilde, for example, was frequently beaten by her husband, who cold-heartedly even snapped several of her fingers making her unable to work for a time; Chayo had to struggle each day to spoon-feed her obstinate, elderly mother-in-law being meanwhile silenced by her continuously abusive husband; Isabel had a disabled daughter and a dysfunctional family with whom she was not allowed to actively com-

municate, while Ema had to endure her husband's constant sexual abuse. With Gloria Anzaldúa's words, these women who were concealing their entire lives behind the proper wife-mask, were "doubly threatened" by having "to contend with sexual violence" with their existence constantly "prey to a sense of physical helplessness;" however, by running away from their families, the Comala wives leave "the familiar and safe homeground to venture into unknown and possibly dangerous terrain" (12–13) of a new life and free play of their true identity.

Bearing similarities at various levels with the intriguing women characters of Federico Garcia Lorca from *The House of Bernarda Alba* (1936/1945), of Alice Walker's and Steven Spilberg's in *The Color Purple* (1982/1987), of Pedro Almodóvar's *Women on the Verge of Nervous Breakdown* (1988), and of Laura Esquivel's and Alfredo Arau's in *Like Hot Water for Chocolate* (1989/1992), Isaac's Comala women embark on a risky endeavor with unknown paths. Before going away from their homes, these "rebellious" women—already aligned in the gusto of Ridley Scott's figures of Thelma and Louise from the 1991 movie with the same title—meet by a lake, Laguna La María, named after a local woman, who had sold her soul to the Devil for the sake of eternal love. They seek the clairvoyance of a Gypsy woman, symbolically named also María, who claims to be their *hermana* [sister], and who helps Clotilde, Chayo, Isabel and Ema with the first steps of their risky journey of self-discovery. Unlike the fugitive women, María sees more than anyone else by having a unique insight especially into what each of them wants to hide. As a genuine therapist, she raises the consciousness of her *hermanas* and makes them think by telling Cloti(lde) that she is "conceited and stingy but also kind;" "Chayo/Rosario looks "loyal" but hates her husband; Isabel/Chabel, tries to hide things as the more she tries, the more her "ass shows;" Ema/Emita is "ambitious, clever and lustful," setting her "sights high" (Isaac 1994). On the basis of her intuitions, María designates Ema as the leader of the rebel group; afterwards, Ema receives a mummified hummingbird as a good luck charm from her life-couch. This amulet becomes the central metaphor of the Comala women's freedom, inspiring them to get (on) their own wings and thus to achieve individual liberty. The hummingbird has a powerful symbolism in Central America: the ancestors of the Mexicans, the Mexicas or Aztecs wore hummingbird (*huītzil* in Nahuatl) talismans that were emblematic for their wisdom, vigor, energy and with their sharp beaks symbolizing weapons leading to successful struggles. A mythic correlative of the Greek/Roman goddess of wisdom, courage and war Athene Pallas/Minerva, *Huitzil*opochtli, the warrior god of Aztecs and the son of goddess Coatlicue, is often depicted as a colibri (see Contreras 105–132); moreover, the famous Mexican artist and feminist icon, Frida Kahlo's emblematic 1940 *Self-Portrait with Thorn Necklace and Hummingbird* also emphasizes the powerful symbolism of the violetear in the fight for women's emancipation.

The series of individual and collective struggles in Isaac's film intensify when the rebellious Comala wives arrive in Guadalajara. This huge Mexican city appears to grant them, finally, some degree of freedom. However, once there, Isabel—worried about her disabled daughter but mostly out of cowardice and fear of the unknown—decides to return home. She abruptly leaves but the other three women decide to remain and start to look for work and a place to stay. They find accommodation and

earn a living by working as maids and cooks in the restaurant-nightclub called Rosa 4 (not coincidentally the symbolism of the rose is connected in Mexico with la Guadalupana and appears on the banner of the Virgen de Guadalupe; moreover, the number of the club coincides with the number of rebellious Colima wives). Here, on her way to finding sexual freedom, Ema has a disastrous affair with a young man, a womanizing drug dealer pretending to be a student. Ema is unaware of his true identity and does not know either that her sexually abusive husband, Felipe, has begun looking for her. When she learns the truth about her lover, she beats him, flushes his drugs down the toilet and—in a rare moment of rage—steals his money. With the cash, Ema, Chayo and Clotilde manage to fly from Rosa 4 to Los Angeles (originally named as El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles del Río de Porciúncula/The Town of Our Lady the Queen of Angels of the River Porciúncula) where they become *angelenas*—and open their own Mexican restaurant, an ethnic eatery where they proudly appear in *rebozos* (shawls) and *huipils* (loose fitting tunics)—outfits not only of the rural women of Mexico but also of the modern, emancipated Chicanas proud of their heritage. This garment is a visual display of their newly gained identity and by juxtaposing the domestic work of the private kitchen *(comal)* with a different spirit of housekeeping, the public *oikonomia* of the Mexican restaurant in the U.S., the untamed wives evolve from invisible, domestic concealment to personal and economic emancipation.

Their Tehuana image stresses what Tzvetan Todorov called the "cultural exteriority" that overcomes the "internal other" (246); it is a powerful allusion to the beautiful and economically powerful women of Tehuantepec, who successfully run matriarchal societies in Oaxaca (celebrated, for example, by Frida Kahlo in her symbolic 1943 painting entitled "Self Portrait as Tehuana" and also by Diego Rivera in the emblematic painting of "Tehuantepec Women" and Rufino Tamayo's powerful "Women of Tehuantepec") and it reinforces the new identity of the run-away Comala women. As mestizas, they "continually walk out of one culture and into another" (Anzaldúa 77), being in a "constant state of nepantilism, an Aztec word meaning torn between ways" (78). At the end of Isaac's film, Ema, Cloti and Chayo become what Anzaldúa called *the new mestizas:* Chicanas/Xicanas in the U.S.—and start to cope with their new identity "by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity" (79). As "Indians in Mexican culture" and "Mexicans from an Anglo point of view" they will soon learn to "juggle cultures" by operating in a pluralistic mode (79), a lesson that lingers through the final images of the film: the three women sitting by the breakfast table, giggling, enjoying themselves, exhibiting their desires and making plans for the future, their future. Interestingly, a year before Isaac's movie came out, 51% of Mexican women in the United States held jobs outside home (Ruiz 147) and the percentage was close to this number also for Mexican households headed by women. Pragmatically, it seems that Isaac's intradiegetic presumptions were right: Chicanas had clearly gained a lot of success winning decisive battles over their own concealed Americas on the screen—and outside of it.

At the beginning of the movie, the group of protagonists have apparently lost their self-esteem and live as puppets on ropes in a patriarchal set-up of imposed family romances behind which lies abuse, violence, discrimination and harassment. After re-

ceiving a considerable number of real and symbolic wounds of which they do not talk—although some of which are visible on their bodies—the *mujeres* of Comala agree to help each other by simply running away from the circumstances they were forced to live in. Not long after their pact, these four women secretly board on a train for Guadalajara, fleeing *"en masse* for new horizons" (Richards 95). Clotilde, Chayo, Isabel and Ema orchestrate carefully their departure and leave behind not only their burdens but also a short note for their spouses (Wilt 2001a) that contains a veritable Declaration of Sentiments of their own. In accordance with the first document of American feminists issued at Seneca Falls in 1848, which claimed that "[T]he history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her" these Mexican women indeed—as their northern precursors did—"let facts be submitted to a candid world" (*Declaration of Sentiments* 1848), all in a voice, all in one letter, which says in Isaac's film:

> We have decided to leave behind that which we cannot change. We leave before we drown. [...] We want to prove by being free that we can make decisions about our own lives. (Isaac 1994)

Back home these women had concealed any drive for individual happiness. The flaw in their lives appears with the discovery of the fact that they have been suppressing their potential for any bliss, joy, or pleasure; when they figured out that their concealments might ultimately lead to tragedy. Similar to the situation of individuals in totalitarian regimes, the Comala women were restricted by their patriarchal family set-up in a rural-provincial, religious settlement where they could enjoy only minimal mundane pleasures (depicted in the film as innocent chats and helping each other with domestic chores), meanwhile having to channel their greater happiness—as described by Andrei Pleşu (13–14)—such as intense love, close friendship and free creativity into nothing more than domestic submissiveness or some degree of religious piety but mostly, routine work—at home. Thus Clotilde, Chayo, Isabel and Ema conceal their desires for a while, but these can hardly be kept under the veil, especially when usual things could be cherished as if they were luxury items. Instead of monumentalizing their minimal joys in community fiestas and family celebrations (similar to many of other women), these temporarily 'tamed' women decide to free themselves by simply leaving their homes, lives and families behind. They do not intend to live with the compromise of "negative happiness," which materializes not in having a good experience from time to time, but rather in avoiding a continuous bad experience; their aim is to evade 'normality,' set in their life as a power relation, a form of "negative happiness" (Pleşu 18). In these circumstances, "forbidden" joys are usually dangerous pleasures that appear as diverse forms of subversion. As a result, the connotation for happiness acquires another dimension in the lives of Ema, Chayo, Isabel and Cloti and that comes out as resistance to their mundane lives. The Comala women believe that their happiness can be achieved only by abandoning the place in which they have been made unhappy. Nevertheless, in doing so they become, in the eyes of those who remain home, rebels, refugees, in other words, bad women. And, in Anzaldúa's formulation from *Borderlands/La Frontera:*

[I]f a woman rebels, she is a *mujer mala*. If a woman doesn't renounce herself in favor of the male, she is selfish. For a woman of my culture there used to be only three directions she could turn: to the Church as a nun, to the streets as a prostitute, or to the home as a mother. Today some of us have a fourth choice, education [...] Today some of us have a fourth choice: entering the world by way of education and career and becoming self-autonomous persons. A very few of us. (17)

The *mujer mala,* or the bad, untamed, rebellious woman, is generally associated in Mexican culture with the character of La Gritona or alternately, La Llorona—a mythical feminine figure cursed to haunt water places, who weeps for her [dead] children and seeks to punish men for her own suffering—by emphasizing the paradox behind her name (Sandoval 47). This paradigmatic, weeping woman "inherited the complex, controversial identity traits of the both the Nahua Malintzín or La Malinche and that of the Virgin de Guadalupe by embodying the sexualized figure of the Aztec *vendida* woman *(la puta),* who is mourning her lost children" (Cristian 2015). La Malinche or doña Marina, mentioned first in the chronicles of Bernal Díaz del Castillo (Hernán Cortez's soldier) entitled *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1550–1568), was an indigenous noblewoman, who was given by the natives of Tabasco to the leaders of the Spanish army; La Malinche later successfully mediated between the Aztecs and the *conquistadores,* becoming both an intercultural and intertextual figure in many literary and artistic works afterwards (Csikós 2015). Malintzín—also known by the more sinister connotation of La Chingada—merged, in the cross-cultural context with the figure of the serpent goddess of fertility and Earth, Coatlicue, who had an ambiguous "good mother aspect" through the juxtaposed figure of the Mesoamerican Mother Earth goddess Tonantsi that "split from her dark guises," later transfigured into the Virgen de Guadalupe, "the chaste, protective mother," currently the sacred "defender of the Mexican people" (Anzaldúa 27–28).

Intriguingly, shortly after the production of Isaac's *Mujeres insumisas,* the enigmatic motif of the *mujer mala*/Coatlicue/Malintzín/La Chingada, took a fascinatingly grotesque shape close to the film's location of Comala—probably not by chance—exactly in Colima. The controversial statue named "La figura obscena" or "The Monument of the Obscene Figure," made by the Mexico City-based Breakaway Generation artist José Luis Cuevas in 1996 and donated by the artist to the town of Colima in 2001, was placed in one of the most frequented local routes, in the circular intersection *(glorieta)* leading from Colima to Guadalajara. Mexican art critics claimed that this appallingly grotesque sculpture, which became the object of various polemics heightening in a huge public scandal in 2006, is *no more* than a simple "prehispanic figure"—as her 'welcoming' posture is concermed—with her distorted antropomorph animal quality and thus, an obvious symbol for the ostracized 'bad woman.' With this claim, crtitics closed a rather long public debate by concluding that this sculpture is *not* really a woman but just "an animal that marks its territory" (Uribe Alvarado and Uribe Alvarado 125). However, the erasure of the statue's human attitudes alongside the overemphasis on prehispanic conntations over the obvious signification of gender—all within the genuine artistic context underscored by the sculptor's obvious *ars poetica* in expressing his Generation de la Ruptura's human debasement—is quite significant here,

both in terms of location and timing. It is more than intriguing to see the connotation of this Figura exhibiting herself as a *mujere insumisa* at an important crossroads (to Guadalajara—sic!), close to Isaac's filmic location(s) for untamed women, placed a short time in his hometown, after the film about rebellious women came out.
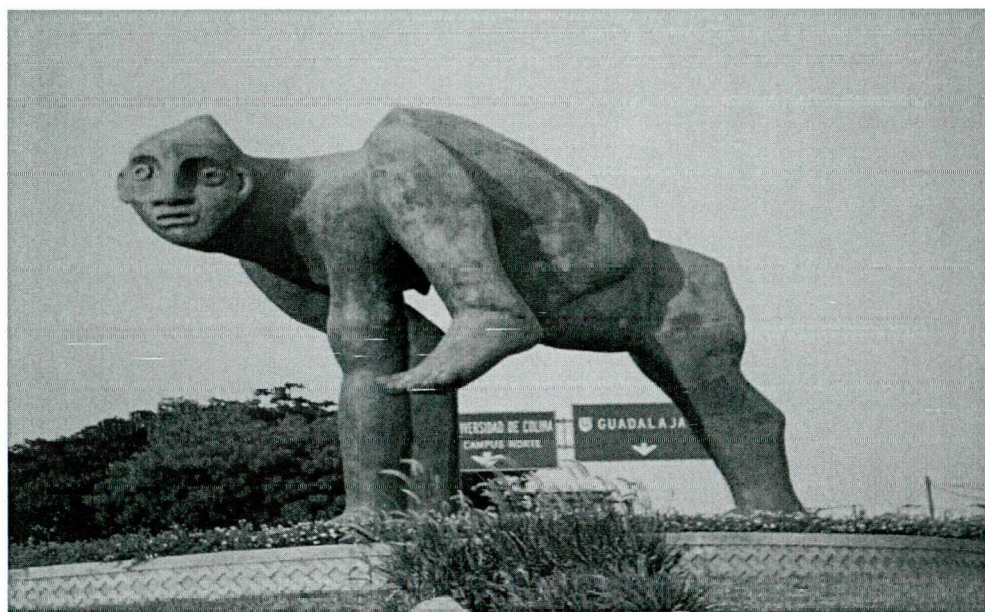
"Figura obscena" (1996) by José Louis Cuevas in Colima, Colima, MX.
Photography by Réka M. Cristian (2009)

With regard to stereotypes and mythic figures, Isaac's film does not particularly stress the indigenous or religious affiliation of its protagonists: they are, at first sight, *mestizas* with an 'inherent' syncretic Catholicism taken for granted throughout the entire movie. Born and raised in the strong patriarchal culture of Mexico, Isaac concentrates primarily on the gender construction of power in the Comalan—and Mexican society. Quite unusual for a Mexican film, the identity construction goes mostly regardless of race, in a subtle deconstruction of formerly imposed identities: here all women, regardless of their race or class, can find their voice and personality mostly through their gender. The Comala women in *Mujeres insumisas* can neither be confined into maternal stereotypes—neither the good mother, Virgen de Guadalupe nor the bad mother, La Llorona—which they avoid simply by running away—nor into that of *mujer mala/* prostitutes. And here is the smart pleasurable negotiation of the gender-work in this film: Chayo, Ema and Clotilde do away with the previously mentioned stereotypes (Isabel, unfortunately becomes herself a version of La Llorona and goes back to her home before the other women leave for the United States), but especially with the *mujer mala* by exhibiting a strong moral stance that prevails over most patriarchal expectations or imposed cultural roles. The trio of Mexican women succeeds in what most (Mex-

ican) men could or did not by transgressing not only their own domestic borders (the home, the village and the state) and but also by a smooth, that is, legal entering into the United States. Here, they achieve not only personal autonomy but also economic freedom and manage to stand on their own feet by opening their private Mexican restaurant. This is their version of the fourth, education line of liberation mentioned by Anzaldúa before: the protective environment of their own enterprise can be brought into line with the education other women get. Once in the United States, Chayo, Ema and Cloti successfully (re)assess their racial and national roots, which were up to this point in the film, less visible facets of their identities—and which they took for granted back in their native Comala. In assessing and reassessing their identity as free, autonomous *mestizas* turned Chicanas in the U.S., they grow from invisible, oppressed, rural figures, into valued members of the urban, multicultural California society.

The Comala women have succeeded through a long journey by first "taking inventory" (82) of their past and various hidden burdens of their private lives; then heading to a "conscious rupture with all oppressive traditions" (82) when they ran away and managed to "communicate this rupture" (82) through the letter they left to their spouses, to use Anzaldúa's words and stages of liberation outlined in "La consciencia de la mestiza / Towards a New Consciousness" from *Borderlands/ La Frontera*. Ema, Chayo and Cloti revise their life-narratives and reshape their identity by adopting new perspectives (88) of their lives after their trans-border migration to the 'other' America: the United States. The concealed Americas involving their own till then invisible, domestic, *mestiza* lives could be made visible only with a radical act of insubordination and rebellion, materialized in their transnational endeavor, fueled not by economic or political reasons but by personal incentives, all due to the gender of the protagonists. The aesthetic and political activism of Isaac's film departs from the traditionalist issues of *mexicanidad;* nevertheless, it adheres to the politics of the IMCINE and thus functions as a useful tool for societal transformation—in any decade. Moreover, the top of each IMCINE CINESECUENCIAS bulletin, as well as that of *Mujeres insumisas* still says *"El cine no sirve para cambiar el mundo, sino a los que cambian el mundo..."* ["Film cannot change the world, but can change those who change the world"] (MacLaird 7). And indeed, as Misha MacLaird observed—and as Isaac has voluntarily or involuntarily produced, this movie—, recognizing

> cinematic stories as traditional fictional genres also allows one to look closely at the changes in preestablished storytelling grammars, on both narrative and aesthetic levels. These various forms, in other historical and geographical contexts, have been tools in cultural movements and acts of resistance [...] (8)

And so has been this film.

Not the end.

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"FOR THE GOOD OF MY FAMILY:"
HUMAN AGENCY AND TRANSGRESSIONS OF
MORALITY IN *BREAKING BAD*

Irén Annus

Introduction

Created by Vince Gilligan, *Breaking Bad* was one of the most successful US dramatic television series in recent years. It was aired between 2008 and 2013 on the AMC network, in tandem with the gradually evolving economic recession precipitated by the housing crash that has shaken mainstream understandings of both masculinity and morality in the US. The leading figure of the show is Walter White (played by Bryan Cranston), an average high school chemistry teacher living in a modest suburb of Albuquerque, New Mexico. At the beginning of the series, his stay-at-home wife, Skyler (Anna Gunn), is pregnant with their second child while she also takes care of their first-born, Walter, Jr. (RJ Mitte), who suffers from cerebral palsy. The family only seems to socialize with Skyler's younger sister, the rather self-centered Marie Schrader (Betsy Brandt), and her husband, Hank (Dean Norris), a DEA agent. Like many other families in the US during the gradually evolving recession, the Whites are struggling financially, as a result of which White has taken on a second job: cleaning cars in a local car wash, where he is humiliated regularly by his boss and some of the customers, like his own, low-achieving but well-to-do students. This rather bleak situation is topped by the breaking of bad news: White is diagnosed with terminal lung cancer. This is the complication out of which the storyline evolves: it portrays White breaking bad, his gradual transformation into a criminal, his eventual destruction of his family and of all his social ties, and his engagement in a semi-suicidal act of revenge that ultimately costs him his life.

A number of analyses have investigated a variety of issues in the series, including masculinity (Annus, and Faucette), visual and literary allusions (Wu and Kuo, and Lanham), and social concerns (Lewis, and Logan). The current paper concentrates on the transformation of the leading figure, Mr. White, from a decent teacher and honest family man into "the devil" (5: 12), as he was described in an interview by Jesse Pinkman (Aaron Paul), White's former student, who has risen from being a small-time drug dealer to White's business partner. Logan has argued convincingly that this transformation captures contemporary concerns with human dignity and humility in American society. I find that such a focus tends to tackle issues of social interaction, norms and expectations, and are manifestations of concerns with regard to one's effort to relate to the social milieu, to be integrated into and accepted by it. As Logan put it, "dignity [is] understood … as pivoting around the desire to act in such a way that one's inner self coheres with, and can be recognized by others through one's outer presentation and deeds" (2).

This understanding seems to correspond with impression management and the presentation of the self in the Goffmanian fashion that is bound to the front region and therefore reflective of social interaction, norms, expectations, formations, etc., and does not necessarily allow for a glimpse into the back region, where the construction of the self and its expression in terms of human agency and personal choice are shaped. Goffman considers individuals as performers when they engage in social interaction and views them as "merchants of morality" (251), as it is through their consideration of morality that "they are living up to the many standards by which they and their products are judged" (251). As opposed to Logan, however, Goffman observes that this does not automatically imply that individuals are deeply concerned with the actual realization of these moral standards—meaning that as long as they appear to live up to them in the public eye, they achieve their goal. But what happens during decision-making processes in the back region? Would morality and social norms equally shape our thinking and the choices we take? To what extent can we practice free agency and autonomy just for ourselves? These are issues this study addresses, by focusing on the significance of morality in the transformation of Mr. White, who presents one image of himself through his face-to-face interactions, as if on the surface, while he undergoes a gradual transformation marked by the slow evolution of an alternate self he calls Heisenberg, hidden from the public eye, in the darkness of his most private region.

As Pinkman employed the concept of the devil to capture White's true, and for most people, hidden character, I approach morality from the perspective of evil. At first, I introduce some pertinent notions to have shaped contemporary conceptualizations of evil as well as pointing out current trends in its representation on screen in the US. I then turn to the specifics of White's transformation, marked by his dual experience with "breaking bad," revealing the conditions and factors behind his gradual metamorphosis. I argue that White's figure reflects a unique duality in terms of his relation to morality: on the surface, he continues to represent himself to his environment as a good, decent, peaceful man, but his secret criminal undertaking reflects his shifting position on morality. However, his discourse and the reasoning that account for his decisions continue to reflect the logic and morality upheld by society, except for the added flavor of growing relativism, leading to denial: after all, he concludes, he is "not a criminal" (1: 1). I propose that this moralizing, relativistic discourse is inherent to his art of deception and is the constitutive power through which he is able to overcome the discrepancy created between his presented self in public and his constructed self in private. Ultimately, however, the various traps of good and evil are matters of morality and conscience, and, as part of human agency, are matters of choice and will – even if concealed in the show by White's self-delusion, rationalized by the traditional Western patriarchal claim throughout the show: "I did it for the good of my family" (5: 16)

Evil in Contemporary Culture and on Screen

Evil, referring to an extremely harmful, wicked and destructive act or form of behavior, is a powerful word that has been in use to describe and judge human conduct. As a concept related to essential categories of morality, it has been integral to various

types of ideologies, particularly religions. In Christianity, it has been traditionally associated with the devil, and as such has taken on theological significance. Perhaps the most well-known understanding of the binary opposition between good and evil is captured in John 3:20: "For everyone who does evil hates the Light, and does not come to the Light for fear that his deeds will be exposed" *(The Bible)*. A sense of individual agency in terms of engaging in evil acts with regard to intent is implied in the Pauline Principle, which states that "it is not morally permissible to do evil so that good may follow" (Mizzoni 51). It seems to me that Thomas Aquinas, as an acknowledgement of the complexities of human action, developed the Pauline Principle further in his Principle of Double Effect, stating in his Summa Theologica (II-II, Q. 64, Art. 7) that "Nothing hinders one act from having two effects, only one of which is intended, while the other is beside the intention" (quoted in McIntyre). McIntyre reminds us that this doctrine is observed even today by the Catholic Church under the conditions that (1) the act itself is good; (2) it has been performed with good intentions; and (3) the positive outcome compensates for the negative side-effect.

The Enlightenment philosophy triggered the beginning of a gradual departure from religious understandings of evil and morality. René Descartes' famous dictum, "I think, therefore I am," became the catch phrase of rationalism that emerged during the age in parallel with empiricism, which drew on the Peripatetic axiom: "Nothing is in the mind without first having been in the senses." The great synthesizer of the age, Immanuel Kant, attempted to unite the two schools of thought, ultimately outlining a philosophy of science in which he not only acknowledged the power of scientific thinking, but also argued for the autonomy of the rational, thinking mind. In a sense, notes Mizzoni (105–7), Kant considers freedom as a property of the human will, and thus contends that rational beings possess free will and agency. Free will is exercised through reason, and it is through rational thinking that free will can be guided and even bound by morality, which Kant understands as universally applicable laws. Humans, however, may fail to observe these laws, which "is symptomatic of a character or disposition (Gesinnung) that has been corrupted by an innate propensity to evil, which is to subordinate the moral law to self-conceit" (Hanson). As evil is thus understood by Kant as a moral category, it is also present universally; it is, in fact, "a deed that is the product of an individual's capacity for choice" (Hanson).

The Enlightenment laid the intellectual groundwork for the emergence of modernity, a critical history of which was provided by Foucault. In his genealogy of the particularization and subsequent institutionalization of people who expose a human condition or behavior that was considered to fall outside of social normalcy – and was subsequently defined as illness or deviance – Foucault unveils a new understanding of evil and morality. He divests these concepts of their former religious content and lends them political significance by connecting them to modern state power. In contrast to Kant, he sees evil "not as actions by immoral agents who freely transgress the moral law but ... as arbitrary cruelty installed in regular institutional arrangements taken to embody the Law, the Good, or the Normal" (Connolly 366). In particular, in his *Discipline and Punish,* Foucault maps the way particular types of behavior or actions have become constituted as evil and have thus been considered to be a form of deviance or abnormal condition that could be labeled as a criminal (or medical)

condition and have thus been dealt with by state power. The politicization of morality, of good and evil, he finds, was the basis for the development of the modern legal and subsequent prison systems through which technologies of power/knowledge could be exercised in a systematic manner to survey and discipline subjects and to maintain hegemony.

> Hence, no doubt, the importance that has been given for so long to the small techniques of discipline, to those apparently insignificant tricks that it has invented, and even to those 'sciences' that give it a respectable face; ... hence the affirmation that they are at the very foundation of society, and an element in its equilibrium, whereas they are a series of mechanisms for unbalancing power relations definitively and everywhere hence the persistence in regarding them as the humble but concrete form of every morality, whereas they are a set of physico-political techniques (Foucault 223).

As we can see, he finds that criminality also emerged as a potential subject of scientific inquiry, which would investigate the possible roots of deviant behavior, its characteristics and forms of manifestation, as well as identifying possible methods of punishment to re-integrate the wrongdoer into what has been recognized as the normal society.

Postmodernity presented a challenge to the truth value, singularity of interpretation and indisputable power invested in grand narratives of modernity, be they religious or secular. The does not mean that postmodernity has marked the end of religions – which, as Solomon argues, will always prevail, as they provide the only type of meta-narrative for mankind to deal constructively with the greatest human fear: death – but have transformed them into one type among the many potential narratives that elucidate human realities. In tandem, postmodernity has witnessed the increasing use of the concept of evil in politics: Geddes finds that in current political discourse the concept of evil is primarily associated with extreme violence, used to signify horrific acts committed by one's enemy and thus it also serves to justify extreme violent responses to them. Ultimately, the boundary between good and evil, victim and perpetrator, has become gradually blurred.

By challenging the uni-vocality and singular power of meta-narratives, postmodernity has also allowed for a plurality of interpretations, opening avenues to practices of relativism. This, on the one hand, permits both sides in a conflict to engage in the same discoursal logic, as illustrated for example in the discourse surrounding the American "War on Terror," while, on the other hand, it has "made almost impossible the identification and condemnation as morally wrong of another subject's willed desire to pursue 'inhuman' acts" (Salamon 17). As a result of this moral relativism, the judgment of what evil is has become a matter of perspective: the understanding of evil has been re-conceptualized "as a transgression, as excess, as sublime" (Geddes 2), the boundaries of which, I emphasize, are often not shaped by wide social consensus but by individual needs and perspectives. As a consequence, also noted by Geddes, postmodernity offers "few resources with which to respond to the occurrence of evil, to guide one in making moral judgments" (2).

Consequently, numerous typologies, approaches, and understandings of evil have emerged based on the possible origins of evil, its definitions, intentions, and justifica-

tions, etc., all of which seem to indicate a growing sense of doubt and concern about how to understand and deal with evil. As part of postmodern thinking, we may experience "serious reservations about the very idea of evil" (Garrard and McNaughton 1) or actually challenge the very existence of evil, conceptualizing it primarily as a myth and a discoursal construction (Cole 4). These views, however, acknowledge that evil – whether real or imagined – is always part of cultural construction, and as such, is captured and constituted through both image and text, visual and verbal. As Turnau puts it: "Our understanding of evil is always enculturated, informed by and inscribed across a panoply of texts continually in circulation ... [and] we spot evil ... always by means of a *mediated* gaze" (384).

By now the screen has probably become the most important terrain of visuality where we gaze at cultural products. The various contexts and forms of representation of evil on screen nowadays reflect the ambiguity that postmodernity allows for as well as a resultant plurality of understandings. Explorations of possible depictions of evil on screen – traditionally associated with violence and attendant pain – have a particularly long and unique history in the American film industry: as Salamon puts it, "Evil has a history of its own in American film" (18). Indeed: some of the traditionally more popular American movie genres, such as the western, horror, thriller, mystery, and detective film, bear witness to the cultural centrality of the concern with wrong-doing, violence and the evil, which has been a permanent element of the American cultural landscape since its inception in the early colonial period.

Sharrett (11) finds that violence depicted on the screen heightened in particular in the post–1960s as the result of a series of violent political engagements, such as the Vietnam War, and of some pertinent cultural changes, for example the achievements of the Civil Rights movement. He argues that the intensified "importance of the violent image" on the American screen contributes to the "furthering [of] an atomized society" (10), but at the same time it also "attempts to construct audience consciousness in service of political-economic assumptions" (13). Others, such as Rapping, explain this phenomenon with the emerging influence of postmodernism: he finds that traditional meta-narratives have been divested of their singular power of constituting meaning; we have thus been left with a culture which, as Freeland puts it, "offers few and only shallow resources of symbolizing evil" (3) as well as of accounting for and responding to it. This cultural shift, Rapping proposes, accounts for the recent phenomenon of movies increasingly focusing on rare and cruel crimes as well as predatory criminals (257).

I would argue that the mushrooming of blockbusters, television series and reality shows that carry us to alternative spiritual dimensions with mediums and psychics, such as *Medium* and *Long Island Medium,* or vampires and zombies, such as *The Vampire Diaries, Walking Dead,* and *Twilight,* also signify the indecisiveness of the postmodern cultural construction of good and evil and invite us to explore them along with the borderland between earthly human existence and possible other worlds. Geddes points out another feature of these contemporary programs: namely, that they tend to focus on the perpetrator while "the real sufferings of the victims of evil become eclipsed" (2). Some of the programs, such as *Criminal Minds* and *CSI,* are focused solely on the figure of the perpetrator and his or her act; thus, they capitalize not so much

on the detective work but rather on the scientific investigation of the crime scene and the psychological study or profile of the criminal, in the fashion of the official state practices Foucault described.

Evil and the Metamorphosis of Walter White

Breaking Bad is a series embedded in this cultural tradition. It depicts the life story of Walter White, from experiencing the breaking of bad news to breaking bad and ultimately dying. His journey begins as the consequence of his diagnosis of incurable cancer. Most people's reaction to such a piece of news would be initial astonishment and collapse, followed by an urgent search for potential cures and the extension of life. This is perhaps what we, the viewers, expect of White, too. We feel for him and perhaps recognize him more than before as the everyman, as any man, whose circumstances in life, serial struggles, and efforts to cope with the ever-worsening socio-economic situation around him command sympathy and respect, if not admiration, which we are ready to offer to him. But he does not let such strong emotions overcome him, he rejects any form of self-pity and moralization over his illness: he appears as a man of the Enlightenment in his deep rationalism with which he evaluates this situation.

His real self as a man of reason seems to guide his reaction: he contemplates his own life and makes a reckoning of his current state in terms of his responsibilities to and his legacy for his family. For the first time, he is forced to face the harsh realities of his past critically, realizing that his life has been a failure: from flashbacks, we learn about the great potential he had as a researcher in chemistry, as the key founder of a very successful pharmaceutical company called Gray Matter Technologies, as the partner to the love of his life, and even later as a young husband, but they all seem to have vanished—partly because of his own self: poor judgment, lack of self-confidence and resultant bad decisions, partly because of the changing American realities around him. He has remained, however, a decent man true to himself and his principles, accepting all the hardships that have come along. As a result, after his death, he would leave behind a wife with a young baby and a partially disabled child in poverty.

The decency or morality in him dictates that he must provide for them for when he is no longer around, so he figures out a way to do so within the very short time he has available, by putting his scientific knowledge into practice: producing synthetic drugs. Thus he decides to engage in illegal, criminal activity for the good of his family. Hence, the audience is presented with a twisted broader moral dilemma: can morality justify immorality? Can the long-term positive consequences of a good deed excuse short-term negative effects? Can natural evil, symbolized by cancer, be responded to through moral evil?

As a true representative of the Enlightenment, White is also a man of science. He refuses to contemplate on his medical state in terms of morality because he connects cancer to nature. White views his illness not as a natural evil that occurs with no specific reason or purpose known to us, thus often explained as being God's will, perhaps even punishment; rather, he sees his state rather as part of natural change investigated by the sciences. His position on religion and nature is clear from the following statement: "The universe is random ... It's simple chaos. It's subatomic particles in

endless atomic collision. That's what science teaches" (3:10). He specifically ties natural change to chemistry when he explains to his students in the opening episode that "chemistry is change ... transformation" (1: 1) that can be observed and measured. A flashback to his university years confirms his conviction: as White was adding up the chemical composition of the human body, he recognized that a small segment of mass was missing. "There's got to be more to a human being than that" (1: 3) he concluded, to which his research assistant and then girlfriend Gretchen (Jessica Hecht) suggested: "What about the soul?" White's response seemed conclusive: "The soul? There's nothing but chemistry!"

White calculated how much money would be needed to ensure a middle-class future for his family and joined his former student, Pinkman, a small-time dealer, in establishing a temporary business model they would pursue till the desired amount is reached: White cooks meth in an RV turned meth lab in the desert, and Jesse sells it on the market. White seems to be stressed and confused about the undertaking, as conveyed by his fear of being caught in the very first episode, when he also makes a video message for his family stating: "There are going to be some things that you'll come to learn about me in the next few days ... no matter how it may look, I only had you in my mind" (1: 1). It seems to me, however, that his fear and confusion are not a matter of moral concern, but rather an anxiety about the success of his new project. Moreover, his sense of responsibility towards his family is perhaps somewhat self-imposed, even if rooted in his culturally engrained sense of masculinity: interestingly, he has not considered his wife, Skyler, to be able to deal with hardships and provide for herself and the children. Moreover, his decision to engage in the drug business also marks the beginning of a slow process, through which he has become increasingly focused on and wrapped up in his own secret world, creating his own sense of reality by blowing certain things out of proportion—such as his own significance when telling Skyler she has no idea who he really is, while ignoring or denying the significance of others—including the evil nature of some of his acts.

The audience, interestingly, seem to have their sympathy with him as he makes this decision, understand him, and perhaps even respect or admire him for his moral strength in doing the right thing – caring for his family. As if we were unconsciously identifying with Aquinas' Principle of Double Effect, we feel that his intentions are good, even though they have the negative side-effect of breaking the law and supplying people with a destructive narcotic. He is somewhat excused for this, as implied in the narrative, since drug use already exists in society and someone will surely provide drugs for the market, what does it matter if White adds to it just a little bit? Moreover, the fact that he plans a definite closure to his business—also guaranteed by his fatal cancer—supports his logic as well as the viewers in their moralizing relativism: he will only do wrong for a short time, and we, the viewers are all hoping that he might succeed and evade capture. White is almost constituted in our minds as the lonely hero in a modern fairy tale who fights the unfair system by outwitting it, ultimately gaining justice and obtaining his well-deserved reward.

However, once he becomes engaged, a gradual spiral draws him deeper and deeper, as a result of unexpected problems and complications as well as the nature of the business and his own personality. He ends up meeting and working for Gustavo

"Gus" Fring (Giancarlo Esposito), a powerful drug distributor and merciless murder-er who both launders his illegal profits and covers up for his criminal activity by work-ing as a respectable businessman – even involved in charity work, through which he maintains good relations with law enforcement. White also hires a dubious lawyer, Saul Goodman (Bob Obenkirk), who assist him secretly in covering up his criminal activity while continuing to represent himself as a decent lawyer on the surface. By the end, White runs an international drug business, but under the constant watch of his brother-in-law, Hank, who also ends up being murdered at the point when White completely loses control. Still, White ends up ensuring the financial future of his e-stranged family, and gives Jesse—who by then is also completely estranged from him—his freedom and chance for a better life back. White takes his revenge on the people who have betrayed him and is willing to sacrifice himself and die in the pro-cess. He knows he must die, but at least he loses his life to a bullet and not to can-cer—because this is his choice. Moral evil has thus been victorious over natural evil on numerous levels.

White's potential relation to wrongdoing is indicated by the typology Leyda proposes when describing him. She contends that White embodies a unique mixture of various types of heroes, two of which embody the potential for morally questionable figures: (1) White is characterized as a reluctant hero, an average man who becomes a hero unwillingly, as a result of his particular circumstances; (2) he is also depicted as a Western hero, who struggles in uncivilized, uncontrolled territories, like the New Mexican desert, dominated by mere physical strength, where the boundary between right and wrong often becomes blurred; and (3) he represents the typical anti-hero as well, thus embodying the opposite of all the positive values that we traditionally tend to associate with lead characters—and therefore also carrying the potential for being evil.

Once White was "in business," he took on the name Heisenberg as his alias, his second persona, by which he became known in the criminal world. This was visually marked by the black hat that he put on as if a cowboy hat, pulling his fingers along its brim to the front, while looking defiantly at his image, evoking allusions to classic western movies: unexplored, dangerous territories of the West, constant threat and physical violence, transgressions of morality, law and order, and the ultimate victory of white hegemonic masculinity. White's choice of his alter-ego is also symbolic: Werner Heisenberg was a theoretical physicist and a Nobel laureate who is known for publishing on the uncertainty principle. White's choice of his name may imply not only White's desire to be identified with a great scientist, but also his acknowledge-ment of the possibility of the lack of absolute knowledge. In his case, this may refer to his hidden self as a criminal concealed from others, which is in line with Bain-bridge's finding: through an analysis of certain father figures on screen, he has con-cluded that "evil is often manifested in the creation of a secondary persona."

Lewis convincingly argues for the significance of perspective when evaluating White's actions, ultimately capturing the relativism of postmodernity. He finds that initially White is constituted as a victim, whose "sense of mortality erodes his mora-lity" (Lewis 665) and thus he starts to feel liberated and empowered, therefore trans-forming his self-perception from victim to victor. At the same time, we, the audience, first "see him as a cancer patient" (Lewis 657), and later as a perpetrator, a view that

White himself has rejected in saying: "I'm not a bad person. I'm just trying to fulfill my responsibility to provide for my family. Bad circumstances forced me into these compromising positions ... After all, I am not a criminal" (1: 1). In this statement, White refuses to acknowledge any kind of choice and thus any personal responsibility he may have had in determining his course of action or of any decision that may have resulted from his post-diagnostic empowerment. As if he were in a state of denial or delusion, he presents his position as something he was subjected to, therefore rejecting any sense of agency or of inappropriate moral or legal conduct on his part.

This, I find, actually stands in sharp contrast to some of White's other statements. He admits to a deep desire for agency and choice: "What I want, what I need, is a choice. Sometimes I feel like I never actually make any of my own ... choices. I mean. My entire life it just seems I never ... you know, had a real say about any of it. Now this last one, cancer... all I have left is how I choose to approach this" (1: 5). And he makes his choice. However, his discourse on why he has made this particular choice always centers on his self-tailored image of being a responsible husband and father. This discoursal construction of his identity is only changed in the finale, as it is then that he finally admits to his then-ex-wife, Skyler: "I did it for me. I liked it. I was good at it. And I was really ... I was alive!" (5: 12). He traded his here-life for the afterlife since he did not believe in the latter. Hence he offers his second explanation for engaging in crime. If we look at this, we need to consider whether we can morally despise him for wanting to feel alive in the shadow of death. And we must admit: not at all. But then, this is only part of the question. The other half is the method through which feeling alive is achieved and the price others around him must pay for it.

When White decided to break bad, perhaps we all were tempted to try to break bad with him. He had been a decent person all his life, and it had not been rewarding. Interestingly, he does not seem to question his decisions throughout his life, as if they were not decisions that he had made, which presents the interesting situation of his not taking responsibility for his previous decisions either. This is no different in the case of his turn: he never really considers his moral responsibility as he enters the drug scene, not even in killing a number of people and turning Jesse into a murderer as well. He seems to lose the sympathy of his audience when he decides "to remain in the drug business after he exceeds his monetary target, forfeiting the opportunity to walk away with handsome profits, [which] makes it clear that he is not primarily motivated by money, but by pride" (Lewis 665). I find that White's pattern of thought and reasoning illustrates how postmodernity, through its acceptance of moral relativism and the plurality of interpretations has provided us with mental technologies by which we can constitute our own individual realities.

Therefore, we are not surprised when Jesse, marking the completion of White's metamorphosis, explodes: "Mr. White ... he is the devil ... he is ... smarter than you, he is luckier than you ... whatever you think ... look, you two guys are just guys, OK?" What is particularly noteworthy about this statement is that the two factors Jesse identifies as constitutive of evil are being smart and lucky. In contrast, Zajac claims that White's success "is usually presented as a result of luck and pure coincidence rather than Walter's intelligence or abilities" (134). I rather agree with Jesse: White's schemes, for example, to rid himself of Gus and to silence Hank, were the

doings of a brilliant, twisted mind with no moral limitations to consider, with luck playing a secondary role.

Conclusion

Breaking Bad is a postmodern morality play that depicts the metamorphosis of Walter White, a gradual process that was summarized by Vince Gilligan as "transforming Mr. Chips into Scarface" (Lewis 664). Hit by the news of cancer, he has transformed from any man to anti-hero. By locating the cause of his cancer in nature and in chemical changes, White was able to reject the moralizing and victimizing discourse so common in similar situations and embrace his cancer as an enabling and empowering experience. He created his own postmodern reality in which his transgressions of moral boundaries were no longer considered. His discoursal construction of this reality and of his identity framed his assessment and rationalization of his actions. He has taken his secret journey through the realm of evil with denial, thoroughly concealed, overlooking the fact that he does enjoy free agency and does have a personal responsibility in the matter, which is a matter of choice. *Breaking Bad,* therefore, not only guides our attention to good and evil, but it also presents us, the audience, with various angles of approaches and interpretations, thus aiding us in contemplating morality – and testing our own in the process.

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MOHOLY-NAGY:
DISCOVERY OF THE SENSES

Oliver A. I. Botar

In this photograph, we see a man standing tall, with a look of intense concentration. His eyelids are lowered. Behind him stands a woman. They are outdoors, under a grey sky. Her tanned right hand is visible as it lightly touches his shoulder, her eyes downcast. Their contact is intense, but not erotic. His focus seems inwards, towards his body. We know that the man is László Moholy-Nagy, and judging by his age, that this the second half of the 1920s. But since all we have is the negative, we don't know for sure who took the photograph or where it was taken. We don't know who the young woman is or what exactly she's doing. Let's see if we can find out.

László Moholy-Nagy undergoing Gindler Therapy with an unknown therapist, n.d. (ca. late 1920s). Negative: Collection of Hattula Moholy-Nagy, Photographer unknown (Lucia Moholy?)

Born in in 1895, active in the Budapest avant-garde during the late teens, László Moholy-Nagy emigrated to Germany in 1920, where he established himself in the burgeoning Berlin art scene. He became a star professor at the Bauhaus during the mid–1920s, and went on to a successful career as a free-lance designer during the late 1920s and into the 1930s. He came to love Berlin, and was reluctant to leave after Hitler came to power. But as a Hungarian and an assimilated Jew, he had to. He went on to Amsterdam and London, finally founding the "New Bauhaus" (later "Institute of Design") in Chicago in 1937. He died there of leukaemia, all of 51 years old, in 1946.

By the mid–1920s Moholy-Nagy realized that the reproducibility of technically based media (photography, film, print); the easy production of facsimiles of works in all media, new and old, visual and aural; the proliferation of image, sound and other forms of information through the mass media (periodicals, posters, books, films, radio, records, emergent television); and the concentration of human activity in an increasingly urbanized world, placed us into a fun-

damentally new and ever-intensifying condition of sensory saturation. As he phrased it, "the new century has overwhelmed people with inventions, new materials, constructions, sciences" (Moholy-Nagy, 1930, qtd. in David and Loers 270). What was even worse, our education was overspecialized, rather than "organic," because of which the average person's ... "self-assurance is lost. He no longer dares to be his own physician, not even his own eye." *Not even his own eye.* People were being raised to suppress their inborn healing and sensory capacities. This, combined with the sensory overload of modernity, was a recipe, in his view, for disaster or at least injustice. Moholy-Nagy made it his life's project to help rectify this situation.

On the other hand, like many of his generation László Moholy-Nagy loved modernity. He loved big cities, trains, telephones, roller coasters, radio towers, machines, in short, *simultaneity*. He loved the challenges to his sensorium and his body that modernity demanded. So he took a guardedly critical stance towards modernity, stating that "technical progress should never be the goal, but always the means" (Moholy-Nagy 1929, 13) He cast art and artists in the role of helping people adapt to this state, not only through sensory exercises he undertook with his students, but by making artworks that both emulated the sensorial onslaught of modernity and even surpassed it. Media art, he wrote in 1924, "makes new demands upon the capacity of our optical organ of perception, the eye and our center of perception, the brain" (Moholy-Nagy 1969, 42). This is why it was a fully reformed *pedagogy* that was at the center of his interest, rather than *art making* per se. Indeed, he saw his art as an *aspect*, if not a byproduct, of his larger pedagogical project, and he did not even consider some of his proposals, such as the "Lichtrequisit einer elektrischen Bühne" (Light Prop for an Electric Stage) and the "Simultaneous or Polycinema" (the first proposal for what we now call "expanded cinema") to *be* artworks in any usual sense of the term. They were, rather, devices for creating situations in which people could have *experiences*. Whether those experiences were art or not, wasn't so much of concern to him.

The question arises as to where he gleaned these ideas. After all, he had studied law in Budapest, rather than art or pedagogy. The answer is fascinating. His early experiences with the remarkable Budapest intellectual scene, the avant-garde "Activist" circle and the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 were crucial. After his arrival in Berlin in 1920, he met members of the *Freideutsche Jugend* (Free German Youth), through whom he encountered Lucia Schulz, who became his first wife. Through Schulz (later famous as the photographer Lucia Moholy), Moholy-Nagy came into contact with the *Lebensreform* (life reform) practices and ideas popular at the time in the German alternative scene. Several of the young couple's vacations were spent near Loheland and Schwarzerden, two women's communes in the Rhön Mountains, where body work, movement, alternative healing, bio-dynamic agriculture and other reform practices were engaged in. While László could not take part in the *Ferienkurse* (summer courses) as Lucia could (women only!), he was strongly affected by the reform pedagogical, health-related and *Lebensreform* ideas he encountered.

In Moholy-Nagy's project, then, art and artists are accorded the role of sensory educators and it is through this pedagogical prism that art is refracted and projected towards medial experimentation. This was Moholy-Nagy's recipe for new media art, and it—as well as the rest of his conceptual constellation—resulted in ideas and

practices that anticipate what is standard practice for artists today. He challenged the traditional media hierarchy in his work, and announced questioned the importance of the artist's own hand in the production of artwork. He was a pioneer of multi-disciplinary art practices, he promoted a process- and research-based approach to creative production, he recognized the centrality and potential for integration of photography and cinema to art, he theorized what became known as "expanded cinema," and he began to think in terms of systems in art. By claiming the supremacy of the idea over its execution in artistic production, by promoting the position that any and all media be considered in the realization of the idea, and by thinking about art as a form of information, he came to recognize the decline in importance of the "original" and the (sometimes concomitant) rise in significance of the mass media in the production and dissemination of art. His focus on light and other accessible parts of the electromagnetic spectrum as "raw material" for art anticipated the digital turn. Media artist and theorist Eduardo Kac has pointed out that in Moholy-Nagy's *Constructions in Enamel* (the so-called "Telephone Pictures" 1923), by subcontracting the production to a sign-making factory who had been provided with coordinates on graph paper specifying standard colours, Moholy-Nagy pioneered strategies anticipating digital artistic thinking. These ideas in turn informed theorists like Walter Benjamin, Sigfried Giedion, John Cage, Marshall McLuhan, Friedrich Kittler, Vilém Flusser and Gilles Deleuze, who anticipated or theorized digital culture as it emerged. Should we then regard Moholy-Nagy as a pioneer of the digital? But Moholy-Nagy also proposed the first immersive and participatory artwork, the "Kinetisches konstruktives System. Bau mit Bewegungsbahnen für Spiel und Berförderung" (Kinetic constructive system. Structure with movement tracks for play and conveyance) as early as 1922–28, thereby broaching the notions of immersion, interactivity, and bodily participation. This, however, seems counter to absorption into cyber worlds and games via avatars. Does this immersive, body-centered work suggest a critique of today's disembodiment? Was he both a pioneer and a proto-critic of the digital? Whatever the answers to these questions, the fact remains that, perhaps more than anyone else, he was instrumental in laying the groundwork for the Post-World War II digital-medial shift in artistic practices.

Moholy-Nagy is now recognized as one of the most influential aesthetic thinkers, designers and art teachers of the first half of the 20th century. "As technology becomes ever more pervasive," holds Kac, "the importance of Moholy-Nagy's work and ideas for contemporary art will become more clear" (Kac, 2007, 22). With the renewed interest in media, sensory and relational-based art practices during recent years Moholy-Nagy's star has risen, with many exhibitions devoted to his work over the past decade, and more to come. The major retrospective exhibition "Moholy-Nagy: Future Present" is touring the United States in 2015–17, with showings at three of the most important American museums, The Guggenheim Museum in New York, the Art Institute of Chicago and the Los Angeles County Museum.

So, what of the photograph? Given its style and the context, it was probably taken by Lucia Moholy. The unidentified woman was likely engaging in some kind of body therapy with Moholy-Nagy. It has been suggested that this is an image of Moholy-Nagy undergoing Gindler therapy around 1927–1929 to increase awareness of the

senses, based in Moholy-Nagy's friend, the German music pedagogue Heinrich Jacoby's teachings (source: personal communication with the Elsa Gindler specialist Edith von Arps-Aubert, Berlin, September 2015). But if that's the case, why was this man, often seen as the epitome of the technocentric artist, undergoing such treatment? At Schwarzerden, Moholy-Nagy learned of *Körperlehre* (body teaching), by which was meant "the recognition of the human organism within the organism of the world" (Marie Buchhold, 1924; see Botar in Kac, 2007, fn 86, p. 335). This contact had a deep effect on Moholy-Nagy. I would like to think, that with eyes lowered, Moholy-Nagy was concentrating on his inner senses, the "microcosm" of his body, while maintaining awareness of the "universal laws [that] hold sway."

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Note:

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DISCOVERING THE ARCHIVE.
THE CASES OF GOOGLE AND CANADAHUN [1]

Zoltán Dragon

Introduction

A couple of years ago if someone wanted to load up Hungarian ebooks for a newly acquired e-reader, had to head to a buzzing online forum called CanadaHun. The online community was originally founded as a meeting place for Hungarian expats living in Canada detined to help them find resources coming from their home in Hungarian, publications, school textbooks, newspapers, magazines, and literature. One only had to register, get acquainted with members in a couple of sublets in the forum's diverse structure, and find the ebooks desired to read electronically. While CanadaHun was never intended to become the largest online provider of Hungarian literature, it certainly earned its reputation as a dynamically growing on-demand library—an illegal distributor out of the purview of Hungarian copyright law enforcement. As the forum's ebook section had started to grow, it interestingly became a new type of archive that had the potential to shape the literary canon of the day not only for Hungarians in Canada, but for Hungarians at home, as well. Taken together with the examples and practices of many torrent sites around the internet, CanadaHun stands as a grassroot example of how the logic of sharing economy is able to reform and restructure the idea and working of the archive as dictated by the digital platform and new forms of consumption. This essay is an attempt to focus on the long (and sometimes foreclosed) history of the techno-logic of the archive in philosophical and critical theory to better understand the present situation of the digital archive and its role in preserving and, indeed, shaping of our cultural heritage today.

The Archive: The Space of Memory

Ever since the proliferation of textual documents seen as the most manageable and feasible means of the transmission of cultural heritage across generations, the library came to signify not only the collection of human knowledge and culture, but also the intersection of different discourses. The shift to digital platforms and modes of production is not simply a reproduction or recontextualization of the issues inherited from earlier incarnations of archiving systems and their politics. With the new, digital agenda, the *techne* of our age has started to effectively shape the *episteme* of our cultural inheritance and identities on many levels. Questions of digital authorship and virtual

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property, of data ownership and cyberethics, of the role and rules of digital archiving technologies, and the preservation and enrichment of national cultural inheritance are more pressing issues than ever: it is the ontology of the archive that is at stake in the 21st century. There is a need to discuss the role and possibilities of the digital archive by combining data management logic (database and algorithms) and their integration in theories of culture (via the algorithmic turn as defined by William Uricchio (Uricchio, 2011, 25)). To fully grasp the reorganization of cultural memories today, on the one hand, the humanities need to critically assess the ways information technologies lend themselves to cultural analyses, and on the other, information technologies need to incorporate the critical view distilled from such relevant inquiries. Our versions of cultural heritages are no longer dependent merely on their critical dimensions, but rely heavily on the technologies that needed the digital shift both on a technological and on a cultural level.

We have reached an era where there is a steady, unstoppable shift from the relative material stability of the Gutenberg (i.e. textual) galaxy to the digital (i.e. hypertextual) realm in preserving cultural heritage. Yet we lack the general critical and theoretical, as well as corresponding technological toolset as to how the system of the archive should work and to comprehend how it could move from its closed, fortified, privileged and ultimately institutionalized, paper and media-based structure towards new, open, virtual and augmented, crowd-sourced, open access digital space that eventually defies institutionalization and does away with questions of medium-specificity in the virtual. For this move involves not merely a transmission from materiality to the virtual, but also from the medial to the interface-driven hypermedial, too.

To find potential avenues to channel this transition, on the one hand, we need to revisit some of the most decisive conceptualizations of the internet and digital culture—born also as a transitory project but yet embedded in medial discourse with the help of Vannevar Bush and, later on, Ted Nelson. On the other hand, we need to refocus our study to establish a dialogue between computation and the philosophical, critical theory tradition. It is this dialogue that can lead the critical discourses on the question of the archive out of the impasse it has recently entered. For this to happen there is an urgent need to rethink the tenets and potentials of the archive as a cultural memory system that is unlike our usual institutions both on the level of politics and on mediality.

This endeavour puts us right in the middle of the archive debate with its ethical, ideological, and political dimension reaching into the terrain of the digital, algorithmic, and database world. To talk about the archive, one needs to enter one of the many relevant discourses that operate along massively different sets of rules. We thus need to consult philosophy or ethics to ponder certain types of questions, or select fields of information technology to locate specific problems and issues in programming, the interface, or the algorithms that drive the archives. Unfortunately, whichever track one opts for, the other will be left alone, as the two (or potentially more) discursive lines here do not intersect (not in a meaningful dialogic manner at least). In other words, the *episteme* and the *techne* do not inform each other in contemporary discourses on the questions posed by the digital archive; therefore, none of the participating voices is able to tackle overarching problems and issues that our societies face today

(and in the near future as well) in terms of archiving and accessing cultural heritage. What I propose here is to erase the demarcation lines between humanities and information technology, philosophy and software, critical theories and algorithms in order to lay the foundations of a potentially flexible and fruitful dialogue that leads to a more comprehensive view at the archive.

When pondering the question of cultural heritage or memory organized in a meaningful and systematic manner, we also need to consider whether there is only one way to do it, or there are myriads of avenues opened up by digitized storing capacities. But to answer—or to approach something like a potential answer to—it, one needs to ask the pressing question: what is an archive? Especially: what is an archive in a media saturated age in which content loses its material base, its tenor, as an outcome of massive digitalization? Then comes another question: what is an archive (or what are archives) for and how should we think about its future? What should it contain? Who is it for and who should control it?

Let us start from the beginning; in other words, let us try and archive this particular train of thought in relation to preserving cultural memories. Questions of memory, of intellectual heritage, and of archiving thought and knowledge probably go as far back in the history of humanity as the appearance of literacy which, according to László Ropolyi, can present the case for a kind of digital thinking before the invention of both electricity and the digital proper. He claims that writing is essentially a non-binary, non-electronic digital literacy that later, in the second half of the twentieth century, with the birth of and transition to the digital, turns more and more into a binary, electronic digital literacy (Ropolyi 2014, 12). Curiously, this claim finds parallel with how the issue of mnemotechnics first appeared in philosophical thought only being foreclosed thereafter until the second half of the twentieth century saw a heightened increase in the issue again. As Simon Critchley explains, "Western philosophy arguably begins with the distinction of *techne* and *episteme,* where Socrates distinguishes himself from the Sophists by showing how the pursuit of knowledge in critical dialogue is superior to and independent of sophistic rhetoric and mnemotechnics" (Critchley 2009, 173). The *techne,* as Critchley argues, comes to be repressed in philosophy and it resurfaces only following Heidegger – and this is where Jacques Derrida, in his insistence on the technicity of memory takes his lead from in his analysis of the Freudian inspired concept of the archive.

Derrida's analysis of Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic ideas in *The Archive Fever* is transformative in many ways: first, it starts out from the subjective realm and enlarges on the issue of memory and the preservation of memory towards a collectively useful and feasible model. Secondly, it uses a logic and terminology that is reminiscent of how contemporary new media theory (especially following the work of Lev Manovich) conceptualizes issues related to how digital composition and data retrieval (two of the major roles of the archive) works in a contemporary, interface-driven media landscape.

As is usual with a deconstructive reading, Derrida sets off by identifying the hidden traces in the etymology of the word *archive:* commencement and commandment, which brings him to claim that the archive is essentially based on a "nomological principle" where the two segments are coordinated (Derrida 1995, 9). It then involves a

place, a special spatial setting, and a topology that governs this special intersection of law and privilege (10): an institution which harbours selected documents and saves them for posterity by exerting its own logic in the method of preservation. At this point, Derrida's language seems to refer to the material, physically established archive, that houses real documents, but it might not be too difficult to dream of an electronic archive whose spatial setting designates a non-place—a virtual entity served by redundant clusters of hardware on the technical side that can, perhaps, go beyond the strict nomological principle and open its boundaries to some extent. This would mean the commencement of a new commandment which might be seen as the implementation of the algorithmic turn, that is, the idea that contemporary representations of virtually any kind are prone to algorithmic manipulation as part of the new media scene of production and consumption (Uricchio 2011, 25).

This train of thought gets its commencement from Derrida's relegating archival storage to the outside, to the external substrate (Derrida 1995, 12), which commands him to differentiate between two versions of memory as a consequence: *mnēmē* or *anamnēxis,* and *hypomnēma* (14). It is this latter, the *hypomnēma* that is connected to the logic of the *arkhē,* which tells us that the very memory of the archive should be foreclosed, i.e. should be external to it. "The archive is hypomnesic" (14):

> Because the archive, if this word or this figure can be stabilized so as to take on a signification, will never be either memory or anamnesis as spontaneous, alive and internal experience. On the contrary: the archive takes place at the place of originary and structural breakdown of the said memory. (14)

Derrida here still thinks of the archive as an institution, a physical establishment, but some passages later, by referring to his reading of Sigmund Freud's psychic archive and problematizing the machinery of archiving logic he ponders the question: "Do these new archival machines change anything?" (15). Latre on, his answer is very close to the common trait in the potential answers one could come up with in terms of digital technology today, as it is commonly agreed that "the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future" (17). Its ultimate consequence is that the archive "produces as much as it records the event" (17). In other words, the *techne* puts its constraints on the *episteme* it wishes to conserve—further emphasized by Derrida in his insistence on including his computer and its role in the creation of his text within the very text he is writing (archiving in a way)—by claiming that the technical potentials and boundaries do have a well-documented effect in and on the document that eventually becomes an archive of his thoughts.

While it is certainly strange to have specific computer references in a philosophical reading of psychoanalytical thought, this can be the very act of reinscription of the technological into our discourse on cultural memory. The fact that this memory is redefined in terms of "a certain hypomnesic and prosthetic experience of the technical substrate" (22) is a clear reference to the concept and working mechanism of the digital and dynamic model of the archive. This approach fits Derrida's insistence on the role of the archive. He writes: rather than being "a thing of the past," it "should *call into question* the coming of the future" (26; *emphasis in the original*). Because of the technicality, or the command of the *techne,* archival processes need to work for the future

(for compatibility and for accessibility, among other aspects) instead of modelling themselves on old paradigms (when the *episteme* foreclosed issues of the *techne* even in this regard). Furthermore, the future is not merely an aim, a trajectory shaped by the *techne,* but the realm into which the working of the archive is deferred. Accordingly, the question of archiving and that of the archive *per se* "is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow. In short, reagrding the archive, if we want to know what this will have meant, we will only know in the times to come" (27).

While some assumptions, especially the deferment to the future, seem highly figurative in discursive terms, there is a very strong technical subtext to Derrida's conceptualization here. Contemporary archiving is most concerned about the *format* of the digital documents that need to be preserved and there are competing formats supported by different software (and companies, of course) that promise maximal compatibility for future retrieval technologies, yet we do not know which one of these will eventually prove to be consistent enough and widely supported (not only by archivists, archiving policies, but by the user community all around the world) to be the "future proof." If we widen the scope of the archive beyond written documents (which we obviously should), it is not even evident that we shall have to work with document types that are prevalent formats today: new medial representation forms, technical frames, modes of knowledge transfer, etc. could pop up any day and conquer communication methodsthe archive should—at least conceptually and in basic technical terms—be ready for all kinds of changes to operate precisely like an archive as Derrida describes it.

I tried to stress the technical relevance of Derrida's reading of the archive here, but this side may not be so apparent if we read some of the criticism on his discussion. Wolfgang Ernst, for instance, argues that what the philosophical tradition (meaning mainly the continental, French tradition, with Michel Foucault and Derrida taking lead) does to the issue of the archive is nothing but relegating it to the realm of empty metaphors, thus inflating the concept (Ernst 2008, 107). As opposed to what the "metaphorists" say, Ernst proposes an "elaboration of theoretical ideas in digital humanities in medium-specific ways" (Parikka in Ernst 2013, 2), in the sense that he advocates an approach that is informed by specific material, institutional, political, and medial tenets. It is from this position, he criticizes Derrida and Foucault: the former "virtualizes" the concept of the archive, while the latter seems to forget about the complexity of media technology and infrastructure altogether (Ernst 2008, 113). Moreover, while acknowledging that today the archive is driven by a first and foremost "cybernetic" logic (111), Ernst refuses to theorize or comment upon the shift of paradigm in terms of the analogue to digital transition, talking about the system of the archive defined as an apparatus that has both ideological and material dimensions (114). The cybernetic logic of the archive is located in the material foundations of the institution, as it is based on the connection of memory and storage as hardware spaces. To follow this argument one needs to stick to the strictly medial sense of the archive: the different documents and formats retain their characteristics in an analogue model of categorized, catalogued, "shelved" organization structure in which being archived means presence prolonged. While Ernst does not dismiss the growing signifi-

cance of the internet and its archival potentials, he nonetheless argues that the emphasis on this technology, which is a "transarchival" approach, "dissimulates the ongoing existence of material memory agencies, both hardware and institutions, which still govern the power of deciding what can be stored legally and technically" (Ernst 2013, 97).

Ernst's approach, rooted in media technology, has not put the metaphoric rhetoric off the point, however: Derrida's insistence on the hypomnemic nature of the archive is an unambiguous reference to the techne. What Ernst's reading refuses, but Derrida's thought embraces is precisely what George P. Landow noticed in the development of metaphorical rhetorics in literary theory and philosophy simultaneously with discourses on computation:

> When designers of computer software examine the pages of *Glas* and *Of Grammatology,* they encounter a digitalized, hypertextual Derrida; and when literary theorists examine *Literary Machines,* they encounter a deconstructionist or post-structuralist Nelson. These shocks of recognition can occur because over the past several decades literary theory and computer hypertext, apparently unconnected areas of inquiry, have increasingly converged. Statements by theorists concerned with literature, like those by theorists concerned with computing, show a remarkable convergence. (Landow 2006, 1)

What Landow describes here is applicable for the internet as well, not only computer software; after all, the internet is run by software of many kinds. This approach resonates with the idea of transcoding, as defined by Lev Manovich. This is the most important principle out of those five that together characterize what a new media object is as opposed to an old, analogue media object (Manovich 2001, 45–46). Transcoding does not refer to the digitalization process of analogue formats and objects: it rather describes the dialogic interaction of what Manovich calls the "cultural layer" and the "computer layer" (46). This ongoing interaction between realms of cultural objects along with their interpretative framework and their computational metadata as used by the computer forms the basis for the shift from medial representation to the logic of the interface (277). The interface is no longer connected to any specific medium: it is a new, flexible, digital delivery format that is capable of organizing and managing previously separate media formats and the users' interaction with them.

I think that with the current emphasis on the interface and on the practice of transcoding as cultural and digital exchange, we need to free the idea of the archive from its techno-determinist anchorage—the more so as the archive is not for the past but for the future—and it is still unclear what technological model is going to be the most proper and suitable solution to storage and retrieval in ten or fifty years. In other words, while today I claim that it is the *techne* that determines our *episteme* and the discourses surrounding the issue of the archive, it would clearly be a mistake to take the *techne* of our era for granted when thinking about new ways of archival *epistemes* of the future.

Erasure as Formation of the Archive: The Right to be Forgotten

To talk about the archive in a contemporary, digital cultural setting, we need to re-think it in a manner that reshapes the conceptual basis modelled on the traditional library/catalogue setting. If we accept the proposition that the Google is far from being *the* internet, but it might be technically (and culturally) seen as an operating,

forming, dynamic archive, we should also assess the ethical-political dimension of its working mechanism. While probably the best known archiving projects are proper archivist jobs at Google—the Google Books scanning project or the beautifully executed Google Art gallery—perhaps the truly archivist dimension of the company is lesser discussed in these terms. For what Google is doing as a primary operation, i.e. its practice of indexing websites and different formats of content via its bots is a meticulous, neverending archiving project *per se.* However, it should be clear that what Google sees of the entire internet is but one percent of what is thought to comprise its totality.

Yet, most of the legislative procedures concerning human rights, rights to privacy, and of course, copyrights cases leads to the deletion of certain metadata and indices from the vast collection that Google works on. This cumulated to the ruling of the European Court on 13 May, 2014, which coined the term "The Right to Be Forgotten" (C–131/12), arguing that "individuals have the right—under certain conditions—to ask search engines to remove links with personal information about them. This applies where information is inaccurate, inadequate, irrelevant or excessive for the purposes of the data processing" ("Factsheet on the 'Right to Be Forgotten' ruling"). In 2010, a Spanish citizen lodged a complaint against a Spanish newspaper with the national Data Protection Agency and against Google Spain and Google, Inc. The citizen complained that an auction notice of his repossessed home on Google's search results infringed his privacy rights because the proceedings concerning him had been fully resolved for a number of years and hence the reference to these was entirely irrelevant. He requested, first, that the newspaper be required either to remove or alter the pages in question so that the personal data relating to him no longer appeared; and second, that Google Spain or Google Inc. be required to remove the personal data relating to him, so that it no longer appeared in the search results. ("Factsheet on the 'Right to Be Forgotten' ruling")

Commenting on the decision, Viviane Reding welcomed the urge to tighten privacy and data protection legislation—a view that raises more questions than settling some. This case puts forward questions about the relation of data, or content, and archiving processes: the court decision makes us uncertain about the legitimacy of connecting archived data to the particular subject, the authorship of records and the rights and mandates it forges, and finally the archivist project, the process of archiving itself. Whose property is the archive—and what kind of an archive is in question at all?

Database + Algorithm = Archive

While it is clear that the EU decision concerns the World Wide Web, it is important to emphasize that it goes beyond that layer of the internet and directly questions the position of the archive—not merely from an information technological aspect, but in terms of cultural memory, history, and the subject. Those in favour of the decision hail the "right to be forgotten," claiming the victory of individual sovereignty. However, what this case brings to the forefront is not a spontaneous gesture of forgetting, but a forceful attempt at repressing something embarrassing or simply outdated record concerning an individual. Is this not a replay of the infamous case of Paul de Man, whose personal archive spat out the forgotten traces of a young pro-Nazi com-

menter (see Ernst 2008, 150–154)? Seen in this light, would de Man be right to ask Google to "forget" his past to mask his youth? And once digital technology is involved: is there a possibility to implement the right to be forgotten the way EU legislation envisages it? In other words, can digital mnemic traces, algorithmic mnemotechnics deleted or altered in a way that the record in question leaves no trace?

The answer to that should be an absolute no. No in terms of the philosophical aspect, and no in terms of the technological side. The digital archive, in this context, is nothing else but an indexed database that serves as a pool of data from which algorithms carry pieces of information or records to the site of the human-computer interface (in the above case, to the search result page of a Google query). It means that the data (or collection of records), the search algorithms, and the interface that appears for the user are different levels of the archival constellation, where these technically separate levels can be programmed differently and behave according to different logics. This is the trick of the archive in the age of the internet: while an EU Court decision can make Google erase the hyperlinks pointing at the unwanted content, it obviously does not mean that the references should completely disappear from either the database or the algorithms at work. On the contrary: the hyperlinks do not show up on Google's interface precisely because the algorithm is taught to foreclose it; in other words, there needs to be a record kept of the specific content or data, and the order to evade its listing.

This is the logic of the trace in Derridean thinking: "[t]he word 'trace' is a metaphor for the effect of the opposite concept, which is no longer present but has left its mark on the concept we are now considering" (Balkin 1998a). This is how deconstructive logic proceeds, as it untangles the repressed, forgotten, or erased concepts in another (usually opposite) one, and lays their codependence bare to investigate (Derrida 1976, 46–47). The lack (the apparent non-presence, the spectral quality) of the missing link the record presents in the database of the archive is thus more emphatically remembered than ever before: the algorithm needs to identify its trace in order to effectively put it under erasure *(sous rature)*. The enforcement of cases based on the right to be forgotten are examples of what in Derridean parlance should be thought of *l'avenir*: the shadowy, phantomatic, blurred figure or image of the Other intervenes in unexpected places and domains to unthinkable ends. Especially so if one is to assess the rationale behind the false pretense of "being forgotten:" while in legislative terms the well-founded request would mean that fellow netizens would not be able to locate data that the plaintiff would not want them to see, in practice it means that a shell is thought to protect the information or data posted on the net, and it is calculated to be enough to erase the very hypertextual trace of (in effect, the link to) the contested content to protect an individual's right to privacy. However, this only means that the act of erasing, or in Derridean terms to put under erasure *(sous rature)* is a *trace* born, a mnemic signpost right at the center of what should be foreclosed from the system. As is clear in Derrida (and in the working mechanism of digital computing), the tricky thing with terms under erasure is that they do not simply disappear, or get out of the system. Rather, they signify the position of "inadequate yet necessary" (Sarup 1999, 33) status.

One of the tenets of legal interpretation and argumentation for the right to be for-gotten is apparently that Google is the one to create and to manage data that might be prone to be erased from the list of searches; even if the text of the Court decision is not overtly specific in this regard, as it designates search engines (in the plural) to be "controllers" of personal data (Suhajda 2014). While other search engines are clear-ly left alone to produce search results where links to the contested contents appear, it is also problematic to control data which is not in one's possession. It should then be(come) evident from the working mechanism of Google that they do not control or manage content on the different websites where they appear—they only harvest metadata and *map* the content that is produced and served elsewhere. Hence the pri-mary slippage of the legal claim in terms of technicalities: while some legal professionals (like Zoltán Ormós in Hungary; Suhajda 2014) proclaim that if something cannot be found with the help of a Google search, it certainly does not exist, reality seems to know otherwise. Firstly, it is only the accessible part of World Wide Web that the search engine can visit and map, which is a shockingly small portion of all the sites, documents and other objects present on the internet; secondly, just because one search engine does not map a site on the net, another one still can.

Google equaling the Other in the Lacanian sense is thus a fundamentally false idea. It is rather Google's Other, the construed, spectral dimension or image of the slippery and volatile totality of the internet that should be addressed Google equals the Other in the Lacanian sense a legal impossibility of course, though the only true ethical op-tion. It is the Other's gaze that is responsible for the presence of objects on the inter-net: to turn the legal argumentation inside out one might claim that once something is put on the net (any corner of the net, not necessarily the widely used protocol of the World Wide Web), even Google might be able to "see" it—and there is no way that object (document, image or any content, for that matter) can be erased. It is evi-dent that technically speaking if a content disappears, the links (the mnemonic, or rather hypomnemic traces) will remember it for us—and vice versa, if the links are re-moved, the object will turn into a digital memorabilia of itself. In other words, it is not up to Google (or any other search engine) if a content is available or not on the internet.

But what is this vast digital network that can be thought of as the Other of Google? None other than the momentary sum of computers connected in decent-ralised network organized by nodal points that provide continuous information flow among the peers of the system. It escapes categorization or finality, changing by the milliseconds, deferring its completion endlessly, playing on the potentials of the prac-tice of Derridean *différance* in a technological context. It is precisely in this shoreless pool that forms the rumbling underside of the dynamic, digital archive (or rather, po-tentially, archives, in the plural). Ever since the paradigm of Web 2.0, it should be clear that it is on this amoeba-like, ever-changing, ever-growing document space that means the future of the archives for the new generations. This virtual space that is governed and managed by digital interfaces is by no means a unified system but a dia-logic space of different segments of culture connected and nurtured by hypermedial networks in real time (rather than retrograde as is characteristic of traditional, curated archives). This type of dynamism cannot be regulated: it is technically not possible

because only some of its nodes and their corresponding interfaces might or can be muted or controlled.

The González vs Google case raises further questions, as well. To finish the legal case study, one has to look at the curiously vague and non-liberating, essentially self-contradictory subclauses of the ruling of the EU Court. While González asked the Court to make all media completely erase the data in question, the deletion part concerns only Google's search algorithm: nor the original publisher of González's story, *La Vanguardia,* the printed newspaper, neither its online edition was made to perform the erasing. The court's claim was that the newspaper and its online version had all the right to publish the problematic content, so there is no legal way of forcing them to withdraw it. That is, Google has no right whatsoever to direct searches on González to that rightfully communicated content. In other words, the archivist of the data should deny the existence of the very data, while the publisher of the same data can continue to serve that information for anyone interested (searching for it in alternative search engines).

The moral of this legal intervention is perhaps that one may think of the archival database in terms of being the vessel of our *episteme,* or that Google is *par excellence* the interface for all the cultural products that enter the digital realm as a result of participatory culture. However, this approach neglects the technicity of the underlying network, as it is precisely this *techne* that, at the present, gives a framework for that *episteme* and not vice versa. For that matter, any legal intervention in terms of data protection and the archive should take its start from this pretext. And, finally, apart from the ethical, political, economical and legal dimensions of the above case, one may ponder the question what the right to be forgotten means in terms of an ever-growing archive.

Crowdsourcing the Archive: Archive-on-Demand

As opposed to the traditional concept of the archive, rooted in the paradigm of the physical library, new media technologies have brought about a new generation of systematic memory building possibilities. While Word Wide Web interfaces to immense object databases like Europeana.eu (which is trying to collect a vaguely defined European cultural heritage), or in Hungary, the Manda (Hungarian Digital Archives, aiming to make Hungarian cultural heritage freely accessible for everyone, a claim left unfulfilled, and put under erasure; in 2016, the Hungarian government decided to restructure and reorganize the public factor and basically finish Manda's operation in its present form), alongside university and scholarly repositories continue to build on the tradition of strict and meticulous categorization and shelving policies that they hope to transfer to the digital realm. But these systems and policies essentially contradict the logic of memory in digital computing. The library paradigm is a closed, ideologically constrained, centralized and hierarchically structured unit; the new media paradigm is open, without constraints (as it is dynamic), is decentralized and—because of the hypertextual logic of linking—is flat, in structure.

If the library is the place and logic of the archive, it can also be regarded as the space of the canon. However, with the advent of digital archiving technologies, traditional libraries cannot keep the pace with the ongoing reformations of the various canons, literary or scientific. Curiously, the step beyond Google's quasi-archivist efforts

might be seen as the future for the archive in general and in particular. In general, as the completely new model of collecting and preserving cultural knowledge takes its cue from that intersection of theory and digital computing Landow noticed earlier; in particular, as the digital, algorithmic logic behind the platform creates a futuristic, yet contemporary model deriving from a special mix of hypertextual logic and open access policies.

CanadaHun presents in thsi context a curious example: it had not been intended as a library or archive. It was merely a place for forging expat identity through the internet, perhaps the most viable and easily accessible platform for communication and connecting with the culture of the country of origin. Technologically speaking, CanadaHun remains what it had attempted to be: a forum, a relatively open space where items of commerce can be exchanged, and not an archiving engine. Indeed, there is a network system, a technology that is more adept at doing the job of community archiving and sharing effectively without reproducing the system and catalogue structure of the traditional archive. The technology in question is the torrent, a type of P2P (peer-to-peer) file sharing solution.

Thought to be the facilitator of copyright infringement and all the evil that there is on the internet, the torrent is one of the most efficient sharing and storing technology. It utilizes the file sharing users' connections and creates a loose, participatory subnetwork of digital objects that can be shared faster than any other technology at the present could do. It also is capable of acting like an archive proper; from its start up to 2012, Library.nu in fact served as *the* academic archive and library for a majority of Central and Eastern European scholars, when university libraries drastically cut their subscriptions to and acquirings of scholarly journals and monographs in the region. The lack or current academic literature in the libraries soon gave way to an abundance of the torrent server's offering and actually began to transform the academic canon for some disciplines. Although Library.nu was taken down in 2012, its legacy (and technology) was taken over by others, and by now various reincarnations serve eager readers with a million academic books, a million of literary works, and almost ten million academic studies and articles (Bodó 2014).

The way the internet copyright researcher Balázs Bodó traces the development of not only the technology but the activists behind these new, pirate-type archives, shows us a new model for the digital dynamic archive: a crowdsourced archive, without (virtual or material) walls, working on demand, with scanning and making those pieces of academic literature available for sharing which most users wish to read. Also, volunteers may contribute and enrich the database so that potentially all fields of academic research get the latest scholarly input. The system at first looks as if it were a somewhat structured anarchy or a mass of lazily categorized collection of traces of cultural objects, yet the technology behind is clearly one that is reminiscent of the dream of hypertext and docuverse put forth by Ted Nelson in the 1960s, or that of the Derridean system of nodes, traces, and *différances*. As Landow notes on Derrida's vision of a quasi hypertextual network, it is described by the terms *"link (liasons), web (toile), network (rèseau),* and *interwoven (s'y tissent)"* (Landow 2006, 53; *emphasis in the original*): the terms get their most perfect technological realizations in terms of the torrent logic.

The formation of a new type of canon through the use and flourishing of the new archive-on-demand is now imminent: most of the students in Hungary working with academic sources in English use the latest releases in their disciplines to the amazement of supervisors—especially those who still try to convince their librarians to acquire at least one of the myriads of important new releases for which the library has less and less financial backing. As students, members of the new, digital native generation, turn toward this new type of archive not only because of its price advantage (it is free) but primarily because of its availability and ease of use, academic discourse starts to be shaped by the new and rumbling, developing, non-fixed canon of the dynamic digital archive.

Conclusion

The archive-on-demand, the most perfect rendition of dynamic digital archives ever envisioned by philosophers and new media theorists is on its way to become the new cultural software (Balkin 1998b, 5) for our societies in preserving and, perhaps even more importantly, sharing cultural heritage. Based on principles in the intersection of Derridean philosophy, new media theory, and computer science, this new format of the cultural software comes with a new ideology, a new know-how, and an ultimately new model that defies almost all elements of traditional document archives and the model of the library. Whether it is Google-type of metadata harvesting or Library.nu's (and its heirs'), or CanadaHun's slightly different logic of crowdsourcing and on demand serving, the new archive is no longer just a dream. It is here to shape our present to prepare us for the future –but first we need to unthink the archive to build the archive for the future and not for an unfortunate *l'avenir*.

This issue gets more pressing by the day with the appearance—and disappearance—of new forms of cultural production that defy the old systems of archival practice and require more flexible, dynamic registration in cultural memory—for it is not the content and its structural pattern that should be adjusted to the requirements of an archival framework in the digital era, but vice versa, the archive should be dynamic enough to be able to operate in the future without disruption. Today's techne is in formation and is effectively shaping future document formats. Now it is the turn of our archival *episteme* to take the step toward the new digital paradigm and embrace its logic, as it is only in the intersection of these two dimensions that our archive for the future could be secured.

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FEEDING THE WORLD:
TECHNOLOGY IS NOT ENOUGH

Michael Trevan

In 2015 the world is facing significant challenges, social, political and environmental, that threaten to disturb the equilibrium of our "Western" way of life. Many of the challenges are inter-related, none more so than how we are to feed the additional 2.4 billion mouths that are expected to arrive on this planet in the next 35 years or so.

Consider some numbers taken from UN agencies. In 2011 the world's population passed 7 billion and was growing at a rate of approximately 66 million a year—that is two Canadas or one UK a year, with the expectation that it will reach 9.6 billion by 2050. Since you started to read this essay the world's population will have grown by about 90 people (136 in each minute). It is estimated that today there are between 800 million and 1 billion people who do not have enough to eat and that many more, whom may have sufficient calories, have diets that lack some essential nutrient or other. By 2080, one third of the world's population will be in sub-Saharan Africa: in the last two decades of the twentieth century agricultural productivity in sub-Saharan Africa declined by 20%. Across the globe, for the first time in history, more than half of all people live in cities and that proportion is rising, so small scale farming and local food production will become much less relevant, especially in the mega-cities with populations exceeding 10 million, as most of the new arrivals on this planet will be born in cities. By 2050 the UN predicts that there will be two urban dwellers for each rural dweller. According to the *United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division of 2014, World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision (custom data acquired via website), the 2014 world population of 7.24 billion is slightly more than half urban and just under half rural. By 2050 they estimate there will be 6.34 billion urban and only 3.21 billion rural inhabitants, less rural dwellers than there were in 2014 (3.36 billion).*

If feeding the growing population is the major, and I would contend the only really significant, issue facing this world in the future, how do we challenge it? What must we do and how should we focus our resources? Which of our present ways of "doing" obstruct sensible solutions? This is not an essay based on pure academic research, rather it is a scientist's perspective, a critical analysis, on how science and technology have sought in the past to challenge the future, why this has often led to unintended consequences, and a hypothesis as to how we might fare better in the future.

At issue then is the problem of how we could feed another 2.4 billion people on this earth by 2050—only 35 years away, when we cannot even now adequately feed 1 billion of our present population of 7.2 billion. In reality we need to find a way to feed an additional 3–3.4 billion people to provide for both future growth in population and demand, and also make up the present deficit. Not only do the numbers seem so large, the timeframe seems so short. As we explore the known limits to agriculturally productive land and ever increasing competition to use that land to produce

non-food stuffs, the depleted fish stocks in our oceans, the destruction of habitats and the degradation of those resources that we do have, we will realize that likely increases in agricultural productivity will, on their own, be insufficient to meet this goal. For example in the year 2000, when the world population was 6.1 billion, global grain production was around 1.86 billion tons, which if evenly distributed would leave each person with 305 kg of grains a year. The FAO predicts that in 2030 globally 2.8 billion tons of grain will be required for a world population of 8.3 billion (or 340 kg/person). But grain consumption in developed countries is presently of the order of 612 kg annually per person, most of which is used as animal feed to satisfy the demand for animal protein. Globally, about one third of grain production is used as animal feed (but a substantial proportion of that grain is anyway only suitable for animal feed). As incomes have risen in developing countries the demand for meat has increased and will continue to do so. If the whole world had the same demand for grain as Europe, the total global grain demand by 2030 would amount to 5.1 billion tons. Simple arithmetic tells us that if nothing changes by 2030 the world could face a grain shortage of 2.3 billion tons. To make up this deficit requires grain production to increase by +3.5% p.a. on average, but historically, since the "green revolution" production has increased by less than 1.3% p.a. These estimates assume no impact on grain production, or available land, from biofuel and biomaterial production, desertification or soil erosion, or the effects of a changing climate, and it is likely, therefore, that food production will fall below food demand sometime during the next decade (data taken from *The Bioeconomy to 2030: Designing a Policy Agenda,* OECD 2009, accessed: November 22, 2011).

There are a number of factors that will alleviate these worrying projections. For example, a future rise in grain productivity to 2030 will be augmented in part by an estimated increase in available arable land (in South-America and sub-Saharan Africa) of 13%. Demand will not reach 5.1 billion tons, because poverty will prevent everybody adopting European meat eating habits. And, although generally the quantity of meat eaten increases with disposable income, income eventually rises to the point where, as is the case in the US, income and meat consumption become decoupled, that is consumption becomes independent of income. However, we cannot be complacent, because unforeseen natural or manmade circumstances will derail progress.

If we are, therefore, to meet this goal and ensure the sustainable and just distribution of available food to the predicted 9.6 billion inhabitants of this planet, we have to do so in a way that is significantly different to the present day's single issue, piecemeal, reactive approach that we take to the social and scientific challenges that confront us both now and in the future.

One major problem that we face when preparing to challenge this future is that we actually have little idea of what the future is: we are facing the unknown! There is only one certainty, and that is that at some point each one of us will die. But having no certain knowledge of what the future might bring seems to leave us uncomfortable, so we try to predict what may happen based upon our limited experience. Sometimes governments ask the experts for an opinion. In the early 1990's the UK government set up a series of expert panels to look into possible futures, so that limited resources for research and development could be targeted towards potentially useful

ends. Broadly, this foresight exercise was successful in predicting the technological developments that could be foreseen relatively easily, for example the decoding of the human genome. In this case the methodology for analysing the sequence of bases in a small piece of DNA had been available for two decades. Each successive year technological development had speeded up the process of analysis so that what had taken several days to accomplish last year would take only several minutes next year. In reality, then, the idea of sequencing the human genome was not visionary, rather it was an exercise in amassing the effort to apply to a huge, but at the time relatively mundane, scientific exercise. And the full sequence was obtained through multi-national public-private partnerships within just a few years. Has the sequencing of the human genome brought the benefits to human health that were predicted at the outset? Probably not, but then maybe we are impatient, or perhaps more likely we did not consider what else we needed to know, or be able to do, in order to capitalize on our knowledge of the sequence: the sequence itself became the end, rather than the means to an end. And there are any number of other examples of "foreseeable" future science that came from this foresight exercise. But this exercise failed to predict two very significant developments, the Internet, and nanotechnology, both of which emerged upon the scene within just a couple of years. Looking back now it is relatively easy to see the scientific and technical foundations of both the Internet and nano-technology, but the point is that the various foundations occurred in different and unrelated fields of academic endeavour: no one it seems set out to "invent" the internet or nanotechnology. An excellent example of this unintended route from basic science to technology occurred some 20 years earlier when two biologists, an Argentinian and a Swiss, working together in a UK government agricultural research station in Cambridge, managed, for the first time, to fuse a single white blood cell or lymphocyte, with a myeloma cell from a woman called Helen Lane (who had died of a myeloma cancer). The myeloma cells, known as HeLa cells after their origin, were typical of cancer cells in that they could be grown in culture more or less in perpetuity, generation after generation. Lymphocytes are the cells in our blood that produce antibodies. What César Milstein and Georges J. F. Köhler had achieved was to produce a continually growing culture of hybrid cells where each was not only genetically identical, but where each produced the same molecularly identical a so called monoclonal antibody. Why was this significant? Well, at the time no one knew, not even Milstein and Köhler, nor the British Technology Group (BTG) the government body of experts who were supposed to identify patentable ideas coming out of publicly funded research laboratories. In fact not only did no one suspect that this piece of science might have some practical application (it was just interesting basic science of cell biology) there were a number of senior scientists who doubted that the monoclonal hybridomas could actually be produced (information based on a conversation between two notable British biochemists ove heard at a meeting of the (UK) Biochemical Society Cambridge in 1995): for a time it seemed that only Milstein and Köhler could get this to work. Yet within 5 years the first commercial application of monoclonal antibodies, a kit for detecting the presence of kangaroo meat in what was meant to be oxtail soup produced in Australia was on sale, and countless other analytical and

therapeutic applications followed. As an aside the incredible commercial success of this unintended invention was in part the result of it never having been patented!

Sometimes governments, for good and pressing reasons, take actions that have unintended, or at least unconsidered, consequences in the future. When the Chinese government some decades ago put in place its one child per family policy, a policy designed to slow and cap China's rapidly growing population, how much thought was given to the consequences that we now see of an unbalanced, elderly demographic, and a population with an increasing majority of males amongst the young?

Another example is the interaction of agriculture and one of the world's largest lakes. In 1960 the Aral Sea that lay between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan was the fourth largest body of inland water in the world, a salt water lake fed by two rivers, but with no outlet. The sea's level and area of 68,000 square kilometers remained in a balanced equilibrium between inflow and evaporation. The then Soviet Government decided to divert the two rivers that supplied the lake to irrigate the desert to grow cotton and rice, in order to become self-sufficient and provide excess crops for export. The consequence of the poorly executed irrigation projects was that most of the river water was diverted from the Aral Sea, but as little as 15% actually reached the fields. By 2008 the sea had shrunk to one tenth of its original size, salinity had increased to 3 times the level of normal sea water, the fish had died and the once thriving fishing industry died with them, and the dried out salt bottom of the original sea had become highly polluted with chemicals used in the production of the cotton and rice (and possibly biological weapons). Once thriving fishing ports now lie 100 kilometers from the nearest water, and fishing boats slump abandoned on the lake bed. Even in the 1960s there were Soviet scientists who warned of the impending disaster, but the greater good it seems was to make the dessert bloom. Social and economic policy was paramount, science was ignored. Major wind-borne pollution exists: local cases of throat cancers are significantly above "normal" levels. And the microclimate around the lake changed as the moderating water body dried up, with summers becoming hotter and drier and winters colder and longer.

Which leads me on to our belief that the climate is changing. We know this as a fact from our knowledge of the past. 10,000 years ago in what is now Manitoba in Canada, any local inhabitants would have been standing on top of 1 km of ice. In my view we cannot be certain what is causing this change: we are told that it is human activities since the industrial revolution, but the lichen clinging to the rocks on Baffin Island that recently emerged from their cover of permanent ice last saw, we are told, the sun's rays over 1600 years ago, which of course means that those rocks were as warm 1600 years ago as they are today. Similarly the foot of the Athabasca glacier in the Rockies has been retreating since (and probably before) it was first discovered by Europeans in the early 19th century. In 1830 it covered what is now the parking lot of the visitor center on the opposite side of the valley to the main body of the glacier: signs in the parking lot show that over the following 10 years it retreated by well over 15 meters, and that it has been retreating ever since. The point here is that the Athabasca glacier began its retreat before there was any significant rise in greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, and before there was any detectable effect of the industrial revolution on the global environment. Incidentally, there are two possible reasons why the

Athabasca (or any other) glacier might be retreating: either the atmosphere around the glacier is warming, thus causing the ice to melt; or the ice is melting faster than it is being replaced by precipitation on the mountain top, or, of course both! The global environment has always changed. 9,000 years ago after Lake Agassiz (that formed from the melting ice-cap that covered much of what is now Manitoba) had drained for the second time into the St. Laurence channel, central Manitoba was a sandy dessert of over 60,000 square km. What is left is the 4 square km of Spirit Sands. 8000 years of temperate climate, adequate rainfall and creeping vegetation has made that desert bloom.

By contrast, in the Middle East the Gulf States are now mostly arid, hot desert. Not long after Agassiz was draining, the region that is now the Emirates was developing into an advanced agrarian civilization that at least 5000 years ago was capable of producing harnesses for horses and gold jewelry (see Sharjah Archaeological Museum). Changing climate has turned that once fertile region into desert.

My point is this: over geological time scales man has never been able to control or reverse natural changes, but has nonetheless survived because of the ability to adapt. If forests died or land became uncultivable, man moved, adopted new strategies for example irrigation, or died. But is adaptation now enough? In the face of what many believe is catastrophic climate change caused by anthropogenic activities there is the rallying call to change, to reverse the trend. Carbon is traded between countries and doubtless some privileged few are making their fortunes through this; we are exhorted to consume less, to donate our air miles to carbon offsets (what marketing genius thought of that one); governments mandate the use of a percentage of biofuels in an attempt to make our driving habits more environmentally friendly, instead of outlawing fuel inefficient large engines. And odder still they dream up unworkable policies. A classic case of the latter is the UK's policy (around 2010) to reduce GHG emissions by 80% across all sectors of society by 2050. At a meeting of the Royal Society of London in March 2011, it was concluded by the considerable and thoughtful intellect present that this policy would mean that the UK would have to ban dairy cattle and beef production, give up on sheep farming, produce a few pigs and chickens, and turn half the present arable land over to the production of energy crops! What is even more bizarre about this policy, apart from the fact that it is being copied more or less across Europe, is that it is the Northern temperate zones such as the UK that will be required to produce more, not less, food if the worst predictions of the climate change modelers turn out to be true and southern Europe becomes arid.

So my fundamental question is how does one challenge the future if one is uncertain what the future will bring? Soothsayers and fortune tellers will confidently prescribe future events: Malthus predicted that long ago civilization would die through outgrowing the available resources to feed itself: Norman Borlaug the "father" of the green revolution proved Malthus wrong, or at least not right yet! But if one is going to challenge the future, you need to know which possible future it is that you need to challenge as a priority. So I will be direct here—as far as I am concerned climate change can take a bath in a bucket. If what we perceive as a change in the climate is really caused by man's activity - and as you will probably have realized by now I have my doubts, (I immediately become suspicious when I am told "the science is certain

there is no more debate"— science is never certain, it is always open to challenge, and those that would deny this are not promoting science, they are pedaling dogma) then, given the growth in the economies of just China and India, economies that represent over 1/3rd of the world's population, and the demand that this growth creates for more consumption of all of those things that are predicated to advance climate change (e.g. meat and gasoline), I simply do not believe that donating your Airmiles to offset your airlines emissions is going to have any effect on humankind's future prospects.

What we have to do is do what people have always done in order to survive, and that is adapt to the challenge. So what do I see as the greatest challenge we face both now and in the future? It has to be how to feed a growing world population in a sustainable manner. If feeding the growing population is the major and only really significant issue facing this world in the future, how do we challenge it? What must we do and how should we focus our resources? Which of our present ways of "doing" obstruct sensible solutions?

Fundamental amongst our inability to challenge this future, is our insatiable penchant to work in unconnected silos. We deal with complex problems as though there are no connecting themes. We place single issues into closed boxes and worse still try to solve those issues without reference to anything else, ignoring the fact that nature is essentially a balanced relationship between what might appear to be unconnected factors. For example, one suggestion that has been widely suggested to increase food production, is breeding plants to be more productive. A reasonable enough suggestion, except that for a plant to produce more seed it will almost invariably need more water, which on drier lands will mean more irrigation, which in turn, as the Soviets discovered in central Asia and the Chinese are discovering in Inner Mongolia, leads over time to increasing salinity of the soil: and in any event agriculture already accounts for some 70% of the world's use of fresh water. High productivity crops will also need more fertilizer. We cannot get around this problem by simply increasing the land area for agriculture: we are using 37% of the earth's land surface as it is, and the rest is too cold, too hot, too wet, too dry, or to valuable as forest and savannah. Much of this agricultural land, about two thirds, is pasture, not suitable for growing more than grass. Fortunately we have animals that can process the grass and turn it into protein. Mostly these animals are ruminants: cows, sheep, goats that belch the potent greenhouse gas methane and contribute to climate change; but, in forage based or pasture systems they also efficiently recycle nutrients back to the soil. Were we to abandon our cattle and sheep and plough the pasture, we would however release more carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, and potentially, through the use of nitrogen fertilizers, more nitrous oxide another potent GHG. There are no simple answers.

In June, 2011 at NABC's annual meeting entitled "Food Security: The Interrelationship of Sustainability, Safety and Defense" at the University of Minnesota, Professor Jonathan A. Foley proposed in his talk on "Simultaneously addressing food security and global sustainability" four core strategies which would both increase food production and reduce impact on the environment, and they are linked. The first, somewhat counterintuitively is to slow drastically the conversion of forest into agricultural land in order to protect biodiversity. The second is to close the yield gap. Yields of the

same crop can vary by 100 fold depending upon where and how it is grown. By raising the lowest yielding land to the productivity of the greatest we could produce an additional 50–60% more food. The barrier to this is not science and technology, we know what to do and how to do it, the barrier is politics and poverty. Third we need to increase the efficiency of agriculture by using fewer inputs of water, fertilizer, and pesticides etc. Critically, China and India vastly over apply fertilizer and pesticides for reasons that are due to lack of education of many farmers, and government and industry practices that encourage sales of inputs to farmers. Fourth, and controversially, we need to change eating habits. At present agriculture produces globally food for people (60%), feed for animals (35%) and biofuels (5%). Eating less meat would theoretically leave more grain for human consumption; a return to the average medieval diet. Ironically, this suggestion comes at a time when the growing and economically prospering peoples of India and China are adding more and more meat to their diets! But it is estimated that an increase in food supply of up to 50% could be achieved if the world went mostly vegetarian. However, there would be no point in abandoning otherwise unproductive pastures by totally eliminating animal agriculture. As demand for meat grows, but the supply does not, economics rather than policy will probably push us in this direction. Or we could intensify animal production further, as studies show that intensive livestock rearing can generate less by way of greenhouse gases than traditional "extensive" methods.

But to me all these strategies miss one key element, the elimination of waste (interestingly, by 2011 in the November edition of Scientific American, on pages 60–120, Foley had added a fifth issue and that is to reduce waste). For each man, woman and child in North America, the agriculture-food system produces 4,400 calories each day. Approximately half of the food that is bought on that continent is wasted: on average only half of every bag of pre-prepared lettuce is eaten, the other half is thrown in the garbage bin. If we could capture that wasted half of all our food we could feed another half a billion people. Similarly India, with a population of over 1 billion, is self-sufficient in food. However, nearly half the food produced never even reaches market: 10% of grain produced (that is more than the grain produced by the whole of Australia) is eaten by rats and mice in the field. So now we could potentially feed another billion.

Whatever strategies we adopt in order to provide a secure food supply, or rather nutritional security, they must be integrated and work synergistically. In particular, we must recognize that providing adequate food for all is not just a scientific or technological problem, it is a social, ethical and economic problem. Cultural and belief factors must be included in the decision making process. For example, India, a country where in Maharashtra even owning a piece of beef is a criminal offence that attracts fine and up to 5 years in jail—the Legislation passed 2nd March 2015 by Haryana government plans to introduce similar legislation (see India Today at www.indiatoday.in, accessed 12th March 2015)—and where the Hindu religion regards cows as sacred there are, according to FAO estimates, over 310 million cattle and buffalo. Providing additional nutrition by enhancing milk supply is pointless if target populations do not culturally accept milk as a food (e.g. Inuit populations) or cannot eat it for physiological reasons (most Asians who are lactose intolerant). In addition, food security is

not just a matter of sufficient supply, but of the ability of those at the bottom of the economic pile to afford the food in their market place. Over the last few years we have seen the consequence of rising food prices—they are now two times higher than in 2000—with the sharp rise in 2007/08 causing riots leading to changing governments in North Africa. Zimbabwe used to feed much of Southern Africa, now it cannot even feed itself. In 2012 scientists from the Kerala Agricultural University reported that rice paddy cultivation had declined significantly over the last few years (information based on personal communication): they were concerned with food security as, of course, rice is the staple food. It appeared that the reason for the decline was a mix of social, natural and economic forces. People were leaving rural areas to migrate to towns because there they could earn a better income. In certain areas water flow in rivers had diminished leaving too little for rice paddy irrigation. Aiding this was the increasing use of agricultural land for residential and lifestyle development. At first this might seem to be a combination of factors that acts against food security: less people working less land. But in fact hunger in India is almost entirely caused by poverty. India produces enough food to feed adequately its 1.25 billion population, but a significant proportion of the population do not have enough money to buy the nutritional essentials. The answer here is therefore not more production, even though this might drive prices down, because this would reduce income for rural farmers who with their workforce form the majoaity of the population, but rather more money. So, the somewhat counterintuitive conclusion is that sacrificing agricultural land for economy stimulating development in peri-urban regions might be in the best interests of the presently underfed. However, consider this interesting piece of data (provided by M. Gopalakrishnan, Secretary General of the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage), and that is that there is a positive association between irrigation of farmland in India and economic affluence: the more there is irrigation the less the proportion of the population in poverty. Where there is less than 10% irrigation the population living below the poverty line approaches 70%; when irrigation exceeds 50% then the population living below the poverty line is less than 20%. Increasing both agricultural productivity and economic wealth to lift more of the population out of poverty by increasing the use of irrigation is not simple and may have consequences as the Soviet authorities eventually discovered around the Aral Sea. Even when a suitable water supply is available access to that water can become the limiting factor. This in turn may raise intractable social and political difficulties. For example, the disputes and social unrest that have occurred and continue between Tamil Nadu and Kerala in southern India about who has the right to the water in the Bharathapuzha (or Nila) River that flows from Tamil Nadu into Kerala and is the sole source of water to supply the rice paddies of Kerala. As an aside it is worth noting that the case of poor nutrition in India is quite different to the problem with poor nutrition amongst North American indigenous peoples. In India the appropriate foods are present in the market, and culturally individuals will know how to cook from raw produce. Simplistically, the issue with North American aboriginals is that the wrong foods are supplied to their market place. And not only must the world's food supply be secure, it must also be safe.

Am I optimistic about our future? Will we succeed in bridging the gap between sustainably produced, available food and demand? History tells me that we can. Between 1969 and 2012 the world population almost doubled (from 3.6 to 7 billion), yet due to falling food prices and increases in agricultural production (the two are of course linked) the global number of underfed remained relatively constant fluctuating between 0.75 and 1.0 billion (based on Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations statistics). In 2005 food prices were 60% lower than they had been in 1969, and even following the dramatic rises from 2008, by 2012 global food prices were still 36% lower than in 1969. Looked at another way these statistics show that in 1969 the global food supply fed adequately only 2.7 billion people, but by 2012 the number fed had more than doubled to over 6.2 billion. Whilst these figures may seem reassuring, there remains a very significant question, from where will we obtain the extra food? At present globally farms that can provide excess produce for sale range in size from a one or two to over one hundred thousand acres and effective farming methods change with scale. Globally, 600 million small scale farmers each with less than 10 acres (2.5 ha) feed approximately 3.5 billion people, that is roughly half the world's present population. By its very nature farming is a rural activity, and most of those fed in this way will be rural inhabitants or those living in small (rural) towns or villages. The projections of future population growth show that the global rural population will actually decrease slightly over the next 35 years. Scientists at the University of Agricultural Sciences in Bangalore have demonstrated that, properly designed, even a farm of only 1 ha can support a farm family and provide sufficient excess produce to provide an income, and this on relatively poor, drought affected soil. Applying the principles of agro-ecology to small farms can have a very significant positive effect upon their productivity, potentially raising farm income. Of course, extra production has to be sold otherwise it can actually reduce income, and sale means having a distribution network suitable for the local conditions. In Karnataka, farmers who are bringing produce into the markets of the city of Coimbatore can do so for nothing on the local bus network. Cooperatives can bring the economies of scale and wider distribution networks to small farmers anywhere in the world. As we have seen, by 2050 the number of people living in cities will have doubled to 7 billion, and many of these cities will have more than 10 million inhabitants. For these people the notion of eating "locally" will not only be impractical it will be irrelevant. Although some local produce will be available, the vast majority of the food will have to be supplied on an industrial scale, and will come from "industrial scale" farms. On the Canadian Prairies where the average farm size is now over 1000 acres, 80% or more of what is produced is exported from Canada, and relatively little as a proportion will appear in the local food market.

If the aim is universally available safe and healthy food the journey from farm to fork will need to be sophisticated and multifaceted. Even today in many of the developed world's city centers the poor have inadequate access to healthy, safe food: the wealthy at least have the option of driving to the supermarket on the outskirts. As the size of cities increase so does the complexity of the problem of supply and sale of food, especially "fresh" food, but increasing population density will bring new marketing opportunities. Secure refrigerated transport chains, appropriate retail storage

space (e.g. freezers that operate all 24 hours in a day), enhanced preservation technologies will become increasingly important. These are the same essential challenges that faced 19th century European countries as they became industrialized and the population moved from the rural space into cities in search of work. Inner city dairies were established to provide a supply of fresh milk, butter and cheese in places like London eventually using the growing network of railways for bulk transport. Canning, an industry originally established in what is now Bermondsey in south London in 1813 to supply the British Navy with fresh rather than salted meat, eventually became an important method for the supply of meats and other foods from the growing agricultural production in the US and Brazil to the inner cities of Europe.

So given coordinated efforts to challenge the future, yes I am optimistic that we can feed at least the vast majority of the world's population of over 9 billion by 2050, and anyway the alternative would be just too depressing. It is, however, also likely that there will remain a significant number who will be underfed, maybe as many as today's figure of about 800,000 but, like today, this will have more to do with war, repression and poverty than a lack of agricultural productivity or distribution.

I remain optimistic therefore for the same reason given by Peter Ustinov, in the film "Romanov and Juliet" where he plays the part of the President of a Ruritainian state, and has a conversation with his care-worn Prime Minister. He says, "The trouble with you, Otto, is that you are a pessimist because you are continually finding out what a rotten place the world is, I, on the other hand am an optimist because I already know!"

IMITATING AMERICA:
EMPIRE ENVY IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE

Myroslav Shkandrij

> Jealousy, or so I have always believed, exists only with desire.
> [...] But I suppose there are different kinds of desire.
> My desire now was nearer hatred than love...
> *Graham Greeene*

Much attention has recently been devoted to the fear of a renewed conflict between Russia and the US, and to their perceived inter-imperial rivalry. In its pronouncements the Putin regime has framed NATO, the EU, and the US (and "the West" in general) as aggressors that wish to limit Russia's strength and its expansionist ambitions. These pronouncements have brought to the surface attitudes in Russian cultural history that have long led a subterranean existence. As long as the trend in post-Soviet Russia seemed to be toward convergence with the West—greater democratization, integration into the world economy, and improving the quality of life for the average citizen—many observers were prepared to overlook the articulation of imperialist views by some political leaders in Moscow. However, from the beginning of this century the reactivation of habits and patterns of thought inherited both from Soviet and pre-Soviet times has increasingly drawn the attention of commentators.[1]

Neo-imperialism and a resurgence of Russian nationalism are clearly expressed in the statements and writings of Vladimir Zhirinovsky, Aleksandr Prokhanov, Aleksandr Dugin and others who fulminate against the US and advocate Russian expansionism.[2] These influential thinkers pay tribute to the global reach of American power, identify the US as Russia's main competitor and the cause of most of her problems, but they simultaneously aspire to emulate America's achievements. The cultural roots of such an attitude, at once xenophobic and admiring, are reflected in the long tradition of Russian commentary about the West—one that is today being translated into the contemporary vernacular. Understanding this attitude is perhaps nowhere more

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[1]   See, for example, A. I. Miller, ed., *Nasledie imperii i budushchee Rosii* (Moscow: Fond Liberalnaia missiia; Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2008), in which the overall trend was seen as toward democratization and integration, becoming a 'normal country' (9), but fears were expressed that thinking inherited from Soviet times could play 'an evil trick' (18) and apologists of empire were gaining ground (29).

[2]   For a recent discussion of Russian nationalism see Pal Kolsto, Pal and Helge Blakkisrud, Eds. *The New Russian Nationalism: Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism*. Edinburgh University Press, 2015. For an earlier survey of nationalism within the Russian cultural context see Marlen Lariuel, ed., *Russkii natsionalizm: Sotsialnyi i kulturnyi kontekst* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2008) and A. I. Miller, ed., *Nasledie imperii i budushchee Rossii* (Moscow: Fond Liberalnaia missiia, Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2008).

urgently felt than in Ukraine, where intellectuals have been deeply shocked not only by the Kremlin's naked aggression in 2014, along with the warmongering and neo-imperialist ambitions expressed by Russian leaders, but also by the preparedness of many ordinary Russians to support these ambitions. Ukrainian intellectuals are aware of what Joseph Brodsky has called "the traditional Russian malaise—an inferiority complex toward Europe."[3] They are also perhaps better aware than most other nations of how the imperial reflex, now undisguisedly expressed by Vladimir Putin himself, operates, because this reflex has for generations been directed against their own desire for independent statehood.

One can gain better purchase on contemporary neo-imperialist views by examining key statements by Aleksei Khomiakov, Vissarion Belinsky, Nikolai Danilevsky, Fyodor Dostoevsky and other writers who articulated the same concepts tht are used today. It is not well known, for example, that Russians have compared their country with America from the early nineteenth century, when in the wake of the tsarist empire's expansion writers speculated on their country's destiny and developed a messianic ideology. The views of these writers remained influential throughout the next two centuries and are now being rebranded and revived by contemporary writers.

Ironically, a crucial role in shaping the Russian imperial self-image was played by the conquest of Crimea in 1783, as it did again in 2014. In the late eighteenth century when the Russian Empire won several wars against Turkey, it extended its border to the Black Sea and began to cast avid glances toward Asia. In the first half of the nineteenth century a number of Russian thinkers began to claim that their state, like the Russian language, possessed unique qualities and powers that made it irresistibly attractive to other nations. Organicism and magnetism became key points in the argument that Russian expansion was nonviolent. Unlike other empires, it was not based, they argued, on conquest and oppression. The historian Mikhail Pogodin contrasted the growth of Western powers with the growth of Russian Empire, which he claimed was based on freely accepted invitations and harmonious relation. Slavophiles like Aleksei Khomiakov (in the 1830s–1850s) and Nikolai Danilevsky (in the 1860s) endorsed this idea. The Russkii mir (Russian World) idea today echoes these attitudes.

However, Aleksei Khomiakov, in spite of his belief in the attractiveness of Russian civilization, never questioned the need for war in facilitating the expansion of the Russian state. He saw military action as an inevitable evil sanctified by God and destiny. In his view, only an expanded Russia would eventually bring harmony to the world. In fact, he envisioned the entire planet as being eventually transformed into a Russian Orthodox world. Such a transformation would be the result of a long process involv-

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[3]   Joseph Brodsky, *Less Than One: Selected Essays* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Goroux, 1987), 72. In another place Brodsky says: "along with all the complexes of a superior nation, Russia has the great inferiority complex of a small country" (15). These complexes are difficult for Westerners to understand, according to Brodsky, because any experience coming from the Russian realm "bounces off" the English language. However, "when language fails to reproduce the negative realities of another culture, the worst kind of tautologies result" (30–31). He says he regrets the fact that "such an advanced notion of Evil as happens to be in the possession of Russians has been denied entry into consciousness on the grounds of having a convoluted syntax" (31).

ing gigantic, cataclismic wars. Khomiakov showed a geopolitical obsession with capturing points of the compass and drew analogies with Rome, Britain and other empires. His mental construct of Russia was dualistic: a peaceful and idyllic country that was, simultaneously powerful and agressive—a people that were poor and unrefined but also spiritually superior to others and therefore destined to conquer the world. This influential idea was later picked up by Fedor Dostoevsky, in whose mind the concept of Russian universality was combined with the idea of the Russian Orthodox religion as the highest point of human evolution. Such a concept of Manifest Destiny has recently been described by one philosopher as a doctrine that is "asshole in its purest form" because it is not simply mistaken in its justification, but a way of refusing to engage the potential objections of others, precisely the definition of "asshole-ism" provided by this philosopher.[4] In the American case he offers Dick Cheney as a recent example of the "self-aggrandizing asshole," but the American generals Stanley McChrystal (the Afghan war commander) and Douglas MacArthur (the Korean War commander), and nineteenth-century empire-builders like Cecil Rhodes, Lord Kitchener and General Gordon of Khartoum all fit this category because they operated within a political culture that supplied ready moral justification for promoting their state's power around the world.[5] At the psychological level a key feature governing this behavior is the sense of entitlement that produces resistance to moral learning and a refusal to countenance change.

Just like today's Russian imperialist, the nineteenth century version could belong to the "left" or "right" of the political spectrum. In the 1840s, Vissarion Belinsky —whom Katerina Clark describes as the "Westernizer" and "darling of leftist and Soviet scholarship"[6]—developed out of Hegelian principles the idea of ranking nations globally. He insisted on Russia's right, by virtue of her racial and cultural superiority, to assimilate neighboring peoples. The argument for a "progressive" assimilatory policy was later used both by liberal thinkers like Petr Struve and leading bolsheviks. This messianic tradition provides a thread linking Slavophiles and Westernizers, conservatives and radicals. Russians have claimed qualities of race, intellect, culture and spirit that give them permanent superiority over others, and accordingly have appropriated the right to initiate and direct cultural and political processes. Today one sees this doctrine reflected in the idea of Russians as a "state-forming" nation, Russians as the cultural core of an entire civilization, who should be accorded preferential rights.[7]

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[4]   Aaron James, *Assholes: A History* (New York: Anchor Books, 2014), 64. James defines the asshole as someone who "(1) allows himself to enjoy special advantages and does so systematically; (2) does this out of an entrenched sense of entitlement, and (3) is immunized by this sense of entitlement against the complaints of other people" (ibid. 5).

[5]   Ibid. 1, 60.

[6]   Katerina Clark, *Moscow as the Fourth Rome: Stalinism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Evolution of Soviet Culture, 1931–1941* (Cambridge, Mass.,: Harvard University Press, 2011), 13.

[7]   Pal Kolsto, "The Ethnification of Russian Nationalism," in *The New Russian Nationalism: Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism,* ed. Pal Kolsto and Helgge Blakkisrud (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 39; and Emil Pain, "The Imperial Syndrome and Its Influence on Russian Nationalism," in ibid. 51.

For Belinsky the native people of Africa, Asia and North America served as metaphors for everything backward that should be assimilated into a unitary imperial scheme:

The natives of Africa are lazy, animal-like, slow-witted creatures, condemned to eternal slavery and working under the rod and murderous torture ... The poor sons of America even today remain the same as the Europeans found them. Having lost their fear of firearms, the voice of angry gods, even themselves having mastered their use, they have not become any more human from that time, and we must seek the further development of human substance in Asia.[8] According to Belinsky, the Asian native had greater potential than the African, North American and Australian already colonized by Europeans. Russia therefore should grasp the opportunity to conquer and assimilate Asia. In his view the extinction of Asian cultures would prove no great loss, because they were "immobile and fossilized." He argued that the faults of the Chinese or Persians "have fused with their spirit; enlightenment would only make them more refined, cunning and depraved."[9] It is particularly interesting that already here, in the first half of the nineteenth century, an explicit comparison is being made between Russia, the British Empire and North America.

In fact not infrequently America has figured in this discourse as a point of comparison. Belinsky declared in the 1830s: "Petersburg is more original than all American cities, because it is a new city in an old country; consequently it is a new hope, the marvelous future of this country!" A quarter of a century later, "Dostoevsky could reply sardonically: 'Here is the architecture of a huge modern hotel—its efficiency incarnate already, its Americanism, hundreds of rooms; it's clear right away that we too have railroads, we too suddenly became a business-like people.'"[10]

Belinsky's racist and chauvinist views are worth comparing to those of contemporary figures like Vladimir Zhirinovsky, who was recently given an award by Vladimir Putin, and to those of Dugin, Prokhanov, or Ivan Ilyin. The last is the philosopher and main ideologue of the emigre Russian White movement, who, according to Timothy Snyder, is being drawn upon by the Putin administration to justify its expansionist and imperialist claims.[11]

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[8]   V.G. Belinskii, _Izbrannye filosofskie sochineniia,_ vol. 1, (Moscow: Gosudarskoe izdatenstvo politicheskoi literatury, 1948), 239–40. Quoted in Myroslav Shkandrij, _Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postoclonial Times_ (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 118.

[9]   V.G. Belinskii, _Polnoe sobranie sochinenii,_ vol. 5 (Moscow: AN RSR, 1953–1959), 131; quoted in Shkandrij, _Russia and Ukraine,_ 118–19.

[10]   Brodsky, _Less,_ 81–82.

[11]   On Zhirinovsky's award see Alexander J. Motyl, "Putin Celebrates Unrepentant Fascist Zhirinovsky," _World Affairs,_ 25 April 2016, www.worldaffairsjournal.org/blog/alexander-j-motyl/putin-celebrates-unrepentant-fascist-zhirinovsky. On Ilyin see Timothy Snyder's recent lecture on "Ukraine and Russia in a Fracturing Europe," Watson Institute, Brown University, 3 May 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=dfduV68C1Jk&feature=share. Ivan Ilyin (1883–1954) was the main ideologist of the Russian White emigration and the Russian All-Military Union.

Unapologetic empire building received fuller expression in Nikolai Danilevsky's book *Russia and Europe* (1869), which argued that all small nations by definition lacked political individuality and were merely "ethnographic material" for inevitable assimilation by large nations.[12] Like Khomiakov, Danilevsky saw the assimilation of non-Orthodox European nations as justifiable on religious grounds. They were, he thought, fundamentally degenerate, because Roman Catholicism had sold out Christ for the sake of earthly dominion, and had forced a turn in these nations toward materialism and atheism.

In 1881, Dostoevsky made the same argument. He praised Danilevsky's book, signifying his disagreement with the author "on only one point"—that after the Turks had been driven from Constantinople the city should be shared with the Greeks and with other Slavic states. Dostoevsky found such a conclusion "astonishing." In his view the Slavs were in every respect unequal to Russia. He argued: "Constantinople must be *ours,* conquered by *us,* Russians, from the Turks, and remain ours forever. It must belong to us alone."[13] There is an undertandable embarassed silence around these attitudes among Western academics, but not among contemporary Russian nationalists, or those who support the invasion of Ukrainian territory and military action to extend Russia's border.

As one follows these argument for imperial expansion, two things become clear: a desire to emulate America and a feeling of inferiority vis-a-vis Europe and the US. Dostoevsky had carefully followed the Russian advance into Central Asia, and when the Turkmen fortress of Geok Tepe fell to Russian forces he commented that Russia would finally gain Europe's respect only by making further conquests in Asia. He described Asia as Russia's "outlet to our future" and "an undiscovered America." The push toward Asia would provide a "renewed upsurge of spirit and strength." Above all, he admitted candidly, "in Europe we were hangers-on and slaves, while in Asia we shall be the masters." The subjugation of Asia would impress Europeans like no other argument: "Europe is crafty and clever; she'll guess what we're up to at once and, believe me, she'll begin to respect us immediately!"[14]

Dostoevsky's journalism became particularly influential in pre-revolutionary years, especially during the First World War, when Russian nationalism intensified and speculation concerning the greatness of the Russian soul reached a peak. At this time the idea of a strong state assimilating or conquering other nations (all of whom were portrayed as passive, weak, or formless) became popular. Petr Struve in 1908 wrote an essay entitled "Velikaia Rossiia" (Great Russia) in which he reasserted the organicist views of the Romantics, arguing that a state was not merely a system of relationships but a living thing, a personality, and that strong healthy states, like healthy organisms, strive for power, while weak ones fall to predators. He called upon Russia to emulate

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[12]   N. Ia. Danilevskii, *Rossiia i Evrope: Vzgliad na kulturnyia i politicheskiia otnosheniia Slavianskago mira k Germano-Romanskomu,* 5th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1895), 24; quoted in Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine,* 306.

[13]   Fyodor Dostoevsky, *A Writer's Diary.* Vol. 2, 1877–1881, trans. Kenneth Lantz (Evanston, IL.: Northwesternr University Press, 1994), 1210.

[14]   Ibid. 1376.

the vigorous imperial policy of other nations (Britain and Germany in particular) in order to stimulate national energies and cohesion.[15] In 1911 he drew a distinction between two nationalisms: one—free, creative and open ("conquering in the best meaning of the term"), and the other—inhibited, passive and insecure. The first, according to him, was Anglo-Saxon, the second Jewish. A "great" Russia, he argued, should embrace the assimilatory nationalism of the conquering Anglo-Saxons. The other, defensive nationalism in his view attempted to prevent the progressive, expansionary growth of the Russian nation and culture. Struve compared this healthy growth to the American melting pot. Russian nationalism ought to strive, in his opinion, for "a free and organic hegemony, which the Anglo-Saxon element has confirmed for itself in the United States of North America and in the British Empire ..."[16]

Russians saw their "America" not only in Siberia and Asia (incidentally, also in Alaska and California—the US itself), but also in Ukraine.[17] In the early nineteenth century Ukraine was often described in Russian travel literature as a foreign land whose natives spoke an incomprehensible language, had completely different customs, and were even racially distinct. Only later in the century did an assimilatory discourse developed with the purpose of "domesticating" the territory. It should be noted that in the early nineteenth century Ukraine had only recently become part of imperial consciousness. It still figured as an exotic destination, a borderland to be tamed, civilized and exploited. Russian travelers constructed the image of a malleable people who would make good laborers. By this time all awareness of Ukraine as a land of Baroque literature and high culture, of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, had disappeared. The fact that the most educated population among the Eastern Slavs in the seventeenth and eighteenth century came from Ukraine and that Peter the Great took his churchmen and diplomats from graduates of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy had been long forgotten. The country was viewed simply as a nation of peasants. Pavel Sumarokov wrote: "The slowness characteristic of this people, which displays itself in their walk and all their actions, comes, I suppose, from their being around oxen from their earliest days, those lazy creatures, which accustom them to such conduct."[18] Prince I. M. Dolgoruky wrote in his travelogue of 1810:

> The *khokhol* appears to be created by nature to till the land, sweat, burn in the sun and spend his whole life with a bronzed face. The rays of the sun burnish him to the extent that he shines as though covered in varnish, and his entire skull turns from yellow to a green hue; however, he does not grieve over such an enslaved condition: he knows nothing better. I have spoken with him. He knows his plough, ox, stack, whisky, and that constitutes his entire lexicon. If

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[15]   Petr Struve, 'Velikaia Rossiia: Iz razmyshlenii o problem russkogo mogushestva,' *Russkaia mysl* (January 1909): 143–57; quoted in Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine*, 162–63.

[16]   Petr Struve, *Patriotica: Politika, kultura, religiia, sotsialism. Sbornik stattei za piat let (1905–1910 gg.)* (St. Petersburg: Izdatelstvo D.E. Zhukovskogo, 1911), 300–301, 303.

[17]   I have made this argument in 'Ukraine in Russian Imperial Discourse,' in my *Russia and Ukraine*, 67–125.

[18]   Pavel Sumarokov, *Dosugi krymskago sudi ili vtoroe puteshevstvie v Tavridu.* Vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia tipografiia, 1803–05), 64; quoted in Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine*, 78.

the *khokhol* complains about his condition, then the reason for his indignation has to be sought in the cruelty of the landlord, because he willingly bears any fate and any labour. However, he needs constant prodding because he is very lazy: he and his ox will fall asleep and wake up five times in one minute. This, at least, is what I have observed, and, I dare think, if this entire people did not owe a debt to well-mannered landowners for their benevolence and respect for their humanity, the *khokhol* would be difficult to separate from the negro in any way: one sweats over sugar, the other over grain. May the Lord give them both good health![19]

While Russian visitors were keen to justify imperial expansion and assimilation, those who lived in Ukraine sometimes drew on the American example with a different purpose—to indicate the importance of a free and entrepreneurial society. Grigorii Danilevsky was one such writer. He gave up a successful career in the St. Petersburg bureaucracy to settle in Kharkiv and devote himself to writing about Ukraine. His novels (all written in Russian) were about Ukraine and enjoyed a vogue in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were translated into French, German, Polish, Czech, Serbian and Hungarian. Their depiction of the settlement of Left Bank Ukraine drew on descriptions of the American South and abolitionist literature. One of the best, *Fugitives in Novorossiia (Beglye v Novorossii,* 1862), describes how in the years leading up to the emancipation of 1861, runaway serfs were mercilessly exploited by a new, heartless breed of plantation owner that had recently arrived from Russia. This class is represented by Colonel Panchukovsky, who describes himself as a "Columbus and a Cortes," the colonizer of a "wild, empty land." He makes enormous profits by shipping grain and wool through the newly opened Azov Sea ports to Western Europe and plans to live a life of luxury in European capitals. The novel makes clear that the territories of the Black Sea littoral formerly belonged to the Zaprorozhian Cossack state. Now they have been settled by Russian landowners by forcibly moving hundreds of serf families from the Russian interior. Other settlers include Mennonites, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Serbs. The labor power is, however, mostly provided by runaway Ukrainian serfs, fugitives who live without any rights and in constant fear of exposure, arrest, and deportation. The landlords, who need the labor of the people they call their "white negroes," often turn a blind eye to the past of these laborers' and protect them. Some landowners, like the Mennonites, are described in positive terms, but the more ruthless use their power arbitrarily and cruelly by, for example, capturing and confining women as concubines.

Colonel Panchukovsky praises the new frontier land, which he describes as an Eden and a paradise in which he has untrammeled freedom to enjoy pleasures that are forbidden in the "old cities." His mistreated serfs eventually rebel and escape abroad, and the colonel is exposed as a cheat and a fugitive in his own right: he has absconded with his wife's money, abandoning her with a child in Russia.

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[19]   Prince I. M. Dolgoruky, *Slavny bubny za gorami ili puteshestvie moe koe-kuda v 1810 godu* (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1870), 242–43; quoted in Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine,* 79–80.

The conflict between colonizers and serfs is exacerbated by a national division with racial overtones. The colonel, for example, interprets the imprisoned Oksana's resistance to him, her attempts to escape followed by her apparent submission, as evidence of a stereotype—the bestial but "trainable" nature of Ukrainians: "Are those Ukrainian women, perhaps, really like cattle?" he muses. He suppresses revolts and insubordination with brutal beatings normally reserved for the treatment of animals: "A *khokhol* is just like a dog," he says, "sometimes they are even indistinguishable."[20]

Grigorii Danilevsky's book constructs the character of the Steppe people as a duality. The serf population is described as disciplined, freedom loving, and just as industrious as Puritan colonists in the US. However, it is made clear that when abused this population will rise up and exact a violent vengeance. Written at the time of the American emancipation and drawing on Harriet Beecher-Stowe and other abolitionist writers, the story can be read as a cautionary tale aimed at curbing the rapacity of colonists. This message is reinforced in the next two volumes of the trilogy, in which the new capitalists of Novorossiia are described as interlopers and foreigners who have been attracted to the new frontier solely by the thirst for profits.

In another story, "Pennsylvanians and Carolinians" (Pensilvantsy i karolintsy, 1860) Danilevsky compares the practical-minded Pennsylvanians to Yankee traders and capitalists. He contrasts them with the Carolinians, who represent a conservative and largely reactionary force that he aligns with outdated ideas of old Ukraine. From this perspective the new enterprising Ukrainians, the "Pennsylvanians," represent the future. They are reinventing their culture, retaining the best of the past while shedding the ballast of outdated customs and views. In this way Danilevsky provides a vision of a new, progressive Ukrainian society that, like America, has been improved by the rigors of frontier life.[21] In his works the American example is not assimilated to imperial conquest but to progressive social developments.

The fascination with America continued in Soviet times. It can be traced through poems such as Vladimir Maiakovsky's "Brooklyn Bridge" (1924), which reveals an ambiguous attitude: American is capable of magnificent feats of engineering but also exploits its workers. We know from surveys conducted in the 1920s that translations of Western literature, including Americans authors, were extremely popular. In the more repressive years of Stalin's rule many of these books produced in the 1920s were banned or destroyed.[22] Nonetheless, because in the 1930s Soviet leaders cultivated the idea that that they had inherited a messianic tradition and therefore must aspire to

[20]   G. P. Danilevsky, *Sochinenii*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Izdatelstvo A. F. Marksa, 1901), 62; quoted in Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine,* 170–71.

[21]   See ibid. vol. 17, 27; for a discussion of Grigorii Danilevsky's work see Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine,* 168–72.

[22]   On the long history of book burning in the USSR see Friedberg, who comments on the existence of a Soviet manual on procedures to be followed when orders to destroy books were received. Storage rooms were to be searched and all withdrawn books were to be captured, stricken from the inventory, their jackets and covers removed, and delivered to be pulped. See Maurice Friedberg, *A Decade of Euphoria: Western Literature in Post-Stalin Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977,) 52.

generate a superior civilization, the country continued to absorb Western European and American trends.[23] Craving world recognition, the Soviet Union mimicked the West. Lazar Kaganovich, for example, insisted in 1933 that Soviet cities, buildings and architecture had to be "more beautiful than in other towns of Europe and America."[24] This attitude recalls Dostoevsky, who rejected Europe as a graveyard but simultaneously exhorted Russian to "copy and surpass" the competition.[25] Like Maiakovsky in the 1920s, Soviet writers in later decades were allowed to travel to the US in order to paint a picture of racism and provincialism. However, they often also expressed admiration for America's economic and technological achievements.[26]

Stalin's death was followed by what Friedberg has described as an enormous expansion in the variety and quantity of Western literature in translation.[27] At the same time, however, efforts were made to minimize the inflow of troublesome Western culture. Even books on seemingly very distant topics were edited to prevent readers from making unwelcome analogies to the present situation in the Soviet Union. For example, the following passage from the 1955 translation of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* was not allowed to stand because it recalled the degeneration of Lenin's authoritarianism into the reign of terror under Stalin:

> The Salem tragedy, which is about to begin in these pages, developed from a paradox. It is a paradox in whose grip we still live, and there is no prospect yet that we will discover its resolution. Simply, it was this: for good purposes, even high purposes, the people of Salem developed a theocracy, a combine of state and religious power whose function was to keep the community together, and to prevent any kind of disunity that might open it to destruction by material or ideological enemies. It was forged for a necessary purpose and accomplished that purpose. But all organization is and must be grounded on the idea of exclusion and prohibition, just as two objects cannot occupy the same space. Evidently the time came in New England where the repressions of order were heavier than seems warranted by the dangers against which the order was organized. The witch-hunt was a perverse manifestation of panic which set in among all classes when the balance began to turn toward greater individual freedom.[28]

Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* was considered dangerous and critics avoided the main idea of book-burning (451 degrees F is the temperature at which books burn). Antimilitarism had always been avoided in Soviet literature, and Stalin personally instruc-

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23   On the absorption of Western trends see Katerina Clark, *Fourth Rome*, 8–11.
24   Ibid. 130.
25   Ibid. 171.
26   Ibid. 188.
27   Friedberg, *Euphoria*, 8.
28   Arthur Miller, *Collected Plays* (New York: The Viking Press, 1957), 227–28; quoted in Miller 1957, 227–228; quoted in Friedberg, *Euphoria*, 49–50.

ted writers on the issue.[29] In the post-Stalin period readers were told that Kurt Von-negut's soldiers and Joseph Heller's American troops were justified in hating war, but the Soviet people were not, and the idea of "deheroizing" and reevaluating the Great Patriotic War was ridiculous.[30] In Russian prose the Soviet soldier was almost invari-ably depicted as a hero and patriot.[31] "In all of Soviet literature," wrote Friedberg, "there is not a single work that actually satirizes the Soviet military."[32] Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, originally published in 1929, and Ernest He-mingway's *A Farewell to Arms* were treated with suspicion by many Soviet critics. Ja-roslav Hasek's *Good Soldier Schweik*, perhaps the single most important anti-militarist novel, was prevented from dissemination.[33] In 2014, the same book was burned in public during a demonstration by Russian nationalists following the annexation of Crimea.

However, although books, like films, were carefully censored or revised in the So-viet era, and were accompanied by suitable introductions or commentary, Western li-terature was read, and Western authors rivalled Soviet Russian authors in popularity.[34] Moreover, they were often the prefered reading of younger and better educated Soviet readers.[35] The reason for this lay partly in what Soviet researchers called the Colum-bus complex: the desire to obtain information about various phenomenon of life, historical periods, foreign countries, lives of outstanding people, etc.[36] However, it

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[29]   Stalin wrote a letter to Gorky on 17 January 1929, in which he expressed the view that wars in general should not be opposed: 'As to war stories, they will have to be published with great discrimination. The book market is filled with a mass of literary tales describing the 'hor-rors' of war and inculcating a revulsion against all wars (not only imperialist, but every other kind of war). These are bourgeois-pacifist stories, and not of much value. We need stories which will lead the reader from the horrors of imperialist was to the necessity of getting rid of the imperialist governments which organize such wars. Besides, we are not against all wars. We are against imperialist wars, as being counter-revolutionary wars. But we are for liberating, anti-imperialist, revolutionary wars, despite the fact that such wars, as we know, are not only exempts from the 'horrors of bloodshed' but even abound in them.' See: J.V. Stalin, *Works* (Mos-cow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), 182; quoted in Friedberg, *Euphoria*, 308.

[30]   Ibid. 309.

[31]   Exceptions to the rule are Alexander Kuprin's anti-militarist *The Duel*, which appeared in 1905 after the defeat of the Russian navy by the Japanese, and Mikhail Bulgsakov's *The White Guard* and *Days of the Turbins*, which showed the monarchists in a positive light in the 1920s.

[32]   Friedberg, *Euphoria*, 147. For a Russian version of the Soldier Schweik to appear read-ers had to wait for Vladimir Voinovich's *Zhizn i neobyknovennye prikliucheniia soldata Ivana Chon-kina. Roman-anekdot v piati chastiakh* (The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Soldier Ivan Chonkin. A Novel Anecdote in Five Parts, Paris: YMCA Press, 1975), but the book could only be published outside the Soviet Union.

[33]   Ibid. 147.

[34]   Friedberg indicates that books by non-Soviet authors (Russian classics plus foreign books) were the favourite reading of more than a quarter of the population of typical small towns with a population under 50,000. Friedberg, *Euphoria*, 63

[35]   Ibid. 64.

[36]   Ibid. 78.

was also due to an admiration for American achievements. In 1962 the journal *Voprosy literatury* (Literary Questions) reported that the overwhelming majority of younger writers "claimed as their masters modern Western authors, Russian and foreign classics, and Soviet authors generally disowned by the establishment."[37] Many proclaimed openly their admiration for contemporary Western literature and the arts.

As a result, the regime maintained the availability of these works at a controlled level and tried to insulate the public from them. Russian critics tried to guide readers by suggesting the correct way of reading American writers. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was described as extolling patriarchal customs, idealizing America's past and the life of her indigenous population. Walt Whitman was described as glorifying labor and science. Robert Frost, who visited the Soviet Union in 1962 at the age of eighty-eight, a year before his death, was claimed by the regime as a cultural ambassador and sympathizer of the Soviet cause.[38] The pull of American literature had much to do with the myth of the Wild West, the image of a conquering and state-building nation. Children's books romanticized the American Indian, or the courageous and adventurous cowboy in the mythical Wild West.[39] James Fenimore Cooper, who had been steadily published since the 1820s, appeared in the first post-Stalin decade in six million copies in six languages of the Soviet Union. James Willard Schultz (1859–1947), one of the first white men to explore what is now Glacier National Park, was similarly popular. He lived in Montana with the Blackfoot Indians and his wife was a Pikuni.[40] Bret Harte was another author whose rugged adventures captured imaginations. His complete works were published in the Soviet Union in 1928 and he was republished in the post-Stalin decades. These writers all provided escapist literature, while the idea of a wild frontier that reminded readers of Siberia, added to the romance of something both distant and relevant.[41] Jack London, the most widely printed American author in Russia, became the object of a cult. In the first post-Stalin decade a fourteen volume set of his works came out (in 3.5 million copies), a two volume set (in 600,000 copies) and over a million copies in three languages of *Martin Eden* appeared.[42]

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[37]   Over half the respondents to a survey gave this as their reason for reading foreign literature. Ibid., 298.

[38]   Ibid., 92–93.

[39]   The novels of Thomas Mayne Reid (1818–83) became famous. Born in Ireland, the son of a Protestant minister, he went to America in the 1830s where he took part in the Mexican war of 1846–48, then returned to Europe to fight in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. His improbable stories of adventure were translated into Russian soon after appearing in the original. At the time he enjoyed international popularity. The *Times* wrote an obituary on October 22, 1883, that began: 'Every school-boy, and everyone who has ever been a schoolboy, will learn with sorrow of the death of Captain Mayne Reid' (Ibid. 118). Soviet critics, of course, put their own spin on this popularity, claiming that it was due to 'his sympathetic portrayal of the Indian's struggle against white colonizers' rather than stressing the fascination with Indian tribes (Ibid. 119).

[40]   Friedberg, *Euphoria*, 119.

[41]   Ibid. 119–20

[42]   Ibid. 124.

The fascination with America was a continuation of the love-hate complex that had begun in the nineteenth century. Paradoxically, wrote Friedberg in 1977, the United States, in the nearly unanimous view of Soviet writers, embodied the essence of everything evil in a "bourgeois democracy," but at the same time was held up as a symbol of efficiency and technological progress. In Soviet times this was explained through the "internal contradictions" within American capitalism, which were manifest in such phenomena as the coexistence of wealth and poverty, millions of automobiles and fear of unemployment, alleged mass dissatisfaction with the country's political system and failure to abolish that system by whatever means necessary.

Today the Putin regime uses an "updated" version of this argument. It continues to stress the USA's decadence and civilizational instability, but still exhibits what Friedberg called "a schizoid Soviet view of the United States, a curious blend of hostility and envy that has occasional overtones of admiration." A similar view had earlier been encapsulated in the Soviet goal of "catching up with and overtaking America."[43] The schizophrenia is evident today not only in foreign policy pronouncements but in the fact that Soviet oligarchs, while denouncing the West and America in particular, nonetheless live, bank, shop, obtain medical services, and send their children to schools in Europe and the US.

After coming to power at the beginning of this century Putin oversaw a significant shift to an anti-US and anti-Western stance, accompanied by a re-militarization and a glorification of Stalin. This has produced a return to warlike attitudes and military aggression. The shift in rhetoric has been decisive: imperial might and inter-imperial rivalry are no longer denounced; they are embraced. The writer Aleksandr Prokhanov, the politician Vladimir Zhirinovsky and the thinker Aleksandr Dugin openly express the need for Russia to rule over other nations. Their role in Russian public discourse has been to make formerly disreputable ideas reputable, to rehabilitate and insert into mainstream media nationalist and imperialist ideas.

Prokhanov's mixture of imperial pathos, xenophobia, apologism for the KGB and yearning for modernization has been compared to Soviet literature of the 1940s.[44] Like his nineteenth-century imperial predecessors, he has expressed the view that Russians have a special ability to assimilate other nations and that the Russian state needs to grow if it is not to become the prey of other empires.[45] Dugin predicts that the world in fifty to a hundred years will be ruled by a maximum of five empires and Russia must be one of these.[46] Zhirinovsky has expressed the view that Germany and Russia should once again share a common border, that Russia requires a strong army so that no one should stand in her way, that he would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons, that Russians have a right to live well and so should be allowed to move south to a better climate—in fact, as far as the Indian Ocean, in which he wants to see Rus-

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[43]   Ibid. 186.
[44]   Ilia Kukulin, 'Reaktsiia dissotsiatsii: legitimatsiia ultrapravogo diskursa v sovremennoi rossiiskoi literature,' in Marlen Lariuel, ed., *Russkii natsionalizm*, 292–93.
[45]   Malinova, 68.
[46]   Ibid. 71.

sian soldiers "wash their boots."[47] He has also stated that it was and remains "normal" for Russia to have colonies, otherwise, he says, its people will be beggars. Russians, he has declared, have suffered enough and therefore should make other people suffer.[48] While seeing America as the country's main competitor, he is convinced that the USA will offer no resistance when Russians take back Alaska, because in the present century the USA will disappear, "swamped by blacks and Hispanics."[49]

One reason why these appalling pronouncements resonate with many Russians is because they bring to the surface unexpressed desires and longings, present a flattering image of military might and superpower status. Such views are determined largely by a continuing tradition made of myths and realities about past history, a tradition that has been handed down by generations.[50] These ideas have maintained their subterranean existence, mixing *folie de grandeur* with resentment toward a West which Russians feel they can never overtake.

Such views are in line not only with the opinions of nineteenth-century imperialist thinkers, but also with those of Stalinist historians who in the past (and present) have justified the use of internal violence and terror. One such historian was R. Wipper (Vipper) whose book on Ivan the Terrible appeared in 1942.[51] Wipper saw Ivan not as a cruel tyrant but a great statesman who conquered the Kazan Tatar Kingdom and extended the borders of Muscovy to the west. The historian argued that Ivan's private army, the oprichnina, was a great military-administrative reform and justified the tsar's conquests, terror, diplomatic chicanery and lies.[52] The revised book was produced at the same time (1941) as Stalin commissioned Eisenstein's film *Ivan the Terrible* (1943). As Katerina Clark points out, hegemony was the main thrust of Moscow's claim to be the Third Rome, and already in Ivan's reign territorial aggrandizement and imperial dominion were promoted as Russia's manifest destiny.[53]

Today imperial expansion and Stalin's rule enjoy a renewed justification not only from writers and politicians like Zhirinovsky, Prokhanov and Dugin, but also in school textbooks and patriotic parades.[54] The collapse of the USSR led to a crisis of self-identification and nostalgia for the Soviet Union, and to the development of

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[47]   Graham Frazer and George Lancelle, *Absolute Zhirinovsky: A Tansparent View of the Distinguished Russian Statesman* (New York: Penguin, 1994), 77, 94,103.

[48]   Ibid. 89, xv-xvii.

[49]   Ibid. 75.

[50]   Ibid. x.

[51]   R. Wipper, *Ivan Grozny* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1947). This was a new and slightly revised edition of the book that first appeared in 1922 and then in a revised edition in 1942 in Tashkent, published by Gosizdat.

[52]   Wipper, *Ivan Grozny*, 93.

[53]   Clark, *Fourth Rome*, 2.

[54]   See, for example, E. Tameishi, 'Stalinskaia epokha v uchebnikakh istorii sovremennoi Rossii (K voprosu ob osveshchenii Vtoroi mirovoi voiny), in S. Palkova and K. Teraiama, eds. *Politicheskie i sotsialnye aspekty istorii stalinizma: Novyi fakty i interpretatsii*, 186–209 (Moscow: Politicheskaia entsiklopediia, 2015); Laura Piccolo, "Back in the USSR': Notes on nostalgia for the USSR in twenty-first century Russian society, literature, and cinema,' *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 57.3–4 (2015): 254–67.

events like the annual Victory parade in Moscow on May 9, which serves as an allegory of national glory, a dream of cultural and spiritual dominance in the world. Both the nostalgia and the parades are compensations for the loss of empire. Karen Dawisha has argued that the new symbols of empire were already in place in 2000, when speakers on foreign policy began emphasizing the trend toward competition with Western countries and companies, but also when the harassment of Americans, the buzzing of US aircraft and the laying of espionage charges began.[55] When Putin came to power he portrayed the collapse of the Soviet Union as a defeat imposed on Russia by the West, and when he marched into Crimea his dominant propaganda themes became anti-Americanism, the fight against "fascism" in Ukraine, the renewal of Russian greatness, and the distinctiveness of Russian values.[56]

This article has attempted to examine the vernacular roots of this nationalism and the empire envy with which it is infused. It remains an open question whether it is the policy-makers and elites who are driving these popular attitudes or whether popular attitudes with roots in a long tradition are imposing themselves on the policy-makers and elites.

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55   Karen Dawisha, *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), 310–11.
56   Ibid.

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ENTER THE MAGUS: DISCOVERING ESOTERIC IDEAS IN MODERN FICTION

György E. Szőnyi

This paper is a composite of several earlier publications of mine in which I interpreted literary works dealing with the figure of the magus and various concepts of magic, esotericism, and the occult (see Szőnyi 1998; 2006; 2007; 2013). The reasons I have decided to offer this essay to be included in the volume commemorating the first four Manitoba–Szeged partnership conferences are twofold. The third conference in Szeged (2011) highlighted the theme "Encountering the Unknown" on which occasion I spoke about the iconology of the fantastic. Literature about magic and the occult is obviously in close connection with the unknown and the concept of the fantastic. Furthermore, at the fifth conference, again in Szeged (2015) we explored various approaches to the theme "Discovering the Americas." Here, in my opening address I approached the topic from an autobiographical angle, relating how in America I discovered a new historical and theoretical approach to interpreting the European Renaissance, in particular Shakespeare. In the present paper I try to bring these various themes together and by including my reflections of a famous Canadian novel I also pay tribute to our partners from the other side of the Atlantic.[1]

I.

The Magus (or as some might call him, the Magician) is entering his laboratory. His retorts are full of boiling-bubbling liquids; his mind is on the boil too, nursing dreams, noble or mad ambitions of omniscience, omnipotence, eternal life, the ability to create gold or synthetic life—the famous homunculus. As the Great Work comes to a halt, some supernal help is needed. The Magus now turns to God, praying for more strength, or, resorting to illicit assistance, calls on Satan. Often he is confronted with other men, friends or adversaries, dilettante antiquarians or greedy princes, who look to him with expectation or awe, who try to stop him or urge him to further efforts—but certainly cannot follow him on his dangerous path towards the unknown, the forbidden... Almost invariably the end is failure. The Magus is punished for his arrogant self-conceit, or the *Opus Magnum* is disturbed by intruding bores—the retort blows up or the adept cannot endure the presence of the Devil—until finally the magician is paradigmatically killed among the flames of his laboratory.

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[1]   I wrote the original version of this essay in 1987, while, enjoying a Fulbright grant, I worked at the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. At that time I received much—not to be forgotten—help from the staff of both libraries and from professors Frank Baron and Joscelyn Godwin.

The above sketched narrative pattern has roots as old as literature; the archetypal magician-story gained cosmic significance in the Renaissance, and has been popular ever since. Is this a pattern taken from life, or merely from the pressure of literary conventions, the demand of the reading public? Does it follow the logic of scientific investigation, mixing experimentation with the supernatural? Is this all allegory and parable, or does it have a more direct relevance? One might feel surprise that this literary framework has even passed into twentieth century fiction, virtually unshaken by the development of natural sciences and the disqualification of magic as a scientific discipline. Or should we rather see this literary phenomenon as a reaction against the self-assuredness of the natural sciences? Is there any way of reconciling the rational-scientific way of thinking and the magical-occult world view?

This question and many more may bother the reader who finds himself in the web of modern fiction focusing on the theme of the magus, such as Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus,* Marguerite Yourcenar's *The Abyss,* Robertson Davies's *What's Bred in the Bone,* or Antal Szerb's *The Pendragon Legend.* Not to mention even more recent and wilder fantasies which paradigmatically address young adult audiences, such as J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series, Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials* trilogy, or Debora Harkness' *All Souls* triplet. Looking at these "novels of esoterica" we can clearly see the fascination of modern writers with the culture and world picture of the Renaissance, even if they place their fiction in a contemporary setting. Due to the lure of the sixteenth century these magus figures typically seem to be variations on the character of the historical-legendary Faust, perhaps the most famous black magician, or his contemporary, the white magus-scientist Paracelsus. It is the reincarnation of the Paracelsian type of magus in modern literature that primarily concerns my essay. A complementary aspect will be the study of the intellectual undercurrents which are responsible for the recurrence of this archetype, thus hoping to get nearer to understand the nature of esoteric discourse.

II.

Trying to map the place of magic in the complex of human culture, E.M. Butler said that she did not want to define it in any restrictive way such as "'pseudo-science', or 'pretended art', or 'debased religion'" (1980, 2). By treating magic as a self-contained discipline she did choose a good approach and at the same time pinpointed the areas in relation to which magic should be treated in its full complexity. One may usefully follow her typology and move from science to religion, finally to reach the domain of literature.

Since the scientific revolution "hard" science has traditionally been ignoring magic as something outdated and nonsensical. Even if art, including modern fiction, reconsidering the problem, has tried to express some doubts about the validity of this verdict, the existence of the duality of the two modes of thinking—scientific and esoteric-magical—has rarely been questioned since the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century Positivism and evolutionism interpreted the esoteric attitude as a kind of primitive phase in the development of mankind, which, in the course of intellectual progress, necessarily had to give way to logical thinking and the experimental sciences (see Tylor 1865 and Frazer 1890). On the other hand, already in the time of

the Enlightenment voices of discontent could be heard, enough to think of esoteric visionaries such as Emmanuel Swedenborg, or some trends among the Freemasons and revived Rosicrucians. This lead to the historiographical propositions to talk about "the shadowy side" of the Enlightenment (see Mali and Wokler ed. 2003; McMahon 2001; Thorne 2009).

Romanticism brought about very contrarious attitudes concerning Western esotericism. There were those—like William Blake—who condemned science and blamed progress for the loss of a spiritual and holistic experience of life. Others became fascinated by science and wanted to synthetize it with an occult wisdom (the Theosophists or Rudolf Steiner). Several writers exploited both the scientific and the esoteric paradigms in order to create Gothic horror, or show the dangers of a blind faith in science without religious humbleness (examples from English literature: Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, Bulwer-Lytton's *A Strange Story*, Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*). The polarized opinions can be demonstrated by the following two quotations:

> The improvements that have been effected in natural philosophy have by degrees convinced the enlightened part of mankind that the material universe is everywhere subject to laws, fixed in their weight, measure, and duration, capable of the most exact calculation, and which in no case admit of variation and exception. Beside this, mind, as well as matter, is subject to fixed laws; and thus every phenomenon and occurrence around us is rendered a topic for the speculation of sagacity and foresight. Such is the creed which science has universally prescribed to the judicious and reflecting among us. It was otherwise in the infancy and less mature state of human knowledge. The chain of causes and consequences was yet unrecognized; and events perpetually occurred, for which no sagacity that was then in being was able to assign an original. Hence men felt themselves habitually disposed to refer many of the appearances with which they were conversant to the agency of invisible intelligences. (Godwin 1834, 1–2)

At about the same time as William Godwin's above proclamation of scientism, a late alchemist and mystic, Mary Atwood, was already working on her esoteric philosophy, which was finally anonymously published in 1850. Due to a religious revelation and a moral panic, she later considered her book too dangerous for the general public and took great pains to suppress the edition. The text has fortunately survived and provides us with valuable insight into that mode of thinking which seems to have changed so remarkably little from Hermes Trismegistus through Paracelsus, Jakob Boehme, and Swedenborg to herself, Rudolf Steiner, Madame Blavatsky, and indeed to many of our own contemporaries. Speaking about alchemy, Atwood asserts its reality as follows:

> But many things have in like manner been considered impossible which increasing knowledge has proved true [...] and others which still to common sense appear fictitious were believed in former times, when faith was more enlightened and the sphere of vision open to surpassing effects. Daily observation even now warns us against setting limits to nature [...] The philosophy of modern times, more especially that of the present day, consists in experiment

and such scientific researches as may tend to ameliorate our social condition,
or be otherwise useful in contributing to the ease and indulgences of life;
whereas in the original acceptation, philosophy had quite another sense: it
signified the Love of Wisdom. (Atwood 1984, v-vii)

Relying on this principle, she did not see much use in employing a systematic his-
torical approach when studying and explaining the Hermetic philosophy. Her stand-
point is remarkable, and, considering the context of positivism, hardly reprehensible:

> Nothing, perhaps, is less worthy or more calculated to distract the mind from
> points of real importance than this very question of temporal origin, which,
> when we have taken all pains to satisfy and remember, leaves us no wiser in
> reality than we were before. (Ibid., 3)

The more the positivist enthusiasts of the scientific and industrial revolutions asserted
the notion of linear progress and heralded man's victory over nature, the more the
adepts and mystics became imbued with the search for forgotten, hermetic knowl-
edge. In literature we find the followers of both camps. The writers of Naturalism
considered themselves the custodians of the legacy of the Enlightenment, so they
sided with the scientists; on the other hand the symbolist poets rejected the primacy
of pure reason and looked for more mystical ways of knowledge. W.B. Yeats is just
one example of many. The symbolist theories of language, expression, and poetic in-
spiration are very much in line with philosophical mysticism, amplified by the general
mood and taste of the *fin de siècle*. A growing cult of the obscure, the exciting, the
illicit, and the unknown as well as the rejection of academism by the decadents and
the exponents of Art Nouveau likewise contributed to this interest.

One of the most notorious literary reflection of the occult revival was Huysmans'
Là-bas (1891, modern edition 1972), in which a tale of nineteenth-century devil wor-
shippers is interwoven with a life of the medieval Satanist Gilles de Rais. The main
characters of the novel —Durtal, the biographer of de Rais, Des Hermies, a psychia-
trist well versed in homeopathy and occult lore, the learned astrologer Gèvingey, and
the pious bell-ringer—are all hermit-like figures who separate themselves from the
stream of modern life and take pleasure in the cult of the Middle Ages. Durtal's in-
clination for things mystical and illicit is kindled by a strange woman, Mme. Chante-
louve, who by day is an unsatisfied bourgeoisie but at night becomes a succubus and
a participant in the Black Mass celebrated by the diabolic Canon Docre.

When finally Durtal gains access to the Satanic Mass himself, he finds it disap-
pointing and disgusting, very little mystical, but all the more characterized by erotoma-
niacs. This experience leads him toward a new evaluation of faith which prefigures
Huysmans' famous reconciliation with Catholicism: "Faith is the breakwater of the
soul, affording the only haven in which dismasted man can glide along in peace"
(1972, 279).

Especially significant for our present concern is the theme of the controversial
relationship of the occult and the rationalistic sciences, as manifested by Durtal's and
Des Hermies' mistrust of their period's positivistic scientism.

> What can be believed and what can be proved? The materialists have taken the
> trouble to revise the accounts of the sorcery trials of old. They have found in

> the possession-cases the symptoms of major hysteria [...] there remains this
> unanswerable question: is a woman possessed because she is hysterical, or is
> she hysterical because she is possessed? Only the Church can answer. Science
> not. (141)

But if science is weak and unable to see through appearance to the very essence of
things, the Hermetic lore is imperfect, too. This is what Gèvingey has to say on
spiritism, the sensation of the *fin de siècle:* "... proceeding at random without science,
it has agitated good and bad spirits together. In Spiritism you will find a jumble of
everything. It is the hash of mystery, if I may be permitted the expression" (132).

This vacillation between attraction and mistrust towards both science and the
occult is a very characteristic feature of "neo-esoterism" in literature: this attitude has
created characters such as the madman haunted by alchemical-esoteric dreams of the
Middle Ages and the Renaissance, who experiments with the most dubious practices;
and the skeptical historian who is sympathetic towards Hermeticism but does not be-
lieve that the contacts with the supernatural still have much validity. He is then usually
confronted with shocking phenomena that cannot be explained on the basis of dis-
cursive logic or experimental science. By the end of these novels the supernatural al-
ways manifests itself in one way or another, but there is always some mode of irony
employed by the novelists, creating uncertainty as to whether the inevitable magical
acts described are to be taken realistically, or as the product of mere mental processes,
or indeed as a literary device, a form of allegory or parable.

Somerset Maugham's early novel, *The Magician* (1908, modern edition 1967), is a
good example of this pattern. It was inevitably inspired by *Là-bas* as well as by the
character and notoriety of Aleister Crowley, known to the English press as "the
Wickedest Man in the World" (on Crowley: Bogdan ed. 2012; Churton 2012; Wilson
1987). The main characters of the book are Arthur Burdon, a practical-minded sur-
geon, absolutely skeptical about the occult. Margaret Dauncey, his fiancée, is an inno-
cent, beautiful girl. There is Susie Boyd, Margaret's room-mate, less attractive but sen-
sitive and intelligent. Dr. Porhoët is a real stock character, a doctor who takes some
historical interest in Hermeticism, who has lived in the East and seen many a strange
thing, even published a book on Paracelsus. And there is the magician, Oliver Haddo,
an English magnate, totally imbued with magical practices, a strange mixture of char-
latan and adept. His goal is to produce a homunculus, and his purposes are vile.
Maugham's novel is well-constructed and elegantly written, but rather shallow, lacking
any original insight into the problems of mysticism and esoteric knowledge. It is still
interesting as a document of a continuing literary topos and a vogue so strongly infil-
trating the early modernist movements.

Arthur's skepticism is strongly emphasized at the beginning of the story, in order
to contrast with his later encounters with the supernatural; it is also necessary to
create tension between him and Haddo, as this conflict brings about the catastrophe
of the book: out of revenge, Oliver bewitches Margaret, seduces, then marries her,
only to ruin Arthur's life and use the unfortunate woman for his experiments. Dr.
Porhoët is the mouthpiece of those obligatory vacillating opinions which will not deny
the reality of occult forces, but at the same time cannot take them entirely seriously.
He always approaches the subject from the superior standpoint of the historian who

is outside the range of phenomena, who always knows the end of the story. The most powerful character is undoubtedly Oliver Haddo. He makes no concession to modern science and his ambitions recall that other great sinner, Goethe's Faust, his seduced victim likewise called Margaret. But Haddo's statements about the thirst for power that consumes the magician remind one even more of the crude and infinite passions of Marlowe's characters, Doctor Faustus and Tamburlaine:

> And what else is that men seek in life but power? If they want money, it is but for the power that attends it, and it is power again that they strive for in all the knowledge they acquire. Fools and sots aim at happiness, but men aim only at power. The magus, the sorcerer, the alchemist, are seized with fascination of the unknown: and they desire a greatness that is inaccessible to mankind. (Maugham, 76)

The case of Oliver Haddo introduces a new element to the typology of the Magus. While Huysmans drew a parallel between the modern black magicians and a medieval Satanist, Haddo is on the one hand contrasted with Faustus who represents the black magician, on the other with Paracelsus, who apparently never got under evil domination and whose aims were always pious. Dr. Porhoët vaguely makes this distinction, although the general drift of his opinion rather converges with that of the moralizing Chorus in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus:*

> It was a strange dream that these wizards cherished. [...] Above all, they sought to become greater than the common run of men and to wield the power of the gods. They hesitated at nothing to gain their ends. But Nature with difficulty allows her secrets to wrested from her. In vain they lit their furnaces, and in vain they studied their crabbed books, called up the dead, and conjured ghastly spirits. Their reward was disappointment and wretchedness, poverty, the scorn of men, torture, imprisonment, and shameful death. And yet, perhaps after all, there may be some particle of truth hidden away in these dark places. (Ibid., 151)

All the elements surveyed so far are uniquely blended and presented in an entertaining as well as a philosophic way in a Hungarian novel which, despite its translation into English, has been undeservedly neglected in the European literary scene. The writer, Antal Szerb, was an excellent literary historian, while his novels treated the important intellectual issues of his age, the period between the two World Wars. The hero of Szerb's *The Pendragon Legend* (1934, English translation: 2006), János Bátky, is a Hungarian scholar who, enjoying some inheritance, settles down in London, near the British Museum, and immerses himself in the most exciting (and least apparently practical) subjects. Dr. Bátky is like Des Hermies and Dr. Porhoët, but he is livelier. He has amusing and not at all innocent adventures with women and also likes to go to evening parties. This is how he meets the Earl of Gwynedd, who becomes the real hero of the story. Their first meeting is worth quoting at length, since it introduces the main topics of the book as well as showing Szerb's wry wit:

> "At the moment I'm working on the English mystics of the seventeenth century."
> "Are you, indeed?" the Earl exclaimed. "Then Lady Malmsbury-Croft has

made another of her miraculous blunders. She always does. If she gets two men to sit with each other thinking that they were together at Eton, you may be sure that one of them is German and the other Japanese, but both have a special interest in Liberian stamps."

"So My Lord is also a student of the subject?"

"That's a rather strong term to use, in this island of ours. *You* study something —*we* merely have hobbies. I dabble in the English mystics the way a retired general would set about exploring his family history. As it happens, those things are part of the family history. But tell me, Doctor—mysticism is a rather broad term—are you interested in it as a religious phenomenon?"

"Not really. I don't have much feeling for that aspect. What interests me within the general field is what popularly called 'mystic'—the esoteric fantasies and procedures through which people once sought to probe nature. The alchemists, the secrets of the homunculus, the universal panacea, the influence of minerals and amulets... Fludd's philosophy of nature whereby he proved the existence of God by means of a barometer."

"Fludd?" the Earl raised his head. "Fludd shouldn't be mentioned in the company of those idiots. Fludd, sir, wrote a lot of nonsense because he wished to explain things that couldn't be accounted for at the time. But essentially—I mean about the real essence of things—he knew much, much more than the scientists of today, who no longer even laugh at his theories. I don't know what your opinion is, but nowadays we know a great deal about the microscopic detail. Those people knew rather more about the whole—the great interconnectedness of things—which can't be weighed on scales and cut into slices like ham." (Szerb 2006, 10–11)

There are at least half a dozen layers in the novel, blended with elegant craftsmanship: the Earl is working on some mysterious biological experiments which are distinct reflections on the ambitions of the Paracelsians, to create an artificial man, homunculus. In the meantime he is entangled with a crime story: his ex-fiancée and her associates try to kill him in connection with an inheritance-case. Bátky is dropped in the whirl of events which develop from everyday mystery to mystical terror: it turns out that the old Pendragon castle on the neighboring hill hides the tomb of Christian Rosencreutz, the legendary founder of the Rosicrucians. This Brother Rosencreutz—in the novel Asaph Pendragon, a fifteenth-century Earl of Gwynedd—according to the inscription on his tomb, "POST ANNOS CXX PATEBO", is expected to rise from his grave in 120 years. The legend, well known from the early seventeenth-century Rosicrucian manifestos (English translation in Yates 1972, 235–60; on the Rosicrucians see Jennings 1879; McIntosh 1987), is retold by Szerb and transposed to Pendragon. The founder of the Brotherhood was Asaph, and, according to one of the subplots, in the eighteenth century another Earl, Bonaventure Pendragon, made great efforts in the company of Lenglet de Fresnoy and the Count St. Germain to contact him and get from him the Secret of the Adepts. The Rosicrucian Asaph Pendragon is finally awakened in the early twentieth century and saves the life of the present Earl from the murderers. But he also wants to accomplish the Great Work which has come to a halt. As he feels abandoned by the heavens, according to the obligatory pattern, he decides to turn to evil forces. He performs diabolic magic and sacrifices to Satan the wicked

ex-fiancée of the Earl. In a trance, Bátky witnesses the whole action, which concludes in a devastating appearance of the Devil. All this drives the Rosicrucian ghost to final desperation, and he kills himself. The last words of the Earl feed back to the opening conversation between him and the Hungarian philosopher:

> "They were waiting for a particular moment," he began: "a rare conjunction of the stars, or some other sign. [...] Well, it came ... long after the last Rosicrucians had vanished, and a once-mocking world had forgotten them. It coincided exactly with my own ordeal. The midnight rider, the deathless dispenser of justice, has saved the lives of his descendants once again, but the Great Work wasn't proceeding according to plan. Only black magic and conjuration of the Devil could help, and that required a sacrifice. [...] I left the woman to her fate, and it found her. But the Great Work failed after all... If it was as you describe it then the Devil did appear to him... but we can't be sure about any of that. Only that he died in total despair. Come, Doctor Bátky." (230)

What makes this novel really enjoyable is that the reader will never discover whether the author is serious or whether he is just making a literary-intellectual joke, a parody of the genre. Like the *Chimische Hochzeit* of Johann Valentin Andreae (see Willard 2016, forthcoming), *The Pendragon Legend* leaves its audience in the thrill, awe, and excitement of uncertainty.

While the novels reviewed up to this point emphasized the incompatibility of science and magic—usually at the expense of the former, we should also mention, however, that there have been efforts to bring together the two, and not only in the sphere of literature. Around the turn of the 20th century, the esoteric philosopher and founder of anthroposophy, Rudolf Steiner, proposed his system of epistemology that assumes a happy coexistence of the two. He considered himself a seer and claimed to have gained immense knowledge by intuition and revelation, but at the same time asserted that the natural sciences represent a necessary phase in the development of mankind and suggested that occult knowledge can be gained by rational practices and scientific exercises, too (see the summary in Saul Bellow's Introduction to Steiner 1983). However, it looks as if he did not succeed in bringing together magic and science, his works rather point at the deepening gap between the two modes of thinking. With this he makes us ponder the meaning of the dramatic dualism of the experimental-discursive and the intuitive-revelative types of knowledge: "With our concepts we have moved out to the surface, where we came into contact with nature. We have achieved clarity, but along the way we have lost man" (Bellow in Steiner 1983, 11).

Although this dualism has been known from mankind's earliest self-consciousness, until the seventeenth century science did not side irrevocably with either option. For the people of the Renaissance it was still not a decision to deal with "magic or science." Since all science was magic in a way, and vice versa, it was rather the intention of the magician-scientist that constituted the real watershed, by distinguishing white and black operations. Modern fiction seems to take this distinction as of secondary importance, and it is rather the universalism and bold endeavoring spirit of those Renaissance enthusiasts that is still so attractive for modern writers. This is why authors like Yourcenar situate their plots in the sixteenth century, and why the con-

temporary heroes resemble the famous Magi: in Oliver Haddo we see Paracelsus reflected, while the Earl of Pendragon recalls Robert Fludd.

Nevertheless, the modern novels mentioned so far all intended to portray the esoteric and the occult in a more or less realistic historical setting. Postmodern fiction has stepped beyond that and promoted a way of representation that could be called counterfactual, often bordering on science fiction and the fantastic. One should think of such authors and works as Lawrence Norfolk's *Lemprière's Dictionary* (1991) or Susanna Clarke's *Jonathan Strange and Mr. Norrell* (2004) that turn history upside down while luring the reader into the belief that it is all faithful representation of the past. On the other hand, Rowling's Harry Potter series (1997–2007) or Philip Pullman's *His DarkMaterials* (1995–2000) opened up a window to pure fantasy, nevertheless, creating strong mimetic settings in those, similar to Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*. An even newer, and more radical tendency can be seen in Deborah Harkness' *All Souls* trilogy (2011–2014), which was written by a professional historian who revolted against the confines of history writing and let her fantasy loose by offering page turner, nevertheless often nonsensical fiction which is hard to classify. It seems that as time passes, generic and stylistic rules become less and less important, but if one is disturbed by this, it is worth remembering that esoteric fiction from its birth in the antiquity (e.g. Apuleius's *The Golden Ass*) has always been going against the grain and invented innovative sujets as well as narrative forms.

III

Let us turn now to the question of white and black magic, because this distinction is partly responsible for the extraordinary effort by which two modern disciplines—cultural history and the history of science—have taken the trouble to try to reintegrate magic into the realm of academic investigations. The nineteenth-century historians did not bother with this distinction, as we can observe in Godwin's already quoted work. He mostly spoke about witchcraft, only to muddle hopelessly the *Arabian Nights* with Thomas Aquinas, Luther with Faustus, Agrippa with Urban Grandier and the New England witches. But was he not right after all? Do we not find the same medley of ideas in the works of every occult tradition? In the first decades of the twentieth century, some historians of premodern culture, those who became disillusioned with self-assured judgements about the enlightened nature of the Renaissance, suggested a definite "no".

People like Johan Huizinga (1924), Max Dvořak (1922), and Aby Warburg (1920) emphasized the great importance of magic and mystical-esoterical systems in an age which previously had been chosen as the ideal opposite of the "Superstitious, Dark Ages". Not much later Lynn Thorndike (1923–58) devoted eight volumes to demonstrate how difficult it is to distinguish clearly between magic and the experimental sciences—at least up to the eighteenth century. These pioneers started a long evolution of cultural history: a neglected canon of texts—from the Hermetic writings to various cabalistic speculations and magical incantations—has been recovered, and a generation of great Renaissance scholars such as A.J. Festugière, P.O. Kristeller, E. Garin, F. Secret, D.P. Walker and others have established the framework within which to study the intriguing crosscurrents of Renaissance philosophical thought.

In this atmosphere, in the nineteen-sixties, Frances A. Yates (1964; 1967) boldly proposed a thesis with the following paradigm: 1) the Hermetic texts of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. offered such an ontology and a creation myth which for the philosophers of the Renaissance could appear as a legitimate variant to the Mosaic Adam. This Hermetic man of the "Pimander" has a lot in common with Adam of the Genesis. 2) The Florentine Neoplatonists, primarily Ficino and Pico della Mirandola—inspired by the magical passages of the *Hermetica*—set up a new philosophy, in which the "dignity of man" was strongly connected to a program of turning man into a powerful, creative magus. Yates asserted that these thinkers "emerge not primarily as 'humanists', not even primarily as philosophers, but as magi" (1967, 258). 3) The magical exultation of the first Renaissance Magi soon gave way to social concerns as they started dreaming about the general reformation of the world, a great instauration of sciences, and various forms of charitable work for mankind. It is easy to recognize the program of the Rosicrucians in this description, who, because of the stiffening atmosphere of the new orthodoxies (both Catholic and Protestant) at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had to remain in seclusion. But their aims and ideals affected the methods of new investigations of the scientific revolution as well as the formation of the early scientific societies and academies. 4) This is how we can see the change from magic to science as a more or less linear development: "If the Renaissance magus was the immediate ancestor of the seventeenth-century scientist, than it is true that 'Neo-platonism' as interpreted by Ficino and Pico was [...] the body of thought which, intervening between the Middle Ages and the 17th century, prepared the way for the emergence of science" (ibid., 258; for a full explication of her concepts see her monographs, 1964 and 1972).

The "Yates theses" stirred up a huge and long debate among historians of science and culture. (The details see in my book, 2004, 9–11 and 304n6.) Yates represented a traditional evolutionist view told in a neat "grand narrative," however, her content was radically new and refreshing. This compromise at first was received with enthusiastic applause but by the nineteen-nineties she was written off from serious scholarship and it is only now in the twenty-first century that her work is reassessed and a balanced reintegration has begun (Daston 2012, 496–99; Denham 2015, 237–52; Hanegraaff 2001; Jones 2008; Wilder 2010). Needless to say, that the "struggle" with Yates and the Warburgian legacy has ever since been fertilising the study of Western Esotericism which by now expanded to religious studies and psychology and finally has become an independent field of study (Faivre 1994; Godwin 2007; Goodrick-Clarke 2008; Hanegraaff 2012, 2013; von Stuckrad 2013; Versluis 1986, 2007).

No matter of Yates's changing fortunes in scholarship, her academic enthusiasm for early modern magic has greatly inspired contemporary fiction. Looking at the magus-novels of the middle- and late-twentieth century we can easily discover the kind of apologetic cultural-anthropological approach to magic which has been so characteristic of the Warburgian history of ideas. Let us illustrate this with two novels, a historical one set in the time of Paracelsus and another one in which the contemporary setting evokes the spirit of Paracelsus himself.

Marguerite Yourcenar's *The Abyss* (1968; English translation: 1976) offers in the story of Zeno a complex analysis of human existence. The hero (an amalgam of Para-

celsus, Giordano Bruno, Michael Servet and others) represents the Renaissance thinker who pursues "magia naturalis," a subject defined by the seventeenth-century antiquarian Elias Ashmole as follows:

> It enables Man to understand the Language of the Creatures, as the chirping of birds, lowing of beasts, &c. To convey a spirit into an image, which by observing the influence of heavenly bodies, shall become a true oracle; and yet this is not any wayes Necromanticall, or Devilish; but easy, wonderous easy, Naturall and Honest. (1652, B1v)

The history of Zeno does not center on a major theme such as the hunt for gold or the passion for omnipotence. The hero represents the genuine searching spirit who is thrown into the crosscurrents of scientific ideas and superstitions and tries to find his way in the intellectual labyrinth of his age. And this would not be so hopelessly difficult if he were not also caught in the dire network of political forces, religious convictions, and social prejudices. This is how the young ambitious scientist becomes a disillusioned, burnt-out existential philosopher, determined to end on the stake of the Inquisition. As the author explains:

> On a purely intellectual level, the Zeno of this novel, still marked by scholasticism, though reacting against it, stands halfway between the subversive dynamism of the alchemists and the mechanistic philosophy which is to prevail in the immediate future, between hermetic beliefs which postulate a God immanent in all things and an atheism barely avowed, between the somewhat visionary imagination of the student of cabalists and the materialistic empiricism of the physician. (Author's note, 355)

The role of Renaissance magic as presented in Yourcenar's novel corresponds to the verdict of Yatesian cultural historians. Paracelsus' magical medicine, for example, is seen as a precursor of modern science, a kind of groping towards the progressively better lit areas of logical thinking and experimental investigation, albeit still dimmed by false concepts which themselves can be useful catalysts of scientific progress. Zeno himself proposes such an opinion:

> "Do not attribute more worth than I do to those mechanical feats," Zeno said disdainfully. "In themselves they are neither good nor bad. They are like certain discoveries of the alchemist who lusts only for gold, findings which distract him from pure science, but which sometimes serve to advance or to enrich our thinking. *Non cogitat qui non experitur.*" (334)

Another contemporary novel, Robertson Davies's *The Rebel Angels* (1981) approaches the Paracelsian philosophy from a more mystically oriented viewpoint, and his plot, set in a modern university, turns "the groves of academe" into the site of a supernatural combat between Satanic diabolism and pious white magic. The demonic forces are evoked by desires and high ambition, as is paradigmatic in all magus-stories. We also have the obligatory pattern of the sceptic scientist who in the course of events will have to reevaluate his concepts radically; the mild believer; the diabolic Satanist; and here also the white magician, this time a biologist-genius who tries on Paracelsian principles to turn science back from "slicing the ham" to the questions of the big, mysterious wholeness.

The object of desire is a gifted, beautiful student, Maria Theotoky, who is enchanted by Renaissance mysticism and who also enchants everybody. There are two men, however, who feel even stronger passions than the gusto for an attractive female: an unpublished Rabelais manuscript, representing a temptation, which arouses the beast and warrior in the otherwise harmless men of letters. Urquhart McVarish, the Renaissance historian (also a perverted narcissist) and Clement Hollier, the distinguished medieval scholar, a paleo-psychologist (Maria's idol) struggle for this rare document. The fight becomes fiercer until McVarish resorts to theft, while the sober, skeptical medievalist turns to Maria's Hungarian-Gypsy mother, asking her to use magic to destroy the illicit possessor of the Rabelais letters.

This is no place to analyze the complexities of Davies's many-layered ironies, nor his magic command of language that so evokes the thrills of the mysterious in the reader—all the faculties which make this novel one of the outstanding achievements of contemporary fiction. We must concentrate on its carefully developed contrast between the dark torments of passion overtaking the protagonists who finally abuse science, and the representatives of a superior, purified striving for real wisdom. Maria is inclined to develop in the direction of a spiritual science, while Professor Ozias Froats is the champion of experimental verification; as he says, "Doubt, doubt, and still more doubt, until you're deadly sure. That's the only way" (248) —but their disparate convictions seem to meet in the syncretic philosophy of Paracelsus. Froats smiles at the definition of the scientist-magus suggested by Paracelsus (248), but his work, his scientific achievement confirms Maria's romantic description: "Surely, Ozias Froats works under the protection of the Thrice-Divine Hermes. Anyway I hope so..." (213).

To add one more example, similar to the tone and writerly wisdom of Davies is John Crowley's *AEgypt* tetralogy (1987–2007). The work of this excellent writer is part of my "discovering the Americas." The series was published over twenty years, comprising *The Solitudes* (originally published as *AEgypt* in 1987); *Love and Sleep* (1995); *Daemonomania* (2000), and *Endless Things—A Part of AEgypt* (2007). An attentive reader, Jed Hartman (2002), has compared these novels to an *ars memoriae* building in which the main character—drop-out college professor of history, Pierce Moffett—stores his personal and cultural memories, and in the course of the work invites the reader to visit the endless and intricate labyrinth of the rooms and passages.

Moffett, abandoned by his father, brought up in rural Kentucky and Indiana, and struggling vainly for a settled life and a fulfilled love in New York, has a growing conviction that history is not simply the one we are familiar with. The more he reads scholarship about the esoteric-hermetic tradition—among them the books of Frances Yates—the more he is convinced that there must be an alternative, phantom history he calls "AEgypt."

> Once the world was not as it has since become. Once it worked in a way different from the way it works now: its very flesh and bones, the physical laws that governed it, were ever so slightly different from the ones we know. It had a different history, too, from the history we know the world to have had, a history that implied a different future from the one that has actually come to be, our present. [...] The world is as we know it now to be, and always has

been: everyone forgets that it could be, or ever was, other than the way it is now. If it were so - if it were really so - would you be able to tell? [...] What evidence or proof could you ever adduce? (Crowley 1995, 9–11)

A publisher becomes interested in this idea and offers a contract for a book – just at the point when Moffett feels he must leave his college. Abandoning his New York City existence, he moves to a small town in upstate New York, rents a ruinous house and starts working on his book. Encountering small-town life and its rural community brings more surprises than he (and also the reader) would have expected. Greatest of them all is his getting acquainted with the literary bequest of a recently deceased historical novelist, Fellowes Kraft. Pierce receives a commission from the estate of Kraft to tidy up his remaining papers, among which he finds an unfinished novel, called nothing else but *AEgypt*.

From now on the experiences of Moffett and Kraft get hopelessly entangled with the fictions of Kraft and the scholarly readings of Pierce. He starts studying Kraft's main literary heroes who are exciting historical characters: Giordano Bruno (one of the practitioners of the ars memoriae) and John Dee (the researcher of alternative history through the angelic conversations). The volumes of *AEgypt* become a labyrinth of metafiction. The reader is navigating among texts supposed to have been written by Kraft and then revised by Moffett, who is trying to rewrite or complete Kraft's unfinished novel. At some points, quite naturally, we are also reminded that the whole discourse is created by Crowley, the author of the tetralogy. (The paragraphs referring to Crowley's *Aegypt* I borrow from Szőnyi–Wymer 2011, 195–6.)

IV

The "Yates theses" were very influential for a time, but when its tenets were put to the trial of detailed testing, it was rejected by most historians of science in the course of a series of learned debates in the nineteen-seventies. It was acknowledged to have been important in calling attention to a series of neglected phenomena, but its underlying assumption that magic and science are reconcilable has failed to gain credit, just as Rudolf Steiner's calls for esoteric and exoteric synthesis have remained isolated and rejected from both sides.

Paolo Rossi, who himself wrote a study of Francis Bacon, calling him a man "from magic to science," formulated the essential theoretical criticism against Yates's views: "As years go by I am more and more convinced that to explain the genesis—which is not only complicated but often confused—of some modern ideas is quite different from believing that one can offer a complete explanation of these ideas by describing their genesis" (1975, 257). Others, concerned with the details, successively questioned many of her concrete arguments, too (see especially Westman 1977 and Vickers 1984).

Who is the magician, then? Seen from the outside he is the representative of an alternative way of thinking and cultivates a mode of perception and interpretation which works with analogies rather than arguments based on observations of causes and effects. For this reason he seems to be of no value in the context of scientific investigations: "The Neoplatonists, like all occultists, were never interested in matter for its own sake or in general terms. Nature had value to them either as a symbolic system, as in hierarchies of descent from the godhead or in degrees of purity..."

(Vickers 1984, 6).[2] With these words Brian Vickers seems to have done away with the illusions to achieve the kind of synthesis hypothesized by Frances Yates's interpretation of Renaissance science. And to the question raised by Yates and her followers, namely what to do with the double intellectual profile of the early scientists, with the curious blend of superstition and scientific reasoning in their works, Vickers offered the traditional answer of the historians of science: let us reconcile ourselves to the fact that those thinkers, just as many of their descendants nowadays, were able to live in divided and distinguished worlds. Parallel with the slowly developing affinity for observation, experimentation, and discursive logic, man has retained the fossils of an alternative way of thinking which should not become the subject of the history of science, rather of cultural anthropology. In Vickers' interpretation the alchemist's mind is more akin with the primitive tribal magician than the simplest philosopher. Magic becomes a variant of a religious system in this approach, and has to be treated in terms of the study of beliefs. As well remembered, Keith Thomas in his famous monograph, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1972) made also extensive use of the methods and achievements of cultural anthropology (Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard, etc.) while discussing 16th and 17th century magic and religion in England.

It seems, that the developing study of Western Esotericism has gone in this direction, becoming a closer relative of religious studies than the history of science (see the groundbreaking studies of Faivre; Godwin; Goodrich-Clarke; Hanegraaff, etc., mentioned above). Surely this is not the final stage in the evolution of this field of research, in the meantime one can argue that important complementary subfields can be the study of art and literature in order to see how these cultural representations have been inspired by the esoteric visions of Western civilization.

The complicated love-hate relationship of magic and religion, not mentioning their structural and functional parallels, cannot be treated here, one quotation might well illustrate though the awareness about this aspect. The authority to be quoted, Arthur Versluis, is a contemporary theoretician of the occult, and one can easily see that he ascribes importance to the esoteric modes of thinking in a radically different way from the historians of science or the students of social anthropology, or even a modern theologian. Already in 1986, in his *Philosophy of Magic* he considered religion and magic two descendants of the same primordial revelation:

> A distinct historical pattern of division (di-vision) can be traced in the West, a splitting into two camps as it were; on the one hand, one has the orthodox religious form which tended to ignore the necessity of individual spiritual transmutation, and on the other, the solitary magus or alchemist, who often tended to ignore the necessity of traditional religious form. As a result, both diverged into materialistic or egoistic paths. (3)

The association of magic with literature likewise implies a love-hate relationship. The idea goes back to the teachings of Plato who supposed the working of a mystical madness, the *furor poeticus,* in the inspired poets which make them perceptive for the

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2   Vickers further elaborated this thesis in his essay in the same volume: "Analogy Versus Identity: the Rejection Occult Symbolism, 1580–1680". In Brian Vickers (ed.). *Occult and Scientific Mentalities...,* 95–165.

higher reality which is not accessible to ordinary people who possess only the ability of rational thinking, discursive logic. This intuitive-revelatory knowledge became a powerful tool for the theoreticians of the Renaissance as they spoke about the poet as creator who can make something out of nothing, as if in a supernatural act.

Pico's *Oration on the Dignity of Man* reasserted the old gnostic thesis that the human intellect was the reflection of the divine *mens,* and though now corrupted, through different operations it can elevate itself again to this highest level. Art and magic appeared as two expressions of the same procedure by both sharing the quality of divine creativity. It is very characteristic that their contemporaries already called famous artists such as Leonardo or Michelangelo "divine," and that relying on the magical-neoplatonic philosophy of Ficino or Pico, artists could claim for a status equal to that of the magus. Among others, Sir Philip Sidney straightforwardly claimed that poets are like gods and that the quality of their creation surpasses the perfection of Nature:

> [Man is to give] right honor to the heavenly maker of that maker, who, having made man to his own likeness, set him beyond and over all the works of that second nature; which is nothing he showeth so much as in poetry, when with the force of a divine breath he bringeth things forth... (Section 11, Sidney 1962, 413)

E.H. Gombrich while explaining the nature of Renaissance symbolic images, has argued that that Botticelli's *Primavera* is not simply a painting with classical motives but a great magical allegory, a not too distant relative of Ficino's talismanic magic (cf. his essays dating from 1949 to 1972 published in Gombrich 1985, especially "Icones Symbolicae..."). We find the same inspiration of Neoplatonism and magic in much of sixteenth-century European literature, in Michelangelo's mystical sonnets, in Ronsard's nature hymns, in some motifs of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene.* The analogy with magic offered new arguments in the age-old debate about the ontology of art: whether it was a conscious act of imitation of already existing nature or rather an exulted, inspired state of "divine madness." We can recognize in this dichotomy the Aristotelian and Platonic principles of artistic creation.

By the second half of the sixteenth century the Neoplatonic concepts returned. Francesco Patrizi's poetics is very characteristic for the period. He hailed the unlimited fantasy of the artist and considered *il mirabile,* the wonderful, as the real essence of a good work of art. Reality was of little account to him, and this can be understood if we think of the general intellectual climate of the age: it was the end of the Renaissance, the beginning of a great intellectual crisis, one of the many "fin de siècles," a world of "sad people" as Lucien Fèbvre called them. Similarly to Giordano Bruno, who proposed a return to the sacred and ancient Egyptian religion in order to find the path of true knowledge, Patrizi also turned back and looked for the lost wisdom in the works of Zoroaster, the Hermetic philosophers, and the magi. For him "poesia" becomes the act of making the marvelous, and the poet who creates this would share the qualities of God, Nature, and an artificer – to put it simply, he should become a magus himself (on Patrizi see Weinberg 1961, 2:772–5; on the aesthetics of Mannerism Hauser 1965 and Klaniczai 1977, passim).

Up to the time of the Renaissance the idea of magic was strongly interlinked with religion as well as with art (Fletcher 1986, 181–220).[3] With the proclamation of a dualism between the mechanistic universe and the still surviving animistic world picture, this original syncretism became more and more suppressed. The Romantic poets had visions of an animistic cosmos, but they did not consider themselves messengers of an outer, higher reality; rather they believed that it was themselves, their ego, which comprised this higher reality. This egotistical approach is condemned by today's theorists of magic, although we should also notice that this attitude was by no means the invention of Romanticism. The crystallization of this archetype, the Faustian magus, dates back to the Renaissance, and we even have examples of it from the classical period, such as the Biblical figure of Simon Magus. The "Faust-problem," its history and its intricate influence on Western thought is so complex and huge a topic in itself that I have deliberately omitted any extensive references to it in this essay.

It is true that the literature of Romanticism proclaimed a new type of magic, and that this program developed well into the modern era. There seems to be an enormous step from Wordsworth's animated Nature to Nerval's alchemy, Rimbaud's verbal magic, W.B. Yeat's esoterica, Joyce's "epiphany" and Wallace Stevens's Hermeticism. Their vision of the cosmos and man's place within it, however, show a strong continuity of tradition, too. We find the same phenomena in modern painting, from the rather external, motivic fascination of the Art Nouveau to the most abstract, conceptual experiments of Kandinsky and Mondrian. This individualized magic, through which the magician "exalts himself" instead of exalting all things, is not approved by modern traditionalists. A writer like Versluis characterizes the magical ambitions of artists as follows:

> The Romantic poets, then, stand as it were midway between two worlds: behind them is the unified traditional realm, represented by the Hermetic teachings, while ahead of them is the modern era, the underlying 'aim' of which can also be personified in the form of the magus—albeit in this case, rather than uniting the realms, each seeks to be a sole creator, sole manipulator, to usurp the place of the Divine rather than to fulfill it, and so in the end must meet with inevitable dissolution. (1986, 5)

A mingling of magic and art troubles not only the modern occultist, but also the modern philosopher and critic. Jacques Maritain in confronting this question, expressed most cautious views about the poet who tries to become a magician:

> ...the thought of the poet (at least his subconscious thought) resembles somewhat the mental activity of the primitive man, and the ways of magic in the large sense of this word. [...] It is easy to slip from magic in the large sense to magic in the strict sense, and from the intentional or spiritual union to the material or substantial one. I think that poetry escapes the temptation of magic only if it renounces any will to power, even and first of all in relation to the

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[3]   Fletcher's argument in Ch. IV, "Allegorical Causation: Magic and Ritual Forms" (181–220) runs counter to traditional definitions of allegory, which describe it as didactic and definitely non-mystical; his evidence justifies his thesis, however.

evoking of inspiration, and if there is no fissure in the poet's fidelity to the essential disinterestedness of poetic creation. (1953, 232)

Should we end our look at modern magic and art with the same negative conclusion as in the case of magic and science? Would that mean that there is no perspective for synthesis in the fatal dualism of human modes of thinking? We should make an important caveat at this point. Our emphasis on the mentioned dualism should not induce a nostalgic idealized image of the past. In fact, there were a great number of Renaissance philosophers who ridiculed belief in astrology, alchemy, and the other mystical sciences, and they, too, continued a tradition which had been present in European thinking since early Antiquity.

The writers of the 16th century were even more cautious. Few of them questioned the reality of the supernatural, but we find practically no work presenting a real magus fully achieving his goal. Perhaps because—as Georg Lukács used to say—poets are always partisans who point out the phenomena which nurse tension, conflict, or crisis in an age, the literary treatment of the false magician such as Doctor Faustus is more characteristic even for the Renaissance than the posture of Prospero. And even this archetype of the white magus is treated ambiguously by Shakespeare. Although seemingly Prospero is victorious by means of his high magic, and carries out all what he had planned, when he realizes the "baseless fabric" of his vision, and "of the great globe itself shall dissolve," he resignedly gives up his magic, breaks his staff, and drowns his books (see 4.1.151ff and 5.1.50–7).

While the literary criticism of the greater part of the twentieth century was enchanted by the idea of a "harmonious Renaissance," and critics traced the literary distillations of a great, magical-universalist world picture following in the footsteps of Hardin Craig, E.M.W. Tillyard, and C.S. Lewis, most recent literary historians seem to be contented with the idea of the poet as partisan. Deconstructionism has developed the cult of the evasive, and the New Historicists and feminists devote themselves to the recovery of the latent scars of casualties and the remains of cataclysms, even in the most harmonious looking works such as Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (for a review of this trend of criticism see Szőnyi 2000, passim). From this approach, the magician and his magic take on a new character: the features of his daydreaming, his alternative politics, and his special system of representation are emphasized and treated as an element in the interplay between power and culture. The Magus, no longer the custodian of an eternal wisdom, becomes a key figure as somebody who reflects on—and tries to manipulate in a different way—the tensions and clashes of social and intellectual power games.

It seems obvious that magic and in a broader sense, the occult, has been, and is going to be, an alternative way of looking at the world. And as a coherent system (no matter if false or true), it is ready to fertilize the arts. In fact, it is the arts which still have the potential of establishing between the more and more distinctly separating epistemological systems. The archetype of the magus is still a vital and active inspiration for modern works, consequently it can justly become the subject of thematic studies.

This paper, at the time of its original publication in 1988, indicated only the beginning of a long way of investigation which I have been carrying on ever since,

studying the meaning and significance of esoteric ideas in modern fiction. Since then the scholarly appreciation of magic has changed a lot and now we have an infinitely more refined picture than at the time of Frances Yates's bold propositions. On the other hand, esotericism-inspired fiction has proliferated during the past decades and their topics as well as generic characteristics have greatly changed, as I have briefly pointed out above. Consequently the study, interpretation, and comparison has to go on, inspired also by the themes of the Manitoba–Szeged conferences, urging to "encounter the unknown" and arriving at new discoveries.

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What Does It Mean
to Discover a New Place?
Encountering the Foreign

Gábor Csepregi

A while ago, at a conference in France, I happened to be the witness of a casual conversation. A participant from the hosting city asked another French scholar: "You seem to live out of France, right?" The other replied: "Yes, over the past three years, I have been conducting research in the United States. Have you noticed something in my accent or in my manner of expressing myself?" "No, not at all, you speak French without foreign accent. It is rather that your way of being and acting is different. You must have acquired something in America."

Conversely, I have sometimes been puzzled by the fact that some of my acquaintances, having spent years of study or work in overseas countries, have not the least been affected by the great variety of their experiences abroad. Upon their return, they took up a regular train of life as if they have never been in Germany, in Japan, or in Australia. True, some tried to live exactly in the same environment they left in their home country and were not at all interested in changing their daily routines. But others made an effort to expose themselves to the radically different ways of living and thinking. They wandered the streets, visited distant places, and enjoyed their contacts with local people. Upon their return to their own country, they related their experiences at length and with vivacity. However, as I could observe them, these encounters neither changed their personality nor enriched their character and sensibility. I thought that this absence of transformative influence was probably due to their inability or unwillingness to apprehend and understand whatever appeared outside their familiar and secure path.

Pierre Ryckmans, who is better known under his pseudonym Simon Leys, questions the truth-value of the myth claiming that travel or extended stay in a foreign country enriches one's personality and changes one's outlook on life or even physical appearance (49–61). He refers to a remark of the theologian and philosopher Teilhard de Chardin who, having gone to fetch a friend at the railway station in Peking, suddenly realized that a prolonged journey somewhere in Central Asia did not affect all those who descended from the train. Travelling to a distant place and living there for an extended period of time does not touch and transform everyone.

These individual observations lead me to cautiously advance a distinction between two kinds of experience of a new and foreign place. There are people indeed who, as they arrive in a city or a country, come into contact with the language, system of values, and particular set of customs, conventions, and ways of living of its inhabitants. They also notice the disposition of the streets, squares, parks, and buildings. While taking their first steps in this new milieu, they apprehend the distinct atmosphere of the place. They are curious to know about its history and social structure. They are

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ready to alter the organization of their daily life or even make an attempt to speak the language of the people they meet. They may take their meals at different hours and, if possible, in the company of local people. They take the train, in the third class carriage, go into shops, visit the market, and participate in some festivals in order to acquire a better sense of the hustle and bustle of an urban or a rural community. They also visit churches, pagodas, and monasteries, and hike rugged mountains or spend relaxing days near a peaceful lake. But all these more or less significant experiences leave no lasting imprint on them. Their personality remains impermeable to any suggestion of transformation and closed off of to any possibility of enrichment. They remain fixed in their own conditions, views, and prejudices and go as far as seeking to obtain the confirmation of their previously formed ideas and preferences.

There are others, however, who not only come into a contact with an alien culture, but they also consciously immerse themselves in it: they seek to perceive whatever is new and different, to understand it in its depth, and to react to it in particular ways. For instance, they are not only attentive to the atmosphere of the place, but they also perceive its influence on them and their response to it. They notice how people communicate with each other and gradually make their own some of the bodily aspects of verbal exchanges. They try to find out how people feel and think in some decisive moments of their life (in presence of birth or death or while expressing love or grief) and adopt elements of these different emotional and spiritual reactions. The explicit awareness of the separation and contrast between the foreign and the familiar, the new and the old, the unknown and the known, and the willingness to make place for the former in their lives, elicit in them a transformation, which can be slight and short-lived, or significant and long-lasting. In the latter case, the change affects their whole personality, their outlook on the chief aspects of their life.

In this sense, discovering a place, as I see it, is the encounter with the foreign and different, followed by an effort to understand and to adapt. It is an adaptation to forms of conduct, to languages, and to a system of norms and mores in such a way that the addition does not cancel out all the elements of one's own culture. In a discovery, we acquire, as it were, a dual citizenship: we bring together and display what seems to us the best and the most pertinent of both cultures. This integration may create in us a sense of complementarity and harmony as well as an acute feeling of dissonance and tension.

The inner richness to which Ryckmans refers comes from the ability to place the familiar cultural elements into a wider perspective provided by the strange and the foreign. When we encounter what appears to us as strange cultural behaviour (ways of greeting, courting, or negotiating), our own culture remains present as a horizon in the background, from which we perceive and evaluate what occurs in the foreground (Haeffner 1996, 136). As a consequence, what has been so far familiar and conventional, with regard, for instance, to the economic, artistic, or domestic lives, gains, under new light, a heightened understanding and precision; what has been integrated as strange and foreign becomes gradually more meaningful and acceptable. Essentially, it is the contrasting relationship that makes both the opposite poles more comprehensible. And, in my view, it is the inner presence, awareness, and acceptance of opposite modes of existence and contrasting cultures that create, in the person, a concrete richness.

But let us return to the opinion stating that we are unable to come to discover what is radically distinct from ourselves. It has been strongly defended by Victor Segalen, an enigmatic French writer, whose work reached a wider audience only years after his death in 1919. In his *Essay on Exotism,* Segalen maintains that the contact with foreign culture yields incomprehension and inadaptation rather than understanding and discovery. "Let us not pretend that we can assimilate customs, races, nations—the others; on the contrary, let us rejoice in our inability ever to achieve such an assimilation; this inability allows us to enjoy diversity forever" (Segalen 44). Exotic knowledge is the perception and acceptance of radical differences. This knowledge carries with it a benefit: the awareness of the limits and possibilities of the self rather than the adaptation of the self to the other. The encounter with a definite and irreducible otherness throws us back onto ourselves: we then may gain a better knowledge of ourselves and the inner springs of our growth within our own culture. What could stifle this growth is not the incomprehensibility and the distance but the elimination or degradation of diversity, the increasing uniformity experienced in our modern world—a drab uniformity sustained, in part at least, by the perversion of extended travel: instantaneous tourism.

Uniformity begets prejudice, absence of tolerance and of discomfort, and, above all, an escape from the self; it numbs the sensibilities for the spirit of our own place and age; it destroys the fecundity provided by the exotic power, the power of being distinct, of coming face to face with ourselves and eliminating the ignorance and the deception of ourselves.

This idea of the impenetrability of societies, and the people living in them, could be questioned if we carefully examine some of the characteristics of culture. From an anthropological perspective, culture is the sum of our acquired behaviour, and the results of the behaviour, as opposed to the abilities, creations and possibilities of our innate constitution. This unity of productive practices may include arts, laws, values, institutions, habits, beliefs, knowledge, customs, and styles of living, tools, artistic works, and many other elements. Culture is what we think, imagine, conserve, articulate, and make of our world. A particular culture is seldom immune to decisive influences coming from other cultures. Thus the American culture is, involuntarily, also African, Irish, or Spanish, and, likewise, a specific African culture contains considerable French, English or Portuguese elements. To a more or less greater extent, each culture is, in fact, a "culture of cultures."

In addition, there is the possibility of consciously appropriating the representations, artistic expressions, religious beliefs, social customs, and dominant mentalities of other cultures and, by doing so, recognizing their positive value in the shaping of both individual existence and communal life. The opposite is also true: a society may resist, filter, or fight off, tacitly or openly, a certain foreign influence. However, a hermetic closure from outside influences, a complete cultural homogeneity leads to decadence and eventually to the paralysis of a particular culture.

A society tolerates within itself what is different and foreign to itself but, to a certain extent, familiar for an outsider; it is this familiar otherness that sets in motion the adaptive contact with its culture. Thus the discovery of other cultures is made possible, in part, by the doors and roads created by the presence of what is foreign in a culture and what could be, at the same time, familiar to the person coming from abroad.

In an essay on the ways of perceiving human affairs, Helmuth Plessner, asks the fundamental question: how can we understand something or somebody? It is a well-known fact that, in our everyday life, in our familiar milieu, as we come into a contact with people and their behaviour, and take care of our business, our vision is highly selective, focusing on some specific areas and wandering aimlessly and thoughtlessly through many others. We tend to see through the lens of conventions, habits, and familiar verbal expressions. In order to become aware of all these everyday realities in their richness and complexities, we have to perceive them "through other eyes." When we are able to establish between them and ourselves a distance and have come to be exiles in our own familiar milieu, then we see objects and people as unfamiliar and strange realities. "True awareness is wakened in us only by what is unfamiliar," writes Plessner. He also says that "[T]o be able to look at something, we need distance" (30). Without a distancing estrangement, there is no genuine understanding.

When we visit a previously unknown place, the acute feeling of estrangement may be absent, or at least tempered, if we seek to single out what appears to be familiar. It allows us to feel at ease and mitigate our sense of alienation from people and the surroundings. We filter the perceptual field by focusing on familiar objects and by applying our own conceptual interpretation on events as they rise moment after moment.

On his return from North America aboard a ship, the German philosopher Josef Pieper met passengers who have spent quite some time in the United States because they wanted to see the New World with their own eyes. "*With their own eyes:* in this lies the difficulty," writes Pieper. "During the various conversations on deck and at the dinner table, I am always amazed at hearing almost without exception rather generalized statements and pronouncements that are plainly the common fare of travel guides" (31–32).

What could then liberate our vision from the familiar elements and create the needed distance from things and people? What could help us to see foreign reality in its particular foreignness?

We fail to distance ourselves from a particular situation when we are unwilling to stop and ask the appropriate questions. "Why someone smiles when tragic events occur?" "Why they never say what they think?" "How a feast is organized and what is the purpose of some rituals?" In order to understand it, the foreign has to be meaningful to us; it has to be apprehended as a meaningful reality. The meaning is provided in the act of our reflective inquisitiveness; it carries a meaning, however vague or ambiguous it may be, in the form of question itself.

The question may be part of the more comprehensive human act of wondering. To wonder is to introduce the distance of reflection over an object that is no longer considered obvious and evident. In wonder we stop, pay close attention to something or somebody, seek to reach beyond what is apparent and taken for granted, or even beyond what is opaque and obscure, and start to inquire about some hidden and still unknown elements, facts, or causes. As we come to a stop, we admit that our knowledge is partial, inadequate, or insufficient to provide us with the required orientation or secure footing in life. Conversely, the inability to wonder comes from our overwhelming familiarity with our surroundings and a habituation to an existence devoid of surprising and uncanny events.

In a distant land we find ourselves *"dépaysé"*, to use a quite apt French word. The experience of moving around and meeting people without the secure 'points of reference" acquired in our familiar environment causes, as we all know, a certain amount of stress or even anxiety. Once again, what allows us to gain distance and see things with different eyes is the discomfort and disturbance that occurs during our journey. Just as much as we look at our own environment with different eyes during times of trouble, equally we gain insight into a foreign culture when we have to experience some unforeseen pain. "Pain," Plessner tells us, "is the eye of the spirit. [...] It awakens us to new consciousness, liberates the vision and makes it resistant to the refractions and the opacities of prejudice" (32).

Beyond the experience of wonder and of pain, it is art, above all literature that opens doors to the realm of the strange and unfamiliar. Writers and poets provide us with the necessary distance; through their work we come to a better understand of what has been familiar and what comes to us as alien and strange.

C.S. Lewis contends that literature makes possible an "enormous extension of our being." By reading novels or short stories we come to "see with other eyes." We "enlarge" our being, we see, imagine, and feel as others see, imagine, and feel, and we do this without losing ourselves. "Not only nor chiefly in order to see what they are like but in order to see what they see, to occupy, for a while, their seat in the great theatre, to use their spectacles and be made free of whatever insights, joys, terrors, wonders or merriment those spectacles reveal" (139).

Another English writer, D. H. Lawrence, rightly tells the reader to think of America and American literature in terms of difference and otherness. "There is an unthinkable gulf between us and America, and across the space we see, not our own folk signalling to us, but strangers, incomprehensible beings, simulacra perhaps of ourselves, but *other*, creatures of an other-world. [...] It is the genuine American literature which affords the best approach to the knowledge of this othering. Only art-utterance reveals the whole truth of a people. And the American art-speech reveals what the American plain speech almost deliberately conceals" (17–18).

The idea of creating art-speech leads us to the idea of making things strange, defamiliarizing them, *ostrannenie,* which is well known in literary studies. Writers introduce into their works all the distorting elements (selectivity, partiality, exaggerations, boldness in construction) in order to make the reader more sensitive to particular places and cultures. Their "distorted imagination" creates a "strange, wonderful, terrible, fantastic world" (Frye 10). Paradoxically, it is the writer's ability to invent people and situations that makes reality accessible and comprehensible. Writers, together with their readers, yield to the advice of John Fowles: "If you want to be true to life, start lying about the reality of it" (17).

Even a casual encounter with men and women living in a foreign country may make us aware of some of their views and opinions. We also notice their attitudes towards other people and the judgments they advance on the more or less significant events occurring in their environment. They declare themselves for various causes and select both beliefs and facts in order to sustain their choices. Although we are in possession of all this information, we still fail to grasp their inner condition, their emotional state. We still do not know why they act in a certain way, what makes them hold

on to some opinions and easily discard others and how they select and interpret facts. We do not know why they like to listen to popular music or to Bach, why they are eager to be in the crowd of a football match, and why their communications with their spouse or friends reach an unsurpassable limit. In order to understand their world-view and the springs of their actions and preferences, we need to go beyond their everyday speech, the role they play in a particular community, the characteristics of their work and leisure pursuits, and to learn more about their inner inclinations and feelings.

Literature unlocks the doors leading to the realm of feelings and helps us to understand their bearing upon one's life. This connection is usually hidden from our view because we are all prone to conceal it or to convince ourselves that feelings are blind or muddled and, therefore, they play no role in our decisions. The vision of the artist, writes Plessner, "lifts what is invisible in human relations, because it is familiar, into visibility; in this new encounter, understanding is brought into play" (31). Whereas, as D.H. Lawrence puts it, a verbal symbol stands for a thought or an idea, the symbols used in literature – art-symbols, art-terms—"stand for a pure experience, emotional and passional, spiritual and perceptual, all at once." In other words, a novel communicates to the reader not only the prevalent mores and conventions of a historical era and the actions that unfold within the confines of a given society but also, and above all, a whole state of mind or a "state of being" of men and women whose greatest challenge is finding the right balance between what they want to be and what they are called to be.

The novels, stories, and plays of Sherwood Anderson and Thornton Wilder helped me to better understand the spirit of the Americas. Today, with the exception of *Our Town* and *Winesburg, Ohio,* their works are no longer prominent on the reading lists of university students. Although some of their concerns and themes may seem dated, the stories of these two eminent writers still offer us a glimpse to the "strangeness and wonder" of the everyday lives and thus create the appropriate conditions for a genuine understanding and discovery of what we might call the American reality.

At the heart of this reality, there is the pervading feeling of loneliness, of being always at the edge of the world and of never belonging to a place or to a community. A distracted tourist fails to perceive this uncanny feeling. Yet it is still one of the root conditions in North America and both writers have important and relevant things to say about it. Most of the protagonists of Wilder's novels and Anderson's stories are lonely figures, yearning for the love, recognition, and understanding of their fellow human beings, for a warmer human contact that might give deeper meaning to their existence. Interestingly, while reflecting on some of the chief characteristics of the art of literature, of storytelling, both writers draw attention to this fundamental condition. For Thornton Wilder, who gave a lecture on this subject, the American loneliness is the inevitable correlate of the desire of independence, the disconnection from a particular place, and the distrust of authority (34–47). And here is what Sherwood Anderson says on this aspect of American life: "...it is my belief that we Americans are, in spite of our great achievements, an essentially lonely people, and this may be true because we were, in the beginning, a transplanted people" (47).

My cursory insistence on the value of literature, I admit, may appear questionable and outdated. Questionable because, as Graham Greene notes, "perhaps it is only in childhood that books have any deep influence on our lives" (13). Outdated, since very few people seem now to have the time and interest to read the classics. People like to travel, to surf on their computer, or to learn how to cook exquisite dishes. If they go to a bookstore they might grab one of the *Lonely Planet* or *Zero Belly Diet*. Yet, in our age, when we hear so much about the death of the printed-word, perhaps it is not out of place to care about the human heart and still to believe in the transformative value of literature.

But one thing I hold as certain, that the forthcoming Inter-American Studies Center of The University of Szeged cannot avoid the thorough study of American culture. But, as Iris Murdoch has pointed out, "the most essential and fundamental aspect of culture is the study of literature, since this is an education in how to picture and understand human situations" (34). All the more reason, then, to give to this central element of the American culture—novels, stories, poems, and plays—the attention it deserves.

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Both Winnipeg and Szeged are located close to international borders, which make each acutely conscious of international relations. [...] What then are the factors Szeged and Winnipeg have in common? Topography, floodplain location, days of endless sunshine, an agricultural component in the regional economy, the near presence of an international border, and location some distance from the federal capital. [...] And why should this matter to two universities that have entered a partnership? I believe it matters because universities reflect the culture of the cities in which they are embedded. The similarities that already exist bode well for building a partnership based on shared understanding of factors that give each city its defined character. [...] Building a community of scholars linked by common interest, and drawn from the University of Szeged and the University of Manitoba is not a small task. Their good fortune is that their institutions are embedded in cities that share certain fundamental features, and this enhances the likelihood of a kindred recognition that, will provide a sound foundation for mutual trust and will build a sense of shared values.

Emőke J. E. Szatmáry

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Looking back to 2007, the initial purpose was to find a topic which could be attractive to colleagues representing a wide variety of fields, thus bringing people together from the two universities with the hope of further collaboration in the future. [...] Our ambition to bring out the present volume has been fuelled by two motivations: first, to commemorate the results achieved so far; and second, to give inspiration to further similar ways of collaboration, since there is still much to work, we are only at the beginning of the road.

György E. Szőnyi
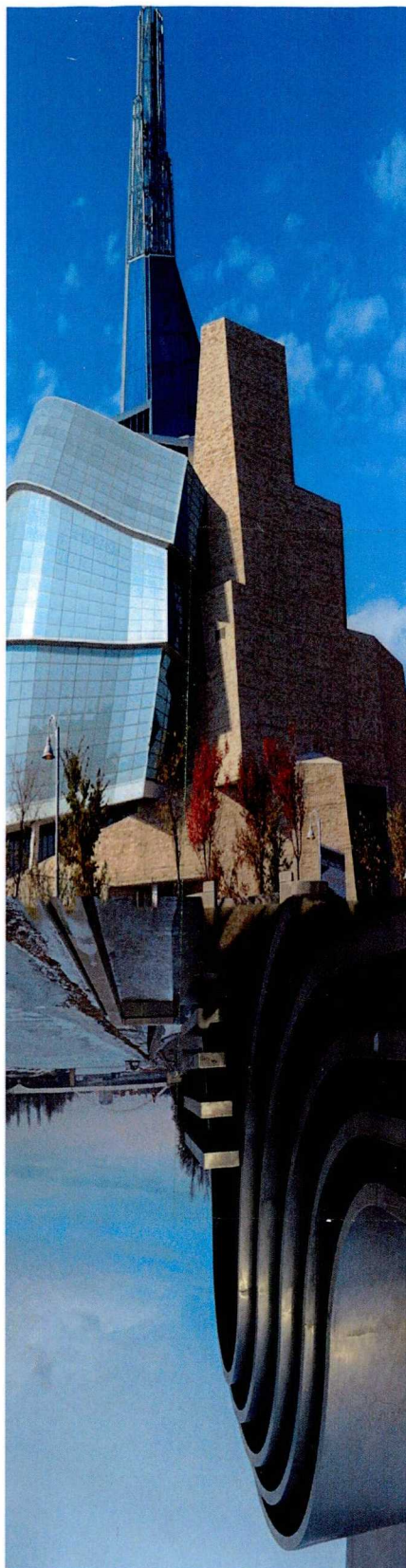
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