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ISHA Reader
IV

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Myths, Heroes
Gender and Identities

A
CLIOHWORLD-CLIOHRES
ISHA Reader

compiled by
Aureliana Popa and Bogdan Rentea

This volume is printed thanks to the support of the Directorate General for Education and Culture of the European Commission, by the Erasmus Academic Network CLIOHWORLD under the Agreement 142816-LLP-1-2008-1-IT-ERASMUS-ENW (2008-3200).

The volume is based on results published by the Sixth Framework Network of Excellence CLIOHRES.net under the contract CIT3-CT-2005-006164 with the Directorate General for Research. Some chapters were produced during previous projects (Cliohnet and Clioh's Workshop).

Cover: Charlie Wen, *Atlas*, concept image for the "God of War 2" videogame, adapted.
Permission requested.

Printed by CLIOHWORLD 2011 (www.cliohworld.net)

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Preface

We are very glad to be able to continue our collaboration with the International Students of History Association by printing this Reader on *Myths, Heroes, Gender and Identities*, prepared by their Bucharest section for the ISHA Summer Seminar, to be held on 4-10 July 2011.

In the view of the organisers, people living in the rapidly globalising world are searching for roots that can tie them to the past – nearly as fast as they are being plunged into the future.

Myths and heroes seem to be power-giving images, and are attractive when we feel disoriented and perplexed by the rush of historical events. Myths and heroes tell stories of times past, and allow us to identify with people who seem to have made a difference to humankind. A second and related theme is that of gender and identities. Are heroes only men? how are identities and role models created? how do they relate to nationalism and patriotism, not to speak of personal culture, shared ethics and social behaviour?

On the one hand, the feeling of powerlessness may stimulate people to create and believe in heroes, perhaps to compensate for the difficulties and frustrations of trying to emerge from anonymity. Gender studies can lead women, for example, to think that their perceived powerlessness is the fault of someone else (of society and its patriarchal masculine models). Identity studies may make it seem that people only have value (and power) if they belong to a group, which can measure itself only against outsiders. In each case, we are dealing with powerful tools for communication and manipulation, which can be wielded against people's ultimate desires and interests as well as on their behalf.

On the other hand, all these phenomena – myths, heroes, as well as gender and identities – can also be studied for their own sake and used as critical tools for understanding how societies past and present have functioned, thus allowing greater awareness of the potentialities of each one of us, in our social and civil interactions.

We might say that history, with its insistence on contextualising evidence (sources, documents) in its own spatial and temporal dimension, can act as an antidote towards irrational belief in the strength of symbols and 'traditional' ways of imagining human life – including myths, heroes, gender roles and identities.

The chapters in the three Sections have been chosen to give examples of scholarly studies in these areas and to furnish different scientific perspectives, each of which allows us to focus on a different facet of the complex whole. The first Section is called "Myths as sources, Myths as tools". This means that myths can be used as 'documents': naturally

with the necessary critical attitude. Myths can yield a great deal of factual knowledge, little of which may be apparent from a superficial reading of the myth as a story. This is clear from current studies on ancient myths, such are discussed by Maria Paola Castiglioni in her chapters on the use of ancient myths for propaganda and, particularly, on myths as a source for studying the relations between Greek and Illyrian peoples in periods for which we have no other documentation except through archaeology. The creation of and the use of myths is also a fruitful field of study in itself: often myths are created quite consciously and propagated as part of a political or cultural programme. This is the case of the tale of Arpad and the "blood-drinking Hungarians" examined by György Németh. It is also the case, in a broad way, of Lāčplēsis, the "Bear-slayer", hero of the eponymous Latvian epic poem written by Andrejs Pumpurs in the late 19th century. In the birth of the Latvian national project, the lack of a hero was felt, and was supplied by writer, in much the same way as the *Kalevala* was created in Finland. Although such a poem did not exist in ancient times, it has become 'historical fact', insofar as it is part of the image that Latvians have of themselves, and as Ojārs Lāms shows, has been reworked and used by artists and intellectuals to comment on, praise, criticise and remould Latvian-ness. The studies by Dimitar Grigorov on Tito's birthday celebrations, and by Giovanni Moretto on the sanctifying treatment reserved for Lenin's body, allow us to investigate some of the ways that 'heroes' are made to seem heroic and appear as unifying symbols and models for others.

The second Section contains a group of chapters on gender. Some examine the changing nature of gender roles: Lisa Saracco shows how a seminal text, the *Cortegiano*, written at the beginning of the 16th century, became a manual for Europe's aristocracies, and a guide to elegant behaviour. Far from excluding women, it extolled their role as moderators and facilitators for polite sociability. Fabio Dei, a cultural anthropologist, looks at gender roles as a constant in human societies, a constant insofar as the roles are defined and redefined with respect to the ways society is organised for production and reproduction, but extremely variable as to the specifics of the roles in each context. Gro Hagemann, José de Kruif, Berteke Waaldijk and Andrea Pető all look carefully at gender studies and discuss the powerful tools they give for understanding relations of unequal power, whether determined by gender or other factors. Ioannis Xydopoulos reminds us, through his remarks on Herodotus, that gender models are one very significant factor in the judgements made about 'us' and the 'other'.

In the third Section we find a selection of chapters dealing with the construction of identities: national, regional, and in the final analysis, multiple. Miroslav Hroch discusses the role of historians in identity creation, and in the demystification of identities. Pier Giorgio Borbone shows how the choice of script (e.g. Latin, Cyrillic, Arabic, Armenian) is an important political – and consequently identitary – choice. Luďa Klusáková, Markéta Křížová, Harieta Marieci Sabol and Alexandre Massé discuss the discoveries that the CLIOHRES research Network has made about identities: that

identities are multiple, that they are at the same time personal, local, national, regional, religious, international, gendered....and that each individual draws on a great number of identitary factors every day in making his or her decisions, finding motivations for them and defining the ways in which they seem to make sense. Laurent Gaissad reminds us that identities, including sexual identities, may be linked with certain spaces: identities of all kinds and at all levels have spatial references too.

The chapters chosen for the sections can only give a taste of the research carried out in each of these areas. Nonetheless we hope they may be useful for the working groups in the Bucharest seminar. We thank Aureliana Popa and Bogdan Rentea for making the selection and for their Introduction.

We also thank Aureliana for choosing the cover design. It represents Atlas – according to Greek mythology forced by the gods to hold the heavens on his shoulders – in the version created for the videogame, "God of War 2". The design is contemporary, the story is ancient.

Let us use both to help us understand ourselves and each other better.

Ann Katherine Isaacs
University of Pisa

Guðmundur Hálfdanarson
University of Iceland

Introduction

Supreme over other kings, lordly in appearance,
he is the hero, born of Uruk, the goring wild bull.
He walks out in front, the leader,
and walks at the rear, trusted by his companions.
Mighty net, protector of his people,
raging flood-wave who destroys even walls of stone!

The Epic of Gilgamesh
Tablet I (between 2700 BC and ca. 600 BC, Mesopotamia)

Gilgamesh, one of the few surviving Mesopotamian myths, is about friendship, the fear of death and the search for immortality. Almost all of the action in *Gilgamesh* begins with a journey: Gilgamesh and Enkidu make a journey to the Cedar Forest, Enkidu travels to the underworld, Gilgamesh travels to and then through the twin-peaked mountain Mashu. Gilgamesh's many journeys mirror his internal journey to become a selfless and devoted king.

Having in mind that the work of a historian is a permanent journey, seeking to understand others, we decided that the topic of ISHA Summer Seminar 2011 in Bucharest would be: "Myths, Heroes and Identities". We were inspired by present-day history, by this globalization period and the search for identities in a sea of diversity.

Throughout history, there have been certain people who stand out from their contemporaries. The stories of these people have passed on through time, from present, to story, to history, to myth, to legend. This people stood out due to their actions, or came to appear not to be bound by conventional human limits. In myth and legend, these people stand out as heroes, as people who defied the limits set on them, and overcame various challenges in order to change the world.

Heroes are diverse in gender, colour and expression of human endeavour: explorers, missionaries, politicians, scientists, preachers, founders of polities, theologians. In the epoch of globalization an individual can still change the development of the country and even of the whole world – meaning that the hero, or heroine, can still exist today.

We have selected fifteen scholarly contributions that deal with our topic from several perspectives. Our aim was to create a global and coherent group of materials with which to gain interesting perspectives in analysing concepts such as: hero, myth, identities and culture.

This reader has three major sections:

Section 1: Myths as sources, Myths as tools
Section 2: Gender History – understanding human roles
Section 3: National and cultural identities

The first one analyses the idea of "the Myth" in Greek history, as ancient Greece is one of the largest sources of materials about myths and heroes; then it passes through the medieval and modern periods and finally presents some new myths from communist times.

The second Section focuses on the idea of gender differences, on discrimination and intolerance, while the third offers a number of insights on how culture and ethnicity enter into the construction of national identities.

On behalf of ISHA Bucharest, we want to thank the European History Networks and particularly the CLIOHRES Network of Excellence for giving us the opportunity to use their scientific findings and the CLIOHWORLD Erasmus Academic Network for working with us to publish this Reader. We would like to thank Ann Katherine Isaacs and Sven Mörsdorf for their help in selecting and compiling the articles.

This is the fourth publication of its kind. We hope that our selection of materials will be useful to all participants of the ISHA Bucharest Summer Seminar.

Aureliana Popa
Bogdan Rentea
ISHA Bucharest

Genealogical Myth and Political Propaganda in Antiquity: the Re-Use of Greek Myths from Dionysius to Augustus

Maria Paola Castiglioni
University Pierre Mendès France, Grenoble II

Abstract

The tight relationship between religion and politics in ancient times are fully witnessed by the role of Myth, used for purposes of legitimization and celebration of the reigning power.

The chapter proposes to offer through the presentation of some examples of re-use of genealogical myths (the myth of Aeneas in Rome, of Neoptolemus in Epirus and, first of all, of Polyphemus and Illyrios during the tyranny of Dionysius of Syracuse) a reading of the mechanisms of the historical period that led poets and historians of the court to use Myth as a privileged means in the political propaganda of the ruling classes.

L'utilisation des mythes pour la justification et la célébration du pouvoir constitue l'une des manifestations les plus éloquentes de la profonde imbrication entre religion et politique dans l'Antiquité. Le chapitre se propose ainsi de questionner la façon dont le discours mythique s'imposa comme l'instrument privilégié de la propagande politique et de la recherche du consensus pour différents souverains.

Notre réflexion se réfèrera en particulier au mythe généalogique, récit visant à légitimer des choix militaires, politiques ou diplomatiques sur la base de la reconstitution d'une ascendance mythique reliant directement un peuple, une famille ou un seul individu à un héros du passé légendaire, de façon à lui conférer une sorte de titulus nobilitatis authentifiant son autorité.

L'exemple le plus célèbre de ce phénomène demeure sans aucun doute la récupération du mythe du débarquement et de l'installation d'Enée et de sa souche sur les côtes du Latium. Promise à une renommée immortelle grâce aux vers virgiliens, la légende de la descendance de la gens Iulia du fils du héros troyen, Iulus Ascanius, participa pleinement à la promotion du principat d'Auguste (27 av. J.-C.- 14 ap. J.-C.), qui, par le biais de Jules César, son père adoptif, fut directement associé à cette prestigieuse lignée.

Le cas romain n'est pourtant pas isolé et la littérature ancienne témoigne d'autres exemples significatifs d'exploitation du patrimoine mythique par les dynasties au pouvoir. La famille royale des Molosses, en Epire, fit elle aussi appel à un nostos (récit du retour de la

guerre de Troie) en exaltant ses origines à la fois achéennes et troyennes et sa filiation de Pyrrhos Néoptolème, le fils d'Achille, et d'Andromaque, la veuve d'Hector, arrivés sur les rivages épirotes après la destruction de Troie. La légende, déjà attestée au Vème s. av. J.-C., connut son apogée sous le règne de Pyrrhos (307-303, 297-272 av. J.-C.), roi homonyme de son ancêtre mythique. La version traditionnelle subit alors quelques changements afin de mieux s'adapter aux visées militaires anti-romaines du roi, en vantant surtout la souche grecque du sang du souverain.

Une variante du même mythe mirait à exalter de façon plus générale la descendance ethnique de Néoptolème, d'Andromaque et d'Hélénos, le devin troyen qui remplaça l'Eacide sur le trône épirote, en établissant des liens généalogiques entre plusieurs peuples, dans le but de justifier les alliances et les conquêtes molosses. Un schéma identique se retrouve dans le récit de la descendance commune des Illyriens, des Celtes et des Galates, du cyclope Polyphème et de la nymphe Galatée. Le chapitre s'intéresse tout particulièrement aux rapports entre cette légende et la politique étrangère de Denys de Syracuse (405-367 av. J.-C.), en mettant en avant les causes de la récupération d'un personnage que la tradition homérique présentait sous une lumière incontestablement négative, et les éléments qui ont contribué à la genèse de ce récit de propagande.

Il est à cet égard important de remarquer l'existence d'un mythe concurrent, selon lequel l'éponyme des Illyriens Illyrios n'était pas le fils du cyclope sicilien, mais du héros thébain Cadmos, devenu après son exil de la Béotie roi légendaire des Enchéléens, tribu établie en région illyrienne. Cette variante pourrait être l'expression d'une volonté d'autocélébration de la dynastie enchéléenne qui se serait servie, à l'instar de sa voisine épirote, du caractère anoblissant du mythe grec. Cette hypothèse d'une circulation des thèmes mythiques, ensuite adaptés en fonction des situations spécifiques, entre Epire, Illyrie et Sicile, nous paraît du reste confirmée par la tradition selon laquelle Philistos, historien et conseiller de Denys, composa son œuvre pendant son séjour chez le roi molosse Alcétas.

A la lumière de ces différents exemples, il apparaît évident que le discours mythologique, habilement façonné par la plume des poètes et des historiens de cour, constitua un instrument de propagande particulièrement important pour les classes dirigeantes de l'Antiquité, surtout dans les régions « périphériques ».

In the preface to the proceedings of the conference "Mythe et Politique" held in Liège in 1989, F. Jouan and A. Motte wrote[2]:

> Dans le champ varié de l'expérience humaine, c'est peut-être le politique qui mobilise le plus continûment et le plus impérativement les instances mythopoétiques de l'esprit. Pour se donner une identité, pour légitimer ses formes d'existence et conjurer ses conflits latents, toute société éprouve le besoin de se forger une généalogie lointaine, de se raconter des histoires qui, en s'auréolant des prestiges du sacré et du divin, rendent prégnants certains événements du passé et s'efforcent de les soustraire à la contingence: genèse d'un empire rattaché à l'organisation du monde ou d'un panthéon, origine divine ou divinisation post mortem de héros fondateurs, rôle dévolu à des législateurs inspirés, interventions surnaturelles dans la trame de l'histoire, etc...Chaque communauté aspire de la sorte à se donner des noms propres, des lieux, des temps privilégiés, et à les magnifier, quitte à en corriger l'image au gré de son évolution et des chocs qui la secouent [3].

Such a comment can surely be applied to humanity throughout time and to a phenomenon such as the creation of political myths, whose characters are still visible and present in contemporary societies. However, due to what may be termed the symbiotic and indissoluble link between politics and religion and between the sacred and the profane, it is easier to identify its mechanisms and peculiarities in the ancient world. Precisely because of its powerful political potential, ancient religion was capable of serving propaganda and political ideology and, as it was easily moulded, myth in particular became the favoured means of achieving this.

Examples of the use of myth in the political structures of antiquity are particularly numerous: each Greek city-state was placed under the protection of a divinity described as "poliadic" and mythical tales recorded in detail the origins of this protector of the civic community (see, for instance, the myth of the contest between Athens and Poseidon for the patronage of Athens). *Poleis*, ethnic groups and colonial settlements all identified with a founding hero, whose cult united all their members and helped strengthen the sense of collective descent from a famous ancestor (see, again, the case of Athens or Erechtheus, or the case of Kadmos with regard to Thebes)[4].

Whilst this process generally works spontaneously and collectively, it can, on various occasions, become a more personal instrument of a power in order to legitimate, confirm and strengthen the power base and provide it with convincing and effective foundations. Myth then becomes a powerful means of affirmation and a propaganda tool for individuals and/or family groups whose authority, asserted in some cases through violent, non-traditional means, requires the support and consent of their subjects.

The most suitable term to describe such a process of self promotion, whose aim is to win the favour and support of the widest consensual mass, is that of "propaganda", a concept that historiography also naturally applies to the ancient period and to its means of searching for forms of public approval, being deeply sensitive to the authority of mythological argument[5].

Genealogical myth in the service of power: the cases of Aeneas in Rome and Pyrrhus Neoptolemus in Epirus

The most famous example of a fruitful recovery, for the purposes of political propaganda, of characters and events from mythology is, without doubt, that of Aeneas, famous since the Homeric epic. The story of the flight from Troy – a town laid waste by the enemies of the Achaeans – by the son of Venus and Anchises, accompanied by his old father and the young Iulus Ascanius, and his adventurous trip to the coasts of Latium, the final point in his wanderings and the site of his new kingdom, remained famous for centuries after, due to the poetic genius of Virgil[6].

The legend of the prestigious royal Trojan lineage of the Roman *gens Julia* celebrated by the Mantuan poet duly featured in promoting the Augustan Principate (27 BC-14

AD) and its acknowledgement by the population of the *Urbs*. Aeneas was presented as the ancestor of Romulus, the founder of Rome and of the Roman people, who could therefore boast of being descended from the glorious race of heroes of Greek mythology[7].

His dynastic line, closely linked to the figure of the emperor and his political structure, featured alongside the civic meaning of this mythological discourse. The Trojan legend, in fact, considered Augustus a direct descendant, through Caesar his adopted father, of the Trojan hero and son of Venus and, consequently, emphasised his divine origins. Moreover the figure of "*pius Aeneas*" provided a clever symbolic legitimisation of Augustus' aspirations. Far from being considered a disturbing change, this turning point in the Principate assumed the form of a kind of second founding of Rome and Augustus, with his efforts to restore ancestral moral virtues, a new Aeneas.

This political exploitation of the myth of Aeneas and, particularly, of his "genealogical" revival is not an isolated case in the ancient world and the dynastic contest between the classic and Hellenistic age which inspired Augustus. One of the most significant cases remains that of the Epirote Royal Family of Molossians, whose mythological origins are also linked to the myth of the return of a Homeric hero, in this case Achaean, namely Pyrrhus Neoptolemus[8], and were developed from Euripides' *Andromache* into an important amplification and enrichment of the original version, through which the Trojan legend was introduced[9].

The genesis of this genealogical myth is self-explanatory, as in the Roman case. It first involves the diffusion of a legendary tale connected with the events following the war of Troy, and in this particular case, the memory of the return of Achilles' son from the Trojan war and his ephemeral Epirote kingdom[10]. This first version assumes properly genealogical features only when the episode, recorded for the first time by Euripides, of the affiliation of Aiakides and Andromache, Hector's widow, an Achaean prisoner of war, is introduced. In the version by the Athenian dramatist, the heir's name is not spoken, even though Euripides describes the extraordinary character of the young boy, whose blood is both Greek (and partly divine, through the union between Peleus and the immortal Thetis) and Trojan and whose birth effectively guarantees the continuation of both Peleus' line and the Trojan race, as Thetis emphasises in the prophecy that she makes in the tragedy[11]:

> Γυναῖκα δ᾽ αἰχμάλωτον,᾽ Ανδρομάχην λέγω,
> Μολοσσίαν γῆν χρὴ κατοικήσαι, γέρον,
> ῾Ελένῳ συναλλαχθεῖσαν εὐναίοις γάμοις,
> καὶ παῖδα τόνδε τῶν ἀπ᾽ Αἰακοῦ μόνον
> λελειμμένον δή. Βασιλέα δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦδε χρή
> α῾λλον δι᾽ α῾λλου διαπερᾶν Μολοσσίας
> εὐδαιμονοῦντας· οὐ γὰρ ὧδ᾽ ἀναστατον
> γένος γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ σὸν κἀμόν, γέρον,
> Τροίας τε· καὶ γὰρ θεοῖσι κἀκείνης μέλει,
> καίπερ πεσούσης Παλλάδος προθυμίᾳ.

[And that war-captive dame, Andromache,
In the Molossian land must find a home
In lawful wedlock joined to Helenus,
With that child, who alone is left alive
Of Aeacus'line. And kings Molossian
From him one after other long shall reign
In bliss; for, ancient, nowise thus thy line
And mine is destined to be brought to naught:
No, neither Troy; the Gods yet hold her dear,
Albeit by Pallas' eager hate she fell][12].

The Nereid's insistence points to the future prosperity and the continuation of her nephew's line within Molossian land and establishes an important link between the myth and history. It is not necessary to stress that the contents of these verses conceal a political aim and reveal Euripides' explicit desire to exalt the Molossian dynasty, the precious ally of the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war[13].

The celebration of the famous Aiakides ancestors of Molossian dynasty afterwards became clearer and at the same time limited to a strictly family sphere. It reached its peak in the case of Pyrrhus (307-303, 297-272 BC), the homonymous king and mythical founder of the Molossian royal family. Plutarch's biography dedicated to the Epirote king illustrates the tendency to underline the direct affiliation between Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) the founding hero, and Pyrrhus the king, in order to bring the mythical age closer to the historical age and due to Pyrrhus' exceptional character, reincarnating the values and virtues of his famous ancestor.

In his *Epitome of the Histories Philip by Pompeus Trogus* Justin also inserts a digression on Molossian genealogy, corresponding to the tale of Pyrrhus' expedition to Italy, as he wanted to legitimate and enhance the bravery of the Epirote king through his relation to Neoptolemus, the warrior-hero and civilizer in the broader and more celebratory digression by Pompeus Trogus rather than the weak Justinian compilation[14]:

Sed quoniam ad Epiri mentionem ventum est, de origine regni ejus pauca narranda sunt. Molossorum primum in ea regione regnum fuit. Post Pyrrhus, Achillis filius, amisso per absentiam Trojanis temporibus paterno regno, in his locis consedit, qui Pyrrhide primo, postea Epirotea dicti sunt. Sed Pyrrhus, cum in templo Dodonae Jovis ad consulendum venisset, ibi Lanassam, neptem Herculis, rapuit: ex cujus matrimonio octo liberos sustulit. Ex his nonnullas virgins nuptum finitimis regibus tradidit opesque adfinitatum auxilio magnas paravit. Atque ita Heleno, filio Priami regis, ob industriam singularem regnum Chaonum et Andromacham Hectoris e matrimonio suo, quam in divisione Trojanae praedae acceperat, uxorem tradidit: brevique post tempore Delphis, insidiis Orestis, filii Agamenonis, inter altaria dei interiit. Successor huic Piales filius fuit. Per ordinem deinde regnum ad Tharybam descendit, cui, quoniam pupillus et unicus ex gente nobili supereset, intentiore omnium cura servandi ejus educandique publicae tutores constituantur: Athenas quoque erudiendi gratia missus. Quanto doctior majoribus suis, tanto et populo gratior fuit. Primus itaque composuit: et ut a Pyrrho sedes, sic vita cultior populo a Taryba statuta. Hujus filius Neoptolemus fuit, ex quo nata est Olympias, mater magni Alexandri, et Alexander, qui post eum regnum Epiri tenuit et, in Italia bello gesto, in Brutiis interiit. Post ejus mortem frater Aecidas regno successit, qui, adsiduis

adversus Macedonas bellorum certaminibus populum fatigando, offensam civium contraxit; ac propterea in exilium actus Pyrrhum filium, bimum admodum parvulum, in regnum reliquit.

[But since I have come to speak of Epirus, a few particulars should be premised concerning the rise of that kingdom. The first regal power in this country was that of the Molossi. Afterwards Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, having been deprived of his father's dominions during his absence in the Trojan war, settled in these parts; the inhabitants of which were first called Pyrrhidae, and afterwards Epirots. This Pyrrhus, going to the temple of Jupiter at Dodona to consult the oracle, seized there by force Lanassa, the granddaughter of Hercules, and by a marriage with her had eight children. Of his daughters he gave some in marriage to the neighbouring princes, and by means of these alliances acquired great power. He gave to Helenus, the son of King Priam, for his eminent services, the kingdom of the Chaonians, and Andromache the widow of Hector in marriage, after she had been his own wife, he having received her at the division of the Trojan spoil. Shortly after he was slain at Delphi, at the very altar of Apollo, by the treachery of Orestes the son of Agamemnon. His successor was his son Pielos. The throne afterwards passed in regular descent to Arrybas, over whom, as he was an orphan, and the only survivor of a noble family, guardians were publicly appointed, the concern of all being so much the greater to preserve and educate him. He was also sent to Athens for the sake of instruction; and, as he was more learned than his predecessors, so he became more popular with his subjects. He was the first, accordingly, that established laws, a senate, annual magistrates, and a regular form of government; and as a settlement was found for the people by Pyrrhus, so a more civilized way of life was introduced by Arrybas. A son of this king was Neoptolemus, the father of Olympias (mother of Alexander the great), and of Alexander, who occupied the throne of Epirus after him, and died in Italy in a war with the Bruttii. On the death of Alexander his brother Aeacides became king, who, by wearying his people with constant wars against the Macedonians, incurred their dislike, and was in consequence driven into exile, leaving his little son Pyrrhus, about two years old, in the kingdom.]

It is not the case that the sources which celebrate the Epirote king aim to reduce to secondary importance or even remove the character of Andromache, who was more important in Euripides than Neoptolemus. His death in Delphi removes him prematurely from the mythological Epirote scenes, making him an actor with a profile that is not uniformly positive[15]. In the Athenian tragedy it is, therefore, the Trojan sections, through Andromache and Helenos (the fortune-teller son of Priam and the new husband of Hector's widow and adopted father of Neoptolemus' son) which prevail. On the contrary, the literary sources probably depended more directly on the version in fashion during Pyrrhus' reign in order to exalt the Achaean features of the Epirote king's blood. In some versions, the character of Andromache as Neoptolemus' ancestor, is even replaced by a certain Lanassa, presented as a descendant of Heracles (and therefore Greek) and, not by chance, sharing the same name as Agathocles' daughter, the despot of Syracuse and wife of Pyrrhus in 295 BC. It is difficult not to perceive the signs of propaganda aiming, on the one hand to please the mother's family and, on the other hand, to establish as ancestors of Pyrrhus, not one but two Greek heroes (following the example of Alexander the Great, the descendant of Achilles and Heracles) with the advantage of creating a more complete "Hellenization", without Trojan "defilement".

We are in this case faced with a tendency that contradicts the Roman legend. Perhaps the "purification" of the Trojan element from the blood of the Epirote *condottiero* was not irrelevant to Pyrrhus' desire to set himself and his people against his enemy, the *Urbs* and its "Trojan" inhabitants.

The role of Pyrrhus' biographer, Proxenus, was likely to have been decisive in disseminating this celebration of Pyrrhus and his mythological ancestors[16].

The love story of Polyphemus and Galatea and Dionysian propaganda

The Aiakides genealogy not only provides an explanation for the origins of the ruling dynasty but, like the Latin legend of Aeneas, it aims to be an instrument of ethnic aetiology. Therefore, in Neoptolemus' myth, the name that the sources have given to Neoptolemus' descendant (who is anonymous in Euripides) is filled with deep significance. According the version reported by Pausanias, Andromache begat three sons by Neoptolemus, (Molossos, Pielos and Pergamos) and Cestrinos by Helenos. Molossos succeeded Helenos after his death, and reigned over the people named after him, the Molossians. Cestrinos was the king of a country near that of his half-brother. Pielos remained in Epirus and became the founder of a branch of the Molossian royal family; Pergamos instead moved to Asia Minor, where he founded the homonymous city of Pergamos[17]:

> Πρῶτος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἀλούσης Ἰλίου τὴν μὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ὑπερεῖδεν ἀναχώρησιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἤπειρον κατάρας ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλένου χρησμῶν ᾠκησε. Καὶ οἱ παῖς ἐκ μὲν Ἑρμιόνης ἐγένετο οὐδείς, ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης δὲ Μολοσσὸς καὶ Πίελος καὶ νεώτατος ὁ Πέργαμος. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλένῳ Κεστρῖνος· τούτῳ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχη συνῴκησεν ἀποθανόντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύρρου. Ἑλένου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα Μολοσσῷ τῷ Πύρρου παραδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Κεστρῖνος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν Ἠπειρωτῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ Θύαμιν ποταμὸν χώραν ἔσχε, Πέργαμος δὲ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἄρειον δυναστεύοντα ἐν τῇ Τευθρανίᾳ κτείνει μονομαχήσαντὰ οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἔδοκε τὸ νῦν ἀφ' αὑτοῦ· καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης – ἠκολοῦθει γὰρ οἱ– ἐστὶν ἡρῷον ἐν τῇ πόλει. Πίελος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, καὶ ἐς πρόγονον τοῦτον ἀνέβαινε Πύρρος τε ὁ Αἰακίδου καὶ οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Μολοσσόν.
>
> [Now Pyrrhus was the first who after the capture of Troy disdained to return to Thessaly, but sailing to Epeirus dwelt there because of the oracle of Helenus. By Hermione Pyrrhus had no child, but by Andromache he had Molossus, Pielos, and Pergamus, who was the youngest. Helenus also had a son, Cestrinus, being married to Andromache after the murder of Pyrrhus at Delphi. Helenus on his death passed on the kingdom to Molossus, son of Pyrrhus, so that Cestrinus with volunteers from the Epeirots took possession of the region beyond the river Thyamis, while Pergamus crossed into Asia and killed Areius, despot in Teuthrania, who fought with him in single combat for his kingdom, and gave his name to the city which is still called after him. To Andromache, who accompanied him, there is still a shrine in the city. Pielos remained behind in Epeirus, and to him as ancestor Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, and his fathers traced their descent, and not to Molossus][18].

Beneath this mythical genealogy it is not hard to trace the signs of a policy designed to stress the links between the different Epirote *ethne* and the Molossian king and the At-

talid family ruling in Troad. This process represents an enlargement of the mythological category called by I. Malkin "heroic genealogy" (self-attribution by royal families of heroic ancestors for the purposes of self-glorification[19]) and is part of a diplomatic strategy aimed at justifying alliances and domination on a genealogical basis.

A more complex but no less fascinating case is that of the myth of the origin of the Illyrian, Celtic and Galatian peoples, related by Appian: this again, through a device similar to those used in the Roman and Epirote myths, shows the recovery of a Homeric character, the Cyclops Polyphemus[20].

In recording the history of Rome the Alexandrian historian focuses on the Illyrian wars in his tenth book. In order to clarify the geographic and human pattern of the Roman powers, at the beginning of the book (second paragraph of the first chapter) the writer refers in the following terms to the mythical origins of the three aforementioned peoples:

> Φασὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐπώνυμον᾽ Ἰλλυριοῦ τοῦ Πολυφήμου γενέσθαι· Πολυφήμῳ γὰρ τῷ Κύκλωπι καὶ Γαλατείᾳ Κελτὸν καὶ᾽ Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ Γάλαν παῖδας ο῾ντας ἐ ξορμῆσαι Σικελίας, καὶ α῾ρξαι τῶν δι᾽ αὐτοὺς Κελτῶν καὶ᾽ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν λεγομένων, καὶ τόδε μοι μάλιστα, πολλὰ μυθευόντων ἕτερα πολλῶν, ἀρέσκει.
>
> [They (i.e. the Greeks) say that the country received its name from Illyrius, the son of Polyphemus; for the Cyclops Polyphemus and his wife, Galatea, had three sons, Celtus, Illyrius, and Galas, all of whom migrated from Sicily, and ruled over the peoples called after them Celts, Illyrians and Galatians. Among the many myths prevailing among many peoples this seems to me the most plausible][21].

Whilst there is no doubt in the Homeric poems that neither Aeneas nor Neoptolemus distinguish themselves either in warcraft or in human terms (Neoptolemus sullies himself with brutal crimes during the taking of Troy), the Appian myth presupposes the recovery of a character who appears in the verses of the Odyssey without any ambiguity whatsoever as one of the most cruel and ferocious rivals of Odysseus. The description that Odysseus himself gives during his long wanderings in his report to the Phaeacians, unhesitatingly depicts a savage and bestial character. A monstrous and lonely being of immense size and thoroughly unfriendly manners, the son of Poseidon is impious, cannibalistic and stupid[22]. It is scarcely an edifying portrait in which, it may be supposed, no people or king, even barbarians, would want to recognise their ancestor. What then were the reasons for reviving it and what did it mean for genealogical purposes?

We must first and foremost stress that other literary sources show an image of the same character which totally contradicts the Homeric description. In the verses of the Hellenistic poets Callimachus (see Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistes*, VII, 20,18), Bion (*Epithalamium Achillis et Deidameiae*, 2,3) and Theocritus (*Idylls,* 11) a sensitive, tender and at times innocent and touching personality emerges. In particular, in Theocritus' idyll called "The Cyclops", Polyphemus becomes a prototype or, more precisely, a grotesque caricature of the unrequited lover, consumed by desire for the

Nereid Galatea who tries to find refuge and relief from his sufferings by devoting himself to the noble art of singing, dreaming that one day his beloved will return his passionate sentiments.

This characterization, at the same time poetic and derisory, was actually introduced into Greek literature one century before Theocritus in the famous *Cyclops or Galateia* (Κύκλοψ ἢ Γαλάτεια) by the dithyrambic poet Philoxenus of Cythera, who lived between the second half of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century BC and arrived, after many adventurous trials at the court of Dionysius I of Syracuse (405-367 BC)[23].

Tradition says that the artist fell out of favour with the Syracusian tyrant and was locked up in *latomia* for causes which remain unexplained: he may have expressed a less than flattering opinion of the tyrant's poetry or aroused his jealousy because of a hetaera, or may have composed a parody in which the Syracusian tyrant is compared to the Cyclops Polyphemus and his lover to Galatea. We do not know whether this last supposition caused the tyrant's anger, since all we have inherited concerns the approximate contents of the dithyramb in which Polyphemus has the character of a gentle creature who finds relief from his passionate love in singing, as in Theocritus' later verses[24]. We cannot exclude the fact that the composition contained ironic and satirical allusions that may have provoked the tyrant's rage. Moreover, the episode also reveals the existence of another version differing from the Homeric text and probably preceding Philoxenus' composition, perhaps a local Sicilian tradition with a tendency to delete the more embarrassing characteristics and behaviour in order to show Polyphemus in a favourable light.

It remains for us to define the genesis of the genealogical appendix recorded by Appian which, imagining a happy end to the love story of Polyphemus and Galatea, crowns it with three births and establishes a bond between the distant countries inhabited by the Illyrians, Celts and Galatians and Sicily, the departure point for the migration of the three sons of Polyphemus.

The central role given to Sicily in this tradition is surely not unplanned and it is therefore appropriate to enquire into the political intentions hidden behind this particular genealogical myth.

As critics have unanimously emphasised, the legend of Polyphemus' ancestry is a part of the many myths that were made to serve the consensus policy promoted by the Dionysian regime, with the aim of enhancing the Greek origins of the people with whom the Syracusian tyrant made agreements[25].

The merely political role assigned to myth by the Syracusian tyrant became particularly important at the time when Dionysius, having subdued the Carthaginian threat (the third war against Carthage ended favourably for Dionysius in 391 BC), extended his expansionist ambitions to the Sicilian borders and devised a plan to establish the most powerful dynasty in Europe (μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ τῆν Εὐρώπην δυναστειών[26]). The reference to the Gauls and Illyrians is clearly linked to two specific moments in Dionysius' expansion policy: his agreement with the Celts and his alliance with the Illyrians.

The first part of Dionysius' plan was closely linked to the Gallic invasion of the Po-Valley and Central Italy at the expense of the Etruscans in 388 BC: the anti-Etrurian alliance was probably made not long after and led to two attacks against Caere, the first by land using mercenaries led by the Syracusian tyrant and the second by sea, led by the Syracusian ships at Caere[27]. This was the first step in the Tyrrhenian plan for hegemony which the tyrant of Syracuse was only partly able to achieve[28].

Close contact with the Celts during these years led to many fruitful Adriatic relationships which also assumed the form of an ambitious plan for a Balkan dominion which aimed, according to Diodorus' reports, to sack the Delphic sanctuary, after passing through Epirus[29].

Even though the sources are sometimes problematic, traces of this intention are clearly stated in the literary evidence and reported in particular by Diodorus. This historian states that the Sicilian tyrant, through Alcetas, the Molossian Tharybas' son expelled from his land by the pro-Spartan party and in exile in Syracuse, entered into an alliance with the Illyrians and sent them a contingent of two thousand soldiers and five hundred panoplies[30]. The Illyrian king to whom the western dynasty gave this help was probably Bardyllis, the king of the Dassaretii, one of the most powerful Illyrian tribes established on the border between Macedonia and Epirus[31]. Military cooperation reinstated Alcetas on the Molossian throne and led to the final coalition victory[32].

There is no doubt that this result created an eastern Adriatic balance of power which favoured Dionysius who, as reported by Diodorus, decided to intensify his colonial ambitions in the north, offering help to the Parians in the founding of Pharos in Dalmatia on the site of the present-day Starigrad, in 385/4 BC[33]. Dionysius' cooperation in the founding of Pharos was motivated and, according to Diodorus, made easier by the fact that Dionysius himself had, some years earlier, made a colonial incursion into this region; the text records the toponym Lissos and, immediately afterwards, an embarrassing and conspicuous blank.

In a brief aside on the tyrant's work in Syracuse, Diodorus reverts to the story of events in Illyria. Greek colonialists and native Illyrians lived together on the same island, although in two different centres (the natives in a well-defended place, probably on the island, and the Greeks by the sea). After cohabiting for one year the natives could no longer tolerate the Greeks and asked their fellow countrymen living on the continent for help. They intervened in great numbers in small boats. The unexpected assault took the colonialists by surprise and many fell. However, the situation was reversed by the intervention of the *eparchos*, the governor having been installed by Dionysius at Lissus, or more probably Issa, much closer to Pharos than the centre of Lissus and presented by Pseudo-Scymnos as a colony of Syracuse[34].

Dionysius' interventions in Illyrian territory are well substantiated and provide evidence of a policy of diplomacy (alliance with the Dassaretii king), colonialism (the founding of Lissus and/or Issa) and military intervention (in favour of the Pharii), which was doubtless deep-rooted on the eastern side of the Adriatic sea and possibly an

intermediate stage in the ambitious plans of the western dynasty which must have led to an extension of influence in the Balkans.

In this vast programme of conquests and entente with peoples considered barbarian, myth surely plays a primary role in justifying the tyrant's choices and, at the same time in a less overt way, consolidating his supremacy over his allies.,

In establishing a particular relationship between the memory of the Homeric Sicilian Cyclops and the eponymous Illyrian and Celtic peoples, the myth recorded by Appian would seem to be a part of this propaganda plan.

The fact that Dionysius gave importance to the privileged relationship between Sicily and the Celtic line is confirmed by another legendary tale, a fragment of Philistus preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium. The Sicilian fortune tellers called Galeotes who predicted to Dionysius' mother the *diuturna fortuna* of her unborn baby while she was pregnant[35], were descendants of Galeote, son of Apollo and Temisto, who was the daughter of Zabius[36]. He was the king of Hyperboreans, the mythical people associated with the Celts.

This is an illustrative fact as it provides evidence of the role played by Philistus in expanding (and perhaps in creating) a range of legendary information destined to fuel Dionysius' propaganda, and this was, without doubt, the source from which Appian obtained information on Polyphemus' ancestry.

The Syracusian historian in fact composed a *History of Sicily*, handed down to us only in fragments. The first part traced the island's history up to the seizure of Agrigento in 406/405 BC, whilst the second part narrated the events that took place under the Syracusian tyranny of Dionysius. It is well known that Philistus was not only the dynasty's annalist, but also the theorist and propagandist of the tyranny.

If Philistus, as it seems likely, was the first to record the myth of Sicilian descent from the Illyrians, Celts and Galas, he was surely also its author, conscious of the symbolic power of mythical stories and their efficacy in supporting and successfully promoting the Sicilian tyrant's political choices and will.

Illyrius' origins: a Dionysian recovery of a competing myth?

The mythical-poetical activity of the Sicilian historian probably drew inspiration from some pre-existing elements, whose sources may be hypothetically traced

The mention of the Cyclops as a symbolic reference to Sicily and to a past celebrated by Homer may be inspired by Philoxenus' anti-Dionysian pamphlet, rewritten in celebratory fashion, whilst the idea of ancestry may have been Balkan in origin and may be connected with the trend, already established in the Molossian lands, towards self-celebration through a hero-genealogy.

This is also discernable, probably in the same period (end of 5th century), in Illyrian ter-

ritory, as shown in a significant passage from Strabo. Speaking about the Epirote people of southern Illyria and western Macedonia, the Greek geographer writes[37]:

> Ταῦτα δὲ πρότερον μὲν κατεδυναστεύετο ἕκαστα, ὧν ἐν τοῖς Ἐγχελέαις οἱ Κάδμου καὶ Ἁρμονίας ἀπόγονοι ἦρχον, καὶ τὰ μυθευόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ δείκνυται. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰθαγενῶν ἦρχοντο· οἱ δὲ Λυγκησταὶ ὑπ᾽Ἀρραβαίῳ ἐγένοντο, τοῦ Βακχιαδῶν γένους ὄντι· τούτου δ᾽ἦν θυγατριδῆ ἡ Φιλίππου μήτηρ τοῦ Ἀμύντου Εὐρυδίκη, Σίρρα δὲ θυγάτηρ·καὶ τῶν᾽ Ηπειρωτῶν δὲ Μολοττοὶ ὑπὸ Πύρρῳ τῷ Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ᾽ Αχιλλέως καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις αὐτοῦ, Θετταλοῖς οὖσι, γεγονότες· οἱ λοιποὶ δ᾽ ὑπὸ ἰθαγενῶν ἦρχοντο.
>
> [In earlier times these peoples were ruled separately, each by its own dynasty. For instance, it was the descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia who ruled over the Encheleii; and the scenes of the stories told about them are still pointed out there. These people, I say, were not ruled by men of native stock; and the Lyncestae became subject to Arrabaeus, who was of the stock of the Bacchiads (Eurydice, the mother of Philip, Amyntas' son, was Arrabaeus' daughter's daughter and Sirra was his daughter); and again, of the Epeirotes, the Molossi became subject to Pyrrhus, the son of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, and to his descendants, who were Thessalians. But the rest were ruled by men of native stock][38].

The Molossian case is here remembered and preceded by the mention of the case of Lyncesti, in which the *titulus nobilitatis* was acquired by recovering connections with a dynasty of lesser mythological status (that of the Bacchiads, a Corinthian dynasty whose descendants were the Cypselids from Corinth and whose fame throughout the Balkan hinterland was, without doubt, connected with Periander's colonial activities within the eastern Adriatic and in the Chalcidian peninsula, the approaches to the continent inhabited by the Macedonians and Illyrians). Nevertheless, Strabo was an example for the people of Enchelei, established on the border between Macedonia and Epirus, whose royal family proclaimed itself the descendants of Kadmos and Harmonia. There are few references to the Enchelei in literary sources and they are always connected with the myth of Kadmos and Harmonia who, according to the legend reported by Euripides, were banished from Thebes and had to take refuge with a barbaric population, later identified by as that of the Enchelei, or, more generally, the Illyrians[39].

Apollodorus adds that the continuity of Kadmos' and Harmonia's kingdom was assured by the birth of their heir Illyrius[40]:

> Καὶ βασιλεύει Κάδμος Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ παῖς Ἰλλυριὸς αὐτῷ γίνεται. οὗτος δὲ μετὰ Ἁρμονίας εἰς δράκοντα μεταβαλὼν εἰς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐξεπέμφθη.
>
> [And Kadmus reigned over the Illyrians, and a son Illyrius was born to him.]

This refers to a son of Polyphemus who shared his name and is clearly a "competitor" myth.

None of the literary accounts enable us to establish the comparative age of the versions but some clues allow us to make certain assumptions. The legend of Kadmos' and Harmonia's kingdom in Illyria certainly comes before the Dionysian legend, even though it is probably not much earlier. The genealogical appendix attached to Kadmos has been reported in some quite late sources, although it could have drawn on older traditions.

One sign of the antiquity of the tradition is the reference to the Enchelei, a tribe known in the 6th century BC, located at Hecataeus in the neighbourhood of the Chaones (a northern Epirote population) and often referred to as the Illyrians[41]. This region, occupied by the Enchelei, had been inhabited by the Dassaretii since at least the beginning of the 6th century. The Enchelei population had been subdued or integrated into the Dassaretii, who, nevertheless, allowed the legend to survive.

Illyrius's myth should logically depend on the story of the Kadmian kingdom and could reasonably be included within the same propaganda framework as that of the nearby Molossian dynasty.

We may wonder, then, whether the privileged contact between Dionysius (and his historian) and the Molossian and Illyrian leaders inspired Philistus to create the alternative legend in which the rising ascendant of the Illyrian ally was no longer connected with his Theban ancestors (or, alternatively, his Phoenician ancestors, which would have been even more embarrassing for an enemy of Carthage such as Dionysius), but with a Sicilian ancestor, an emblem of the Dionysian tyrant.

As a further detail, we must also refer to the fact that the historian and counsellor of Dionysius, according to Plutarch[42], lived for a certain period in Epirote society: in fact, as an expatriate, he fled to Epirus and the Court of King Alcetas, "where it seems he composed the greater part of his history". During his stay in Epirus Philistos learned of the local Illyrian legend from which he drew his inspiration for the version adapted for Dionysius' propaganda purposes and expansionistic aims.

Ranging over the centuries from Dionysius to Augustus, myth based on genealogical legends which to a certain extent circulated locally, was used by particular leading personalities with the aim of legitimising and justifying their political, military and diplomatic decisions.

The efficacy of these legendary tales seems directly proportional to the geographical distance from the country where Aeneas, Neoptolemus, Polyphemus and Kadmos first found fame through Homer, the ancient poets and the Athenian tragedians. Beginning in the 6th century BC their success became increasingly linked to the growing importance of the historical role of some of the "peripheries" in the Greek world. The strength of these regions and their rulers was also based on their ability to re-use and shape myth and its evocative powers, enhanced by the talents of poets and historians serving powerful figures, as an essential propaganda tool.

Notes

* The translation of these pages has been possible thanks to the precious help of Angela Fallacara and Anna Provenzano, to whom I express my most sincere gratitude.

1 *Mythe et politique: actes du colloque de Liège, 14-16 septembre 1989, organisé par le Centre de Recherches mythologiques de l'Université de Paris X et le Centre d'Histoire des Religions de l'Université de Liège*, F. Jouan, A. Motte (eds.), Paris 1990, preface.

[2] "Within the varied field of human experience, it is politics that most frequently and authoritatively moves the spirit's mythopoeic needs. In order to give itself an identity and legitimise its forms of life and to avoid latent struggles, each society needs to establish a distant genealogy so that it may recount its history, crowned with the glorious halo of the sacred and the divine, represent significant episodes in its past, and save it from a merely circumstancial genesis. Its origins are linked to the organisation of the cosmos or the pantheon, and are divine or else involve the deification of its founding heroes after their death, a role conferred on inspired legislators, supernatural interventions in the plot of human history, etc. Each community longs to establish names, special places and times and to exalt them, even if it has to correct the image in accordance with its evolution and the blows which befall it".

[3] See in particular M. Detienne, *Comment être autochtone, du pur Athénien au Français raciné*, Paris 2003 and from the same author *Les Grecs et nous*, Paris 2005, pp. 113-144 and N. Loraux, *Né de la terre*, Paris 1996.

[4] The term "propaganda" (it. "propaganda"; fr. "propagande") often appears in historical and literary bibliographies of antiquity describing the mechanism explained above. Reference to some of the more important titles serve as examples and justify the choice of terminology: M. Sordi, *Storiografia e propaganda*, Milan 1975 and *I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico*, Milano, 1976; A. Powell, *Roman poetry and propaganda in the age of Augustus*, Bristol 1994; J. Defradas, *Les thèmes de la propagande delphique*, Paris 1954.

[5] The legend of Aeneas' landings in Latium has been known since the beginning of literary production in the Latin language. The most ancient mythical attestation of the founding of Roman by the Trojan hero was also recorded in Greek production from the 5th century BC, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who draws a lot of his evidence from Hellanicus of Lesbos (*Ant. Rom*., I, 72, 1-2 and *FGrHist* 4 F 84). The original heart of the legend was gradually enriched with new episodes moulded on events in Roman history (Aeneas' passage to Carthage is related to the Punic wars and the troubled relationship with the Phoenician colony) before being celebrated and developed by Virgil. The immortal fame of the Latin poem was certainly one of the reasons for the great fortune of the Trojan myth in various areas and times in Ancient Rome. Since the Merovingian age, it has been known that the Trojans were presented as the famous ancestors of the Frankish population due to the presumed (and fairly devious!) etymological derivation of "Francus" from "Phrygius". During the Age of Enlightenment, the legend again fuelled the official historiography of the French Kingdom to such strong dogmatic effect that Nicolas Fréret was imprisoned in the Bastille in 1714, accused of denying the Trojan ancestry of the French population in order to exalt Frankish kinship with the Germans. On the subject of the origin and fortune of the Aeneas myth, see P. Wathelet, *Le mythe d'Enée dans l'épopée homérique. Sa survie et son exploitation poétique*, in *Mythe et Politique, Actes du Colloque de Liège, 14-16 septembre 1989, organisé par le Centre de Recherches mythologiques de l'Université de Paris X et le Centre d'Histoire des Religions de l'Université de Liège*, cit., pp. 287-296.

[6] Moreover, it must be stressed that this ennobling of ancestors was not considered in relation to the Achaeans' winning army but to their brave opponents, thus implicitly presenting the conquest of Greece by *Quirites* as the revenge of the no less brave followers of Aeneas.

[7] In the *Odyssey* (III, 188 and IV, 4-9) there are allusions to the Myrmidons, Achilles' people, without express reference to Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, even though it seems that Achilles' son spent the last period of his life in his father's kingdom in Phthia. The summary of Proclos' *Chrestomathia* and of Pseudo Apollodorus' *Epitome* suggests the version in which Neoptolemus, after Thetis' intervention, separated from Agamemnon and the rest of the Achaean army and, returning from the war of Troy, established himself with the Molossians, together with Andromache and Helenos.

[8] On the Epirote Molossians, see P. Cabanes, *Les Illyriens de Bardylis à Genthios (IVe-IIe siècles av. J.-C.)*, Paris, 1988, pp. 120-124. About the Molossian royal dynasty: Aristotle, *Politics*, V, 11, 1313a 17-28; Plutarch, *Pyrrhos*, 5,5. On the Aiakides' myth, see S. Funke, *Aiakidenmythos und epeirotisches Königtum, Der Weg einer hellenischen Monarchie*, Stuttgart 2000.

[9] G. Kinkel, *Epicorum graecorum fragmenta*, Leipzig 1877, p. 53; Eratosthenes, *FGrHist* 241 F 42= schol. *Od*., III, 188; Apollodorus, *Library*, IV, 12; Pindar, *Nemean* IV, 51-53; VII, 51-58; Pindar, *Pean*, VI, 102-122.

[10] Euripides, *Andromache,* 1243-1252.

[11] Trans. A.S. Way, in *Euripides, II*, London - Cambridge (Mass.) 1958.

[12] L. Moscati Castelnuovo, *Eleno e la tradizione troiana in Epiro*, in "Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica", 1986, 114, pp. 411-424.

[13] Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, XVII, 3.

[14] In the *Paean* IV, 109 ff., Pindar recorded the tradition according to which Neoptolemus was killed by Apollo at Delphi. In Euripides' *Andromache* (1085-1165) Neoptolemus was accused of wanting to sack the Delphic sanctuary.

[15] It should be noted that the recovery, aimed at the ethnic exaltation of heroes established by tradition more or less within the western area of the legendary peregrinations which followed the Trojan war, is widely and variously reported in literature and presents several examples used by the Greeks to justify their commercial activities and their settlements. Concerning the Adriatic, it is sufficient to mention, as an example, Diomedes, a true trans-Adriatic hero and the legendary founder of several Adriatic settlements from Daunia to Veneto. For a review of studies on Diomedes in the Adriatic, see M.C. D'Ercole, *Importuosa Italiae Litora, Paysage et échanges dans l'Adriatique Méridionale archaïque*, Naples 2002. It is true that there are no accounts of a proper recovery, for dynastic propaganda purposes, of this hero even though, as Appian (VII, 31) reports, a certain Dasius, a notable figure from Argyrippa, founded by Diomedes, did not hesitate at the time of the second Punic war to proclaim himself the direct descendent of the Argive hero. The mechanism used is the same as the one described for Aeneas and Pyrrhus.

[16] Pausanias, I, 11,1-3.

[17] Trans. W.H.S Jones, *Pausanias, Description of Greece, I,* Cambridge (Mass.) - London 1978.

[18] I. Malkin, *I ritorni di Odisseo. Colonizzazione e identità etnica nella Grecia antica*, Rome 2004, p. 166 (original edition: *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonisation and Ethnicity*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1998).

[19] Appian, *Roman History*, X, I, 2.

[20] Trans. H. White, *Appian's Roman History*, *II,* London - Cambridge (Mass.) 1962. On this legend, see: M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum,* Ljubljana, 2005, pp. 120 ff. and from the same author *Mythological stories concerning Illyria and its name*, in *L'Illyrie médirionale et l'Epire dans l'Antiquité, IV, Actes du IVe colloque international de Grenoble (10-12 octobre 2002),* P. Cabanes, J.-L. Lamboley (eds.), Paris 2004, pp. 493-504.

[21] Homer, *Odyssey*, IX, 186-192; 287-295.

[22] See D.L.Page, *Poetae melici Graeci,* Oxford 1962, fragments 815, 816, 818, 819, 822; P. Monteil, *Théocrite, Idylles*, Paris, 1968, p. 126 and R. Hunter, *Theocritus, A selection*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 216-217: "Philoxenus' dithyramb is parodied in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes (388 BC), and it is a reasonable hypothesis that Philoxenus had performed it in Athens shortly before this date. It clearly achieved a remarkable notoriety within a brief space of time, probably both for the virtuosity of Philoxenus' musicianship and the brilliant conceit of a lovesick Cyclops".

[23] Theocritus, *Idylls*, 11.

[24] A. Coppola, *Mito e propaganda alla corte dionisiana,* in *La Sicilia dei due Dionisî, Atti della settimana di studio, Agrigento, 24-28 febbraio 1999,* N. Bonacasa, L. Braccesi, E. De Miro (eds.), Rome 2002, p. 373-388, in particulary p. 376.

[25] Diodorus, XVI, 5,4; 9,1; XX, 78,3. see: M. Sordi, *La dynasteia in Occidente (Studi su Dionigi I),* Padua 1992, pp. 73-79.

[26] Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, XX, 5, 4-6; Strabo, V, 2, 3.

[27] M.Sordi, *Dionigi e il Tirreno*, in *La Sicilia dei due Dionisî, Atti della settimana di studio, Agrigento, 24-28 febbraio 1999,* N. Bonacasa, L. Braccesi, E. De Miro (eds.), Rome 2002, pp. 493-499.

[28] Diodorus, XV, 13, 1.

[29] *Ibid.*, 13, 2.

[30] N. Ceka*, I riflessi della politica di Dionisio il Grande nel territorio dell'attuale Albania*, in *La Sicilia dei due Dionisî, Atti della settimana di studio, Agrigento, 24-28 febbraio 1999,* N. Bonacasa, L. Braccesi, E. De Miro (eds.), Rome 2002, p.78.

[31] Diodorus, XV, 13, 3. See: G. Woodhead, *The "Adriatic empire" of Dionysius I of Syracuse*, in "Klio"*,* 1970, 52, pp. 503-512 and M. Sordi, *La dynasteia in Occidente (Studi su Dionigi I)*, Padua 1992.

[32] *Ibid.*, 13, 4.

[33] *Ibid.*, 13 and XV, 14, 2-3; Ps. Scymnos, 413-414. According to some historians, the confusion between Lissus and Issa in Diodorus' text is also related to the first occurrence of the toponym. Lissus, nowadays the Albanian town of Lesh on the mouth of the Drin, does not show any archaeological traces of a settlement from the 4th century BC, the time of Denis' presence in the Adriatic. The excavations directed by the Albanian archaeologist F. Prendi in the 1970s emphasized that the foundation of the site and its fortifications occurred at the beginning of the 3rd century BC and no 4th century items of Sicilian origin have been found that could prove the colonization hypothesis. The lack of archaeological evidence, however, does not exclude a priori the use of the site (whose location, at the mouth of the river next to the sea, offered some important strategic advantages) as a simple Syracusan site and bridgehead to control the lower Adriatic, without necessarily entailing the foundation of a true colony. F. Prendi, K. Zheku, *La ville illyrienne de Lissus, son origine et son système de fortification*, in "Studia Albanica", 1971, 8, 2, pp. 35 ff.

[34] Cicero, *De divinatione*, I, 20, 39 = *FGrHist* 556 F 57.

[35] Stephanus of Byzantium, *Γαλεῶται ανδ ῎Υβλαι¨ ΦΓρΗιστ 556 Φ 20.*

[36] Strabo, VII, 7, 8.

[37] Trans. H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo, III*, London-Cambridge (Mass) 1961.

[38] Pseudo-Scymnos, 437-438; Pausanias, IX, 5,3.

[39] Apollodorus, *Library*, III, 5, 4. See other mentions of this myth in: *scholia vaticana* to Virgil, *Aen*., II, p. 311 Lion; Stephanus of Byzantium under Ιλλυρία.

[40] Hecataeus, *FGrHist,* 1 F 99.

[41] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 605, c; *Dion*, 11, 4.

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The Interaction of Power and Culture in Perceptions of the Latvian Epic *Lāčplēsis*

Ojārs Lāms
University of Latvia

Abstract

In the mid 19th century, as the Latvian nation was taking shape, the idea of composing a national epic became an important cultural issue. It was an attempt to master the forms of Western culture, and, at the same time, to express national characteristics through art. The epic poem *Lāčplēsis*, written by A.Pumpurs in 1888, consolidates the ancient history of Latvia, the folkloric heritage, and Latvia's desire to become a nation. The reception of this epic poem has been both a dynamic ongoing cultural process and a reminder of the past. The importance of *Lāčplēsis* was a result of Latvia's turbulent history and the threats to the existence of the Latvian nation. The work has always possessed a dual edge: both artistic and ideological. At the beginning of the first independent Latvian state, the image of the protagonist, Lāčplēsis, was used in an ideological manner, with awards and public holidays being named after him. Occupying regimes also tried to include the image of Lāčplēsis in their ideological rhetoric in an attempt to incorporate the essential elements of Latvian national self-awareness. After the Second World War, emigrant Latvians coming to terms with exile also returned to the imagery of *Lāčplēsis*. This invokation of *Lāčplēsis* has always been a two-fold process. In some instances, it has been merely a reproduction of clichés (especially in the case of made-to-order literature), while others have produced innovative artistic interpretations. In the 1980s, during the process of re-establishing the independent state, the plot of *Lāčplēsis* was retold once again, this time in the form of a rock opera. The reception of this epic reflects the complicated and controversial history of 20th-century Latvia.

19.gs. vidū, veidojoties latviešu nācijai, ideja par nacionālu eposu kļuva par būtisku līniju kultūras procesā. Tādā veidā tika mēģināts gan apgūt rietumu kultūras formas, gan mākslas tēlos formulēt identitātes savdabību. A.Pumpura 1888. gadā sarakstītais eposs Lāčplēsis *vienā veselumā sakausē gan Latvijas senvēsturi, gan folkloras mantojumu, gan nacionālas tapšanas centienus. Lai gan šī teksta mākslinieciskā valoda ir nedaudz arhaiska pat savam laikam (literatūrā tolaik jau ir uzplaucis reālisms, naturālisms un sociālo problēmu tēlojums, bet eposs ir romantisks), tomēr nacionālās esamības problemātikas dēļ eposs* Lāčplēsis *20. gs. laikā ir ieguvis plašu gan mākslinieciskas, gan ideoloģiskas recepcijas paradigmu, kļūstot par vienu no būtiskākajām latviešu kultūras zīmēm. Ar šī eposa sižeta un tēlu jaunām interpretācijām dažādu žanru un laikposmu mākslinieki ir*

reflektējuši par laikmeta aktualitātēm, radot spilgtus, novatoriskus darbus gan literatūrā, gan tēlotājmākslā. Eposa recepcija vienlaikus ir virzījusi kultūras procesu un atgādinājusi par mantojumu. Vēstures pretrunīgums un nācijas apdraudētība ir faktori, kas noteikuši šī eposa nozīmīgumu, un tā uztverē vienmēr ir saaudušies mākslinieciskie un ideoloģiskie aspekti. Lāčplēša tēls nacionālās valsts sākumposmā plaši tika izmantots ideoloģiskā funkcijā – tas tika institucionalizēts apbalvojumos un svētku dienās. Savā ideoloģiskajā retorikā to centās iekļaut arī okupācijas varas, tādējādi cenšoties pārkodēt nacionālajai apziņai būtisko. Arī trimdas situācijas apguvē pēc II Pasaules kara notika atgriešanās pie eposa tēlainības. Šim procesam vienmēr ir it kā divas puses – ieslīgšana klišeju atražošanā (okazionāla, izteikti angažēta literatūra) vai arī novatoriskas mākslinieciskas versijas. Valsts atjaunošanas procesa aizsākumos 80. gadu beigās arī tika izmantota eposa Lāčplēsis *tēlainība, kad tā sižets tika pārlikts rokoperas mākslinieciskajā valodā. Var apgalvot, ka eposa recepcijas procesā pilnā mērā atspoguļojas latviešu XX gadsimta vēsture visā tās sarežģītībā un pretrunīgumā.*

Introduction

The Latvian epic *Lāčplēsis* (1888) written by Andrejs Pumpurs (1841–1902) has developed into an important paradigm in the history of Latvian culture and ideology. The Latvian calendar has named 11 November after the hero of the epic. On the evening of 11 November 1919, a decisive battle in the country's quest for independence was fought. Latvia's independence had been declared on 18 November 1918, but the country was still occupied by Communist and German forces. The fate of the emerging state was decided on 11 November on the banks of the Daugava river, which had become a frontline that also divided the Latvian capital city of Riga. Latvian troops were entrenched on the left bank, while the German forces led by Pavel Bermondt-Avalov (a self-styled commander who had recruited his troops to fight the Bolsheviks from prisoner-of-war camps in Germany), stood on the right bank. The Bermondt-Avalov-led army was heading to Russia hoping to meet with the pro-tsarist forces of Nikolai N. Yudenich. However, the Latvian forces stood in their way and would not let the pro-tsarist troops re-occupy Latvia.

The plot of the epic is quite similar – the story and the epic hero's final battle unfolded on the banks of the river Daugava. Pumpurs chose the 12th century as the historical setting for the epic as this was a time when German crusaders invaded the territory of Latvia. Although the Latvians lost independence for many centuries, the epic expresses strong aspirations for freedom and independence. This reflects its date of composition in the second half of the 19th century the period when the Latvian nation was taking shape. The outcome of the confrontation in the epic is inconclusive as both Lāčplēsis and his enemy, the Dark Knight, perish in their battle. Only the final verse of the epic expresses hope for the future:

> For soon or late will come, is sure,
> The day when foes are all cast down,

> And, deep om Staburags's maw,
> Oppressors all alone will drown[1].

The real historical events of 1919 are something of an echo of the prophecy made in the epic. On 11 November, the Latvian army crossed the river Daugava and drove the occupying forces from Riga. This was a crucial turning point in the Independence War. The following morning, church bells pealed out the dawn of a new history. The sound was not unusual in the seven hundred years old Hansa city: the chimes had always pealed to greet or mark the departure of monarchs and armies but they had all been foreigners. On 11 November 1919, Riga's church bells rang to greet Latvia and the Latvians for first time. The day became officially named Lāčplēsis Day, and Latvia's highest military award was named after Lāčplēsis too. The process of adapting and moulding the epic interacted with attempts to create ideological symbols for the new state.

The idea of the epic at the dawn of the nation

In the mid 19th century a new generation of Latvian intellectuals, including poets and writers, decided that the time had come to widen the nation's horizons and find a guiding star or image for the Latvians that would reflect the aspirations of the developing nation, help to deal with the oppressive present and the downtrodden past, and map out the future potential of the nation. One possible avenue for Latvian culture was to use a national epic as the basis for developing Latvian culture. In the following decades, the epic tradition created a rich paradigm of reception as a highly significant indicator of national heritage. The influence of the epic as a means of expression resulted in the development of epic poetry, a better understanding of folklore and folklore studies, as well as contributing to the nation's attempts to define itself. This process is significant. It reflects the incorporation of Latvia into common European processes characteristic of the 19th century. At the same time, the emergence of a unique cultural identity was fostered.

From the beginning, elements of the Latvian national epic interacted closely with the aim of strengthening national identity through literary imagery. Pioneers of the Latvian National Awakening movement (dating from the middle of the 19th century) and representatives of the first trend in Latvian literature (national romanticism) saw literature, particularly epic, as an important vehicle for promoting ideas regarding national collective individuality, identity and self-determination through a process of combining national uniqueness with European trends. Epic was especially well suited as it reflected classical heritage, romantic thinking and folklore.

In defining what constitutes an epic, the English scholar Maurice Bowra wrote:

> The admiration for great doings lies deep in the human heart, and comforts and cheers even when it does not stir to emulation. Heroes are the champions of man's ambition to pass beyond the oppressive limits of human frailty to a fuller and more vivid life, to win as far as possible a self-sufficient manhood, which refuses to admit that anything is too difficult for it, and is content even in failure, provided that it has made every effort of which it is capable[2].

An epic hero's main purpose is to provide the common people with a source of identification derived from traditional culture. This is achieved through suggestion and performance, so that the social ideal is reflected in the identity stored in the everyday citizen's heart. The epic also raises the individual above everyday reality and provides additional and vital energy for existence. This new 19th-century epic became a way of understanding the past while, at the same time, mapping out future ideals through the medium of national culture. It provided a pathway to achieving a sense of belonging to an ancient and significant European cultural tradition, while simultaneously maintaining a national focus.

One of the most powerful inspirations came from Finnish experience. E. Lönnrot, whose compilation of Finnish runes, *Kalevala,* was highly acclaimed in Europe, demonstrated the potential of an epic as a national unifying force and a sign of national identity with great artistic success. But there were also other reasons for this increased interest in folklore and its integration into literature: it was a source of common values for the nation. While working towards this goal, Latvian writers faced a serious obstacle – the collection and research of Latvian folklore had not yet properly begun. Their ideas about folklore were not formed through systematic study but came from childhood learning about other cultures.

For around twenty five years Latvian society considered the issue of the epic. Optimistic articles about Latvian epic songs, that only had to be collected and arranged into an epic following Lönnrot's example, appeared in the press of the 1850s and 1860s. However, the actual work of collecting Latvian folklore material yielded quite unexpected results. The main treasure of Latvian folklore was discovered to be a lyrical and, at the same time, philosophical mantra-like quatrain. Epic songs were relatively short, their plots were not very detailed and their essentially mythical meaning could not be easily understood.

Nevertheless, the results of this research did not change or diminish the desire for an epic to function as something high, noble and unifying that might become the summary of the nation's history and would cast a positive light on the future. The epic would position Latvia among other nations, it would become an assertion, a motivation and possibly even a justification, as the Balto-Germans, who constituted Latvia's ruling class at the time, and the Tsarist authorities had continually refused to see Latvia as a nation. In their opinion, the Latvians or non-Germans (*Undeutsche*) were only a social class. The Russian Tsarist authorities also restricted Latvian nationalist aspirations. For a long time the Latvians simply did not exist in Tsarist ideology because Latvia did not exist as a sovereign state. Discussing Latvia was considered to be a subversive activity, as the Russian empire had only Kurland and Livland regions united in one Baltic province.

Folklore alone could not serve as a reliable source for satisfying the idea of the epic, and a number of poets tackled the challenge of fulfilling this dream. The 1860s and 1870s saw many attempts to create the epic, but only one succeeded in standing the test of time: Pumpurs' epic *Lāčplēsis*. It took almost twenty years for the author to com-

plete the work which was published in 1888. *Lāčplēsis* represents one of the last literary works of Latvian national romanticism. By the early 1890s, Latvian intellectuals had started to turn to social problems and realism replaced romanticism as the dominant trend in literature. It was somewhat of a denial of an important period in the nation's history, but this heritage later became an important source of inspiration in both literature and art, as well as in ideological manipulation.

Although contemporary writers approved of Pumpurs' work, they did not immediately recognize it as something extraordinary. It was only in the 20th century that the epic was first seen as a powerful weapon in the new struggles of the time. The real authority of the epic was established when the process of perception began, when the new generation of poets and artists started to use the epic's imagery in their works. The tradition of using the image of Lāčplēsis to denote turning points in the nation's history began in 1905 when the Latvian poet and playwright, Rainis, used the epic's plot to write his highly symbolic drama *Uguns un Nakts* [Fire and Night]. As discussed earlier, the epic's imagery gained special importance during the period of Latvia's first independence, that is, between the two World Wars. Later, both the Nazi and Soviet occupying regimes attempted to include this heritage in their own ideological systems which they tried to implement in Latvia.

Pumpurs' epic

What was it that made Pumpurs' work the most successful? Firstly, his personality might have had some of the features of an epic hero, such as Ulysses wandering the world in search of a home. Pumpurs spent most of his life outside Latvia. He was born in 1841, near Lielvārde, in central-eastern Latvia, an area with rich folklore traditions and history. After attending a local parish school, he continued his education mostly through independent study, and received creative impulses from working in various professions such as land surveying, property managing and forestry. Pumpurs also spent many years serving in the Russian army. During his years of active military service, he was sent to Serbia, where political events led him to conclude that his people, the Latvians, also needed an element of independence and autonomy. The influence of Serbian folkloric epics stimulated his own work and led to the creation of his Latvian epic. Military service also took Pumpurs to China, which expanded his horizons, but also seriously affected his health. The poet died at the age of 61 in 1902, leaving works of poetry, prose, and the epic *Lāčplēsis* as his literary heritage. It is quite possible that this background was a necessary precondition for Pumpurs to compose his epic by collecting contemporary ideas and compiling poetic motifs into a new work.

The secret of Pumpurs' success probably lies in the fact that he found the right balance in his epic. It comprises rich mythological material (that is not made an end in itself), as well as folklore texts and historical events. In *Lāčplēsis*, legends have been skilfully combined with historical events. Since this is a component of successful ideologies, Pumpurs' text is suited to ideological interpretation and use.

The events in the epic take place mainly along the banks of the Daugava – a river also seen as the symbol of the nation's fate in Latvian folklore. From a military point of view, this river has always been a strategically important waterway. In the 13th century, the German crusaders' campaign became successful only after they built fortified support bases on the banks of the Daugava. Likewise, during later centuries when the Latvians remained under the rule of foreign powers, the fate of armies and battles was often decided on the banks of the Daugava river. Ultimately, the river played a key role in winning independence for the Latvian nation. It can therefore be said with a great degree of certainty that making this river central to the plot of the epic was one of the author's most successful ideas.

The central characters, including Lāčplēsis himself, were taken from Latvian folklore, the country's fairy-tales and legends. However the name *Lāčplēsis* [Bear-slayer] cannot be found in Latvian folklore. The name of the popular fairy-tale hero is *Lāčausis* [Bear's Ears]. The name suggests that the image has deep totemic roots. Lāčausis is the son of a man and a mother-bear, who inherited his superhuman strength from his mother. But this strength was concentrated in his ears, the ears of a bear. The name – *Lāčausis* – gives a static portrait of the mythical character. Pumpurs changed this static name for a more dynamic one, containing an action. Moreover, the image of a man with the ears of a bear is aesthetically unpleasant. Later, when creating the visual image of Lāčplēsis, Latvian artists made the bear's ears part of Lāčplēsis' hat, using the traditional hat of Latvian warriors as a prototype. Warriors wore hats with similar beasts' ears. Such an ethnographic visual depiction turned Lāčplēsis into the icon of a genuine national hero.

Lāčplēsis' strength lay hidden in his ears which represented the primeval forces of nature. Pumpurs also gave a cultural aspect to his character, linking Lāčplēsis' heroic deeds with the mythological motif of a sunken castle. This motif was very popular in the age of national romanticism. The theme of castles sunk in lakes is quite common in Latvian folklore. National romantics used this image as a symbol of past glory. The castle could be lifted from the depths of the lake only if the right magic words were guessed and spoken. During the age of romanticism, this magic word was "light" with its numerous symbolic connotations. Poets called this underwater castle the "Castle of Light". In Pumpurs' epic, one of the principal tasks given to Lāčplēsis was to lift the sunken castle from the lake. The icon created by the romantics continues to function in the public space of contemporary Latvia. For example, the new National Library project, planned for Riga on the bank of the river Daugava, has been named the "Castle of Light".

Since the plots of the tales and legends used in the epic were not very detailed, the author turned to the mythology of other nations, incorporating the foreign material so smoothly that its alien origin has become almost invisible. Borrowing from other countries, however, has made Lāčplēsis an epic of not only national, but European, character. *Lāčplēsis* is an action epic, complete with a battle, expedition and journey. This makes it more similar to Virgil's *Aeneid* than any other epic, not least because Virgil was a source of inspiration for the Latvian poet. Some of Aeneas' characteristics can be found in Lāčplēsis – they were both chosen by the gods, and their lives were fully dedicated to

their special cause. In Pumpurs' epic, events take place in the pantheon of the gods, on the earth and in the underground world, so the whole universe is encompassed in the epic, as is the case in the ancient tradition. However, the mythical world of the gods is depicted in only the first part of the epic which serves more as an introduction to the whole story and as a testimony of traditions. The gods fulfil their mission by giving their blessing to the hero and then withdraw from the scene. In his description of the Latvian gods, Pumpurs reflects the ideas and notions of his time. His pantheon of Latvian gods also included a number of Lithuanian and Prussian deities. After providing their visions of the future, the gods disappear from the story, leaving Lāčplēsis in a more historical setting, although all the events that unfold in the epic were permeated with elements of the supernatural and fantastic.

The epic and national ideology

This revival was of vital importance to one of the greatest Latvian poets of all time: Rainis (1865–1929, real name Jānis Pliekšāns). Rainis used motifs from Pumpurs' epic in his own tragedy, *Uguns un Nakts*, thus taking the epic's subject into a new literary sphere. Initially, Rainis had not intended to offer any continuation of the ideas of the national romantics. His original motivation for writing the play came from an external source: the music committee of the Riga Latvians' Society had announced a competition for an opera libretto. They hinted that they would prefer an opera libretto based on Latvian folklore, referring directly to *Lāčplēsis* as an example.

The performances of Rainis' play created the tradition of the reception of *Lāčplēsis*. The language and imagery of the drama became mediators in understanding the epic, a way of speaking about unresolved historical issues. Already, during the First World War, the national press and poetry had compared Latvian soldiers with Lāčplēsis. He became part of the system of ideological symbols in the young Latvian state that emerged from the war. Pumpurs' epic was included in school curricula and the site believed to be his grave was restored. As a work of art, the epic and its evaluation purely as literature became of secondary interest.

Even the name "Bearslayer" became the name of a category. For example, the Lāčplēsis Order became a decoration awarded to people who excelled in fighting for Latvia's freedom. On Lāčplēsis Day in 1922, the Latvian President Jānis Čakste addressed Latvian soldiers using these words:

> Greetings to the arisen hero,
> Greetings to you, descendants of the great hero Lāčplēsis,
> You Latvian Bearslayers![3]

War-invalid organizations and the Order of Lāčplēsis' journal, "Lāčplēsis", among other publications, printed a number of poems in honour of Bearslayer. However, these works were in no way artistically or ideologically match the quality of those offered by Rainis' *Uguns un Nakts*.

During the years of independent statehood, Lāčplēsis became an occasional poet's cliché, but no new or more powerful interpretations emerged. However, the efforts of visual artists proved more successful, such as those who produced monuments carved in granite. Lāčplēsis was something new and, as yet, not 'complete', thus, the results of these artistic efforts are perhaps more meaningful than those of literature. The most outstanding visualization of Lāčplēsis is Kārlis Zāle's Latvian Freedom Monument in the centre of Riga, in which Lāčplēsis is depicted at the moment of victory over the bear. There is also Kārlis Jansons's monument in Jelgava, where Lāčplēsis is the central figure, and the defeated Dark Knight lies at his feet. In the 1920s and 1930s Lāčplēsis achieved the status of a symbolic national hero.

Lāčplēsis and the ideologies of occupation

Latvia's first independence was short-lived. In 1940 the country was occupied by the Soviet Union. From 1941 until 1944, Latvia was under the rule of Nazi Germany, before Soviet troops returned as 'liberators', only to remain in Latvia until 1990, when Latvia declared independence (although this independence only became a reality in 1991). Both the Soviet and Nazi regimes appreciated the historic meaning of the Lāčplēsis tradition and tried to incorporate this heritage to their respective ideological systems.

The history of the reception and interpretation of *Lāčplēsis* under the Soviet regime is diverse and multi-faceted. Given Pumpurs' pro-Slavic sentiments, Rainis' allegiance to Marxist ideas, and their propagation in Latvia, the Soviet authorities found it appropriate to add their works to the writings of the proletarian camp. By presenting a national spiritual symbol in *Lāčplēsis*, both authors offered an acceptable tool for Bolshevik propaganda. Of course, some aspects of the hero's portrayal needed adjustment. This was attempted by the poet Jānis Sudrabkalns, an outstanding expressionist and pre-war lyricist who, under the pressure of the Soviet regime, became the 'little nightingale' of the new ideology.

> The hour of destiny is at hand
> The Soviet five-pointed star offers the hero a bright shield
> Latvia's sun is rising – it is the morning of eternal freedom[4].

Sudrabkalns' Lāčplēsis generally evokes his own lyrical characters of the 1940s and the 1950s:

> The limitations of one home are narrow
> and the people need a broader space[5].

The portrayal of Lāčplēsis and the poem's form as an elegiac diptych was designed to accentuate Sudrabkalns's similarity to Pumpurs' epic. Soviet ideology gave Lāčplēsis a pioneering role! The Soviet regime also used Lāčplēsis's image to mark its economic achievements: a number of collective farms, including one exemplary one with relatively high living standards, were named after the epic hero. Likewise, a radio set was named after Lāčplēsis' fiery lover, Spīdola, and a perfume was named after Laimdota,

Lāčplēsis's spouse. These goods were among the best produced by the Soviet Latvian industry that was required to demonstrate the advantages of the Communist system.

The Nazis also appreciated Lāčplēsis's importance to the Latvian people when they occupied Latvia during the Second World War. Ignoring the fact that Lāčplēsis' name was primarily associated with the fight against the Germans, the occupying Nazi forces adopted the Lāčplēsis Day tradition, perhaps somewhat awkwardly, but avoided any debate about the origins of the concept. In 1942, the magazine "Laikmets", presented the Lāčplēsis spirit and the history of Latvia's struggle in the context of the epic, as a dramatic force:

> Standing at the crossroads of choice...
> having survived heavy testing and having chosen
> the path together with the crusaders of the civilized world,
> the Latvian people ensure with their blood and victims
> their rights for that time, when total
> victory will determine the new order in Europe[6].

Lāčplēsis and the restoration of independence

Since the Second World War, a rock opera by the poet Māra Zālīte and composer Zigmārs Liepiņš entitled "Lāčplēsis" has become the most important work based on the epic. It also has had a major influence on the epic's reception, offering a traditional, yet at the same time, somewhat new-age interpretation. The rock opera was first performed in 1988, which was the 100th anniversary of the original epic by Pumpurs, and the time when Latvia had just launched its popular movement seeking the restoration of its statehood. Accordingly, the songs, texts and performances of the rock opera became a source of inspiration for resistance to the Soviet regime. The rock opera had been written while Latvia was still under Soviet occupation. Accordingly, it was the ambiguity of its poetic language and attempts to find a new meaning for the old material that made the opera so important. In her foreword to the rock opera, Zālīte stresses the necessary continuity of Pumpurs' epic: "Pumpurs, in the first instance, having created an independent work of art of immeasurable cultural-historical and national importance, has, at the same time, provided many future generations with material presenting an undying importance that has the scope for interpretation in ever changing situations". Latvian literary scholar Ausma Cimdiņa notes that Zālīte was the first female Latvian writer to invoke the *Lāčplēsis* theme. By writing the libretto to the rock opera, Zālīte broke into a masculine literary paradigm, and was invited or chosen to continue "the national revival of this... traditionally masculine genre which had come into a woman's hands..."[7].

The rock opera tackles a number of historical and contemporary Latvian issues. It uses several quotations from Pumpurs' epic, clearly identifying the libretto's core idea and artistic roots. At the same time, Zālīte has unmistakably re-created the message of the fate of Latvia and Latvians in the 20th century. "By not re-developing traditional symbols and not re-interpreting them again and again – that is how to create successful stereotypes"[8].

The history and literary outlook of the 20th century, together with artistic experience, determined the choice of rock opera as the new genre for the epic. Unlike Pumpurs' epic, the mythological folkloric backdrop in this work is minimal. Outwardly, all activity in the rock opera is de-mythologized. However, in essence it retains its archetypal mythical links with the ancient sources. Zālīte characterized this approach as follows: "Lāčplēsis is timeless, he has never existed and yet he exists forever, and his work is coloured by the mythical principle: it has never happened—but it is always happening"[9].

To clear the land of evil, overcome oppressors, and propagate new values, Lāčplēsis's source of power – his ears – no longer has anything to do with the ancient Lāčplēsis, but instead involves the ability to listen, to hear his heart's voice and that of his people, of his homeland. Lāčplēsis's heroic virtue and the source of power is this ability to listen. The divine predictions and prophecies are essential to Pumpurs' epic, but Zālīte's libretto is different. Lāčplēsis represents the needs of the people, their desires and efforts. Lāčplēsis belongs to everyday Latvia and all Latvians contain an element of Lāčplēsis. For a whole nation to be able to reduce itself to such a quintessence is remarkable. In the new interpretation, Lāčplēsis is a spiritual force. The rock opera introduces new elements into the old scheme through its traditional heroes, most strikingly in its treatment of Spīdala/Spīdola: she is removed from the rock opera. In Rainis' interpretation, Lāčplēsis always valued Spīdola's intelligence and insight, but in the final act, despite her warnings, he chooses a physical battle and loses his life, because it is not possible to fight deception with force. Spīdola goes with him, asserting that the struggle is not yet over.

Perhaps the most important factor in Zālīte's libretto is the time (referred to as "eternal time") which is highlighted at both the beginning and the end of the folk song:

> Deep cries the Sun in the apple grove,
> A golden apple falls from a tree.
> Don't cry, Sun.
> God does otherwise
> With Power, with Gold, with Silver[10].

Just like the ever renewable golden apple, the Latvian epic awaits its next transformation into a new form and settings appropriate to the mentality of the age. In 1911, Rainis' production became a crucial turning point in Latvian theatrical life because of the form and style chosen – it was something new and unseen. At the end of the 20th century, Zālīte's version of the epic took the form of a rock opera, a genre unknown in the Soviet Latvian culture of the time and not a recognized technique for propagating ideas. The choice of the form was compelling: it would be difficult to imagine a more appropriate artistic form that could better fit Zālīte's concept. The thousands of fans and spectators in the audience turned performances of the rock opera into something like an epic myth!

Andrejs Pumpurs had a talent for finding the right words – words that expressed important aspects of Latvia's soul. This is why, after more than a century of change,

Lāčplēsis remains an integral part of the fabric of Latvian culture and consciousness, complemented by Rainis' advice to fulfil and deepen the understanding of ideas, Sodums' exhortation to fight against the feeling of not having a choice, and crowned by Zālīte's invitation to hear the voice of the people. *Lāčplēsis* has deeply and visibly affected the development of national literature and art, and has become a cornerstone of national identity, a symbol of the state's formation and the fight for freedom, part of the Latvian calendar of holidays. Latvian literary scholar, Janīna Kursīte (1988) best summarises this: "*Lāčplēsis* is the central underpinning on which we stand, perhaps not fully understanding that without it our foundations would be incomparably narrower and thinner"[11].

Notes

1 A. Pumpurs, *Lāčplēsis*, Rīga 2002, p. 250.

2 C.M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, London 1952, p. 4.

3 J. Čakste, *Esiet sveiki, Lāčplēši*, in "Lāčplēsis", 1922, 4, p. 1.

4 J. Sudrabkalns, *Brāļu saimē*, in "Kopoti raksti", vol.1, Rīga 1958, p. 459.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Lāčplēša gars*, in "Laikmets", 1942, 47, p. 3.

7 A. Cimdiņa, *Teksts un klātbūtne*, Rīga 2000, p. 112.

8 M. Zālīte, Z. Liepiņš, *Lāčplēsis*, Rīga 1991, p. 6.

9 *Ibid*.

10 *Ibid*.

11 J. Kursīte, *Eposs un nacionālā pašapziņa*, in "Literatūra un Māksla", 1988, 38, p. 13.

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Myth as an Instrument for the Study of Greek and Indigenous Identities I: Greek Myths in the Illyrian Area

Maria Paola Castiglioni
Université Pierre Mendès-France, Grenoble

Le mythe constitue pour l'historien de l'Antiquité un instrument irremplaçable pour l'approche et pour la compréhension de la civilisation grecque: expression fondamentale, avec le rite et les représentations figurées du divin, de la religion hellénique, le mythe en partage la complexité et la présence dans tous les aspects de la vie publique et sociale de l'homme grec.

Etudié depuis l'Antiquité, le concept de mythe a été pendant des siècles au centre d'un débat pluridisciplinaire et international enrichi par des contributions hétérogènes et antithétiques qui font aujourd'hui de l'ensemble des récits légendaires hellènes une clé de lecture indispensable pour déchiffrer l'univers grec.

L'itinéraire pluriséculaire de la mythologie (dans son sens étymologique de "discours – donc étude – sur les mythes") connut un début proprement scientifique et une lecture libérée des préjugés moralistes à partir de la moitié du XIXe s. Les apports complémentaires, souvent nourris de points de vue divergents et polémiques, des linguistes de l'école de mythologie comparée, des représentants de l'école anthropologique anglaise, des philologues allemands, des symbolistes, des fonctionnalistes et, à une époque plus récente, des structuralistes, ont promu une définition progressive du concept de mythe et une prise de conscience de son importance pour la compréhension non seulement du monde grec, mais, plus généralement, de l'univers mental humain. Les dernières recherches fournissent encore des impulsions profitables et efficaces pour une réflexion plus approfondie sur les aspects et les utilisations multiples du discours mythique.

A partir des années soixante-dix du XXe s., grâce aux découvertes archéologiques et à la progression des études anthropologiques, le mythe joue un rôle fondamental dans la compréhension des mécanismes identitaires déclenchés par le phénomène de la colonisation grecque. Les chercheurs ont en effet mis en évidence l'intensité de l'impact social et politique du mythe dans les contextes coloniaux helléniques: le mythe est ici mis au service du renforcement du sentiment d'appartenance commune des colons, de la légitimation de la possession du territoire colonial et de la médiation du contact avec les indigènes, notamment avec les élites. Le processus d'acculturation provoque parfois chez ces dernières une réception des thèmes mythiques d'origine grecque.

Dans le cadre de cette approche, l'Illyrie constitue un terrain privilégié d'enquête: en effet cette région, dont la colonisation grecque remonte à la fin du VIIe s. av. J.-C., est évoquée

dans les attestations littéraires comme la terre d'élection de nombreux épisodes mythiques d'origine grecque. L'exemple le plus caractéristique est offert à ce propos par le destin illyrien du héros thébain Cadmos.

J.-P. Vernant affirmed some years ago that "Greek religion ... is a domain where the researcher has to think holistically, embracing religion and politics, anthropology and history, morality and daily life"[1]. This phrase effectively summarizes the complexity of approaching the Hellenic religious world, a vast symbolic construction interwoven in all areas of public and social life, in which the myth constitutes, beside ritual practices and the figurative representation of the divine, the fundamental mode of expression[2]. However, this critical concept, the origin of which has been attributed to the Greeks themselves and which later became one of the preferential themes, if not the principal one, of cultural anthropology, has been the subject of a reflection punctuated by heterogeneous and sometimes antithetical contributions, of a long and tormented intellectual itinerary ending in provisional and hypothetical conclusions, fruits of an international and polyphonic dialogue whose origins go back to ancient times and whose most original developments took place in the age of the Enlightenment.

From the beginning of studies on myths, the role of French scholars has been critical and prolific. However, it must be emphasised that this area is nurtured and continues to be enriched by contributions from enquiries and discussions which have never known the compartmentalization of national frontiers. Our analysis, therefore, will seek to underline the principal stages of the progression of this knowledge by concentrating on French research, but will not fail to register the role that other schools and specialists have played within the framework of mythological studies. In addition, equal emphasis will be given to the fact that this itinerary is of a multidisciplinary nature, where history is only one component of a global enquiry bringing together anthropologists, linguists, philologists and even psychoanalysts. Nevertheless, it is thanks to this multiplicity of outlooks and levels of interpretation that accurate historical knowledge of the Greek past has been able to advance. The Hellenic scholar of today knows that myth was generated by a social environment that influenced this collective framework. He does not hesitate therefore to use this incomparable decoding instrument. In particular, studies conducted on the theme of modes of contact between Greek and non-Greeks, notably in the colonial setting, clearly show how crucial mythical discourse is to understanding this historical reality. One will observe that the tools and procedures already used by historians in the case of southern Italy are also suitable to the Illyrian region, one of the new horizons still partly unexplored by historiographical research of the ancient world.

Birth and Development of a Science of Myths[3]

A point of reference for religious and social life in ancient times, paradoxically myth has been submitted, since the times of Xenophanes of Colophon and of Thucydides up to

Plato and Aristotle, to polemic exegesis and a shocked scrutiny which underscored, in particular, its irrational character and its fantastic and erroneous content[4]. Considered for a long time as "fabulous stories of gods, demigods, and heroes of Antiquity", or "a confusing mixture of fantasy, philosophical ideals and fragments of ancient history" whose "analysis is impossible"[5], the idea that myth was a mode of thought as well as a narrative tool was only integrated into studies at the beginning of the 18th century.

The early beginnings of a science of myth are strictly linked to the exploration of the New World and the discovery of customs and fables of American peoples: the publication in 1724, of the essay of French and Jesuit traveller J.-F. Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* [Habits of American Savages Compared to Customs of Antiquity], by establishing a parallel between the beliefs of ancient Greeks and the superstitions of American Indians and by recognising a convergence between the stories of the Hellenes and those of inhabitants of the New World, laid the foundation of an early comparative mythology. In the eyes of the priest, the two peoples had a pre-Christian religious level in common, and shared a condition of religious primitiveness, of which the myth constituted a decadent and crude expression[6].

Still hindered by an ethical and moralising interpretation, where the myth is nothing but a narration of atrocity, incest, parricide, adultery, murder and acts of cannibalism, there were no new developments in mythological study until the second half of the 19th century, and then further development was due to the progress of linguistics and comparative grammar, which form the base of the reflections of Max Muller, founder of the school of comparative mythology. For this Indianist, the myth is only a pathology of language, a kind of metaphoric perversion in the development of language, the result of a journey in three stages which sees, after the formation of words of the language and the development of grammatical structures, the expression of the mythopoetic phase, where the original sense of words is obliterated, ceases to be clear to the speakers and denotes mythical figures[7].

At the end of the 19th century, the English anthropological school, founded by E.B. Taylor and A. Lang, opposed Muller's linguistic model, often too fanciful in its linguistic and etymological reconstructions, objecting to it as being irrational: how could one give an explanation for the savage nature of myths, a feature still quite present within so-called primitive civilizations? Taylor's response no longer mobilised language, but the human spirit, in which the myth constitutes the early stage of evolution and the primordial state: man "mythologizes" spontaneously in his early days, before attaining the age of reason and philosophy, in ancient Greece as well as among "savage peoples"[8]. A vestige of times past, the myth therefore represents the savage state of thought. This point of view encouraged the revival of comparativism and places this approach within the framework of a real ethnological science: it was in the wake of this study that J.G. Frazer embarked upon the immense task of a parallel interpretation of myths of classical civilizations and primitive peoples which ended in the publication, from 1890, of the twelve volumes of *The Golden Bough*, an enormous synthesis an evolutionist approach[9].

The reaction to the English thesis, notably to the generalisations provoked by an anthropological confrontation with other cultures judged as excessive, was not long in coming and, at the beginning of the 20th century, the German school of historical philology called for the return of classical mythological studies to the monopoly of philology. The contributions of L. Deubner, M.P. Nilsson and O. Gruppe, through the collection and the classification of classical mythic data, have provided indispensable work tools, even if their purely literary analysis led to an ignorance of the specificity of the myth[10].

Meanwhile, in Germany, within the sphere of influence of the philosophy of E. Cassirer[11] and those dedicated like him to the "tautegorical" approach to myth (the meaning of the myth is in what it recounts and not in another object) designated by F.W. Schelling[12], S. Freud likened the myth to other forms of symptomatic expressions of unconscious desires (dreams, *lapsus linguae*, subconscious deliberate mistakes), thereby creating the basis of his vast psychoanalytical construction; C.G. Jung recognized archetypical images organized in the collective unconscious in mythical stories; K. Kerényi considered myth to be "the myth of man", as a modality of knowledge and creation specific to man. The religious phenomenology of F.W. Otto pursued this reflection on the symbolism of myths finding a force that shapes the culture of man[13].

The functionalists did not hesitate to oppose the position of the German symbolists: the criticisms of B. Malinowski underlined the absence, in the interpretation of symbolists, of all consideration of the social and institutional role of the myth, which is taken completely out of its context[14]. The studies of this Polish ethnologist placed myths in their social environment: they served to maintain social stability and preserved, by the repetition of its language and symbols, respect for norms and hierarchies. It played a role in studying the function of a social institution or individual behaviour. The same perspective was shared by E. Durkheim, the head of the French School of Sociology: Durkheim's reflection conceded a primary role to myth (no longer separated from religion) because it is at the origin of fundamental notions of science and major forms of culture ("Toutes sont comme vêtues et enveloppées de quelque figure issue du mythe"[15]).

It is on these foundations, and with the desire to integrate limits within them, that the research of the anthropologist M. Mauss, the sinologist M. Granet and the Hellenist L. Gernet was added[16]. The latter insisted, in particular, on what related to the Greek domain, on the unity and continuity between mythic symbols, institutional practices and language events. The specificity of the mythic story is read in the light of the institutional and conceptual system of which it constitutes a particular expression. Thought is therefore a "total social fact" which involves economic and political dimensions, as well as ethics and aesthetics at the same time[17].

After G. Dumézil's research on the functional tripartition of sovereignty, war and fertility myths, which revealed the deep structural analogies in Indo-European myths[18], the most sensational advances took place between 1958 and 1964, again in France and more precisely at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, an eminent place of religious

research, thanks to the Americanist C. Levi-Strauss. By looking on the one hand to the studies of Mauss, Gernet and Dumézil, and on the other to his knowledge of a vast number of Amerindian myths of oral tradition, the founder of structuralism defined myth as a story structured in episodes, told on particular occasions, often sacred, and reproduced through different stories without breaking down its general structure. Only the latter counts for analysis, which is done by picking out the constitutive elements of the story, the mythemes, short phrases in themselves devoid of meaning (like phonemes in language) but the combination of which gives narrative sense to the mythic story through the interaction of opposition and homology. Therefore, myth possesses an apparent narrative level, but also a more profound level that mythemes allow them to reach. In order to understand it completely, "Il ne doit jamais être interprété seul, mais dans son rapport avec d'autres mythes qui, pris ensemble, constituent un groupe de transformations" and "par reference à l'ethnographie des sociétés dont ils proviennent"[19], which amounts to recognizing the importance of the skills of the historian in the case of Greek myths[20].

Submitted to methods of structural analysis, myth has earned a legitimate place in the domain of History: not only for the fact that it is part of History and that its "formal dynamic reflects by a collection of logical transformations the historical evolution of societies", but also because it helped to detect in civilisations "the presence of such or such a concrete element" which revealed, for example, the existence, otherwise unsuspected, of contacts and exchanges between several societies[21].

Inspired by the work of this distinguished predecessor, the research of French Hellenists of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes has adopted and adapted the Levi-Straussian procedures to the Greek domain: J.-P. Vernant, M. Detienne and P. Vidal-Naquet have enriched mythic knowledge and interpretation with essential contributions to several aspects of Greek culture and spirituality. Their work has stimulated an international reflection, the results of which are still relevant today[22].

Conscious of the fundamental contribution of myth to the knowledge of the Greek man and of his social, political and cultural concerns, Hellenists today dedicate themselves to discerning, behind the richness of mythic discourses, their deeper meaning and their relationship with History.

Myth in the Periphery: Acculturation, Frontiers, Ethnic Identity

Today, the long exercise of "unravelling" myth makes it an essential tool for studying the multiple facets of the Greek universe. Mythic stories, a mode of expression of the mental organisation of the Greek man, of his reference systems and values, therefore provides an essential contribution to the study of cultural and social processes triggered off by contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks: the relationship between the Other and the complex dynamics aroused in the context of social intercourse with Greeks or their occupation of peripheral territories (*emporia* and colonies) can be better grasped thanks to the acknowledgement of the role played by the myth.

The Greek colonial phenomenon earned a place in ancient studies in the relatively recent past: the development of archaeological sites in southern Italy since the 1960s and the spread of a more general thought pattern – linked to the effects of decolonisation – of re-evaluation and re-valorisation of cultures other than 'Western', have produced a new interest in the encounters and interferences between Greek culture and "Barbarian" cultures.

Once again, this process is indebted to the experience of anthropological studies: the reflections developed in studies on American Indians in the late 19th century have led to the introduction into the vocabulary and the field of scientific research of the word and notion of "acculturation"[23], that is "the collection of phenomena resulting from direct and continued contact between groups of individuals from different cultures with subsequent changes in the cultural types of one group or the other"[24]. Later contributions, especially from the 1930s, have permitted the introduction of new hypotheses, a better definition of working methods and an early classification of the types of itineraries and acculturative agents[25].

This anthropological approach, elaborated particularly in the framework of a study of modern and contemporary colonial contexts, has therefore been applied to the Greco-Roman world. The now outdated label used in the beginning of "Hellenisation" and "Romanisation" was followed by the definition, more "politically correct" and more satisfying from an epistemological point of view, of "modes of contact and transformation processes"[26]. This new formula was also the title of a meeting held in Cortona in 1981, a key colloquium in the debate on the problems of cultural exchange in ancient societies[27]. This important scientific step has in reality been the outcome of a fruitful dialogue between Italian and French researchers that started as early as the 1960s, and of which the founding moments have been, in 1961, the first Congress on Studies of Greater Greece at Taranto, *Greci e Italici in Magna Grecia* and, in 1963, the 8th International Congress on Classical Archaeology, *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*[28]. Again in 1971, ten years after the first meeting, the annual rendezvous in Taranto highlighted the problem of non-Hellenic inhabitants in Magna Graecia (*Le genti non greche in Magna Grecia*) as a key issue.

In 1967, the Centre Jean Bérard, a research team associated with the CNRS, was created in Naples, becoming a joint emanation from the CNRS and the French School of Rome (Ecole française de Rome) from 1999: a research platform for French and Italian researchers working on southern Italy and Sicily. By means of archaeological excavations organised in Southern Italy and its numerous publications, the Centre Jean Bérard has considerably enriched the knowledge of the colonial realities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, by allowing a better comprehension of the social, economic and religious phenomena linked to the Greek colonial presence[29].

In 1997, the researchers who met at Taranto became interested in the frontier territories in the western Greek world, in the context of new research originating from concepts of *Frontier History* and *Ethnicity*, two notions coined by Anglo-American historiography

that met with great success among Hellenists from the 1990s onwards and which today constitute the pivot of the historiographical debate in favour or against a Helleno-centric vision of ancient history[30].

The frontier, both geographical and cultural, is the place of difference, and therefore the space, both physical and psychological, where the question of identity manifests itself most violently with two corollary consequences: a more acute sense of belonging to one's own community and its values, and a clearer perception of the Other and of his Otherness[31].

Highlighted by G. Pugliese Carratelli, the frontier is also a meeting point. It is not an impassable boundary but a permeable field of reciprocal ethnic interrelations and transmissions. Thus, sometimes Greek myths originally "projected" on non-Hellenic environments used a conceptual and expressive code shared by the indigenous peoples themselves (or by a group, often the elite, of the native community) which could therefore be used to assert their own identity and values. In this case, the myth was often perceived as a vector of prestige and therefore as an essential power factor: its social and political impact was such that it contributed to the "heroisation" of indigenous aristocracies. In these instances, one can witness the phenomenon of mythic reception.

For a definition of identities and, more generally, for the illustration of the themes of acculturation, myth has been taken into consideration in southern Italy and Sicily more than in any other region affected by Greek colonisation. This is partly by virtue of a "high degree of acculturation in the indigenous societies, likely to participate in an identical common imagination (with the Greek) and perhaps also by reason of "a Mycenaean tradition taking root in the societies of the Dark Ages"[32]. Here, we are indebted to the exemplary exploitation of an archaeological and, in particular, iconographical document capable of offsetting the lack of more explicit evidence. We refer to the contributions gathered after the international colloquium in Rome on *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique*. In particular, the communication of F.-H. Massa-Pairault with his remarkable interpretation of the Etruscan recovery of the Athenian myth of Erichthonius, the mythical founder of the autochthonous Athenian identity, a legendary story that metamorphoses into the foundation myth of the *nomen etruscum* identity in the middle of the 4th century B.C.[33]. This is an exemplary case of reception of a Greek myth.

Finally, each study of a myth requires a thorough awareness of the historical context in which the myth in question was produced: I. Malkin defined this "mythic-historical" approach and emphasized that, rather than considering the myth as bearers of a "core of truth" relative to the past that they narrated, it is necessary to see them "as an integral part of the history of the period in which it was told"[34]. This interpretation allows for a better understanding of the links that united the Greeks to colonised territories and the responses that they gave to the confrontation with the Other. After having travelled the mythic path which accompanied colonial foundation, the Israeli researcher applied his methodology, in particular, to the myths about Ulysses' return in order to better define

the period of Greek proto-colonisation[35]. The originality of his approach, nurtured by a multi-disciplinary effort, has opened new influential and stimulating paths of exploration for specialists.

Greek Myths in Illyria: Historiographical Review of Illyrian Studies

Today, taking advantage of solid theoretical and methodological bases, research is more and more oriented towards investigating other territories also involved in the encounter with the Hellenic world, thanks to discoveries by archaeologists attracted to new research terrains. Among these, there is the Illyrian region, namely the eastern Adriatic coast and its surroundings: Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia and Albania (Fig. 1).

If the difficult political situations that these countries have gone through have prevented sufficient in-depth research in the past and if, even today, it is still complicated to have direct access to materials brought to light in excavations (that began, in some cases, in the first half of the 20th century), the enormous archaeological capital of the region can interest historians once again. In fact, activity has resumed in the last few years now as researchers from nations concerned with the excavations participate in archaeological missions. For example, in Albania, France has archaeologists working at Apollonia and at Byllis, Italy at Phoinike and the United Kingdom at Butrint. These missions aim to complete topographical and archaeological knowledge of the Albanian sites and permit the conservation and improvement of a heritage of rare value. The examination of the evidence uncovered will permit new chapters to be added to the history of colonisation and contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks, even though it will be necessary to wait several years before the results are compiled into an entirely satisfying syntheses.

Outside, and before, research on the terrain, the interest in Illyria is part of the larger framework of growing attention to the Adriatic space. After the pioneering studies of R. L. Beaumont on the Adriatic and, a little later, the contributions of D. Rendić-Miočević, it was necessary to wait until the 1970s to see a realization of the impact exerted by the Adriatic *koinè*[36] and the Adriatic "traffic" on the development of ancient civilisations[37]. The book *Grecità adriatica* by L. Braccesi, published in 1971, followed by the 1973 congress *L'Adriatico tra Mediterraneo e penisola balcanica nell'Antichità* , has opened a new and fruitful debate over this space[38]. If Braccesi's attention is concentrated on the eastern part of the Adriatic, and particularly on the Syracusan colonial presence in the Adriatic, P. Cabanes' studies, originally oriented to the region of Epirus, now focuses on the southern Illyrian region.

These two researchers, operating with two, sometimes far distant, approaches and questionings, have been able, through their dynamism and enthusiasm, to promote scientific initiatives that continue to enrich the knowledge of the Adriatic space and its history with new contributions: the Italian scholar through the periodic publication of *Hesperìa* and his French colleague with the organisation and publication of international colloquia on southern Illyria and Epirus in Antiquity[39].

Fig. 1
The Illyrian tribes.

In their research, the two teams have included the problem of colonial and indigenous identities and have tackled it, in part, through the interpretation of myths[40], which happen to find a particularly fertile terrain in ancient Illyria and Epirus. Literary sources in the Greek and Latin languages record the presence of numerous characters and episodes belonging to the Hellenic tradition, where there is a pervasive presence of heroes from *nostoi*, the return voyages from the Trojan War: Diomede, Helenus and Andromache, Aeneas, Antenor and above all Elephenor. The link with Troy is developed to such a point it would seem that a real Trojan tradition existed.

The Dorian hero par excellence, Heracles, also had close relations with this region. The Argonauts hugged the eastern shores of the Adriatic on their way to Corinth after capturing the Golden Fleece.

The Theban hero, Cadmus, emigrated there with his spouse Harmonia as serpents, and reigned over the local tribe of Enchelians: this legend is without doubt the most entrenched in the Illyrian territory and seems to have been, more than others, taken up by the indigenous royalty. Indeed, numerous literary sources locate the legend of Cadmus-serpent on the Oriental Adriatic slopes between the rivers Neretva and Drin and around Lake Ohrid at the frontiers between Albania and Macedonia. There, according to Strabo's account (VII, 7-8), the sovereigns of one indigenous tribe, the Enchelians, claimed to be descendants of the Theban couple (Fig. 2).

The appropriation of the Cadmean myth, suggested by this literary passage, would be later confirmed by two pieces of iconographic: two belt clasps of Illyrian manufacture. One was found at Selca e Poshtme (Albania) and the other at Gostilj (Montenegro), both date back to the Hellenistic age and representing a quasi-identical battle scene which can, without doubt, be linked with the Illyrian episode of the myth of Cadmus (Fig. 3).

Therefore, it would appear to be an example of myth absorption, obviously favoured by the existence of a strong cultural substratum in Illyria, probably going back to the prehistoric age, in which the sacred nature of the serpent was well established.

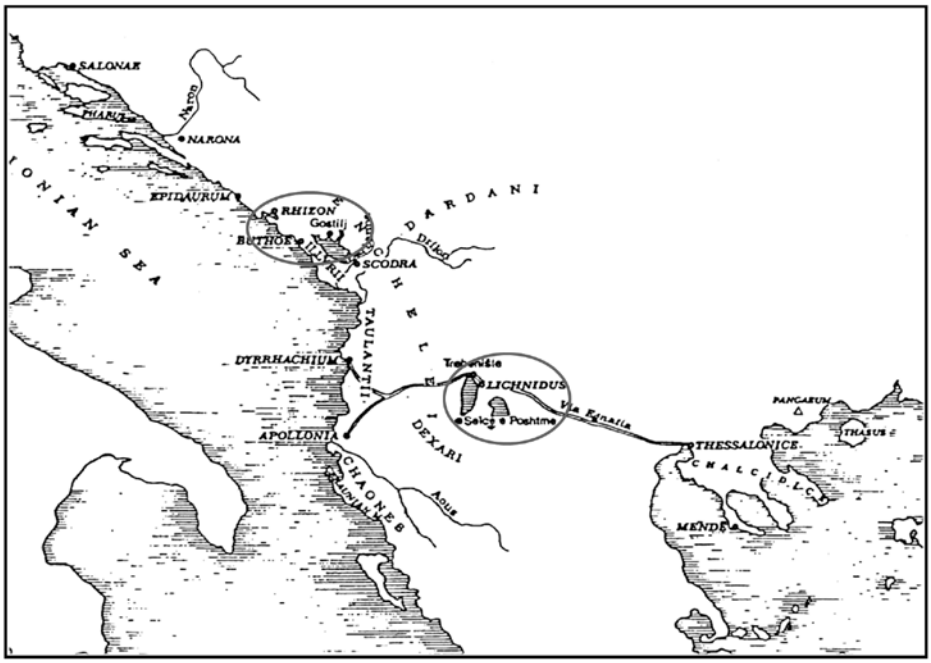

Fig. 2
Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria: peoples and places mentioned in the texts.

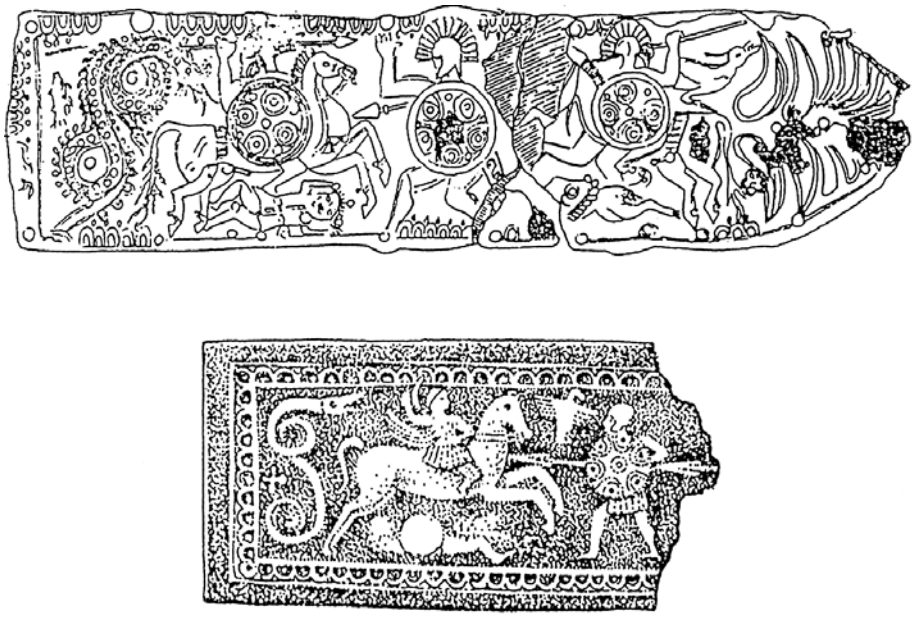

Fig. 3
Selca's and Gostjli's belt buckles.

It must be admitted that these legends, unquestionably the result of Greek contacts with the Illyrian world, have been frequently modified, embellished and transformed according to circumstances. Certain mythic data does not fall far short of real propaganda, as is the case with the legend of Illyrios, related by Appian (*Illyriké*, II, 3-4), or the story about the origin of the name *Ionios kolpos*, the Adriatic Sea, also recorded by Appian (*Bellum Civile*, II, 39). This aspect of traditional narrative sometimes makes it difficult to establish the original version of the myth and to distinguish later additions, especially if one considers the chronological span of literary traces.

Probably because Illyrian research is so recent, these myths have been the subject of only a few articles, the most convincing of which remain M. Šašel Kos's contributions, but these have never been read thoroughly or with a view to synthesizing their entire significance[41].

Only the detailed study of the historical context, along with a careful textual exegesis and the support of the available archaeological material, will permit the correct interpretation of these mythical stories and make them a precious tool for the definition of the acculturative alchemies that arose from the contact between Greeks and Illyrians. Therefore, the research is still far from its conclusion, but the necessary tools have been prepared.

The centuries-long research on the myth, after rendering the modes of expression intelligible, continues today, and will continue in future to provide historians with new

tools to understand the Ancients. The objective will be to shed light on a crucial dimension within studies that are supposed to be humanistic: forms of thought, mentalities, awareness of the self and perception of the Other by the Antique Man, considered as an individual and as a member of a community, his inner history and his social and cultural environment, of which he is both an actor and a creator.

Notes

1 Interview with the "Nouvel Observateur" (May 5 1980), words recorded by J.-P. Enthoven and J. Julliard.

2 See J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et religion en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1990, pp. 34-35

3 This entire section benefits from the contribution of several readings and therefore constitutes a synthetic review of more detailed reconstitutions than one can obtain in: J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et religion en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1974; Id., *Enciclopedia del Novecento*, vol. IV, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1979, in the article "Mito", pp. 350-367; M. Detienne, *L'invention de la mythologie*, Paris 1981; Id., *Les Grecs et nous, Une anthropologie comparée de la Grèce ancienne*, Paris 2005; C. Calame, *Mythe et histoire dans L'Antiquité grecque, La création symbolique d'une colonie*, Lausanne 1996.

4 For a more complete overview of the perception of Greek myths by the ancients, see P. Veyne, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leur mythes? Essai sur l'imagination constituante*, Paris 1983. See also: C. Ginzburg, *Mito*, in *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte e società*, I: *I Greci e noi*, Turin 1996, pp. 197-237.

5 Quotation from the article "Mythologie" of the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts et des métiers*, X, Neuchâtel 1765, pp. 924-926.

6 J.-F. Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains comparés aux mœurs des premier temps*, 4 vols., Paris 1724. Lafitau's point of view is shared in part by another Frenchman, B. Le Bouyer de Fontenelle, author of the treatise *De l'origine des fables*, published in Paris en 1724; for him, fables and myths are only irrational and inventions. Contrary to the Jesuit, he considered them not as a deteriorated form of a religious spirit, but as embryonic manifestations of a phenomenon that would transform itself into a religion.

7 M. Müller, *The science of language*, London 1861-1863 and Id., *Lectures on the science of language. Second series*, London 1863.

8 E.B. Taylor, *Primitive culture. Researches into the development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*, London 1903[4]; A. Lang, *La mythologie*, Paris 1886; Id., *Modern Mythology*, London 1897; Id., *The making of religion*, London 1909[3].

9 J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, 12 vols., London 1890-1915.

10 M.P. Nilsson, *Greek popular religion*, New York 1940; Id., *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, vol. I, Munich 1967[3], vol. II, 1961[2]; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1906; Id., *Geschichte der klassichen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, während des Mittelalters im Abendland und wahrend der Neuzeit*, in *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Roscher), suppl., Leipzig 1921.

11 E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, 3 vols., Berlin 1923-1929.

12 F.W. Schelling, *Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie*, 2 vols., Stuttgart-Augsburg 1856-1857.

13 S. Freud, *Totem und Tabu*, Leipzig-Vienna 1913; C.G. Jung, *Zur Psychologie westlicher und östlicher Religion*, Zurich 1963; C.G. Jung - K. Kerenyi, *Einführung in das Wesen der Mythologie*, Amsterdam-Leipzig 1941; K. Kerenyi, *Die Mythologie der Griechen*, 2 vols., Munich 1951; W.F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands. Das Bild des Göttlichen im Spiegel des griechischen Geistes*, Frankfurt/Main 1947.

14 B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, New York-London 1922; Id., *Myth in primitive psychology*, London 1926.

15 "Everything is clothed in and enveloped by some figure originating from myth".

[16] M. Mauss, *Œuvres. Vol. II., Représentations collectives et diversité des civilisations*, Paris 1969; M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 2 vols., Paris 1926; Id., *La pensée chinoise*, Paris 1934; Id., *La religions des Chinois*, Paris 1951; L. Gernet, *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce*, Paris 1917; Id., *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris 1968.

[17] See *ibid.*, p. 131.

[18] G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, vol. I, *L'idéologie des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens*, Paris 1968 et vol. II, *Types épiques indo-européens: un héros, un sorcier, un roi*, Paris 1971.

[19] "It should never be interpreted alone, but in relation to other myths which, taken together, constitute a group of transformations" and "by reference to the ethnography of the societies from which they came". C. Lévi-Strauss, *Religions comparées des peuples sans écriture*, in *Annuaire de l'EPHE*, Paris 1961, p. 5.

[20] C. Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structurale*, Paris 1958; Id., *La geste d'Asdiwal*, in *Annuaire de l'EPHE*, Paris 1958; Id., *Mythologiques*, vol. I, *Le cru et le cuit*, Paris 1964; vol. II, *Du miel au cendres*, Paris 1966; vol. III, *L'origine des manières de table*, Paris 1968; vol IV, *L'homme nu*, Paris 1971.

[21] See F. Keck, *Claude Lévi-Strauss, une introduction*, Paris 2005.

[22] As a comprehensive list would be too long, this list is limited to the major titles: J.-P. Vernant, *Les origines de la pensée grecque*, Paris 1962; Id., *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs, Etudes de psychologie historique*, Paris 1965; *La mort dans les yeux. Figures de l'autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1985; Id., *L'individu, la mort, l'amour. Soi-même et l'autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1989; J.-P. Vernant - P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1972; J.-P. Vernant - M. Detienne, *Les ruses de l'intelligence. La métis des Grecs*, Paris 1974; M. Detienne, *Les jardins d'Adonis. La mythologie des aromates en Grèce*, Paris 1972; P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*, *Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec*, Paris 1981.

[23] The first person to use the word "acculturation" was the American ethnologist Powell. (J.W. Powell, *Introduction to the study of Indian languages*, Washington 1880, p. 46).

[24] R. Redfield - R. Linton - M. Herskowits, *Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation*, "American Anthropologist", 38, 1936, pp. 149-152.

[25] See R. Bastide, *"Acculturation"*, *Encyclopedia Universalis*, Paris 1968, vol. 1, pp. 102-107; Id., *Le prochain et le lointain*, Paris 2001; N. Wachtel, *L'acculturation*, in P. Nora (ed.), *Faire de l'Histoire. Nouveaux problèmes*, Paris 1974, t.1, pp. 124-146.

[26] Useful, for a reading of methodological problems, an article by C. Gallini, *Che cosa intendere per ellenizzazione. Problemi di metodo*, in "Dialoghi di archeologia", 1973, 7, pp. 175-191, where the phenomenon of Hellenisation of the Roman world is interpreted in light of Marxist dynamic structure-superstructure.

[27] *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes, Actes du colloque de Cortona (24-30 mai 1981)*, Rome 1983.

[28] One can also cite, but in a philological rather than a historical context, the encounter eloquently entitled *Grec et Barbares*, Interview with the Hardt foundation in 1961.

[29] As an example, we will cite: A. Mele, *Il commercio greco arcaico. Prexis ed emporie*, Naples 1979; *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident. 1.*, Naples 1980 and *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident. 2.*, Naples 1984; *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, 1975 and *Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéenes*, Naples 1982; B. D'Agostino - M. Bats (ed.), *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente, Actes du Colloque International (Naples 1996)*, Naples 1998, (co-edited with l'Istituto Universitario Orientale).

[30] *Confini e frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente, Atti del trentasettesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 3-6 ottobre 1997*, Taranto 1999.

[31] See W. Nippel, *La costruzione dell "altro"*, in W. Nippel, *I Greci. Storia, Cultura, Arte, Società*, I: *Noi e i Greci*, Torino 1996, pp. 165-183; F. Hartog, *Mémoire d'Ulysse. Récits sur la frontière en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1996; G. Vanotti - C. Perassi (eds.), *In limine. Richerche su marginalità e periferia nel mondo antico*, Milan 2004.

[32] P. Lévêque, *L'Italie des mythes*, in *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique, fonction et image, Actes du Colloque international*, *Rome, 14-16 novembre 1996*, Rome 1999, p. 637.

[33] F.-H. Massa-Pairault, *Mythe et identité politique, l'Etrurie du IVe siècle à l'époque hellénistique*, in *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique, fonction et image, Actes du colloque international, Rome, 14-16 novembre 1996*, Rome 1999, pp. 521-554.

[34] I. Malkin, *La Méditerranée spartiate, Mythe et territoire*, Paris 1999, p. 23.

[35] I. Malkin, *Religion and colonisation in Ancient Greece*, Leiden 1987; *The Return of Odysseus. Colonisation and ethnicity*, Berkeley 1998.

[36] Common space.

[37] R.L. Beaumont, *Greek influence in Adriatic Sea before the fourth century B.C.*, "JHS", 61, 1936, pp. 159-204; D. Rendić-Miočević, *I Greci in Adriatico*, "Studi romagnoli," 12, 1962, pp. 39-56.

[38] See in particular: M. Pallottino, *Considerazioni sul problema della funzione storica dell'Adriatico nell'Antichità*, in *L'Adriatico tra Mediterraneo e penisola balcanica nell'Antichità (Lecce-Matera, 21-27 ottobre 1973)*, Taranto 1983, pp. 11-21; E. Lepore, *Problemi storici dell'area adriatica nell'età della colonizzazione greca*, in *L'Adriatico tra Mediterraneo e penisola balcanica nell'Antichità (Lecce-Matera, 21-21 ottobre 1973)*, Taranto 1983, pp. 127-145

[39] The collection *Hespéria, Studi sulla Grecità d'Occidente* was published from 1990. Today, there are twenty monographs in the collection, which however are not all dedicated to Adriatic problems. The international colloquia on meridional Illyria and Epirus take place every six years. The first and the second took place in Clermont-Ferrand in 1984 and 1990, the third in Chantilly in 1996. The most recent one, the fourth, was held in Grenoble in 2002 and was organised and edited by P. Cabanes and J.-L. Lamboley.

[40] See, as an example, P. Cabanes, *La présence grecque sur la côte orientale de l'Adriatique en Illyrie du Sud*, in *Greek influence along the East Adriatic Coast, Proceedings of the International Conference held in Split from September 24th to 26th 1998*, Split 2002, pp. 51-62; L. Braccesi, *Diomedes cum Gallis*, "Hesperìa", 2, 1991, pp. 90-102.

[41] M. Šašel Kos, *Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria*, "Arheološki vestnik", 44, 1993, pp. 113-136; Id., *Mythological stories concerning Illyria and its name*, in P. Cabanes - J.-L. Lamboley (eds.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Epire dans l'Antiquité – IV, Actes du IV° colloque internationale de Grenoble (10-12 octobre 2002)*, Paris 2004, pp. 493-504.

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Id. (ed.), *L'Illyrie Méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité-III, Actes du IIIe colloque international de Chantilly (16-19 octobre 1996)*, Paris 1999.

Id. (ed.), *Histoire de l'Adriatique*, Paris 2001.

Id., *La présence grecque sur la côte orientale de l'Adriatique en Illyrie du Sud*, in *Greek influence along the East Adriatic Coast, Proceedings of the International Conference held in Split from September 24th to 26th 1998*, Split 2002, pp. 51-62.

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The Origins of the Tale of the Blood-drinking Hungarians

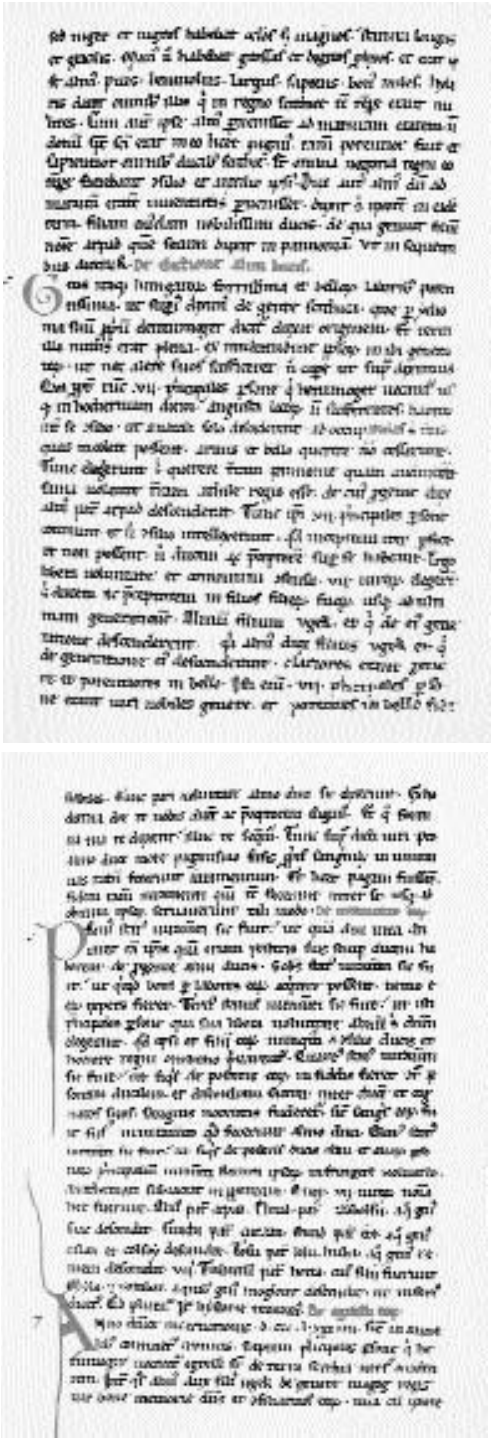
György Németh
Debreceni Egyetem

A honfoglaló hét vezér vérszerződése fontos szerepet játszik a magyar történeti hagyományban és az iskolai oktatásban. A tankönyvek szerint a hét vezér közös kupába csorgatta vérét, borral keverte össze majd kiitta. A történet egyetlen forrása Anonymus műve, a Gesta Hungarorum azonban nem említi a bort és azt sem, hogy a vért bárki is megízlelte volna. A névtelen szerző azonban egyértelműen kijelenti, hogy értesüléseit "nem a parasztok hamis meséiből vagy a regösök csacsogó énekéből" - vagyis nem a magyarok szóbeli hagyományaiból, hanem "az iratok biztos előadásából meg a történeti művek világos értelmezéséből" meríti. Munkájába azonban azért kezd bele, hogy - elsőként - megírja a magyarok történetét. A tanulmányban azt vizsgálom, hogy milyen antik és modern forrásokat használhatott Anonymus a vérszerződés történetének megalkotásakor. A vérszerződés motívuma a Kr. e. 5. századtól egészen Anonymus koráig a történetírás kedvelt toposza. Két funkcióban használták, egyrészt, hogy ezzel mutassák be egy távoli nép (arabok, szkíták) becsületességét, mivel az így kötött szerződésekhez halálukig hűek maradnak, másrészt arra, hogy ezzel igazolják egyes népek vagy csoportok vérszomjasságát, vadságát és elvetemültségét (Catilina és összeesküvő társai, az írek és a szkíták). A középkori gesták (pl. a barcelonai őrgrófoké) és a dán krónikák az eskütt megkötők hűségére helyezik a hangsúlyt. Regino prümi apát szkitának nevezi és éles szavakkal ostorozza a vérszomjasnak tartott honfoglaló és kalandozó magyarságot. Anonymus a vérszerződés antik forrásokból és középkori gesztákból merítette a szkíta történetekből megismert motívumával a honfoglalók hűségét és becsületességét akarta bemutatni Regino és a kortárs Nyugat-Európa elutasító és előítéletes véleményével szemben. A vérszerződés tehát antik és középkori történeti toposz, amely nem a magyar hagyományból származik és feltehetőleg Anonymus alkalmazta elsőként a magyarokra.

The Hungarian tribes, arriving in the territory of present-day Hungary in 895 A.D., were received with a fair amount of antipathy by European public opinion. Not only were they non-Christians, but they harassed their neighbours with their marauding expeditions. Though these campaigns ceased after 955, after the defeats suffered at Augsburg and Merseburg, the Western chroniclers did not begin to depict Hungarians with more favourable hues. Usually they were referred to as Huns or Turks, and sometimes they were even considered to be Scythians, though the language of Hungarians is Finno-Ugric and not Turkic, nofr is it Iranian as is that of the Scythians. In addition, repulsive customs were attributed to them, namely that they took their oaths on dead dogs, or that they drank blood straight away. Surprisingly the very first Hungarian chronicle, the *Gesta Hungarorum*, originating from the 13th century and written in Latin, also mentioned the covenant of blood of the seven princely Hungarians, though not disapprovingly. I wish to investigate whether the covenant of blood was truly a specificity of Hungarians who conquered their present homeland, and from what source Anonymous, the unknown author of the *Gesta* got his information on that contract.

> Then the seven princely persons, who are called the Seven Hungarians (Hetumoger) to this day, not tolerating the limited space any longer, held council, and made efforts without delay to leave their birthplace with arms and an army, to leave their native place and to occupy such lands where they have to live. Then their choice fell on visiting the land of Pannonia. In fact they heard it from the news spread that it was the land of King Attila whose descendant was Chieftain Álmos, the father of Árpád. But the seven princely persons (septem principales personae) comprehended with joint and true intelligence that they could not reach the end of the path unless there were a leader and commander (ducem ac praeceptorem) above them. Therefore the seven men elected Álmos, son of Ügyek, and the descendants of his kin to be their leader and commander of their free will and agreement for themselves, and even for the sons of their sons to the last generation, as leader Álmos, son of Ügyek, and further on those who originated from his kin, were more eminent in the matter of rank and mightier in warfare as well. In fact those seven princely persons were eminent in rank, mighty in warfare, and steadfast in fidelity. Then they told the following to leader Álmos of joint will: 'From this day on we elect you our leader and commander and wherever your good luck takes you we will follow you'. Next, each of the above-mentioned men let their blood into a vessel for leader Álmos, in keeping with pagan custom (more paganismo), and sanctified their oath by it (fusis propriis sanguinibus in unun vas, ratum fecerunt juramentum). And though they were Pagans, yet they respected their faith expressed among themselves by oath to their death the way as this oath is given here (et licet pagani fuissent, fidem tamen juramenti, quam tonc fecerant inter se, usque ad obitum ipsorum servaverunt, tali modo) (Figg. 1, 2).

Flórián Mátyás pointed out already in 1897 that "according to this item only six electors let their blood into the vessel; the prince only promised to accept the conditions of the oath in his and his descendants' name. Because according to item 5 a prince who violated the oath was not to be revenged in blood on the basis of the joint blood letting involving him himself as well, but only by a curse. The narrative of the notary is deficient here, because he does not indicate what the purpose of the vessel collecting blood is. If letting blood itself is a sufficient safeguard, then the blood may flow even to the earth" [1]. In other words, according to Anonymous narrative the seven Hungarians did not taste blood made to flow into the vessel, nor did they pour wine into the vessel. Flórián Mátyás also adds that no other example can be found of the election of a prince, or of a contract within a nation



Figg. 1-2
Anonymous: Gesta hungarorum, ff. 5-6.

("constitutional legislation") besides the Hungarian covenant of blood. Zoltán Terplán lists the doubts that had multiplied since the late 19th century: there is no point in establishing blood relations in such a way between clans of the same nation who are blood relations anyway. Therefore he reaches the conclusion that though the covenant of blood was carried out it was not Hungarians concluding it with Hungarians, rather it was Hungarians reaching an agreement with the princes of the three Kabar tribes who joined them in the conquest [1]. This solution is attractive, but it has a flaw: it cannot be supported by any source. The blood covenant of the Hungarians appears for the first time in the work of Anonymous, and there it is presented as Hungarians concluding a pact with Hungarians, even if they are not the chieftains of tribes. The source value of the story may be challenged but it is risky to replace it with another, unwritten story.

The blood covenant should not be confused with the oath of friendship, common among various peoples, from the Germans to the Mongols, when blood was often let, but rarely tasted. A good example of this is the Danish covenant of blood, recorded by Saxo Grammaticus in the early 13th century in his work entitled *The History of the Danes* (Book 1, 23): "Now our ancestors, when they meant to strike a pact, would sprinkle their combined blood in their footprints and mingle it, so as to strengthen the pledge of their friendship". At any rate in the writing of Saxo Grammaticus it is not two peoples, and not even members of a single people, but Hading and a pirate, Liser, who concluded a covenant of blood in this form. A covenant of blood concluded by blood let to drip to the earth was already known from the Gísla Saga. The "ancient Hungarian" mode of oath mentioned by Anonymous (the blood is collected in a vessel, but not tasted) fitted well into the knightly customs of 11th and 12th-century Western Europe, that Anonymous know very well [2]. At any rate, his work shows surprising points of agreement with the *Gestae* of the Counts of Barcelona. This fact may perhaps be explained by the Aragonese marriage of King Imre in 1198, when Hungarian priests could have visited Barcelona [3]. In the Europe of that time a covenant of blood was a motif that could be linked to any contracting party practically at any time. Let me give only two examples that surely cannot be linked to Hungarians, or to their possible ancestors. The Norman Ambroise describes the alliance concluded in 1191 between the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Comnenus (who ruled from 1185 to 1195) and Saladin, or Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn-Ayyub, Egyptian Sultan from 1175 to 1193, in his *L'estoire de la Guerre Sainte (The History of the Crusade)*: "They concluded their treaty of friendship by drinking from each other's blood, thus testifying that there was no deceit in it" [4]. It is conspicuous that in Joinville's chronicle the *Histoire de Saint Louis (The History of Saint Louis)* the Catholic Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II (who ruled from 1228 to 1261) concluded a covenant of blood with the Cumanians, where the contracting parties let their blood into a silver cup, mixed it with wine and water and drank it in order to become blood brothers (*frere de sanc*) [5]. An English author, Giraldus Cambrensis, alias Gerald of Wales (1146-1223) said of the Irish in his *Topographia Hibernica*, written in 1188, that they tasted each other's blood when concluding a treaty (*foedera jungunt, sanguinem sponte ad hoc fusum uterque alterius bibit*). Giraldus was in royal service from 1184 onwards and actually travelled all over Ireland between 1185 and 1186; however, I would prefer to trace his report back to the negative representation of the Irish created in the Classical Age, rather than to some personal experience. According to Strabo:

Fig. 3
Saxo Grammaticus.

> Concerning this island (i.e. Ireland) I have nothing certain to tell, except that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons, since they are man-eaters as well as heavy eaters, and since, further they count it an honourable thing when their fathers die, to devour them … but I am saying this only with the understanding that I have no trustworthy witnesses for it; and yet, as for the matter of man-eating, that is said to be a custom of the Scythians also" [Source 1].

It is not by accident that the characteristics considered particularly wild were portrayed by the Greek author as pertaining to peoples living in the two opposite margins of the then known world, namely with the Irish and the Scythians. Herodotus also attributed the eating of dead parents to the Scythian Massagetes in the 5th century B.C. (Book 1, 216)

Thus the motif of the covenant of blood was quite widespread in West European chronicle literature, and it was not necessarily applied to Oriental peoples, nor particularly to Hungarians. The reasons for the popularity of the story should be sought not in the fact that the Byzantine Emperors or the Irish had actually drunken blood in those times (as is highly improbable), but rather in the fact that medieval authors were familiar with this mode of fixing binding contracts from the Greco-Roman tradition of Antiquity. This tradition in fact goes back to the 5th century B.C. The first mention of it known to me was recorded in 467 B.C. In the tragedy of Aeschylus, the *Seven Against Thebes*, the seven leaders besieging Thebes concluded a treaty as follows:

> Eteocles, mighty prince of the Cadmeans, I have returned with a sure report of the army outside the walls; I myself am an eyewitness of their actions. Seven warriors, fierce regiment-commanders, slaughtered a bull over a black shield, and then touching the bull's gore with their hands they swore an oath by Ares, by Enyo, and by Rout who delights in blood, that either they will level the city and sack the Cadmeans [2] town by force, or will in death smear this soil with their blood [Source 2].

Naturally this is a myth. What is reported by Xenophon however, was an actual event that took place in 401 B.C. between Greek mercenaries and the Persian commanders after the battle of Cunaxa:

> and the two parties – the Greek officers, and Ariaeus together with the highest in rank of his followers – made oath that they would not betray each other and that they would be allies, while the barbarians took an additional pledge to lead the way without treachery. These oaths they sealed by sacrificing a bull, a boar, and a ram over a shield, the Greeks dipping a sword in the blood and the barbarians a lance. After the pledges had been given, Clearchus said: 'And now, Ariaeus, since you and we are to make the same journey, tell us what view you hold in regard to the route' [Source 3].

It is again the blood of an animal, of a bull, that is a component of the drink confirming the oath in Plato's *Critias* when the ten kings of the fabulous island of Atlantis give their oath to one another (119d-120b):

> And when they were about to give judgement they first gave pledges one to another of the following description. In the sacred precincts of Poseidon there were bulls at large; and the ten princes, being alone by themselves, after praying to the God that they might capture a victim well-pleasing unto him, hunted after the bulls with staves and nooses but with no weapon of iron; and whatsoever bull they captured they led up to the pillar and cut its throat over the top of the pillar, raining down blood on the inscription. And inscribed upon the pillar, besides the laws, was an oath which invoked mighty curses upon them that disobeyed. When, then, they had done sacrifice according to their laws and were consecrating all the limbs of the bull, they mixed a bowl of wine and poured in on behalf of each one a gout of blood, and the rest they carried to the fire, when they had first purged the pillars round about. And after this they drew out from the bowl with golden ladles, and making libation over the fire swore to give judgement according to the laws upon the pillar and to punish whosoever had committed any previous transgression; and, moreover, that henceforth they would not transgress any of the writings willingly, nor govern nor submit to any governor's edict save in accordance with their father's laws. And when each of them had made this invocation both for himself and for his seed after him, he drank of the cup and offered it up as a gift in the temple of the God [Source 4].

In these three cases the contracting parties dipped their hand or sword into the blood of animals, or drink from animal blood, thus giving their oath. The form of a covenant of blood, similar to the one mentioned by Anonymous first appeared in the historical work of Herodotus on the Greco-Persian war in the second part of the 5th century B.C. In 585 B.C., at the contract of the Lydian Alyattes and the Mede Cyaxares:

> Those who reconciled them were Syennesis the Cilician and Labynetus the Babylonian; they brought it about that there should be a sworn agreement and a compact of marriage between them: they judged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares; for without strong constraint agreements will not keep their force. These nations make sworn compacts as do the Greeks; and besides, when they cut the skin of their arms, they lick each other's blood [Source 5].

Tasting each other's blood constitutes the basis of a covenant of blood, but neither a cup, nor wine is found in the story. The covenant of blood of the Arabs is even stranger according to Herodotus (3.8.):

> There are no men who respect pledges more than the Arabians. This is how they give them: a man stands between the two pledging parties, and with a sharp stone cuts the palms of their hands, near the thumb; then he takes a piece of wood from the cloak of each and smears with their blood seven stones that lie between them, meanwhile calling on Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; after this is done, the one who has given his pledge commends the stranger (or his countryman if the other be one) to his friends, and his friends hold themselves bound to honour the pledge [Source 6].

Herodotus was the first to describe the rite of the covenant of blood of Scythians (4.70):

> As for giving sworn pledges to those who are to receive them, this is the Scythian way: they take blood from the parties to the agreement by making a little cut in the body with an awl or a knife, and pour it mixed with wine into a big earthenware bowl, into which they then dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin; and when this is done those swearing the agreement, and the most honourable of their followers, drink the blood after solemn curses [Source 7].

In this rite there is already everything present, including blood, a cup, wine, the tasting of blood, and even dipping arms into the blood that was exercised by the Greeks in Aeschylus, and by the Greeks as well as the Persians in Xenophon. The covenant of blood of the Scythians, described by Herodotus resembles most closely the image we preserve about the covenant of blood of Hungarians, but there is the important difference that Anonymous does not mention either wine, or drinking the blood, and not even dipping arms into the blood. In the work of the Greek rhetor of Syrian origin, who lived in the second part of the second century B.C., Lucian (*Toxaris or Friendship* 37.), a Greek called Mnesippus and a Scythian called Toxaris discuss which of the two peoples observes friendship more:

> And when a man has been singled out and is at last a friend, there ensue formal compacts and the most solemn of oaths that we will not only live with one another but die, if need be, for each other; and we do just that. For, once we have cut our fingers, let the blood drip into a cup, dipped our sword-points into it, and then, both at once, have set it to our lips and drunk, there is nothing thereafter that can dissolve the bond between us. We are permitted at most to enter into three such compacts, since a man of many friends resembles, we think, promiscuous women with their lovers [Source 8].

This covenant of blood resembles more the oath of blood brothers. It is revealed that they let blood from their finger pad and the contracting parties even drank from it, but they did not mix wine with the blood. Pomponius Mela, the geographer, working in the first century A.D., describes the Scythians as far more cruel. He writes the following about the Scythians living north of the Taureans along the shores of the Black Sea:

> To the interior the ritualistic behaviour of the inhabitants is cruder and the territory less tilled. They love the bloodshed of war, and it is customary for warriors to drink blood from the very wounds of the first man they ever killed. The more a man kills, the more valued he is among them. Among the marks of shame, by contrast, surely the worst is to have no experience of shedding blood. Not even their peace treaties are without blood. The negotiators all cut themselves and sip the drawn blood after they have mixed everybody's together. They think that drinking it is the surest guarantee of a lasting good faith [Source 9].

The afterlife of Pomponius Mela's book can be followed well. The earliest copy of the book known to us was made by a Senator named Flavius Rusticus of Ravenna in the 9th century. At the end of that century the book turned up in Auxerre, where Henry of Auxerre summarised it; next, from the 10th century up to 1451, it was kept in the neighbourhood of Orléans, whence it was taken to Italy, ultimately landing in the Vatican library in 1612 (Codex latinus 4929) [6]. Thus Anonymous could not have read it personally (unless he also went to Orléans when he studied in Paris), but rather the writer of the work from the 3rd century, playing an important role among the sources of the *Gesta hungarorum*, Solinus used Pomponius Mela's work that subsequently enjoyed great popularity. At any rate, two elements are mixed up in the depiction of the Scythians: the image of the frightful, blood-drinking Barbarians and of the honest, but distant people observing alliances. It is important to add that according to Solinus (15.15.) the covenant of blood was not a Scythian custom but a discipline that was borrowed from the Medeans (*haustu mutui sanguinis foedus sanctiunt, non suo tantum more, sed Medorum quoque usurpate disciplina*).

Athenaeus, who worked around 200 A.D., wrote about the oath of Carmanians. As he mentioned, his source was the work of Poseidonius of the second century B.C. (Athenaeus 2.45):

> We should not drink as the Carmani, of whom Poseidonius says: 'These people, namely, eager to prove their friendship in their drinking bouts, open the veins of the forehead, and mixing the blood which streams down in their wine, they imbibe it, in the belief that to taste each other's blood is the highest proof of friendship' [Source 10].

Carmania was a Persian province on the territory of the present Laristan, its southern part is contiguous to the Persian Gulf and its inhabitants were the Carmanians speaking that Iranian language. Tacitus, who lived at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. also takes us to the distant Orient, who reported on the struggle for the throne that took place in Armenia in 51 A.D. The oath of Radamistus, son of the Hybernian King Pharasmanes, and the Armenian King Mithridates proved to be bloody in several respects (*Annals* 12.47.):

> Rhadamistus at first threw himself into his embraces, feigning respect and calling him father-in-law and parent. He swore an oath too that he would do him no violence either by the sword or by poison. At the same time he drew him into a neighbouring grove, where he assured him that the appointed sacrifice was prepared for the confirmation of peace in the presence of the gods. It is a custom of these princes, whenever they join alliance, to unite their right hands and bind together the thumbs in a tight knot; then, when the blood has flowed into the extremities, they let it escape by a slight puncture and suck it in turn. Such a treaty is thought to have a mysterious sanctity, as being sealed with the blood of both parties. On this occasion he who was applying the knot pretended that it had fallen off, and suddenly seizing the knees of Mithridates flung him to the ground. At the same moment a rush was made by a number of persons, and chains were thrown round him. Then he was dragged along by a fetter, an extreme degradation to a barbarian; and soon the common people, whom he had held under a harsh sway, heaped insults on him with menacing gestures, though some, on the contrary, pitied such a reverse of fortune. His wife followed him with his little children, and filled every place with her wailings. They were hidden away in different covered carriages till the orders of Pharasmanes were distinctly ascertained. The lust of rule was more to him than his brother and his daughter, and his heart was steeled to any wickedness. Still he spared his eyes the seeing them slain before his face. Rhadamistus too, seemingly mindful of his oath, neither

> unsheathed the sword nor used poison against his sister and uncle, but had them thrown on the ground and then smothered them under a mass of heavy clothes. Even the sons of Mithridates [21] were butchered for having shed tears over their parent's murder [Source 11].

The story does not mention a cup, or wine, but the treaty, if observed, is the tightest one possible. It only characterises Radamistus's baseness that he utilised just the covenant of blood for the bloody showdown. At the same time the fabulous outcome that Radamistus choked Mithridates with blankets, since he promised not to use a sword or poison, is in itself a motif of tale, leading far?

The stories so far presented are based exclusively on the premise that the covenant of blood was concluded by parties who did not want to break their alliance and would adhere to it faithfully during their entire life. The case of Radamistus is not an exception, precisely because he could disperse Mithridates's suspicion by the promise of the covenant of blood. Thus, according to the writers of history and chroniclers the covenant of blood assured the honest and unbreakable oath of the positively represented parties.

Right from the outset the motif of the covenant of blood however, was used in a negative way as well. When the *seven commanders* attacking Thebes concluded their treaty, it was unconditionally negative, at least from the Theban point of view, and as far as the ultimate outcome of the story is concerned, it did not lead to anything good. Eteocles and his brother, defending Thebes, Polyneices leading the besiegers, the two sons of Oedipus all die by each other's hand, later on pulling Antigone, Creon, and Haimon with them into the tragedy. The Greek and Carian mercenaries were carried away and committed the heinous deed because of their wrath towards Phanes as described by Herodotus (Book 3, 11):

> Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. When all the sons had been slaughtered, they poured wine and water into the bowl, and the mercenaries drank this and then gave battle [Source 12].

The Lemnian women who belonged to the pre-Greek, so-called Pelasgian population of the island, carried around a glass filled with horse blood and drank from it in the mythological story, thus sealing their plan to assassinate their husbands and fathers (Valerius Flaccus: *Argonauticon* 2, 156-158). The Aquilii, allied to call back the exiled Roman King Tarquinius Superbus, made a sacrifice with the blood of an assassinated man, together with their companions: "When, accordingly, the youths had been persuaded and held conference with the Aquillii, it was decided that all the conspirators should swear a great and dreadful oath, pouring in libation the blood of a slain man, ant touching his entrails" [Source 13]. A former confidant of Julius Caesar, Sallustius Crispus, wrote about the Catilinian conspiracy of 63 B.C. that:

> It was said at the time that when Catiline, after finishing his address, compelled the participants in his crime to take an oath, he passed around bowls of human blood mixed with wine; that when after an imprecation upon traitors all had tasted it, as is usual in solemn rites, he disclosed his project; and his end in doing so was, they say, that they might be more faithful to one another because they shared the guilty knowledge of so dreadful a deed. Others thought

> that these and many other details were invented by men who believed that the hostility which afterwards arose against Cicero would be moderated by exaggerating the guilt of the conspirators whom he had put to death. For my own part I have too little evidence for pronouncing upon a matter of such weight [Source 14].

Cassius Dio, who lived in the second and third centuries A.D. already pretended to know (37.3) that Catiline and his group sacrificed a little boy, ate him and next, putting their hands on his torn out intestines took their horrible oath. Here we are facing a typical self-development of the motif. The contemporary Sallust mentioned the drinking of blood only as a gossip, two hundred years later Cassius Dio mentioned cannibalism as a fact. In addition two autonomous motifs were linked in Sallust's narrative. One is the covenant of blood, the written prehistory of which already had a past of four centuries, and the other one is a reference made to the cohesive force of the jointly committed crime. In Chapter 51 of Sallust's work Julius Caesar refers to the heinous deeds of the thirty Athenian tyrants. Thus Sallust obviously knew Plato's unambiguous wording: "They [the Thirty] gave many such orders to others also, because they wished to implicate as many in their crimes as they could" [Source 15]. Who actually participates in the joint crime cannot become a traitor, because if they fall all of them will have the same fate, as they have committed the same deed.

Cicero, one of the Consuls of the year 63 B.C., condemned some leaders of Catiline's conspiracy to death and had them executed without the usual legal procedure, for which at least at first he was decorated with the honorary title of father of the nation (*pater patriae*), but later on was exiled. Thus the demonization of Catiline and his associates came in handy for Cicero and his supporters. Sallust was clear about it: this is why he added that he did not wish to decide how far the rumour of the conspirators' covenant of blood was true and how far it was not. The negative motif of the covenant of blood could thus be transformed into human sacrifice and cannibalism during the spontaneous development of the story, or into drinking the opponent's blood. The Scythians of Pomponius Mela respected the covenant of blood, this is the positive use of the motif, but they drank the blood of their adversaries from their wounds in the battlefield. This is undoubtedly a negative example from whence there is a straight road leading to the story of Vérbulcsu written by Simon of Kéza (33):

> The leader of the seventh army was called Vérbulcsu. He is said to have settled at Zala around Lake Balaton. The reason he was called Vérbulcsu was that, having learnt of his grandfather's death at the hands of the Germans in the battle of Krimhild, he exacted vengeance by having a number of Germans roasted on a spit [*veru*], and is said to have behaved with such savagery to them that he drank the blood of certain captives as though it were wine [7].

It should be added however that according to Saxo Grammaticus blood-drinking was also characteristic of the Danes, for instance the wounded Folki drank his own blood out of a helmet (*The History of the Danes*, Book 4, 108 [94]). The Hungarian chronicler, Anonymous, obviously wanted to represent rather the honesty of Hungarians and not their cruelty, therefore he selected from the positive examples of the blood treaties available in his sources.

If one wishes to summarise in brief in which authors' works and when the motif of the covenant of blood appears in Classical literature, one obtains the following table (though the number of the examples could be further increased):

Author	**Century**
Aeschylus	5th century B.C. (467 B.C.)
Herodotus	5th century B.C.
Xenophon	4th century B.C.
Plato	4th century B.C.
Poseidonius	2nd century B.C.
Sallust	1st century B.C.
Pomponius Mela	1st century A.D.
Valerius Flaccus	1st century
Tacit	1st-2nd centuries
Lucian	2nd century
Plutarch	2nd century
Athenaeus	3rd century
Solinus	3rd century

It is also worth studying in which period and about which peoples it was stated that the covenant of blood was part of their rites:

Century	**People**
5th century B.C.	Pelasgians (mythical)
	Greeks (mythical)
	Medes
	Lydians
	Arabs
	Greeks
	Carians
	Scythians
4th century B.C.	Greeks
	Persians
	Atlanteans (mythical)
2nd century B.C.	Carmanians
1st century B.C.	Roman conspirators (unfounded indictment)
1st century A.D.	Scythians

Century	People
2nd century A.D.	Armenians
	Scythians
	Romans (the conspirator Aquilii)
3rd century A.D.	Carmanians
	Medes
	Scythians (taking over the custom of the Medes)

On this basis it is clear that the idea of a covenant of blood can be identified in Greco-Roman historiography from the 5th century B.C. onwards, and it is linked to several peoples, including the Greek and the Romans as well. None of these peoples were related to the Hungarians as the Pelasgians and the Atlanteans were mythical peoples, the Greeks, the Medes, Lydians, Scythians, Persians, Carmanians, Romans and Armenians belonged to the Indo-European family of languages, and the Arabs speak a Semitic language. The Scythians are not the first in this series, and not even the most frequently mentioned people. Herodotus's report served as a basis for the works of Poponius Mela, Solinus and Lucian, thus one cannot speak about an autonomous tradition in their case. If, however, Anonymous, though wrongly, but drawing his mistake from the chronicle of Regino, Abbot of Prüm and not from some kind of a Hungarian ancient tradition, set out from assuming that the Hungarians were the relatives of Scythians, or perhaps their descendants, then he could have safely taken over the description of the Scythian traditions from his sources, as, in his view, they could not much differ from the traditions of Hungarians.

It is possible to raise the hypothesis that Anonymous incorporated an ancient Hungarian legend, epic, or narrative lost to us in the *Gesta hungarorum* and the story of the covenant of blood originates from there. In fact it is Anonymous himself who is the most important witness against this assumption, since he wrote the following in the introduction of his work:

> If the very noble Hungarian nation would hear, as if in a dream, the beginning of its origin and some of its heroic deeds from the false stories of peasants or the chattering songs of minstrels, it would not be very nice and would be a rather indecorous thing. Therefore by now it understands the truth of things as it befits nobles from the sure presentation of documents and the clear interpretation of historical works.

In other words it is he himself who keeps away from the use of the tradition of Hungarian legends. Though Csaba Csapodi [8] tries to rescue the situation by saying that "he draws from them (that is, he sifts out from the legends) reality with a scholarly method, adding what he takes from literature, and, one should add, from the traditions of families, and mostly from place names", it does not at all mean that Anonymous could find any ancient Hungarian tradition of the covenant of blood. What kind of documents and historical works could the learned Notary of King Béla have had in mind that he could use as sources? Not a single one that was truly about Hungarians, as his aim was precisely what he clearly spelt out in the introduction of his work, namely to write the history of the Hungarian Conquest for Hungarians and for other peoples as the *first one* to do so. Therefore if his sources did not

pertain to the Hungarians then the learned author clearly may have transferred part of the stories about other peoples to our conquering ancestors. It was not the first book he wrote, because as he mentions in his introduction he had earlier written "the Trojan story and the wars of the Greeks" (*sicut historiam Trojanam bellaque Graecorum scripseram*). Hence one may be sure that he had known part of the sources pertaining to the covenant of blood mentioned earlier. Of his sources he only mentions the work of the Phrygian Dares (or, more precisely that of the pseudo-Dares), but based on textual correspondence it can be demonstrated that in his Gesta he had used the *Exordia Scythica* made of the Scythian chapter of Justin's chronicle [9], the chronicle of Regino, Abbot of Prüm, the work of Solinus of the 3rd century A.D. (particularly in relation to the covenant of blood, where Solinus quotes Pomponius Mela!), the etymological work of Isidorus of Seville, the Latin translation of the biography of Alexander the Great by the pseudo-Callisthenes and the book of the Sicilian Guido de Columna (Guido delle Colonne), the *Historia destructionis Troiae,* who died a little after 1287, and, as was proved by István Kapitánffy, the writing on *Excidium Troiae,* surviving without an author's name. In the overwhelming majority of these books naturally there is not a single word about Hungarians, and wherever there is something, as in Regino, there one may meet the mistaken idea that Hungarians had a Scythian origin.

The covenant of blood is an extremely important story for Anonymous, since he writes that: "Even though they were pagans, they kept their oath to their deaths". In other words it is this covenant that serves as a legal basis for the kingdom of the descendants of Álmos and Árpád. The covenant of blood is the holiest one for "pagans" in that it cannot be cancelled. But we have been precisely reading the same things about it in every source from the 5th century B.C. on, though at that time there is no mention of Hungarians or their ancestors: The Arabs: "There are no men who respect pledges more than the Arabians". Greeks and Persians: "the Greek officers, and Ariaeus together with the highest in rank of his followers – made oath that they would not betray each other and that they would be allies, while the barbarians took an additional pledge to lead the way without treachery". Scythians: "And when a man has been singled out and is at last a friend, there ensue formal compacts and the most solemn of oaths that we will not only live with one another but die, if need be, for each other". "The negotiators [of peace] all cut themselves and sip the drawn blood after they have mixed everybody's together. They think that drinking it is the surest guarantee of a lasting good faith". Carmanians are "in the belief that to taste each other's blood is the highest proof of friendship". Armenians: "Such a treaty is thought to have a mysterious sanctity, as being sealed with the blood of both parties". In other words nothing else is involved here but the assumed, or in certain cases perhaps really existing customs of idealised, distant, marginal people, that is the pledge of the honesty of those peoples. The historian of the Goths, Jordanes similarly: "in the spirit of the idealisation of peoples living at the end of the world he applied the positive features of the erstwhile Scythians for his Gothic ancestors and coloured the possible negative ones to become positive ones" [10]. The medieval chroniclers had no inhibitions in drawing motifs from their Antique sources, but their occasionally fantastic stories should not be taken seriously from a historical angle. In the words of György Győrffy [11]:

> The Gesta of Anonymous is the romantic gesta that became fashionable in Western Latin literature in the 12th century, in which the author presented the olden times in keeping with his

> own idea. The author of the romantic gesta does not write stories striving for authenticity on the basis of sources or memory, but a literary piece evoking interest as sources are missing, or he deliberately puts them aside. The event constituting the backbone of the story may have taken place, like the Hungarian Conquest, it may be an invented one, like originating the Francs from Troy … Therefore the story narrated in the romantic gesta does not function as an authentic source for historians.

Based on what has been said above it may be assumed that Anonymous could not have taken the idea of a covenant of blood from any source veritably pertaining to the Hungarians, but that sources reporting on covenants of blood of other peoples, including the Scythians, or Medes, were abundantly at his disposal (such as Solinus). In his work Anonymous wanted to indicate that the Hungarians would never break their oath given to Álmos. And the motif of the covenant of blood which was available ready-made to supply the best basis for this assumption: whoever concludes such a covenant would be faithful to their oath to eternity. And that nothing modifies that fidelity if the nameless author forgot to add: the blood let into the common cup was supposed to be tasted in pagan style. It is also possible that it would have appeared to be a too pagan custom to the Christian author who fear that he would damage the positive effect of the story suggesting eternal fidelity. Contrary to the statements of Flórián Mátyás and Zoltán Terplán we have has succeeded in finding an ancient source that describes the covenant of blood concluded by the leaders of one and the same people, aiming at the maintenance of the legal order, and it is the oath of the Atlanteans found in Plato. Though it is true that the Atlanteans never existed, it is also a fact that Plato's Atlantis was widely known in medieval Western Europe, as his dialogue *Timaeus*, also containing the description of Atlantis, was translated into Latin by Calcidius around 400 A.D. and comments were added to it. It is also true that the covenant of blood concluded by the Atlanteans is not included in this piece, but in another one, in *Critias*, never translated into Latin.

Summing up, it can be stated that there is no evidence whatsoever at our disposal to support the story of Anonymous, namely that the "seven leaders" of Hungarians ever concluded a "covenant of blood": the motif of the covenant of blood probably originated from Classical sources, or from the chronicles and gestae of medieval Western Europe.

Notes

1 See F. Mátyás, *Pogány szokások őseinknél* [Pagan customs of our ancestors], "Akadémiai Értesítő", 1897, pp. 615-622.

2 L. Vajda, *Recht und heidnische Dinge*, in H. F. Schieter (ed.), *Festschrift et tractationes Franz agricae in honorem Hans Fromm*, Munich 1979, p. 381.

3 G. Györffy, *Anonymus. Rejtély vagy történeti forrás?* [Anonymus. Mystery or historical source?], Budapest 1988, p. 200.

4 T. Bulin, *The Federal Structure of the Earliest Hungarian Polity: The Role of the "Covenant of Blood"*, "Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher", 63, 1991, p. 100.

5 L. Vajda, *Recht und heidnische Dinge* cit., p. 395.

[6] K. Brodersen, *Pomponius Mela Kreuzfahrt durch die alte Welt*, Darmstadt 1994, pp. 15-16.

[7] The translation is from L. V. P. Schaer (eds.), Gesta Hungarorum: The Deeds of the Hungarians, Budapest-New York 1999.

[8] C. Csapody, *Az Anonymus-kérdés története* [The history of the Anonymus issue], Budapest 1978.

[9] I. Borzsák, *A hellenisztikus történetírás műhelyéből* VI. *Hérodotostól Anonymusig*, [From the workshop of Hellenistic historiography. VI. From Herodotus to Anonymus], "Antik Tanulmányok" 37, 1993, p. 84.

[10] Ibid.

[11] G. Györffy, *Anonymus* cit., p. 199.

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SOURCE

Source 1

Strabo, IV, 5, 4

περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν ἔχομεν λέγειν σαφὲς πλὴν ὅτι ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, ἀνθρωποφάγοι τε ὄντες καὶ πολυφάγοι, τούς τε πατέρας τελευτήσαντας κατεσθίειν ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι καὶ φανερῶς μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς. καὶ ταῦτα δ' οὕτω λέγομεν ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιοπίστους μάρτυρας· καίτοι τό γε τῆς ἀνθρωποφαγίας καὶ Σκυθικὸν εἶναι λέγεται

Source 2

Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, 39-48

Ἐτεόκλεες, φέριστε Καδμείων ἄναξ,
ἥκω σαφῆ τἀκεῖθεν ἐκ στρατοῦ φέρων,
αὐτὸς κατόπτης δ' εἶμ' ἐγὼ τῶν πραγμάτων·
ἄνδρες γὰρ ἑπτά, θούριοι λοχαγέται,
ταυροσφαγοῦντες ἐς μελάνδετον σάκος
καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου,
Ἄρη τ', Ἐνυώ, καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον
ὠρκωμότησαν ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς
θέντες λαπάξειν ἄστυ Καδμείων βίᾳ,
ἢ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνῳ·

Source 3

Xenophon, *Anabasis*, II, 2, 8-10

συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρ' Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὤμοσαν οἵ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. ταῦτα δ' ὤμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ κάπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ
Κλέαρχος· Ἄγε δή, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπείπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἥνπερ ἥλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννενοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω.

Source 4

Plato, *Critias*, 119d-120b

ὅτε δὲ δικάζειν μέλλοιεν, πίστεις ἀλλήλοις τοιάσδε ἐδίδοσαν πρότερον. ἀφέτων ὄντων ταύρων ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ, μόνοι γιγνόμενοι δέκα ὄντες, ἐπευξάμενοι τῷ θεῷ τὸ κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ θῦμα ἑλεῖν, ἄνευ σιδήρου ξύλοις καὶ βρόχοις ἐθήρευον, ὃν δὲ ἕλοιεν τῶν ταύρων, πρὸς τὴν στήλην προσαγαγόντες κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτῆς ἔσφαττον κατὰ τῶν γραμμάτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ στήλῃ πρὸς τοῖς νόμοις ὅρκος ἦν μεγάλας ἀρὰς ἐπευχόμενος τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν. ὅτ' οὖν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν νόμους θύσαντες καθαγίζοιεν πάντα τοῦ ταύρου τὰ μέλη, κρατῆρα κεράσαντες ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου θρόμβον ἐνέβαλλον αἵματος, τὸ δ' ἄλλ' εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἔφερον, περικαθήραντες τὴν στήλην· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο χρυσαῖς φιάλαις ἐκ τοῦ κρατῆρος ἀρυτόμενοι, κατὰ τοῦ πυρὸς σπένδοντες ἐπώμνυσαν δικάσειν τε κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ νόμους καὶ κολάσειν εἴ τίς τι πρότερον παραβεβηκὼς εἴη, τό τε αὖ μετὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων ἑκόντες παραβήσεσθαι, μηδὲ ἄρξειν μηδὲ ἄρ- χοντι πείσεσθαι πλὴν κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτάττοντι νόμους. ταῦτα ἐπευξάμενος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ γένει, πιὼν καὶ ἀναθεὶς τὴν φιάλην εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ,

Source 5

Herodotus I, 74, 16

Οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἵδε, Συέννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. Οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὅρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν, καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Αλυάττην γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύηνιν Ἀστυάγεϊ τῷ Κυαξάρεω παιδί· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσιες ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. Ὅρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τά πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

Source 6

Herodotus III, 8, 1

Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια τοῖσι μάλιστα. Ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἑστεὼς λίθῳ ὀξέϊ τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατέρου κροκύδα ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἑπτά, τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων ἐπικαλέει τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. Ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξεῖνον ἢ καὶ τὸν ἀστόν, ἢν πρὸς ἀστὸν ποιῆται, οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιοῦσι σέβεσθαι.

Source 7

Herodotus IV, 70

Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποιέωνται. Ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὸ ὅρκιον ταμνομένων, τύψαντες ὑπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἔπειτα

ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ὀϊστοὺς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοί τε οἱ τὸ ὅρκιον ποιεύμενοι καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι.

Source 8

Lucianus, *Toxaris val amicitia*, 37

καὶπειδὰν προκριθείς τις ἤδη φίλος ᾖ, συνθῆκαι τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ ὅρκος ὁ μέγιστος, ἢ μὴν καὶ βιώσεσθαι μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι, ἢν δέῃ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον· καὶ οὕτω ποιοῦμεν. ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἂν ἐντεμόντες ἅπαξ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐνσταλάξωμεν τὸ αἷμα εἰς κύλικα καὶ τὰ ξίφη ἄκρα βάψαντες ἅμα ἀμφότεροι ἐπισχόμενοι πίωμεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς διαλύσειεν ἄν. ἐφεῖται δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἄχρι τριῶν ἐς τὰς συνθήκας εἰσιέναι· ὡς ὅστις ἂν πολύφιλος ᾖ, ὅμοιος ἡμῖν δοκεῖ ταῖς κοιναῖς ταύταις καὶ μοιχευομέναις γυναιξί, καὶ οἰόμεθα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἰσχυρὰν αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλίαν εἶναι, πρὸς πολλὰς εὐνοίας διαιρεθεῖσαν.

Source 9

Pomponius Mela II, 12

Interius habitantium ritus asperior, et incultior regio est. bella caedes que amant, mos que est bellantibus, cruorem eius quem primum interemerunt ipsis ex vulneribus ebibere. ut quisque plures interemerit ita aput eos habetur eximius; ceterum expertem esse caedis inter opprobria vel maximum.

Ne foedera quidem incruenta sunt; sauciant se qui paciscuntur, exemptum que sanguinem ubi permiscuere degustant. Id putant mansurae fidei pignus certissimum

Source 10

Athenaeus, II, 45 f

οὐ δεῖ δὲ προπίνειν καθὰ τοὺς Καρμανούς φησι Ποσειδώνιος· τούτους γὰρ φιλοφρονουμένους ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις λύειν τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ φλέβας καὶ τὸ καταῤῥέον αἷμα μιγνύντας τῷ πόματι προσφέρεσθαι, τέλος φιλίας νομίζοντας τὸ γεύεσθαι τοῦ ἀλλήλων αἵματος.

Source 11

Tacitus, *Annales*, 12, 47

Ac primo Radamistus in amplexus eius effusus simulare obsequium, socerum ac parentem appellare; adicit ius iurandum, non ferro, non veneno vim adlaturum; simul in lucum propinquum trahit, provisum illic sacrificii paratum dictitans, ut diis testibus pax firmaretur. mos est regibus, quoties in societatem coeant, implicare dextras pollicesque inter se vincire nodoque praestringere: mox ubi sanguis in artus <se> extremos suffuderit, levi ictu cruorem eliciunt atque invicem lambunt. id foedus arcanum habetur quasi mutuo cruore sacratum. sed tunc qui ea vincla admovebat, decidisse simulans genua Mithridatis invadit ipsumque prosternit; simulque concursu

plurium iniciuntur catenae. ac compede, quod dedecorum barbaris, trahebatur; mox quia vulgus duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat. et erant contra qui tantam fortunae commutationem miserarentur; secutaque cum parvis liberis coniunx cuncta lamentatione complebat. diversis et contectis vehiculis abduntur, dum Pharasmanis iussa exquirerentur. illi cupido regnifratre et filia potior animusque sceleribus paratus; visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficeret. et Radamistus, quasi iuris iurandi memor, non ferrum, non venenum in sororem et patruum expromit, sed proiectos in humum et veste multa gravique opertos necat. filii quoque Mithridatis quod caedibus parentum inlacrimaverant trucidati sunt.

Source 12

Herodotus, III, 11, 6

Ἦσαν τῷ Φάνῃ παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι· τούτους ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα· διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον.

Source 13

Plutarchus, *Publicola*, 4, 1, 1

Ὡς οὖν συνεπείσθη τὰ μειράκια καὶ τοῖς Ἀκυιλλίοις εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν, ὅρκον ὀμόσαι μέγαν ἔδοξε πᾶσι καὶ δεινόν, ἀνθρώπου σφαγέντος ἐπισπείσαντας αἷμα καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων θιγόντας.

Source 14

Sallustius, *Catilinae Coniuratio*, 22

Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent Catilinam oratione habita, quom ad ius iurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse: inde quom post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suom, atque eo dicationem fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existumabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam quae postea orta est leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

Source 15

Plato, *Apologia Socratis*, 32 c

οἷα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλῆσαι αἰτιῶν.

Druže Tito, mi ti se kunemo[1].

Ritual and Political Power in Yugoslavia: Tito's Birthday Celebrations (1945-1987)

Dimitar Grigorov
St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia

Авторът на това съобщение прави опит да представи основните архивни източници, които биха били от полза при изследването на рождения ден на Йосип Броз Тито като ритуал, който, естествено има важно политическо значение на мобилизационен и интеграционен фактор за югославското социалистическо общество. Предложени са сведения за документалните източници, свързани с празника, подаръците, които Броз е получавал и тяхното символично значение, снимковите и киноматериали, които се съхраняват в Архива на Сърбия и Черна гора и най-вече в Архива на Йосип Броз Тито, който се състои от Фонда на кабинета на Маршала на Югославия (1943-1953), Фонда на Кабинета на президента на Югославия (1953-1980), Архив на Върховния комендант на въоръжените сили на Югославия (1945-1980), Личен архив на Йосип Броз Тито, Фототека с 800 000 негатива, илюстриращи дейността на югославския лидер от 1947 до 1980 г., фонотека, съдържаща 1000 записа с негови изяви и филмотека с повече от 700 филма, най-вече документални. Разбира се, проблема за рождения ден на Йосип Броз е сравнително маргинален и определно не заслужава едно цялостно монографично проучване, но в същото време би могъл да бъде ценен принос в изследването на по-общи въпроси като този за пропагандните образи на балканските политически лидери, отношението водач – народ, или по-ограничения, но също така съществен проблем за написването на основаваща се не толкова на желанието за постигане на абсолютно звучене, колкото на търсенето на полутоновете политическа биография на легендарния ръководител.

Naturally the ambitious and proud man can
not find answer to the question
why another man should command him
to such a degree that his own need makes him feel this.
Only extraordinary events can convince him
that without command he himself could become prey
to a mightier one and that is why
he should like submission as much as he
likes his own life and own tranquility[2].
Louis IX

A huge face from the poster on the wall against the elevator
on each floor was staring at him. The portrait was painted in such a way that the
eyes were followed you wherever you turned around.
BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU read the sign below[3].
George Orwell

And the work was slow and did not move with the times,
with many questions about "the forbidden fruit" [sex] remaining unanswered.
It took a letter [to the *Komsomol*] by comrade Zhivkov [about sex]
to melt the ice of ignorance and pseudo moralizing [...][4].
Yakov Yanakiev

"... others who used to be at the height of their power
and glory now are dishonored and their names resemble looted tombs [...]."
Of course, this should not surprise us, since the only constancy bestowed upon us by the
Heavens is change itself[5].
Victor Pelevin

Josip Broz Tito[6] was one of the most prominent symbols of the Balkans after the Second World War. Embodying what once has been quite wrongly described as 'national'[7] socialism in what was once imagined to be Eastern Europe, Tito attracted great attention in the west of the continent and in the USA during his lifetime. He remains a part of some general Western perceptions of the south-eastern region of Europe and if we compare the amount of publications in the West dedicated to the Balkan communist leaders we find that Broz (and maybe Ceausescu[8]) heads the list, followed well behind by the two other prominent contemporary symbols of the peninsula's socialist past – Enver Hoxha and Todor Zhivkov[9]. Last but maybe not least, it is an interesting fact that the Microsoft Office spelling and grammar tool recognises the name Tito, together with Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Mao[10] but considers Dej[11], Zhivkov and Hoxha[12] to be errors. Amongst the other Balkan leaders, Microsoft has also granted this "honour" to Ceausescu.

Tito still plays an important role in the consciousness of the ex-Yugoslavian people. Here I suppose that it is worth citing that recently, and not without a trace of irony, the Yugoslav (Serbian) sociologist Todor Kuljic wrote, "Tell me what you think about Tito and I'll tell you who are you"[13]. One of the many reasons for this is the spectacular

cult of personality which developed around Tito during his lifetime and continued for several years after his death (4 May1980)[14]. Tito's cult had its roots in the World War II years when he became the powerful leader of a strong, large-scale partisan movement. Tito's popularity was used to strengthen the Communist regime which came to power in 1944-1945 and to expand Soviet influence in the Balkans. Until 1948, the personality cult of Josip Broz in Yugoslavia was overshadowed by that of Josef Stalin[15]. However, the split with the Soviet strongman fuelled the idolisation surrounding the master of Belgrade, and the new independent position of Yugoslavia meant a stronger personality cult. From a wider Balkan perspective, it is possible to conclude that in the countries which were more independent of the Soviet Union there were higher levels of idolisation than in those which were loyal followers of Moscow's policy. In this context, we can add to Yugoslavia the Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, especially after 1968 when he stood against the Warsaw Treaty intervention in Czechoslovakia, and also Albania, a state which cut its connections with the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1960s, left the Warsaw Treaty in 1968 and in doing so enabled the Albanian strongman Hoxha to present himself as the one and only bearer and interpreter of communist principles and the true heir of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The group of countries loyal to the Soviet Union was only represented by the possibly notorious example of Bulgaria. One of the many results was the preservation of the cult of the Soviet Union, and the country's first Bulgarian communist leader George Dimitrov[16] who died in 1949 was not considered responsible for the Stalinist terror of the early 1950s. Blame for this was attached to his heir Valko Chervenkov[17] and an attitude towards leaders was therefore created in Bulgaria which had something in common with that of the USSR. After his death, Dimitrov achieved a cult status similar to Lenin, whilst Chervenkov was condemned as Stalin was and Zhivkov's image varied according to the changing Soviet context – his representations were a mixture of a Bulgarian Khrushchev, a Bulgarian Brezhnev and latterly he tried to act, at least in front of an audience, as a Bulgarian Gorbachov. However, the main task of this short chapter, as the title I hope suggests, is not to provide an overview of cults in the Balkans or to evaluate the objects of this adoration, for it is clear how different they were as people, but to indicate some of the main sources that may be useful in presenting the ritual of 25 May, officially proclaimed Tito's birthday, and its political meaning. Of course I am aware of the fact that this subject is of marginal interest. On the other hand I presume that a study of the topic could be useful as a contribution towards other more important comparative issues such as the propaganda images of the Balkan leaders, the relationship between leaders–subjects in the region or the more limited, but otherwise very significant problem of writing a biography that seeks to uncover nuances rather than provide an absolute and definitive political portrait of Josip Broz. So, after this somewhat lengthy introduction, it is time to get to the point.

Documentary sources

As an adherent of the "cult of the written document" I shall start this appraisal by considering this type of source. Very significant documentary data concerning the topic un-

der consideration is held in the Museum of Yugoslavian History – an institution which was actually created in 1996, after the collapse of the real Yugoslavia. This Museum incorporates the ex-Museum of the Yugoslav Nation and National Revolution established in 1959 and the so-called "Josip Broz Tito" Memorial Centre founded in 1982[18]. The latter includes the 25th of May Museum where the archives of the President of Yugoslavia are preserved. The most interesting documents associated with the leader's birthday festivities can be found in the files of the Office of the President of Yugoslavia[19].

One important source is the birthday greetings. These documents are divided into two groups – congratulations from foreign individuals[20] and organizations and letters expressing best wishes from the nation[21]. A large number of them were sent by various official institutions and are distinguished by their formal language. Amongst these documents, the contents of the letters from the members of the Pioneer's organization may be more original, whilst the messages sent by the "common" people are rather different. Some of them have really attractive content and are a relatively good source for the study of popular attitudes towards the leader, which were very closely linked to the mentality of traditional society. Since Tito was a godfather of every ninth child in the family, it may be assumed that the letters from his many godsons and goddaughters also belong to the latter type of greeting[22]. The greater part of Tito's godsons and goddaughters were peasants and "new working-class heroes" who still retained their village mentality. These people were mainly Muslims, Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albanians from Kosovo[23]. Their messages contained a sometimes seemingly irrational, but actually very rational, traditional perception of the leader, expressing on the one hand a measure of financial gratitude, since the godfather had been generous in sending gifts and financial help to the children and, on the other hand, true family pride in being related to the legendary Marshal. The letters reflect Broz's true popularity amongst the masses, even in the 1970s when, in the eyes of some intellectuals and especially some future researchers, he seemed more of an idol than a true leader[24]. Of course the letters were also influenced by the propaganda image of the "initiator of all our victory" as well as by Tito's great charisma as the victorious commander from the "war and the revolution". During his lifetime I suppose that the latter was more important in the popular attitude towards the leader but I believe we should also bear the former in mind, since during and after the collapse of Yugoslavia when strong efforts were made to transform the dead leader into a scapegoat, doubtless very few Yugoslavs were keen to admit that they were Tito's godsons and goddaughters.

Another type of archival document provides scholars with an opportunity to follow almost all of Tito's own activities on his birthdays – as the host of the formal reception and the recipient of gifts and batons bearing birthday wishes from all over the country[25].

A very useful documentary source can be found in the archives of Serbia and Montenegro[26]. The most significant items are the files of the Union of Yugoslav Socialist Youth[27], which was in charge of organising the so-called Tito Baton or Youth Baton. A few words have to be said about this most important mass event which formed part of

the celebrations devoted to the leader, in order to clarify what it meant. According to some authors, between 1945 and 1987 probably around 20,000 batons bearing birthday wishes to Tito were "carried"[28]. There were two kinds of batons: local and primary. The latter included six batons from the republics and about a dozen others whose bearers varied and were chosen according to the political climate of the time. They included the Yugoslav People's Army or some of its branches, large towns, builders of important facilities and large companies, as well as sporting and social organizations. Until 1956 Tito received these "primary batons" personally from their final bearers, while local batons were presented to representatives of the authorities in the respective districts and communities and were then forwarded to the depot in Belgrade. From 1957 onwards, only one baton would reach Broz, which he would accept from only one, final bearer[29]. According to Serbian ethnologist Ivan Colovic:

> This "great" baton acquired a new function which essentially set it apart from all the others. It was a sacred object which, from the touch of thousands of hands and thousands of kilometres, had drawn the miraculous energy (love, gratitude and hope) which nourished Tito's political power. But it was now also a symbol of the other batons, the hundreds of "small" batons which did not reach Tito's hands[30].

It seems that from the early 1960s, the "small" or "local" batons gradually lost their significance. This might have been a consequence of the development of television and the possibility of the "magic" baton appearing in every home and "virtually every hand" via the TV screen. Thus the so-called Youth Day became the journey of just one baton and the glamorous ceremony of its presentation to Tito in the Yugoslav National Army Stadium in Belgrade[31].

The files of the Union of Socialist Youth give a good insight into the technology of the sophisticated preparatory work needed for the event. They contain a lot of information on the main executive organ in charge of organising the activities, the Committee for Celebrating Youth Day. There is also a lengthy correspondence preserved in the files between this body and the different political and social institutions and organizations, consisting of a careful accounting of expenses, the requirements for the participants in the competitions filmed for the final event in the Yugoslav army stadium, the texts of the songs that were to be performed, payments to the authors (poets, writers, directors etc), the route of the Baton, and a list of the VIPs in the official boxes at the stadium where most of the legendary revolutionaries of the partisan movement, prominent intellectuals such as Ivo Andric and the leaders of the main faiths in the country could be seen[32]. This extensive documentary source is evidence of the varied nature of the Tito or Youth Baton. It was an ideological event dedicated to one of the few common symbols in the multinational Yugoslav society – Broz himself. Yet this was not all. Particularly in the 1970s and 80s the ideological celebration was also a kind of spectacle, incorporating many modern features and enjoyed by many Yugoslav citizens at the stadium or at home in front of the TV screen. It also represented a profitable business for certain text writers, composers, painters, TV directors and journalists, some of whom acknowledge this fact in their memoirs[33].

The gifts

The presents Tito received on the occasion of his birthday are another important source of information. In May the Yugoslav leader was the recipient of thousands and thousands of gifts. In the inventories of the Museum of Yugoslav History there are 2,312 entries containing descriptions of birthday presents. The exhibits are catalogued into 6 different types: sculptures, models, children's work, works of art and folk-art, technical instruments and machinery. According to their senders and symbolic meaning, the abovementioned Ivan Colovic divides the gifts into two main groups: those given to the dictator by the official state and party institutions and those sent to the dictator by ordinary citizens. As typical examples of the first group, he mentions the distinctions awarded to Tito by the state: the three honourable tittles of National Yugoslav Hero which he received on the occasion of his birthday, the doctoral degrees awarded by the different science academies of the Republics, the building of the 25th of May Museum, given to him as a present by the city of Belgrade[34], the hunting lodge presented to Broz by the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on his 80th birthday[35] and so on[36]. Here we can also add most of the expensive sculptures usually sent by the higher party or state structures and the models – a typical gift from workers' collectives, trade unions, certain professional associations and so on[37].

The gifts from the common people are different. Many of them were expressions of traditional peasant culture. They include socks, slippers, shoes, hats, handkerchiefs, tablecloths, pillows, pillowcases, and similar hand-made items. Such gifts came from village women, craftsmen and other "ordinary folk", including those to whose children Tito was godfather. Generally such gifts were made by the donors themselves. Messages to comrade Tito were usually embroidered on decorative towels. Colovic suggests that "gifts of this kind had political value because of their modesty and simplicity, which gave the impression that they really were "from the heart"[38]. One of the propaganda editions of the ex-Memorial Centre indicates the same meaning for "ordinary people's" gifts, stressing the fact that Josip Broz himself quite often visited these exhibits in the so-called Old Museum and "supervised their presentation"[39].

In essence, both types of gifts, like the documentary sources, represent the two faces of the Tito cult – the official, formal one, and the unorganized popular admiration for the successful leader. It might be interesting to mention that the examples of "ordinary folk's" presents became rare in the 70s when official adoration in the country was at its peak. Naturally this could be explained by the supposedly diminishing popularity of Broz after the so-called Croatian Spring and the encounter with the "Serbian liberals" within the Union of Yugoslav Communists. However, I believe there is a different reason. The almost complete disappearance of "common" gifts in the Inventory Book from the 1970s onwards could also be explained by the effects of urbanization, the industrialization of the country and the gradual disappearance of crafts. Of course this important change did not immediately free the new citizens from their traditional desire for a strong, powerful leader but it probably did succeed rather more quickly in

creating a negative attitude towards the products of peasant culture and the fascination of the masses for industrially produced goods.

Pictures, audio materials and films

Finally I must allude briefly to the photos, tapes and films from the Museum of Yugoslav History depository. These are kept in the picture collection, record library and film library. The collection of photos is particularly valuable, especially bearing in mind the saying that "a picture speaks a thousand words". The Museum has preserved approximately 800,000 pictures from different periods of Tito's life. Photo sessions from all of the Marshal's birthdays are available to researchers, showing many details of the celebration activities. From the pictures of his 68th birthday (1960) for instance, we can get an impression of how the leader received the different kinds of presents, the official reception, with Broz on the grandstand during the celebrations dedicated to the leader, and many details of the various mass performances which took place during the event. The record library holds 1,000 tapes of the Yugoslav dictator's speeches made at his public appearances. Another particularly valuable source is the collection of over 700 films, most of them documentary. Unfortunately, I was unable to see any of these or hear any of the speeches as I was told there were technical problems at the Museum.

Conclusion

The sources from the ex-Yugoslav archives and the Museum of Yugoslavian History provide a wealth of information on the problem of the personality cult as a whole and Tito's birthday in particular. Part of the cult included the 25th of May as a political ritual, but its aim was not only to reinforce the leader's propaganda image. The main purpose was to integrate the Yugoslav nations and nationalities behind the Marshal in order to maintain a sense of unity. The official part of the celebrations involved an intense revitalisation of the main images of the Yugoslav leader: Josip Broz the statesman; Tito the leader of the Yugoslav communists, the war hero and military genius, his image of great international importance; Tito the working-class hero; Broz the saviour of the nation. On the other hand, the letters and gifts from the people revealed an important traditional stratum in the attitudes of the "common people" – that of Tito as godfather. This role had been created by the state and party structures but had not been "advertised" by the official propaganda machine. The latter kept silent. It is therefore a good example of how the socialist ideology, which otherwise strived to effect radical changes to the political culture, was actually forced to compromise and adapt to the traditional culture which had, in theory, to be destroyed by the revolutionaries.

Of course I am aware that the archive sources I have attempted to present are somewhat limited. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to look at the Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro depositories. In addition, the local archives of the ex-Yugoslavian district centres contain important information, and

research in these kinds of institutions may reveal differences between the ceremonies in the capital and those in the provinces. These differences could prove rather interesting, as is evident in a not very "scientific" but otherwise fantastic piece of local history dedicated to the May celebration in the south-eastern Serbian district of Leskovac from the end of World War II to the beginning of the 21st century[40].

Naturally the archive materials should be analysed, together with the propaganda editions dedicated to Tito's birthday and especially to the Baton or the events at the People's Army stadium[41]. Another secondary source, and possibly the most important one, is the press. In fact, my work in this area reminds me that the Tito cult and his famous birthday may not have been quite so important in Yugoslav society. In 1977 when the celebrations for the Marshal's 85th birthday and 40 years as a leader of the communists were taking place, as well as articles about the Marshal's glorious life in the Slobodna Dalmacija Split edition, the happy reader was also able to enjoy a picture of a naked Swedish girl on the back page. Obviously newspapers and journals are a "must" in any research into this topic.

Notes

1 *Druže Tito mi ti se kunemo* – "Comrade Tito, We Swear by You" is the title of a famous Yugoslav popular song. The song can be downloaded from the extremely useful site http://www.titoville.com.

2 Личността на политика. Сириус 4, Veliko Trinovo 2004, p. 257.

3 Д. Оруел, *1984*, Превод от английски Лидия Божилова, Профиздат, Sofia 1989. Quotation from the e-version of the book. Source http://bezmonitor.com

4 Я. Янакиев, *Системата действа*, "Здраве", год. XXVII, март, бр. 3, 1982, p. 4. The author mentions in the article Todor Zhivkov (7 September 1911 – 5 August 1998), the most prominent leader of the Bulgarian socialist regime, leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1954-1989), Prime Minister (1962-1971) and Chairman of the State Council (1971-1989). See А. Цураков, *Енциклопедия: правителствата на България 1879-2001, Хронология на политическия живот*, Sofia 2001, pp. 325 - 326. For more details see his autobiography Т. Живков, *Мемоари*, Sofia-Veliko Trinovo 1997. Also see И. Баева, *Прагматикът, управлявал България 35 години*, in М. Радева (ed.), *Български държавници 1944-1989*, Sofia 2005, pp. 184-204.

5 В. Пелевин, *Записки за търсенето на вятъра*, Диалектика на преходния период (от никъде за никъде), Sofia 2005, p. 289.

6 Josip Broz Tito (7.5.1892 – 4.5.1980), leader of the Yugoslav communists (1937-1980), Commander of the Yugoslav military forces (1945-1980), President of Yugoslavia (1953-1980, lifetime president since 1974). Three times National hero of Yugoslavia. A good bibliography listing books and articles about him and by him can be found in Sentić M., *Bibliografija o Josipa Broza Tita*, Rijeka 1981. Also see *Biblografia, (Selektivna) radova jugoslovenskih i stranih autora o Josupu Broyu Titu (knjige, brošure i članci) – 1937-1987* –, "Vojnoistorijski glasnik", knj. 4, 1987, pp. 428-492. For recent studies on Tito, the bibliography at the end of Todor Kuljić's book *Tito. Sociološkoistorijska studija*, Institut za političke studije, Belgrade 1998, pp. 373-382 is very useful.

7 Actually Tito was always an enemy of any form of nationalism in the different republics that made up the *FNRY* (Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia) and later the *SFRY* (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).

8 Nicolae Ceausescu (26 January 1918 - 25 December 1989), leader of the Romanian Communist Party

(until 23rd of July known as the Romanian Workers Party) (1965-1989), Chairman of the State Council (1967-1989), President of Romania (1974-1989). See *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R. 1945-1989. Dicţionar*, Bucharest 2004, pp. 140-142. Probably the most valuable study of his personality cult is A. Cioroianu, *Ce Ceauşescu qui hante les Roumains. Le mythe, les representations et le culte du Dirigeant dans la Roumanie communiste*, Bucharest 2004. See also M.E. Fischer, *Nicolae Ceauşescu. A Study in Political Leadership*, Boulder-London, 1989, and the documentary collection A.U. Gabanyi, *The Ceauşescu Cult. Propaganda and Power Policy in Communist Romania*, Bucharest 2000.

[9] Enver Hoxha (16 October 1908 - 11 Aprile 1985), as First Secretary of the Communist Albanian Party of Labour, was the leader of Albania from the end of World War II until his death in 1985. He was Prime Minister of Albania from 1944 to 1954 and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1946 to 1953.

[10] It may suffice to type the respective names into the search engine of some of the e-databases providing access to the articles in history periodicals, such as JSTOR or EBSCO, in order to understand what I mean. See http://www.jstor.org, http://search.epnet.com.

[11] Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej (8 November 1901 - 19 April 1965), Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party / Romanian Workers Party (1945-1954), First Secretary of the Romanian Workers Party (1955-1965), Prime - Minister (1952-1955), Chairman of the State Council (1961-1965). *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R. 1945-1989. Dicţionar*, Bucharest 2004, pp. 291-292.

[12] This user-friendly tool suggests *Den*, *Dee*, *Dew*, *Jed* or *Deem* instead of Dej, Zhivkov could easily become *Zhukov,* and it would be happy for us to write *Hoax*, *Hoaxer*, *Hoaxed*, *Hoxie* or *Hoo-ha* instead of poor Hohxa.

[13] T. Kuljić, *Tito u novom srpskom poredkom sećanja*, "Sociologija", 2, 2003, p. 66.

[14] In my opinion the best survey to date of Tito's public representations and the attitude of the people towards Josip Broz, together with other problems of leadership in Yugoslavia, is T. Kuljić, *Tito. Sociološkoistorijska studija*. In 2005, a second "updated" edition appeared: *Tito: sociološko-istorijska studija*, Gradska narodna biblioteka "Žarko Zrenjanin", 2005. On the different aspects of the Tito personality and cult, see also M. Терзић, *Прилог питању стварања Титовог култа*, "Историјски записи", бр. 1, 1995, pp. 88-96; Д. Мојић, *Еволуција култа Josипа Броза Тита 1945-1990. Анализа штампе*, "Српска политичка мисао", II, бр. 1, 1995, pp. 133-154; T. Kuljić, *Tito – nacrt sociološkoistorijskog istraživanja*, "Srpska politička misao", II, 1, 1995, pp. 49-90; T. Kuljić, *Titova nacionalna politika*, "Istorija" 20. veka. God. 15, br. 2, 1997, str. 141-174; T. Kuljić, *Inetelektualci o Titu. Tri pristupa*, "Sociologija", Vol. XXXIX, 2, 1997, pp. 223-238; Б. Петрановић, *Историографске контроверзе*, Службени лист СРЈ, Belgrade 1998, pp. 105-124; Б. Пејић, *Тито или иконизација једне представе*, in Д. Сретеновић, ејан, *Ново читање иконе*, Belgrade 2002, pp. 107 -157; К. Николић, *Прошлост без историје*. Полемике у југословенској историографији 1961-1991. Главни токови. Институт за савремену историју, Belgrade 2003, pp. 319-373; Х. Мишков, *Приключенията на храбрия войник Броз*, "Минало Година", XI, 1, 2004, pp. 48-56; О.М. Пинтар, *„Тито је стена." (Дис)континуитет владарски представљања у Југославији и Србији XX века*, Годишњак за друштвену историју, Година XI, Свеска 2 – 3, 2004, pp. 85-100; Vlastito iskustvo. Past Present. Leposavić, R. (urednik). Samizdat, B92, Belgrade 2004.

[15] See for example Д. Мојић, *Еволуција култа Josипа Броза Тита 1945-1990*, pp. 133-154.

[16] G. Dimitrov (18.6.1882 – 2.7.1949), Secretary – General of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Prime – Minister (1946-1949). Цураков, Ангел, *Енциклопедия правителствата на България 1879 – 2001, Хронология на политическия живот*, Sofia 2001, pp. 267-268; also see И. Димитров, *Между идеологията и държавата*, in M. Радева (ed.), *Български държавници 1944 – 1989*, Sofia 2005, pp. 37-58.

[17] Valko Chervenkov (6.9.1900 - 21.10.1989), Secretary – General of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1950-1954) and Prime Minister (1950-1956). Цураков, Ангел, *Енциклопедия правителствата на България 1879 – 2001, Хронология на политическия живот*, Sofia 2001, pp. 275-276; also see Л. Огнянов, *Всевластен комунистически лидер*, in Радева (ed.), *Български държавници 1944 – 1989* cit., pp. 100-116.

[18] V. Kastratović-Ristić, Veselinka, *Fondovi Arhiva Predsednika Republike (Josipa Broza Tita) i Muzeja istorije Jugoslavije*, in *Velike sile i male drzave u Hladnom ratu 1945-1955: Slučaj Jugoslavije: Zbornik radova sa Međunarodne naučne konferencije*, Belgrade 2003, pp. 381-390.

[19] Muzej istorije Jugoslavije (MIJ), Kabinet Predsednika Republike (KPR) – V.

[20] MIJ, KPR – V – 7 b, Čestitke stranih ličnosti i organizacija.

[21] MIJ, KPR – V – 7 c, Čestitke domaćih ličnosti i organizacija.

[22] MIJ, KPR – V – 9 a, Dokumentacija o kumovima (kumovanja, materialna pomoć, pozdr. pisma i čestitke).

[23] But Josip Broz was godfather even of some Slovenian children in the late 1940s and 50s. MIJ, KPR – V – 9 a, br. kutije 601, Kozina – Kulaš.

[24] MIJ, KPR – V – 9 a, br. kutije 533, br. kutije 601, br. kutije 601.

[25] MIJ, KPR – V – 7 a, Prijemi ličnosti i organizacija, zahtevi učestnika proslave za fotografia sa prijema kod Predsednika Republike povodom rodjendana; MIJ, KPR – V – 12, Dokumentacija o dnevnim obavezima predsednika republike (dnevni rada, rasporedi rada, beleške i sl.).

[26] Sufficient information about this institution can be found on its website.

[27] Fond 114, Savez socialističke omladine Jugoslavije.

[28] See for instance *Titova Štafeta Štafeta Mladosti*, Memorijalni centar "Josip Broz Tito", Belgrade 1985, M. Stefanović - M. Baljak - D. Petrović - Z. Zoran - B. Borislav, *Titova štafeta mladosti*, Belgrade 1989; *Memorial Center*, Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center, Novi Sad 1991.

[29] I. Colović, *On Models and Batons*, in *Vlastito iskustvo*. *Past Present*. edited by R. Leposavić, *Samizdat, B92,* Belgrade 2004, p. 153.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-155.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 155

[32] Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore (ASCG), fond 114 Savez socialističke omladine Jugoslavije (SSOJ), popis I, fascikla 62, Proslave praznika "25 maj"; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis I, fascikla 63, Proslave "Dana Mladosti", 1961; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis I, fascikla 64, Proslava "Dana Mladosti", 1962; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis I, fascikla 65, Proslave "Dana Mladosti", 1963 – 1967; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis I, fascikla 66, Proslava "Dana Mladosti", 1969; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 19, Materijali proslave "Dana Mladosti", 1970; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 20, Materijali proslave "Dana Mladosti", 1971; (Dokumentacija odbora za proslavu. Prijave za 1971; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 21, Materijali proslave "Dana Mladosti", 1972 -1973; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 131, Predsedništvo Konferencije SSOJ, Materijali "Titovog fonda", 1977-79; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 132, Predsedništvo Konferencije SSOJ, Materijali o proslave "Dana Mladosti", 1974-77; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 133, Predsedništvo Konferencije SSOJ, Materijali o proslave "Dana Mladosti", 1978; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 235, Predsedništvo Konferencije SSOJ, Materijali o proslave "Dana Mladosti", 1979-80; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, Savezni odbor za Proslavu "Dana Mladosti", fascikla 406, 1983-986; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, Savezni odbor za Proslavu "Dana Mladosti", fascikla 407, Materijali Saveznog odbora za proslavu "Dana Mladosti": - predlozi za dodelu plaketa i priznanja "25. maj"– organizacija štafete – organizacija proslave – izveštaji o proslavi – dokumentacija odbora 1987-1989.

[33] *Vlastito iskustvo* cit., p. 177.

[34] *Memorial Center*, Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center, Novi Sad, 1991, also the leaflet *Muzej "25. maj"*, Belgrade, s.a.

[35] See *Memorial Center* cit.

[36] Colović, *On models* cit., p. 149, p. 152.

[37] MIJ, Muzej "25. maj", Inventarski popis, Depo II, knj. 1, 2.

[38] Colović, *On models* cit., p. 149, p. 152.

[39] *Memorial Center.*

[40] Ж. Стојковић - Х. Ракић, *Мајске свечаности у Лесковцу и околини (1945-2000)*, Општински одбор Савеза удружења бораца Народноослободилаког рата, Лесковац 2003.

[41] *Deset godina Titove štafete*, Belgrade 1956; *Titova štafeta u AP Vojvodini*, Kartografska građa. B.i., B.g.; *Trešnjevka. Prigodno izdanje za "Dan mladosti"*, Zagreb 1962; B. Debeljković, *Dan mladosti. Slikovna građa*, Belgrade 1972; M. Stefanović, *Pozdravi iz srca. Štafeta Titu – Mladost*, Savezni odbor za proslavu Dana mladsoti, Mladost, Belgrade 1977; M. Subotić, *Pletenica djetinja mašta. Literarni radovi učenika osnovnih škola Slavonje i Baranje. Dan mladosti 1978*, Osijek, 1978; A. Trkulja, *Pesnička štafeta 79*, Belgrade 1980; M. Stefanović - M. Baljak - D. Petrović (eds.), *Pozdravi iz srca. Savezni odbor za proslavu Dana mladosti*, Belgrade 1980; *Сунце нас затекло у мају. Мајска песничка штафета. Деца Палилуле*, Belgrade 1980; *Pionirska štafeta. Pozdrav pionira SR Hrvatske drugu Titu 1978. godine*, Savez Društava "Naša djeca", Republički savjet za unapređivanje rada Saveza pionira, 1978; *Pionirska štafeta. Pozdrav pionira SR Hrvatske drugu Titu 1979. godine*, Savez Društava "Naša djeca", Republički savjet za unapređivanje rada Saveza pionira, 1979; *Pionirska štafeta. Pozdrav pionira SR Hrvatske drugu Titu 1980. godine*, Savez Društava "Naša djeca", Republički savjet za unapređivanje rada Saveza pionira, 1981; Степановић, Живадин, *Крагујевачка штафета Титу – Титу*, Крагујевац 1985; G. Rabrenović, *Potrebe i interese omladine i njeno učešće u društveno – političkom zivotu mesne zajednice, Mladi beogradski podstanari. Dan mladosti. Juče, danas, sutra*, Belgrade 1987; M. Stefanović- M. Baljak - D. Petrović- Z. Sekulić - B. Vasić, *Titova štafeta mladosti*, Belgrade 1989.

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Greetings to Josip Broz from the pioneers of his native village of Kumrovec on the occasion of his 59th birthday (23 May 1951).

Dragi naš druže Tito,
i mi pioniri Tvog rodnog mjesta pridružujemo se željama naroda Jugoslavije, čestitamo Ti rođendan i zelimo, da nam još dugo poživiš i, da nas i nadalje vodiš boljem životu.
živio nam naš dragi Maršale!
Pioniri Odreda Maršala Tita
Osmogodišnje škole Kumrovec
Kumrovec 23.V.1951.

Dear our comrade Tito,
We, the pioneers from your homeland, also add to the wishes of the Yugoslav nations in congratulating You on Your Birthday, wishing You a long life with us, that You may continue to lead us towards a better future.
Long live our dear Marshal!
The Pioneers of the Marshal Tito squad
Primary school of Kumrovets
Kumrovec 23 May 1951.

Source: *Muzej istorije Jugoslavije*, Arhiv Kabineta predsednika Jugoslavij.

Greeting of the people from villages Jara and Knespolja on the occasion of Tito's 60th anniversary

Voljeni naš druže Tito,
Zajedno sa svim našim narodima i mi seljaci Jara i Knešpolja, srez Lištica, kličemo Ti i čestitamo 60-ti rodjendan. Čestitamo Ti ga iz sveg srca i želimo jos dugo da živeš medju nama. Uvijek si nas vodio pravim putem. Teška je bila četverogodišnja borba i Ti si njen najsvijetliji lijek. Bio si neustrašiv borac, ušao si uvjek samo naprijed. Naši narodi su te slijedili i danas Te slijede.
A ovom zgodom obećavamo Ti da ćemo čuvati tekovine Narodno-oslobodilačke borbe, da ćemo izvršavati zadatke izgradnje naše zemlje i da ćemo odgajati naše djecu da vole svoju zemlju da budu ponosni na nju, da se ponose sa Tobom, druze Tito!
Još jednom obećajemo Ti, da ćemo biti budni branioci krvlju stečene slobode koju danas uživamo i po stotinu puta Ti kličemo:

Zivio nam, dragi naš druze Tito, još dugo na našu radost i sreće!
Narod sela Jara i Knešpolja
s[r]eza Lištica.

Beloved Comrade Tito,
Together with all our nations we the peasants from Jara and Knespolja district Listic, offer You our congratulations on Your 60th birthday. We congratulate You with all our hearts and wish You to live for many more years among us. You have always lead us in the right way. The forty year struggle was hard and you are its brightest symbol. You were fearless fighter You only marched forward. Our nations have always followed You and today they still follow You.
On this occasion we promise You that we shall defend the achievements of National Liberation struggle. We shall continue completing its tasks and we shall bring up our children to love their country, to be proud of it and to feel proud of You, Comrade Tito!
Once again we promise You, that we shall be watchful defenders of the blood shed for the freedom in which we live today and hundred times we cry out:
Long live our dear comrade Tito, for many years to come, as our joy and happiness!
People from the Jara and Knespolja villages
District of Listic.

Source: *Muzej istorije Jugoslavije*, Arhiv Kabineta predsednika Jugoslavij.

Greeting of the sick pioneers and nurses from the town of Ohrid, Macedonia to Josip Broz on the occasion of his 61st birthday

Mnogo sakani naš TITO,
Nije detskite negovatelki, zaedno s pionerite bolesnici pri ovaa bolnica, naj sardečno Ti go čestitame Rođeniot den, ti ti praćame novi pozdravi i Ti sakame novi pobedi vo izgradbata na Socijalizmot vo našata zemja.
Bidini ni zdrav i mnogo godini da živeeš oti nije so tebe se raduvame.
Vetuvame deka nije smelo ke go sledime patot po koj ne vodiš Ti.
Od pionerite i detskite megovatelki vo Ohrid

Our much beloved TITO,
We, the nurses and sick pioneers in this hospital, most cordially congratulate You on Your birthday and send You new greetings, wishing You victories in building socialism in our country.
Be healthy and live for many years, for we are happy with you.
We swear we shall bravely follow in the path You lead us along.
From the pioneers and nurses in Ohrid

Source: *Muzej Istorije Jugoslavije*, Arhiv Kabineta predsednika Jugoslavije, V-7-c, 1953.

Greetings of the students and teachers of the Albanian secondary school in Prizren to Josip Broz Tito on the occasion of his 62nd birthday

Voljeni druže TITO,
Uçenici I nastavnici Siptarske realne gimnazije u Prizrenu sa praznicnim razpolozenijem Vam çestitaju 62. rodjendan, sa željem da nam jos dugo preživite na srecu svih naroda FNRJ, a posebnonaroda Kosova i Metohije koiji su svoju junaçku proslost i svetlo buduçnost su vezali za SKJ na çelo sa Vama.
Saljemo Vam simvoliçan poklon bratstva i jedinstva Siptara, Srba i Crnogoraca na Kosmetu kato izraz zadovoljstva sto ste nam omogucili da mirno zivimo, odusevljeno radimo i uçimo.
Siptarska gimnazija u Prizrenu prvi put u istoriji siptara Kosova i Metohije izvedi klasu maturanata. To su ljudi koji ce se samopregorno boriti za uçvscenje bratstva i jedinstva jer suosetili njegovu vrednost, oni ce visoko dici zastavu jugoslovenskog socijalistiiçeskog patriotiizma i boriti se za mir u svetu. Oni su osetili lepotu zivota i snagu nauke na materrnjem jeziku zato ce se boriti da oçuvaju tradicije NOB-a.
Nasa gimnazija ove godine [?] *prvu redovnu polumaturu zenske omladine, to je snaga koja ce skinuti debeo zaostalosti i primitivnosti medju zenama siptarkama.*
Mi hocemo, mi moramo pobediti, jer ste sa nama Vi, çovek koji ne zna za umar kad sa u pitanju interesi radnog naroda – çoveka iz naroda.
Prizren, 23 maja 1954
Uçenici i nastavnici siptarske realne gimnazije u Prizrenu

Beloved Comrade Tito,
The students and teachers from the Siptarian [Albanian] Secondary School in Prizren, in holiday spirit, congratulate You on Your birthday, with the wish that You will live for many more years ahead, to the joy of all of the Yugoslav nations but especially those in Kosovo i Metohia, which have bound their brave past and bright future to the SKJ [Union of the Yugoslav Communists] led by You.
We send You a symbolic gift from the Kosovo Siptari [Albanian], Serbian and Montenegran brotherhood and union as an expression of our gratitude that You have made it possible for us to live peacefully and work and study enthusiastically.
For the first time in the history of Kosovo and the Metohija Siptari [Albanians], the Siptarian [Albanian] Secondary School in Prizren has produced a class of graduates. These are people who will struggle selflessly to strengthen brotherhood and unity because they understand its value. They will raise high the flag of Yugoslav socialist patriotism and will struggle for peace in the World. They feel the beauty of life and the power of science in their mother tongue and that is why they will fight to protect the legacy of the National Liberation Struggle
This year our secondary school saw the first regular semi-matriculation for young female students. This is the force that will break down the wall of primitive backwardness affecting Sipterian women.
We want to win because You are with us, a man [Tito] who is tireless in championing the interests of the workers and the common man.
Prizren, 23rd of May, 1954
Students and teachers from the Sipterian [Albanian] secondary school in Prizren

Source: *Muzej Istorije Jugoslavije*, Arhiv Kabineta predsednika Jugoslavije, V-7-c, 1954.

Announcement from the meeting of the Presidency of the Union of Yugoslav Youth, 16.V.1970

Na današnoj sednici Predsedništvo Saveza Omladine Jugoslavije je odlučilo da 25. maja na Staduonu JNA Štafetu mladosti sa pozdravima omladine i naroda Jugoslavije drugu Titu preda Žežova (Tudov) [brackets added with a pen] Ljiljana učenica 4 razreda gimnazije „Josip Broz Tito" iz Skoplja. Ljiljana je odličan učenik u svim razredima. Pobednik je na republičkom takmičenji „Nauku mladima" u matematici.
Gimnazija „JosipBroz" slavi 25 – godišnjicu postojanja i naj-bolja je po uspehu u SR Makedoniji.
Belgrade, 16.V.1970. godine
Tanjug 331 – 635
622 – 355
[the name of the Yugoslav news agency and the tel. numbers added with a pen]

As a result of today's meeting, the Presidency of the Union of Yugoslav Youth has decided that on 25th of May on the Stadium of the Yugoslav Army, Zezova (Tudov) Ljiljana, a fourth grade student from Josip Broz Tito Secondary School in Skopje, will hand Comrade Tito the Youth Button containing birthday greetings from the Yugoslav nations and Youth. Ljiljana has been an excellent student in all grades. She is the winner of the "Science for Youth" mathematics competition.
The Josip Broz Tito Secondary School is celebrating its 25th anniversary and has had the best results in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia

Source: *ASCG*, Fond 114, SSOJ, popis II, fasc. 19, Materijali proslave "Dan Mladosti", 1970.

List with the persons to be in the central stand for the Youth Day (1970)
14 +1 [written with a pen]
Raspored centralne tribine za 25. maj [Arrangement of the central stand for the 25th of May][excerpt]

1. *predsednik Savezne Skupštine sa suprugom* [President of the Parliament and wife]
2. *predsednik Saveznog izvršnog veća sa suprugom* √ [President of the Union's Executive council] [mark added in red]
3. *Edvard Kardelj sa suprugom* √ [Edvard Kardelj and wife][underlining and mark added in red]
4. *13 članova izvršnog biroa* [13 members of the Executive Bureau]
5. *6 predsednika republičkih partija* [6 Presidents of the parties in the republics]
6. *6 predsednika republičkih skupština* [6 Presidents of the Parliaments in the Republics]
7. *2 pokrajinska predsednika partija* [2 Presidents of the parties in the autonomous regions]
8. *2 pokrajinska predsednika skupština* [2 Presidents of the Parliaments in the autonomous regions]
9. *predsednik SK Socijalističeskog saveza radnog naroda Jug.* [President of the Committee of the Socialist Union of the working people of Yugoslavia]

10. *predsednik SUBNOR – a* [President of the Alliance of the Unions of fighters from the National – Liberation War]
11. *predsednik Saveza omladine Jugoslavije* [President of the Yugoslav Youth Union]
12. *predsednik Ustavnog suda Jugoslavije* [President of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court]
13. *državni sekretar za inostrane poslove* [Foreign Secretary]
14. *državni sekretar za narodnu odbranu* [Defence Secretary]
15. *predsednik Skupštine grada Belgradea* [President of Belgrade Council]
16. *predsednik odbora Dana mladosti* [President of the Youth Day Celebrations Commitee]
17. *nosilac štafete* [The bearer of the baton]
18. *Dušan Petrović – Šane* [added in ink; also the line bellow]

LOŽA 20 [Box N 20]

1. *Dragiša Maksimović* √ [mark added in black ink]
2. *Marin Cetinić* √ [mark added in black ink]
3. [the number is enclosed in blue] *Rudi Petovar gen. puk.* [Col. Gen. added in ink] √ [mark added in black ink]
4. [the number is enclosed in blue] *Ante Banina gen. puk.* [Col. Gen. added in ink] √ [mark added in black ink]
5. [the number is enclosed in blue] *Miran Mejak* √ [mark added in black ink]
6. [the number is enclosed in blue] *Ali Šukrija* √ [mark added in black ink]
7. *Čedo Kapor* √ [mark added in black ink]
8. *Milan Vukasović* [struck off the list] *Velibor Gligorić* [added in red ink]
9. [the number is circled in blue] *Ivo Andrić* √ [mark added in black ink]
10. [the number is circled in blue] *Moma Marković s* √ [mark added in black ink]
11. [the number is circled in blue] *Todor Vujasnović* √ [mark added in black ink]
12. *Lepa Pijade* √ [mark added in black ink]
13. *Fanika Salaj* √ [mark added in black ink]

[...]

Source: *ASCG*, Fond 114, SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 19, Materijali proslave "Dan Mladosti", 1970.

Poem *Poklon za Tita* [A Gift for Tito] by the young pioneer Sanela Bazovic from the 4th grade in *Vasa Pelagic* primary school

Када би суице могло
са неба да се скине
поклонила бих га Титу
чувару мира и истине

И срце бих му дала
с моју башту са цвећем
нек' вечно живи и нек' се кити
наш драги ковач среће

Нека живи, нека га срећа прати,
Док је он са нама,
У нашем ће срцу
Срећно детињство цвати.

Санела Базовић, IV,
ОШ „Васа Пелагић”

If the sun could
Fall from the sky
I would give it to Tito
The keeper of peace and the truth

And I would give him my heart
From my garden with a flower
Let him live forever
Our maker of happiness

Let him live and let happiness follow him
As long as he is with us
In our heart
A happy childhood will bloom

Sanela Bazovic,
4th grade student, Vasa Pelagic Primary school

Source: *Сунце нас затекло у мају. Деца Палилуле. Мајска песничка штафета. 1973 – 1979*. Народна библиотека „Милутин Боић”, Belgrade 1980, p. 81.

Lenin and His Body: a Case of Soviet Religiosity

Giovanni Moretto
University of Milan

Abstract

Lenin's cult as Soviet religiosity had many features and covered the whole history of the Soviet Union. Of course, its peculiarities could draw part of their inspiration from many connections that are easy to find in the history of socialist and communist thought and theory. After his death in 1924, Lenin was the focal point of extreme myth-making. This cult was willed, organized and officiated by Stalin, who established part of his power in his own role as the principal interpreter of the official Leninist ideology and "high priest" of the Leninist cult. As regards Soviet religiosity, the most striking fact was the embalmment of Lenin's body and its placement in the specially built Mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square. The decision of Stalin to embalm Lenin's corpse and to expose it to the people was final. So, in opposition to the normal procedure of burying corpses, Lenin's body was not interred or cremated.

Lenin's embalmment and the whole issue of the cult, itself a very particular and unique one, is interesting from an historical point of view, not only as a useful element for understanding the Soviet world and its complexity, but also because it raises questions about the various meanings that "religious sense" can have. Because the theme is striking and paradoxical, I believe it is very useful to analyse the history of Lenin's body embalmment and its meaning in both the process of secularization led by the leadership of the Soviet State-Party, and at the same time, the creation of a system of cult and liturgies full of strong religious influence and heritages.

Il culto di Lenin quale forma di religiosità sovietica percorre la totalità della storia dell'Urss. Dopo la sua morte, avvenuta nel 1924, Lenin fu oggetto di una vasta e profonda opera di mitizzazione e 'santificazione' voluta e officiata da Stalin, il quale sul proprio ruolo di principale interprete dell'ideologia del padre del paese socialista, suo successore ed erede nonché 'primo sacerdote' del culto leninista, fondò buona parte del proprio potere. Il nome del defunto leader bolscevico comparve sulle targhe di strade ed istituzioni, e andò a mutare il nome della ex capitale imperiale da San Pietroburgo in Leningrado, occupando semanticamente in questo modo la dimensione dello 'spazio'. La dimensione del 'tempo', invece, fu carpita attraverso il processo con cui Lenin avrebbe dovuto in qualche modo divenire 'immortale' e la sua memoria perpetuarsi come tassello primo e fondante del sistema sovietico.

A tale proposito, l'avvenimento più eclatante fu l'imbalsamazione del corpo di Lenin e il suo collocamento nel mausoleo appositamente costruito a ridosso delle mura del Cremlino sulla piazza Rossa di Mosca. Contrariamente agli usi, non solo religiosi, relativi alla sepoltura dei cadaveri, il corpo di Lenin non fu né inumato né cremato. Per volere stesso di Stalin esso venne sottoposto all'intervento di medici ed esperti biochimici nel tentativo di farne una mummia che potesse mantenere l'aspetto di Lenin da vivo per parecchio tempo. Il corpo di Lenin avrebbe dovuto sopravvivere alle insidie della morte per potere essere simbolo inalterato del potere e dell'ideologia sovietici per le generazioni a venire. La salma, talismano politico e allegoria delle speranze sovietiche, fu collocata al centro dello spazio sovietico, sulla piazza Rossa, divenendo oggetto di venerazione del culto ufficiale leninista e legittimando la successione al potere di Stalin.

In questo lavoro, debitore dei contributi di specialisti che si sono occupati di tale tema, prendo in considerazione l'importanza che ebbe l'"immortalizzazione' di Lenin nella cultura sovietica. La storia dell'imbalsamazione di Lenin, il cui corpo si trova ancora oggi nel mausoleo a Mosca, appare interessante da un punto di vista storico non solo come elemento utile a comprendere il mondo sovietico, ma anche perché permette di interrogarsi sui vari significati del 'religioso' e sugli esiti che nella storia ha diversamente prodotto. Nell'atea società sovietica venne compiuta un'operazione dotata di un fortissimo impatto denso di significati e profondamente anacronistica, tanto da ricordare il culto mortuario dell'antico Egitto dei faraoni, dei sovrani-divinità.

Proprio in quanto elemento eclatante e paradossale, ritengo importante ripercorrere la storia dell'imbalsamazione del corpo di Lenin, del suo significato all'interno del processo di secolarizzazione e ateizzazione condotto dalla dirigenza dello Stato-Partito sovietico e della contemporanea creazione di un culto intriso di suggestioni e retaggi fortemente religiosi.

> And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth. And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave clothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go.
>
> John 11, 43-44

> Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people.
>
> Karl Marx

> Nobody will send us deliverance.
> Not God, nor Tsar, nor a hero.
> We shall be liberated
> by our own hands.
>
> *The Internationale*

Lenin lived
Lenin lives
Lenin will live

Vladimir Majakovskij

The opposition to religion was a typical feature of Marxism and the first Socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union. Marxism had already branded religion as "the opium of the people", an instrument of the power of consolidation and perpetuation adopted by ruling classes towards the masses. It is possible to find a strong link between political and religious power in pre-revolutionary Russian history, with a varying degree of balance throughout the centuries. Russia has a strong and ancient Christian culture which has developed, over time, a particularly intense and vital Orthodoxy with Messianic-millenarian and, later, Orthodox ecumenical claims, where Russian 'messianism' is expressed in the myth of Moscow as the Third Rome[1].

Also during the Soviet period, there was a kind of 'messianism'. Soviet Moscow was the bearer of a new message and worked as a guide, playing a strong role in the international socialist and communist movement. At this point, the role played by Lenin's figure as the first and foremost Marxist interpreter is fundamental, as he shaped his theoretical system called 'Marxism-Leninism'. He was the inventor of the communist party structure and the first to apply the Marxist idea in the real world, albeit in his own particular way.

The October Revolution of 1917 represented a deliberately destructive break with the Christian history of Russia. Among its ideological priorities, the Bolshevik programme included the reform of society based on secular and even atheistic values. The building of a Socialist society, aimed at the future achievement of communism, was necessarily founded on only one source of power, the State-Party, and on only one ideology, Lenin's interpretation of Marxism. Religion represented a fight on two fronts. First of all, the object of opposition was the Church as authority, both as the source of normative behaviour and as the embodiment of the ethical sphere. Secondly, religion was criticized as a complex of faith and doctrine. In the context of this general situation, the fight against Orthodox Christianity and the Moscow patriarchy was a priority objective because Russia was the biggest and most important community in the Soviet Union.

From the period of Lenin until the breakdown of Socialism in 1991, propaganda instruments against religion were various and they went through different phases; from rigid atheism – including imprisonments in gulags – to a more pragmatic approach, when political changes suggested a less severe treatment of religious institutions, as was the case during the Second World War[2].

As Richard Stites wrote:

> The war against God in the Russian Revolution was a long and complicated one. In the end, the Bolsheviks won and they lost... As a culture-changing movement, throbbing with icono-

> clastic and utopian impulses, Bolshevism looked upon God as the most mighty of the authority symbols to be torn down and upon belief in God as a malady generated by the disease-ridden miasma of the Old Order, shaped by 'feudalism,' autocracy, and capitalism[3].

What I want to do in this short survey is not an *excursus* aiming to reconstruct relationships between Soviet power, the Church and religion, but to attempt an analysis, which of course owes a lot to the works of many specialists, of a typical Soviet paradox. That is, the cult of Lenin as the birth and development of a USSR-specific and systematic complex of cult and ritual practice, permeated by a massive amount of faith and irrational approaches, created and made institutional by the regime. In other words, a particular form of 'Soviet religiosity'.

In analysing this topic, it is important to point out the dichotomy between the professed Marxist scientificity that Leninism-Marxism assumed and religion. The phenomenon is very interesting because it represents a peculiar feature of Soviet history and, at the same time, an intense paradox in the first Socialist experiment in history. Lenin's cult as 'Soviet religiosity' had many features and covered the whole history of the USSR. Of course, its peculiarities could draw part of their inspiration from many connections that are easy to find in the history of socialist and communist thought and theory. In some cases, analogies between Socialism and Christianity have been made, and in other cases, they have been opposed by socialist and communist theorists themselves at different historical moments. The comparison has been made between many questions and couplings of terms: freedom and oppression[4], private property[5], theory and praxis, and so on. Marxist literature contains several and frequent references to Christianity, as well as, more specifically, within polemic between Marxists and anarchists about correct revolutionary praxis, references to primitive Christianity and ecclesial and dogmatic Christianity, with varying positions not always being homogeneous[6].

Nevertheless, as regards the Bolshevik horizon, a very useful instance in order to understand the roots of Soviet culture and its links with religious culture is the *Bogostroitel'stvo* [God-building] movement that had a precedent in the *Bogoiskatel'stvo* [God-seeking] movement, although it was developed in a different way. The *Bogostroitel'stvo* was a current of thought born within Russian Marxism at the beginning of the 20th century. This philosophical-literary movement had its roots mainly in the thought of Anatolij Lunačarskij and Maksim Gor'kij[7]. Pertaining to this, Richard Stites wrote:

> The God issue was given the fullest possible publicity in the period between 1905 and 1917, years of extraordinary freedom of expression. The political and social climate in Russia made religion, together with sexual morality, crime, suicide, and decadence in art, a topic of intense discussion among the intelligentsia. Two of many fruits of this interest were God-seeking and God-building. God-seekers were committed Christians searching for ways to find God within the context of an enlightened intelligentsia. God-building, directly inspired by the God-seeking movement, was an effort to make socialism compatible with religion by 'constructing' a new God system. Its real innovator was Lunacharsky, a man of broad learning in European thought, who had ties with the God-seekers and who was temperamentally a 'soft' Bolshevik[8].

Authors such as Lunačarskij and Gor'kij attempted to create a particular kind of religion with a god built by a collective effort of humanity. In short, they included mysticism in their Marxist political view of society, not excluding Christian suggestions[9]. Lunačarskij joined the Bolshevik group in 1903, and after deportation and exile, he returned to Russia in 1917, where he became, after the October Revolution, People's Commissar for Education until 1929. He also helped Lenin in the *Monumental'naja propaganda* [Monumental Propaganda] project that was, adopted after a decree in 1918, to change the outward appearance of the new Russia by replacing tsarist symbols and monuments with revolutionary ones[10]. Above all, Anatolij Lunačarskij attempted to underline and point out the strong idealistic and emotional charge of Marxism as a political ideology fit for all the needs of a human being. From 1908-1911, Lunačarskij published a two-volume essay, the heart of the *Bogostroitel'stvo* movement, entitled *Religija i Socializm* [*Religion and Socialism*][11]. In it, he mentioned the German philosopher of social democracy, Joseph Dietzgen, who wrote: "In the ideas of *social democracy is contained a new religion* that, unlike all the existing ones, aspires to be received not only by the heart but also by the intelligence"[12]. He also quoted the words of Liebknecht concerning socialism as "supreme morality, disinterestedness, self sacrifice, love for the neighbour"[13]. Then he went on to distinguish his socialist and "religious-collectivist" credo from the traditional and individualistic religions, implicitly asserting the superiority of the first one:

> But love for species is the culture in which the 'spiritual' personality of the man keeps while his body dissolves in the material universe, real love, deep, warm, living, it is a feeling infinitely more irrational by the point of view of the 'sane egoism' than love for god, that guarantees individual immortality and beatitude. For the *individualist* this transfer of centre of gravity from himself to species... is always tied to a certain melancholy sense of resignation... But for the real *socialist* there is no resignation. He has deeply penetrated the essence of relations between individual and species, for him reality is the species, the humanity... Socialism is cooperation in time and in space. But renouncing himself in favour of species, the individual finds himself to be ten times stronger. So, the socialist is more religious than the old religious man[14].

The definition of socialism as a new religion and religious feeling continued throughout this work through the words of Gor'kij[15]. Lunačarskij even agreed with the apostle Paul when he said, "We have salvation in hope", and he made an assertion about the new religion when he said, "I think that also without God... it remains religion"[16], a religion with its own prophet, Marx, "the greatest prophet of the world"[17]. Lunačarskij's idea was that it was necessary for oneself and one's own brothers to become God[18], with the proletariat as the bearer of the new religion[19]. What is very interesting in this work is not the lack of an after-divinity, but the strong need for writing constantly about a "new religion", and not only about new politics.

Lunačarskij's ideas were not thought of as being useful, but rather damaging for revolutionary theory, by many of his contemporaries, especially Lenin. Perhaps this was not surprising as this philosophical formulation had been condemned by official Bolshevism as a heterodox conception of Marxism. In 1905, Lenin had expressed his opinion about religious issues in general in very clear terms, confirming a completely atheistic

position[20]. He was also strongly hostile to that specific thought and in 1909 he wrote the work entitled *Materialism and Empiriocriticism* in which he underlined his disapproval of the *Bogostroitel'stvo* movement – "Comrade Lunačarskij, your flirting with religion doesn't make smile, it's nauseating!"[21] – and the serious theoretical "mistakes" of Lunačarskij[22] and his "religious atheism", considering that "the belief in any god is 'necrophilia'"[23]. Lunačarskij was also criticized by Plechanov[24], and after his death, his conception of socialism as the "new religion" was branded as a heterodoxal positon[25]. Despite this, it is useful to mention the movement in order to understand the non-monolithic essence of Soviet culture roots that have developed since 1917, in order that we may analyse our topic by considering its natural dynamism and heterogeneous nature.

However, apart from currents of Bolshevik thought that were sometimes marginal or not completely metabolized by official Soviet culture, a particular shape of 'Soviet religiosity' developed due to Stalin's contribution and the culture he created during his lifetime, and which lived on during the following decades after his leadership in spite of criticism of him in the Soviet Union after his death. Apart from the influence of Stalin's personality, the roots of many cults and ritual practices, often marked by particular and atypical forms of religiosity, found their own origins in the culture and system of Stalinism. Indeed, Stalin himself not only promoted his well-known "personality cult", which was the subject of heavy attacks from Nikita Khrushchev at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1956, but he also favoured the cult of Lenin, his predecessor, in a very particular way. After his death in 1924, Lenin was the focal point of extreme myth-making. This cult was willed, organized and officiated by Stalin, who established part of his power through his own role as the principal interpreter of the official Leninist ideology, and "high priest" of the Leninist cult.

After the end of 1921, Lenin's health grew progressively worse and his headaches became more frequent. After December 1922, he fell prey to a speaking disorder and progressive body paralysis. At the same time, there were rumblings about his succession inside the party. Lenin was worried, and from 23-26 December, with the additional note on 4 January 1923, he wrote a "Letter to the Congress"[26] (better known as "Lenin's Testament") in which he expressed an unflattering opinion about Stalin, who had held the office of Party General Secretary since 1922. It was not well-received by the Soviet hierarchy. Il'ja Zbarskij, the son of one of Lenin's embalmers, Boris Zbarskij, and also a member of the scientific team that worked on the preservation of the Bolshevik leader's body from 1934-1952, wrote that Stalin himself, at the end of October 1923, strongly proposed the idea of the preservation of Lenin's body[27]. There was a discussion about the destiny of Lenin's body inside the Politbjuro. The most important opposition to preservation came from Trockij, supported by Bucharin and Kamenev, who said that the idea suggested an attitude of something religious like that of the cult of saints' relics[28]. In the work *Revolution and Everyday Life* (1923), Trockij favoured cremation as the cemetery policy of the Soviet state[29], pointing out the importance also for the Soviet state of honouring its dead, but also remarking on the need to leave behind

the old religious rites and create new revolutionary rituals. In particular, he mentioned funerals with a political feature where ceremonies were soaked in revolutionary symbols like "the red flag, the funeral march of the revolutionary and the greeting of firing shots with fire-arms in the air"[30]. As for corpses, Trockij mentioned the importance of cremation as a "powerful weapon to use for propaganda against the Church and religion"[31]. But at the same time, he noted that cremation should not involve the giving up of processions, burial speeches and ritual forms because "The need for emotive external manifestations is strong and legitimate"[32]. His opposition to ritual forms too close to religious cults was particularly intense even though he was aware of the need for ceremonials. He considered the Church and its rituals in the same way he considered alcoholism. That is, as a form of the brutishness of the worker's family because of the monotony of life[33]. Trockij acknowledged the presence in Soviet society of new festivities, parades and symbolic spectacles, and even if he conceded these spectacles were "too close to the old shapes which they try to imitate and perpetuate", he noted the proposed symbolism was completely new[34]. However, he finally admitted that "in the close bonds of family life the new has not gone in, or is present at a very low level, while the life of the individual is strictly tied to the family. That explains why as regards icons, baptisms, religious funerals and so on, the scales are tipped in favour of usages"[35]. In this way, Trockij stressed the importance, for the creation of the new state, not only of theoretical arguments, but also of spectacular ceremonies in order to act on the senses and imagination[36]. He attested to, for instance, the propensity to celebrate birthdays instead of the patron saint feast days and to give children "revolutionary" names instead of saint's names, such as as "Ninel" (the name of Lenin spelt backwards), or "Rem" (an acronym for Revolution, electrification, peace)[37]. He also noticed that there was a lot of work to be done in order to create the new shapes of everyday life[38]. Returning to the funeral issue, he definitively stressed that "Creation of a revolutionary 'ceremonial'... and its opposition to Church ceremonial is possible not only in public circumstances or in circumstances where the state is involved, but also in family life relationships", while also pointing out the importance of avoiding the bureaucratization of the new habits[39]. However, Lenin himself realized the necessity of slogans and the new shapes of rituality, as confirmed by his Monumental propaganda project. On 27 October 1923, Trockij, along with others, was accused, during the Central Committee Party Plenum, of factionalist activities inside the party.

If Trockij realized the necessity of ceremonials and the 'rhythmic' usefulness of celebrating fundamental moments in people's lives, Lunačarskij felt the necessity of not shutting down or restraining aspirations of a religious sense or possible new shapes of religiosity. Stalin tackled that problem in a strategic and strongly ambiguous way. Very dissimilar from Lenin as regards his ideological attitude, he included very paternalistic language in his addresses and his own political behaviour, often marked by a certain *ad hoc* religious aura, in order to confirm his authority and power. In short, Stalin built a really new culture, not from a revolutionary viewpoint, but from a conservative one, making a plan which he wanted to appear theoretically orthodox, but which was in

practical terms ambiguous and heterodox, with a 'schizophrenic' tone. A double track between his supposed fidelity to so-called Leninist principles and his non-compliance with them, but at the same time, really useful to his aims.

As regards 'Soviet religiosity', the most striking fact was the embalmment of Lenin's body and its placement in the specially-built Mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square. Lenin died on 21 January 1924, and the debate about his succession became more intense. There was also an intense debate about the embalmment of his body. Among the chief opponents of Lenin's body preservation, besides Trockij, Bucharin and Kamenev[40], was Lenin's wife, Nadežda Krupskaja, who protested directly against the creation of the "exterior cult of the Vladimir Ilič personality" in "Pravda" on 30 January 1924[41]. Lenin himself had always expressed his opposition to cults, and above all, his own[42]. Krupskaja's pleas fell on deaf ears. In line with Krupskaja's claim, the historian Richard Pipes stated that Lenin himself expressed the wish to be buried next to his mother in Saint Petersburg[43]. But the party's decision to embalm Lenin's corpse and to expose it to the people was final. So, in opposition to the normal procedure of burying corpses, Lenin's body was not interred or cremated. The solution was tied to the common belief, taken from Orthodox religion, that the remains of saints were free from decomposition.

A grandiose funeral was arranged and the Leninist cult became more and more institutionalized. The idea of Lenin's body conservation was proposed in "Pravda" on 26 January 1924[44], citing the pleas of the people. It is very interesting that the people's will was the official reason for Lenin's embalmment, and this official motivation can be found in the 1954 edition of the *Bol'šaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija* [*Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*] (a pre-de-Stalinization version when Stalin was still in the Mausoleum) under the entry "Mausoleum of V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin". In fact, it is stressed that the decision to have Lenin's body embalmed and the Mausoleum built was adopted by both party and government in order to satisfy the Soviet workers' request: "In the days of everyone's greatest pain, numerous telegrams and letters from workers were addressed to the Party Central Committee and Soviet Government requesting the conservation of Vladimir Il'ič Lenin's body forever"[45].

Stalin worked to show himself as the natural leader of the glorious revolution and the successor to Lenin, and he delivered a famous declaration on 26 January 1924, in the second Congress of the USSR Soviets. It was a solemn speech in which he enunciated a series of oaths to Lenin in order to appear as the correct interpreter of Lenin's thoughts, and of course of Marxism-Leninism, moreover insisting on the importance of party unity and the international feature of Leninism[46]. He then linked this line of thought with his general thoughts, and remarked upon the perfect continuity between Marx and Lenin, thereby outlining the general continuity from Marx to himself[47].

The funeral took place on 27 January. The leader's bier was taken from Columns Hall of *Dom Sojuzov* to Red Square, where there was a temporary wooden mausoleum[48]. Lenin's corpse had begun to show signs of decomposition and the decision regarding preservation had to be made quickly. The first proposed solution was hibernation. It

was suggested by, among the others, Leonid Krasin[49], and provoked a lively quarrel among the scientists charged with Lenin's corpse. It was suggested again on 5 March 1924, during a meeting of the Immortalization of Lenin's Memory Commission led by Feliks Dzeržinskij (the chief of the GPU, the political police), but after several polemics and changes of opinion it was rejected. An expert on the preservation of tissues who opposed hibernation, Professor Vorob'ev, was entrusted with the task, and the Mausoleum was closed for four months in order to carry out the embalmment[50].

After rejecting the proposal of hibernation, the corpse, in line with Stalin's wish, was given to doctors and expert biochemists to be made into a long-lasting mummy with Lenin's features similar to when he was alive. Lenin's body (the brain was given to the Lenin Institute) had to avoid the decay of death in order to remain as an unchanged symbol of Soviet power, and especially Stalin's power and leadership, as well as ideology for the generations to come. As a result, a continuity line between the revolutionary origins of the Soviet state and the creation of a new entity was drawn that, after the utopian period, had to prove its validity. The corpse, a political talisman and allegory of Soviet hopes, was placed in Red Square, becoming an object of veneration of the official Leninist cult and legitimizing the succession to power of Stalin. In this way, he set Leninism up as a monolithical political doctrine, without discordant opinions from the party line, or from his line, so creating a corollary of 'heresies', such as 'trockism' and 'zinovevism'. Paradoxically, religion was opposed by the party, but the embalmment project was carried on, creating a typical religious scenario in solving the problem of death. Consequently, the regime suggested a connection between the survival of the body and ideas, and Lenin himself became a real 'monument'. In time, a 'balm' was made, which was spread on the skin while the corpse was dipped in it. To do this, the Mausoleum was closed to the public about every 18 months[51]. The state of the body was so bad at the funeral that the possibility of standard burial had been considered, so great care had to be taken with the 'balm' in order to reach an optimum level of conservation[52]. This case underlines the particular relationship that Soviet regime had with science and nature: that nature had to be conquered by science. This is a typical feature of industrial societies, but in the Soviet Union this phenomenon was particularly strong and is a typical element of Soviet culture.

There were three mausoleums. The first and the second were wooden, and the final version, constructed after an international competition, was built in 1930 out of red and black stone in a pyramidal shape. Lenin's corpse became a symbol that showed the birth of a new state and culture. It became a very strong symbol of the Soviet regime, and his Mausoleum became the most important pilgrimage destination of the Soviet people in Soviet history. The Mausoleum was very significant in Soviet history, not only for its contents, but also because it was the place where the party leaders watched celebratory parades in Red Square. The processions were the most important moments during the year. For example, the anniversary of the Revolution on 7 November and Workers' Day on 1 May. The Mausoleum became such a symbolic place that many attempts were made to spoil the corpse by visitors who hated the Soviet regime, sometimes even

utilizing Molotov cocktails. Archives of the Kremlin Guard attest to at least 7 attempts between 1934 and 1995. In 1960, the sarcophagus glass was broken by a kick, damaging Lenin's corpse and causing the Mausoleum to remain closed for 3 months in order to put in armoured glass[53]. The importance of Lenin's corpse was great and the scientific care of it was continuous. In 1935, the NKVD (the political police) gave the scientists involved in the conservation of the corpse the secret formula of a bactericide stolen from an American laboratory, which was then prepared in the USSR and utilized on Lenin's corpse[54]. In 1939, a real Laboratory for the Mausoleum was created with very advanced instrumentation for that time in the Soviet Union[55].

Lenin's corpse, the primary 'object' of Soviet power, was moved from Moscow when the Nazis invaded the USSR. In June 1941, the Politburo decided to move the corpse to the resort of Tjumen, in Western Siberia, far away from bombings. It arrived at the beginning of July together with a team of scientists and military personnel[56]. The scientific team was able to take good care of the corpse in that remote and lonely place so that when, in March 1945, it returned to Moscow, it looked better[57]. After the Soviet occupation of Berlin, some scientists from the Mausoleum team went looking for "technological plunder" to use in their work in Moscow[58]. On 24 June 1945, one of the most famous celebrations in the whole of the 20th century took place – the victory parade of the Great Patriotic War, or World War Two. Representatives of the Red Army symbolically threw Nazi standards captured on the battlefield at the foot of the Mausoleum. Not only was Lenin's corpse looking better, but also his sarcophagus, at a moment when the Soviet Union added prestige due to victory in the war.

Apart from Lenin being subjected to myth-making, resulting in his 'immortalization' and 'deification', another element was perpetuated and promoted by the Soviet regime. This was the promotion of a widespread presence of Lenin through his name and his image. Even though it is important to mention that the roots of Lenin's cult took shape before his death through his idealization and the establishment of his figure as a great leader[59], from his death onwards, more and more streets and places bore his name. While the Bolshevik leader's corpse was becoming incorruptible, his name appeared on street plates and institutions. His hometown Simbirsk was renamed Ul'janovsk, and Leningrad became the new name of the former imperial capital, Saint Petersburg[60]. This kind of process had already started in the Monumental propaganda project, but from then on it became more overwhelming, using Lenin as a symbol, going to the heart of the 'geographic' perception of everyday life. Of course it corresponded to the needs of the creation of Soviet culture, but it also served to embed Lenin as a myth and, as a consequence, to reinforce the role of Stalin as the new leader. It was typical of Stalinist behaviour that aimed to make reality simple and easily intelligible for the common people[61].

The dimension of 'time' was seized by a process that aimed to make Lenin 'immortal' and to perpetuate his memory as the fundamental element of the Soviet system. A real iconographical tradition of Lenin's figure and face was established with statues and images, and however his image appeared, it was always hieratic[62]. The typical

iconographical Russian tradition of *lubok*, the popular print born in the 17th and 18th centuries, became more Leninian through the spreading of Leninist images fit to be hung as pictures on walls[63]. It is also useful to mention in this context another Russian tradition, *krasnyj ugol*, the holy corner of the Russian house with little icons, as the process of myth-making also included this typical Russian tradition, which was, above all, a peasant tradition. *Krasnyj ugol* appeared in houses with Leninist images[64]. It is worth mentioning too that the iconographical tradition of Leninism had a strong impact during the whole period of Soviet history, and that even during the 1970s and 1980s, a Russian pictorial movement, politically incorrect from a Soviet point of view and sometimes considered to be the Soviet version of American Pop Art – the *Soc Art*, used Lenin's image in order to de-mythologize and de-construct the elaboration of Lenin's cult.

Stalin's corpse initially shared the same destiny as Lenin's. He died on 5 March 1953, and his corpse was embalmed and put alongside Lenin's in the Mausoleum, where his name was added on the inscription under the name of Lenin. The issue of Stalin's embalmment is a starting point to think about differences between Lenin, who, not cultivating the cult of himself, was embalmed not of his own free will, and Stalin who played up his cult until his embalming. However, his corpse partially shared the same destiny as his political system. During de-Stalinization, it was decided to remove the corpse from the Mausoleum and put it in a standard grave at the foot of the Kremlin wall in conformity with the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1961, led at that time by Cruschev. And thus the name of Stalin disappeared from the Mausoleum.

From the end of the 1940s, the laboratory of the Mausoleum began to deal with the corpses of communist leaders of other countries, meaning that Lenin's embalmment set a precedent in the post-war Socialist world for conserving corpses. With the exception of Mao Zedong in China, these embalmments were carried out by scientists of the Mausoleum laboratory, thereby creating a tie and 'ritual' with brother countries, and at the same time legitimizing and supporting the cult of the leader started by Stalin in spite of the de-Stalinization processes inaugurated in 1956. This shows the influence of the Soviet example and Soviet culture built by Stalin on the whole communist world. The first case was Georgij Dimitrov, leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the old chief of Communist International. He died in Moscow, was put on a train with a Soviet scientific team, and taken back to Sofia, where a mausoleum was ready in the city centre. His embalmment was done by Soviet experts as a gift from the Moscow government to a friendly country. However, unlike the Lenin's corpse, Dimitrov was removed in 1990 and buried in a cemetery[65]. After that, Soviet experts dealt with other leaders. For instance, the Mongolian leader Choybalsan had his corpse preserved for a short time by Kremlin command[66]. In 1953, it was the turn of Klement Gottwald, leader of Czechoslovak Communist Party, who only remained embalmed until 1956, the year of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and beginning of de-Stalinization. He was then cremated[67]. After the Second World War, the work of the Mauso-

leum laboratory continued, not only caring for other communist political leaders by their immortalization, but also in respect of the 'ordinary' work on the corpse of Lenin, improving the 'balm' and its technique. In the meantime, the Vietnamese leader, Ho Chi Minh, died and was embalmed by the Soviets during the war against the USA[68]. In 1979, it was the turn of Agostinho Neto, president of Angola, during the civil war, whose mummy was buried in 1992[69]. Another case, but not completed, was that of the president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, Lindon Forbes Burnham, in 1985[70]. Finally, Mao Tsedong was embalmed in 1976, but by Chinese scientists, and Kim Il Sung, the North Korean leader, was embalmed in 1995 by a Russian team from the Mausoleum, in reward for which the coffers of Lenin's Mausoleum were replenished[71]. The North Korean case highlights the problems of the Mausoleum after the fall of the Soviet Union, when the laboratory had lost the economic contributions of the state and had to find other sources of income. As a result, the mayor of Moscow, Jurij Lužkov, had a funeral home, the "Ritual Service", established, led by the Mausoleum team that dealt with the embalmment, albeit a temporary embalmment, of *novye russkie*, the new class of Russian rich people who, during the 1990s, often fought each other, leaving their dead to the cares of the "Ritual Service", in order to honour them, thereby underscoring their power and wealth[72].

Returning to the issue of Lenin's corpse and his 'canonization', it is important to consider that in the phenomenon of his embalmment there are many Christian influences. First of all, there is the importance of the body. In Christianity, Christ rose not only with his soul but in the flesh too. In Soviet culture, there was a particular 'resurrection' made by science and human will, and not by God. In the Soviet Union the combination of the terms 'king' and 'god' was stressed by Stalin who himself 'deified' Lenin to bolster his own power. As Nina Tumarkin wrote, Lenin became "the man-god of Communism"[73]. In Christianity, there is, in the ethical sphere, the concept of 'Christ's example', that is traditionally the saint, so it is very interesting to underline the importance of Lenin as a kind of 'saint' of the new ethic, the Soviet state necessarily being an ethical state, considering the weight of 'socialist emulation' in Soviet culture. Lenin was the primary example that had to be followed. This issue is strongly tied to the other Christian tradition of martyrdom, the sacrifice-person, witness of the truth. There were many martyrs in both the first period of Christianity and in the socialist and communist tradition who gave rise to cults. Taking this line, the cult of Lenin took shape from the attempt by a social-revolutionary to wound him in 1918[74]. The history of the Soviet Union is full of examples of 'socialist emulation' and 'socialist sacrifice'. There is Stalin, of course, Stachanov during Stalinism and Gagarin during the Khruschev era and so on. It is also useful to mention another typical feature of Christianity linked with the Lenin theme, that is the cult of relics of saints, not only their own objects but parts of their bodies too, stressing Lenin as a 'saint' and a relic with his entire body. At this point, it is worth remembering the strong Bolshevik campaign of desecration and sneering at the beginning of their regime against the cult of saints' relics at the same time Lenin himself became a holy relic[75], an instance that explains the Soviet paradox about religion.

After all, the Soviet state presented itself as an ethical state, bearer of a notable system of moral principles, and succeeded in perpetuating itself thanks to the fossilization of such convictions and the creation of real dogmas and ceremonials. Such a phenomenon is strongly paradoxical because of the anti-religious official position of the Soviet Communist Party. However, in the context of the ethical sphere and the perpetuation of its ideological and political memory, the party behaved in a way comparable to a kind of 'Church', with its own orthodoxies and heterodoxies, which only the party could determine during its history. Following this, the party became the guardian of the 'faith' and as a kind of continuous promise of the future, this had to happen for the achievement of communism. It promised a kind of material and social 'paradise' and created a system of belief, cult and liturgies that were useful in order to maintain the link between the party and society.

It is clear that Lenin's embalmment had its roots partially in the particular Russian culture in which the Orthodox Church played a main role. Even the image of the incorruptible corpse after death was linked to the Orthodox belief in sainthood. As Antonio Elorza underlined in his work partially dedicated to the Soviet Union, for centuries the Orthodox Church gave the tsar a kind of divine status, and the tsar himself took inspiration from the Byzantine emperor as a saint and a kind of 'father' of the community[76]. The status of the father with a paternalistic attitude, *batjuška,* continued in Soviet culture in the figures of the leaders, above all in Stalin who gave Lenin such status through his immortalization. This consideration has to be linked to the simplification of the political ideology made by the Soviet regime through such things as the identification between the proletariat as the party, and the party as the leader.

The cult of Lenin and the fossilization of his doctrine took shape from the will of Stalin, who in turn aimed to achieve his own legitimization as leader and to stabilize the post-revolutionary phase of the Soviet Union. The immortalization of Lenin shaped a kind of 'Soviet religiosity', a particular kind of 'political religion', as opposed to the more usual religions, which became more and more a ritual fit for helping the system to survive during Soviet history [77]. "However, the establishment of a laical political power doesn't mean that the sphere of the sacred has disappeared"[78]. In the Soviet Union, and above all during Stalinism, there was a kind of "transfer of sacredness"[79] that is quite natural in a totalitarian society in its need for a "political religion"[80]. Jules Monnerot wrote that the usage of the term "secular religion" had been criticized many times as regards communism, with the accusation of confusion between "ideology" and "religion"[81], but he also stressed, using the example of Buddhism of the Little Vehicle and Brahmanism of Upanisad, that it could happen that "There is not a God, but there are monasteries and pilgrims"[82]. Alain Caillé added that the difference between sacred knowledge and profane knowledge refers back to the question "I believe that" and "I believe in", so secular religions are tied to the second statement[83].

Beyond the theme of communism and religion, Lenin was the object of worship and faith with a pervasive outcome and continuing 'vitality'. Turning to the analogy of the communist world between people, party, and leader[84], after his death, Lenin became

an ideological postulate, and therefore an answer to every question[85] and a teaching subject. As such, the cult of Lenin can be included in the category of "secular religion" with various connotations and corollaries, where the term 'religiosity' is suggested by Lenin as the principle of "faith" and "truth". He was set as the reference principle tied to the Soviet system of hierarchies as shaped by Stalin, and as a kind of "superior principle" made through the myth-making process of the "body politic" and the embalmment of his "body natural"[86]. The survival of both the bodies is an ambivalence stressed also by the distinction used in the Soviet world between "Il'ič" (the patronymic) and "Lenin", the first term being for the man and the second for the immortal[87]. This particular complexity of Lenin's cult had many features which are tied to the concept of 'transcendence', and as for the term 'religiosity' we cannot reject it simply because the Soviet regime did not give this definition to it.

This was an event of great import in atheistic Soviet society. An event which, both full of meaning and deeply anachronistic, was enough to remind us of the cult surrounding death in ancient Egypt, where the king, the Pharaoh, was a sovereign-divinity. Because the theme is striking and paradoxical, I believe it is very useful to analyse the history of Lenin's body embalmment and its meaning in both the process of secularization led by the leadership of the Soviet State-Party, and at the same time, the creation of a system of cults and liturgies full of strong religious influence and heritages. Lenin's embalmment and the whole issue of the cult, itself a very particular and unique one, is interesting from an historical point of view, not only as a useful element for understanding the Soviet world and its complexity, but also because it raises questions about the various meanings that 'religious sense' can have.

Notes

1 See R. Morozzo della Rocca, *Le chiese ortodosse*, Rome 1997, p. 126. See also Ju. Lotman, B. Uspenskij, *Il concetto di "Mosca-terza Roma" nell'ideologia di Pietro I*, in "Europa Orientalis", 5, 1986, pp. 481-494.

2 On this topic see O. Vasil'eva, *Russia Martire. La Chiesa ortodossa dal 1917 al 1941*, 1999 (orig. *Russkaja Pravoslavnaja Cerkov': dni trevog i nadežd (1917-1941 gg.)*, 1998); and M. Škarovskij, *La croce e il potere. La Chiesa russa sotto Stalin e Chruščëv*, Milan 2003 (orig. *Russkaja Pravoslavnaja Cerkov' pri Staline i Chruščëve*, Moscow 1999).

3 R. Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams. Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*, New York - Oxford 1989, p. 101.

4 See, for instance, the comparison made, in a negative way, by the utopian socialist Pierre Leroux, *De l'individualisme et de socialisme* (1883), between deprivation of freedom and the Church quoted in D. Settembrini, *Il labirinto marxista. Antologia ragionata*, Milan 1975, pp. 321-324.

5 See the passage from A. F. Bebel, *La donna e il socialismo* (1879), quoted in Settembrini, *Il labirinto marxista* cit., pp. 327, 328.

6 See the passage from F. Engels, *Il congresso di Sonvillier e l'Internazionale* (1872), quoted in D. Settembrini, *Il labirinto marxista* cit., p. 330. See also the passage from K. Marx, *Discorso sul congresso dell'Aja*, quoted in Settembrini, *Il labirinto marxista* cit., p. 330. See also the passage from K. Marx, *Lettera a Domela-Nieuwenhuis 22 febbraio 1881*, quoted in D. Settembrini, *Il labirinto marxista* cit., p. 333. See

also V. I. Lenin, *Stato e rivoluzione*, in *Opere scelte in due volumi*, vol. 2, Moscow 1946, p. 156 and V. I. Lenin, *Due tattiche*, in *Opere scelte in due volumi* cit., vol. 1, p. 382.

7 See N. Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia*, Cambridge (MA) - London 1997, p. 20.

8 Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams* cit., p. 102.

9 See G. A. Wetter, *Il materialismo dialettico sovietico*, Turin 1948, pp. 99-101.

10 See G. P. Piretto, *Il radioso avvenire. Mitologie culturali sovietiche*, Turin 2001, pp. 16, 17.

11 On this see Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!* cit., pp. 21-23.

12 A. Lunačarskij, *Religione e socialismo*, Florence 1973 (orig. *Religija i socializm*, Saint Petersburg 1908-1911), p. 27.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 87.

20 See V.I. Lenin, *Socialismo e religione*, in Opere *scelte in sei volumi*, Moscow 1975, vol. 1, pp. 675-679. That work appeared for the first time in "Novaja Žizn'", 28, 3 December 1905.

21 V.I. Lenin, *Materialismo ed empiriocriticismo*, in *Opere scelte in sei volumi* cit., vol. 3, p. 152

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 232, 273, 283-286, 289.

23 Quoted in Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!* cit., p. 22.

24 For that controversy see Lunačarskij, *Religione e socialismo* cit., pp. 235-237.

25 For example, see *Bol'šaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedja*, Vtoroe izdanie, Moscow 1954, vol. 25, under the entry "Lunačarskij", p. 473; see also vol. 5, under the entry "Bogostroitel'stvo", p. 360.

26 V.I. Lenin, *Lettera al congresso* and *Aggiunta alla lettera del 24 dicembre 1922*, in *Opere scelte in sei volumi*, cit., vol. 6, pp. 709-713.

27 I. Zbarskij, S. Hutchinson, *All'ombra del Mausoleo*, Milan 1999 (orig. *A l'ombre du Mausolée*, Arles 1997), p. 11.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

29 L.D. Trockij, *Rivoluzione e vita quotidiana* (1923), Rome 1977, pp. 78, 79.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

40 R. Pipes, *Il regime bolscevico*, Milan 1999 (orig. *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime, 1919-1924*, London 1994), p. 556.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 555.

[42] See Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!* cit., pp. 101-103.

[43] Pipes, *Il regime bolscevico* cit., p. 555.

[44] Zbarskij, Hutchinson, *All'ombra del Mausoleo* cit., pp. 15, 16.

[45] *Bol'šaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija* cit., vol. 25, p. 593.

[46] I.V. Stalin, *Opere complete*, Rome 1954, vol. VI, pp. 65-72. This speech was published for the first time in "Pravda" on 30th January 1924.

[47] About that see, for instance, I. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1954, pp. 15-17.

[48] Zbarskij, Hutchinson, *All'ombra del Mausoleo* cit., p. 17.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 19. for details about him and his participation in the *Bogostroitel'stvo* movement, see Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!* cit., pp. 12, 22; for details about his belief in resurrection see Pipes, *Il regime bolscevico* cit., p. 556.

[50] Zbarskij, Hutchinson, *All'ombra del Mausoleo* cit., p. 28. Pipes, *Il regime bolscevico* cit., p. 556.

[51] Zbarskij, Hutchinson, *All'ombra del Mausoleo* cit., p. 66.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[55] *Ibid.*, and Pipes, *Il regime bolscevico* cit., p. 556.

[56] See Zbarskij, Hutchinson, *All'ombra del Mausoleo* cit., pp. 96-98.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-110.

[59] See Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!* cit., pp. 74-95 and pp. 130-133.

[60] See Piretto, *Il radioso avvenire* cit., pp. 63-71.

[61] See G. Graeme, *Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names*, in "The Russian Review" 2005, 64, pp. 480-503. See also Piretto, *Il radioso avvenire* cit., pp. 64-71.

[62] See W. Benjamin, *Immagini di città*, Turin 1971 (orig. *Städtebilder*, Frankfurt am Main 1955), pp. 51-53. See also Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!* cit., p. 125.

[63] See Piretto, *Il radioso avvenire* cit., pp. 73, 74.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 72. See also Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!* cit., pp. 126, 127.

[65] Zbarskij, Hutchinson, *All'ombra del Mausoleo* cit., pp. 142-146.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 154.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 156, 168.

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 157-168.

[73] Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives!* cit., p. 23.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[75] See Pipes, *Il regime bolscevico* cit., p. 557.

[76] A. Elorza, *La religione politica*, Rome 1996 (orig. *La religión política*, Donostia - San Sebastian 1996), pp. 22, 91.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. XII, XIII.

[78] *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28. See also the comment of this author about the "civic religion" in Old Rome and Greece at p. 28.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[81] This was a controversy between Jules Monnerot and Hannah Arendt in M.R. Anspach et al., *Che cos'è il religioso?*, Turin 2006 (orig. *Qu'est-ce que le religieux?* in "Revue du MAUSS semestrielle", 2003, 22), p. 11.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[83] A. Caillé, *Nuove tesi sulla religione*, in Anspach et al., *Che cos'è il religioso?* cit., p. 220.

[84] See F. Boni *Il corpo mediale del leader. Rituali del potere e sacralità del corpo nell'epoca della comunicazione globale*, Rome 2002, p. 23.

[85] J. Monnerot in Anspach et al., *Che cos'è il religioso?* cit., p. 15.

[86] As regards this distinction see E.H. Kantorowicz, *I due corpi del Re. L'idea di regalità nella teologia politica medievale*, Turin 1989 (orig. *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton 1957). See also Boni, *Il corpo mediale del leader* cit., p. 31.

[87] Piretto, *Il radioso avvenire* cit., p. 71.

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Tolerance and Discrimination in the Field of Women's and Gender History[1]

Gro Hagemann
University of Oslo

José de Kruif
Berteke Waaldijk
University of Utrecht

Abstract

In this chapter the authors bring together five court cases that have to do with the right of women to work. The court cases stem from different periods (classical Athens, Norway in the 1930s, Iceland in the 1980s, the Netherlands in the 1990s, and the US in the 1980s). The cases were collected by researchers in Thematic Working Group four of the CLIOHRES network of excellence and all were studied within their national contexts. The question they raise is whether the concepts of discrimination and tolerance are useful concepts in historical research about women and work. The court cases all involve references to what woman's traditional role in society is or should be, and this leads to questioning the role of historians in establishing, criticizing or changing traditional gender roles. Referring to the debates in the famous Sears case in the US, where women's historians served as expert witness on both sides of a labour dispute about women's right to well-paid jobs, the authors conclude that the concepts of tolerance and discrimination are not very useful in historical research that tries to reconstruct debates in the past. They suggest historians serve both their profession and social/political debates about gender and work better by tracing who is speaking from what position about tolerance and about discrimination.

De auteurs behandelen vijf rechtszaken rond het recht van vrouwen op (betaalde) arbeid. De rechtszaken spelen zich af in heel verschillende perioden van de geschiedenis en in verschillende Europese regio,s (klassiek Athene, Noorwegen rond 1930, IJsland rond 1980, Nederland rond 1990 en de VS rond 1980). De voorbeelden werden aangedragen door onderzoekers uit de werkgroep vier Work, Gender and Society van CLIOHRES. Bestudering van de zaken roept de vraag op of discriminatie en tolerantie als concepten bruikbaar zijn in historisch onderzoek naar vrouwen en hun relatie tot de arbeidsmarkt. In alle za-

ken wordt gerefereerd aan de traditionele rol van vrouwen in de samenleving. Welke rol hebben historici in het vaststellen, bekritiseren of veranderen van die traditionele gender rollen? Het debat over de beruchte Sears zaak in de VS, die draaide om het recht van vrouwen op goedbetaalde banen en waar experts op het gebied van vrouwengeschiedenis optraden als getuige-deskundige voor beide partijen, leidt tot de conclusie dat tolerantie en discriminatie hier geen bruikbare concepten zijn. Ze helpen niet het historische debat zinvol te reconstrueren. Historici doen er beter aan in dit soort gevallen zorgvuldig te analyseren wie er spreekt en vanuit welke positie. Dan blijkt dat tolerantie en discriminatie steeds anders worden begrepen en ingevuld. Juist die verschuivingen laten zien hoe actoren hun eigen identiteit en die van anderen afbakenen.

Forfatterne av denne artikkelen tar utgangspunkt i fire rettsaker som alle har å gjøre med kvinners rett til arbeid. Sakene stammer fra ulike perioder (klassiske Aten, Norge på 1930-tallet, Island i tiåret etter 1980 og Nederland i 1990-årene). Sakene ble samlet av ulike forskere i tematisk arbeidsgruppe 4 i CLIOHRES nettverket, og de er alle analysert i sine spesielle nasjonale kontekster. Det spørsmålet de tre sakene reiser, er om begrepene diskriminering og toleranse *er relevante i historisk forskning om kvinner og arbeid. Alle rettssakene inneholder referanser til hva kvinners tradisjonelle rolle i samfunnet er og bør være, noe som også problematiserer den rollen historikere spiller for å etablere, kritisere eller forandre tradisjonelle kjønnsroller. I sin diskusjon viser forfatterne til debatten i den kjente rettsaken mot butikkjeden Sears i USA, der kvinnelige historikere ble trukket inn som ekspert vitner på begge sider av en konflikt omkring kvinners rett til en rimelig betaling for arbeidet. De konkluderer at begrepene* diskriminering og toleranse *ikke er til særlig hjelp i framstillingen av denne konflikten. Deres forslag er at historikere ville stå seg bedre på å analysere hvem som uttaler seg om toleranse eller diskriminering og fra hvilken posisjon de gjør det. Da ville deres bidrag veie tyngre både innad i profesjonen og i forhold til den sosiale og politiske debatten om kvinner og arbeid.*

Introduction

Are tolerance and discrimination useful categories of historical research in women's and gender history? And does a consensus exist about the definition of the terms among historians? We cannot answer these questions in general but will explore them referring to five historical examples of court cases. These cases allow us to explore the manifestation of conflicts involving discrimination and tolerance in history. In all cases presented here the discussion focuses on a public conflict about what was considered to be a suitable job for women. We will see how preventing women from doing certain jobs was defended and explained with references to custom and tradition – in other words: references to past practices.

The fifth case in our exploration of cases raises the issue of how knowledge produced by (gender and women's) historians functions in court cases and public debates about

legitimating discrimination on the basis of gender. Do (and should) historians of gender relations contribute to the abolition of gender discrimination? Or does their insight into the past contribute to unequal treatment of men and women being tolerated? We would argue that in this form the question is not useful. It presupposes an antithetical opposition between the concepts of discrimination and tolerance. Gender historians provide knowledge that helps us to recognize women as historical actors, subjects, agents. Historical understanding of court cases is better served by understanding from what position women, and their counterparts in the cases, do speak and act to defend what they perceive as their rights and their interests.

Four cases

Athens in the 5th Century BC

Conflicts between adherents of prevailing practices and newcomers wishing to be admitted occur at all periods. In our first case, unequal treatment in work is at stake indirectly. We time-travel to tackle the problems of an Athenian citizen in 346 BC. In that year Euxitheus appealed to the Heliastic court in Athens against the decision of the members of his *deme* which had denied him the rights of citizenship and reduced him to the status of a resident alien[2]. There was a lot at stake for Euxitheus; if he lost his case he might be sold as a slave. Euxitheus' plea, though it focuses on citizenship, is very interesting for our transversal theme in relation to gender because his argument addresses tradition when it comes to the occupation of women in Athens.

Euxitheus wanted to prove that both his parents were in full possession of civic rights and consequently that he was a full citizen too. He stated he had been a victim of conspiracy and that the accusations against him were based on malicious hearsay. First was the malicious assertion that his father was a foreigner on the basis of his accent. Then, and this is interesting for women's historians, the reproach that his mother had worked in the market, selling ribbons, and that she had served as a nurse as well. Euxitheus explained that his mother was compelled to work, to assume the lowly occupation of nurse and vendor of ribbons in the agora due to poverty, but that notwithstanding this sorry existence, she was a full citizen.

> We acknowledge that we sell ribbons and do not live in the manner we could wish, and if in your eyes [...], this is a sign that we are not Athenians, I shall prove to you the very opposite – that it is not permitted to any alien to do business in the market. [...] If she was an alien, they ought to have examined the market-taxes, and have shown whether she paid the alien's tax, and from what country she came; and if she were a slave, then someone should have to prove that she had lived as a slave or had been set free. [...] He has said this too about my mother, that she served as a nurse. We, for our part, do not deny that this was the case in the time of the city's misfortune, when all people were badly off; but in what manner and for what reasons she became a nurse I will tell you plainly. And let no one of you, men of Athens, be prejudiced against us because of this; for you will find today many Athenian

> women who are serving as nurses; I will mention them by name, if you wish. [...] For, as I am informed, many women have become nurses and labourers at the loom or in the vineyards owing to the misfortunes of the city in those days, women of civic birth, too; and many who were poor then are now rich.

We do not know how this case ended. Neither do we know whether Euxitheus was actually telling the truth about his family background. Our point here is the fact that the occupation of his mother seems to be used to expel him from citizenship and that Euxitheus in his plea found it relevant and useful to refer to custom on what is regarded appropriate or inappropriate work for a female citizen.

Norway in the 1930s

Our next case again deals with appropriateness of women's work, or rather of the woman worker. Constraints on women's opportunities to enter the labour market due to economic circumstances can be distilled from the modern case of Karin Johansen vs. the Consumer Cooperative Association of Oslo: should married women have the right to work?

Karin Ingrid Olsen had had a permanent job as a shop assistant at the Consumer Cooperative since 1932. Five years later, on 15 October 1937 she married a barber, named Johansen. Two days before the wedding, Karin Olsen received a letter from her employer, announcing that she was now discharged. The newly married Karin Johansen went to court, claiming this dismissal to be contrary to the Employment Protection Legislation of 1936. The city court of Oslo upheld her claim. According to the verdict, the changed marital status was found not to be an objective reason for dismissal and Johansen was entitled to compensation[3].

The Consumer Cooperative thereupon lodged an appeal directly with the Supreme Court. The defendants openly admitted that the marriage was the sole reason for dismissing Karin. They claimed however that this dismissal was not in any way biased, but, on the contrary, in full agreement with the employment routines of the organisation. According to a resolution passed by the board of the cooperative association 11 years earlier, no married woman should work at the Consumer Cooperative – and this rule had been practised ever since. According to the defendants, this 1926 resolution came in response to strong requests from the members of the Cooperative, especially the *female members*. Their argument had been that, in a situation of severe economic crisis, the favourable positions of the cooperative society should not be occupied by married and hence already supported women, when male family providers among the members were likely to be without occupation. The dismissal of Karin Johansen was, according to the Consumer Cooperative, not caused by external reasons, since this practice was the consequence of the opinion of the members.

After considering the case, the Supreme Court found unanimously for the plaintiff. The Cooperative was to pay Karin Johansen 1000 crowns in compensation for lost income, and in addition 800 crowns in legal costs. The judges unanimously held, with reference to the workers protection law of 1936, that despite the strong opinion of the members of the Consumer Cooperative, marriage could only be understood as a factor external to the employment situation, and hence the dismissal was illegal.

Contrary to the situation in Sweden for instance, the Norwegian workers' protection legislation of 1936 did not explicitly state that marriage or pregnancy were illegitimate causes of dismissal[4]. The court had to argue that the board decision from 1926 was to be considered a factor external to the employment situation. This was a crucial point. After investigation into the intentions of the law, the court found it difficult to maintain that the 1926 resolution was a completely external factor, yet it was clearly contrary to the intention of the law. To strengthen this argument, the changed situation and opinion in the labour movement over the last few years was quite interestingly taken into account. The fact that Karin Johansen was supported by her union[5] was mentioned in support of the conclusion, as was an alleged change of opinion in the labour movement on the issue of married women and paid labour. Both factors were underlined by Viggo Hansteen, Karin Johansen's lawyer. Since Hansteen had been working as legal consultant to the National Trade Union (LO) since 1936, his opinion carries a certain political weight. The symbolic and political complexity of the case is of course highlighted by the defendant's being a major economic institution within the labour movement.

The question of married women's admission to the labour market was highly debated in Norway as in other countries in this period. The need to avoid "double positions" was seen as a measure against the economic crisis. The concept of double positions applied both to situations where one person was receiving two incomes, and – interestingly – to dual-income families. The dominant social norm was the male breadwinner family, and by that logic married women should be kept out of the labour market at times of scarce employment. This argument of solidarity also appealed to women inside the labour movement. Advocates of the policy of restriction were quick to claim that this should not in any way be understood as a measure principally limiting women's economic rights – it was only a way of overcoming a situation of acute crisis in the labour market.

The question seriously divided the women's labour organisation during the 1920s and 30s. In 1936, the same year as the new labour legislation, Labour women withdrew their support from the marriage bar-policy. As a consequence, the Labour Party in 1937 withdrew its request to dismiss married women[6]. It is of course hard to know what would have been the outcome, if Karin Johansen's case had been tried in the Supreme Court a few years earlier, but as we have seen, the changed opinion of the labour movement is given considerable weight in the verdict.

This case, Karin Johansen vs. the Consumer Cooperative of Oslo, presents an interesting example of systematic discrimination against married women in the Norwegian labour market in the inter-war period. In this light, there seems partly to be a conflict among 'equals', working class women themselves, about the consequences of marital status. Exclusion of married women from the labour market was practised in several institutions calling upon the current situation as well as tradition. It is also interesting to see that despite this recourse to tradition, the definition of the identity of women seems not to be settled entirely among those advocating the restriction policy. Karin Johansen's legal protest against this practice proved successful when the Norwegian Supreme Court concluded in 1939 that marriage was not a legitimate reason for dismissal. This clearly demonstrates women's ability – in court and outside – to break the power of tradition where this was causing blatant discrimination.

Iceland in the 1980s

The next case is admittedly not a court case but it does reflect different perspectives on the role and status of women in a changing society and the conflict between two millennial traditions and perceptions regarding total equality between men and women. It is a confrontation of legislation with beliefs and values within a religious community. It took place in the mid 1970s but its roots go back to 1911 when Icelandic women were given unlimited rights to education and office and no office was excluded, not even priesthood. Parliamentarians nonetheless discussed whether women should be given such extensive rights and it was the priesthood that was most debated. It was argued that a "woman in a cassock" did not fit with the laws of God and the most severe critic referred to the notorious words of apostle Paul "that women should shut up in church and be silent as the grave among the congregation." The bill was nonetheless accepted, as most of the parliamentarians were convinced that women would, hereafter as before, choose their "natural" role of motherhood and housewifery[7].

In 1972 (60 years after women were given equal access to office), Auður Eir Vilhjálmsdóttir applied to become a priest in a town near Reykjavik. She was not elected but two years later she tried the tolerance of the nation again when applying for the priesthood in a small and rather isolated village in western Iceland. She was the only applicant[8].

The villagers were quite happy with Vilhjálmsdóttir's application. Disapproving voices did however surface when her ordination drew nearer. Priests as well as the general public expressed their views. The state church (the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Iceland), and the bishop of Iceland, had however declared their support for women becoming priests. Let us see the main arguments for and against the ordination of women:

The opponents argued that the Bible did not support the ordination of women and said that it was quite clear in the Bible that clerical positions were for men only. Tradition

was in fact the argument that the opponents most often referred to, asking who had power or permission to break this old arrangement. Arguments of essentialism were also used. Thus it was pointed out that being a priest could be stressful and demanding; how could a mother cope with that?

Those who *supported* the ordination of women argued that there was nothing in the Bible that forbade women to become priests or serve Jesus. This was for instance the conclusion of the bishop of Iceland and councils of priests that discussed the matter. Certainly, the fact that women had already been ordained in other countries did affect how the Icelandic church dealt with the matter. The bishop as well as most priests felt they could hardly act against "the stream of time" and the right to hold all offices had been law since 1911. It is however likely, and has in fact been argued, that the opposition was much more within the church than could be seen publicly in 1974. Antipathy against women priests boiled beneath the surface.

Auður Eir Vilhjálmsdóttir was admitted to priesthood 29 September 1974 and was appointed to the parish of Suðureyri in Súgandafjörður for one year. When her term ended she applied three times for different parishes near Reykjavik but did not succeed. It seems that hitherto hidden, "informal" opposition at last surfaced. People had difficulty in imagining women priests practising. And the old opinion from 1911, that women looked somehow ridiculous in a cassock, was heard again[9]. It was thus normative perceptions (or rather, the mental image certain citizens had of the figure of the priest) that in the end proved to be the main obstacle. Auður Eir Vilhjálmsdóttir was finally accepted as a priest again and appointed to a parish in southern Iceland in 1978[10].

This case seems to reflect both discrimination and tolerance. Discrimination in what concerns a position that women had in fact had lawful permission to enter for more than 60 years. For the legislator had already stipulated that for all professions, women should be treated as 'equal cases'. Discrimination because of the gender convictions of the people of Iceland and therefore of characteristics they perceived as typically feminine and supposedly grounds for exclusion. It is however clear that this view changed and that more and more people, also within the church, considered women to be as suitable as men to be priests or whatever they wanted.

The Netherlands in the 1990s

Case four is interesting because it is considered to be a case of indirect discrimination. It evolves around restrictions on a grant and through that on work: women were put at a disadvantage by selection on grounds of another variable than gender as such. In this case, discrimination occurred on the basis of age. The other cases were set in periods or locations which seem more or less remote. But of course our own world, the world of scholarship, is by no means exempt from conflict over equal treatment, as appears from the petition that the Dutch Association for Women's Studies ('Nederlands Genootsc-

hap Vrouwenstudies', NGV) filed against the age limit on research grants that was used by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research ('Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek', NWO).

NWO is one of the main research councils in the Netherlands and stimulates research by awarding grants. In several of its subsidy programmes for PhD students and post docs, until recently, certain age limits were set. According to the Association for Women's Studies, this led to discrimination against women, because predominantly it was re-entering women who did not fulfil these age-criteria. In line with its aim to promote gender studies as well as the position of women in science, which is in our view an interesting combination in itself, the NGV filed a petition before the Dutch Equal Treatment Commission ('Commissie Gelijke Behandeling', CGB) in 1996.

The Equal Treatment Commission was asked to judge whether NWO was discriminating against women in contravention of Equal Treatment legislation. The case thus centred on the combination of sex and age discrimination, because the Equal Treatment in Employment Act at the time only covered sex, and not age, as a ground for discrimination[11].

In the sitting the NGV argued that the age criteria of 35 and 40 led to indirect discrimination on grounds of sex. Women aged over 40 had been brought up at a time when having a career of one's own was not self-evident; they thus started their academic career at a later age. Moreover, many women of that generation interrupted their career to bring up children. Consequently, age limits affected women more than men. The NGV also pointed out that for financial reasons the NWO chose to disregard these age limits when applicants had a permanent contract. With more women in temporary jobs, this penalized their career possibilities as well. Apparently gender-neutral criteria had a different effect on male and female researchers, which was not justifiable.

NWO in turn stated that age limits were only unconditional in the central subsidy programmes; exceptions were possible in disciplinary programmes. They argued that the age limits were set for scientific reasons: it allowed them to maintain an age balance among researchers. A social motive was that NWO wanted to train researchers for jobs and that higher benefits are expected when researchers have more years ahead of them (i.e. are younger). Age limits were also being used for economic reasons: they kept the cost of unemployment benefits after contract expiration low. That is why they were not applicable when the researcher had a permanent contract.

NWO disagreed with the observation of the NGV that the non-applicability of age limits for researchers with permanent contracts affected women disproportionately, because there were disciplinary differences and, in one instance, a female researcher over 40 had filled the vacancy in question. NWO had received complaints about age limits from both women and men. Lastly, NWO did not see any relation between age limits and women's career breaks and mentioned that the participation of women in NWO

was similar to that on the general labour market. The NWO position was that they did not consider the use of age limits discriminatory for women.

In October 1997, the Equal Treatment Commission presented its opinion in which it took into account that it is a well-known fact that women more often than men interrupt their career or work part time because of pregnancy, motherhood and care giver tasks. Statistical data also point in this direction and women who are employed at NWO more often work part time. The Commission consequently found it believable that women were more likely than men to encounter disadvantages in making a career, including an academic career, because of the age limits of 35 and 40. Hence, the Equal Treatment Commissions ruled that NWO was indirectly discriminating on the ground of sex by using age limits for the appointment of PhD students and post docs.

The Equal Treatment Commission concluded that there are no convincing reasons for the use of age limits and that NWO was in breach of the Equal Treatment in Employment Act, which states that discrimination between men and women in appointing civil servants is against the law. The Commission recommended that in their subsidy programmes NWO explicitly make an exception for female candidates who as care givers have passed the age limit and let them become eligible for a PhD or post doc position – or better still, drop all age requirements.

This contemporary case makes it clear that unequal treatment on the basis of gender can occur via criteria that at first instance seem gender neutral. This suggests that in order to be able to notice unequal treatment on a gender basis, one might need to see how gender relates to other social categories, such as ethnicity, race, class, or in this case age. This requires an 'intersectional' analysis, an analysis that takes into account how multiple social categories intersect.[12] From other cases, like the Norwegian one mentioned before, we have learned moreover, that economic circumstances can give rise to what seem to be opportunistic processes e.g. for economic reasons, of exclusion.

Although we are aware that enormous and insurmountable differences exist between the contexts of these four examples, in general one could say that in each of them mores and traditions were disputed and challenged in reference to some form of equality or equal rights. In all cases defenders of traditional order referred to past practices, the authority of customs and conventions. The women who challenged these practices tried to defend their right to work. But the question we posed at the opening of this chapter remains: how useful are the concepts of discrimination and tolerance to explain the processes that underlie these cases? This difficulty becomes especially apparent when historians in particular are asked to take a stand in conflicts like these.

The references to habits and practices that used to define what was possible and what was not bring us to the interesting question of the role of historians, in particular the role of historians who write about lives and experiences of women in the past. What is the impact of their knowledge about the conventions regulating the behaviour of men and

women and the practices that defined gender differences? In other words: what is the role of (gender) historians in establishing what equality is and what represents justified differentiation between the rights of men and women? In order to discuss this, we turn to a court case that has been pivotal in the development of women's and gender history because in this case women's historians were hired as expert witnesses on both sides. We refer of course to the notorious Sears case where in a sense women's history itself goes on trial.

The Sears case – women's history goes to court

The Sears case gave rise to considerable tumult in the field of women's history, but was also the beginning of a new historiography concerning the concepts central to this chapter. The Sears case ran from 1984 until the start of 1986 and was tried before the US District Court of Chicago. What was it about? The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) acted as plaintiff versus Sears, Roebuck and Co., then the largest retailer in the world and the largest private employer of women in the United States. The sales work at Sears was on the face of it divided with gender as the demarcation line. In the sales department, where the employees could earn considerable commissions on their turnover, predominantly men had been hired between 1973 and 1980. This resulted in under-representation of women in these positions.

According to the EEOC, the Sears Company was discriminating on the basis of gender in the way it filled these vacancies. Through the working methods of the company, EEOC asserted, many women were deprived of a fair chance of such a well-paid position. Among other things, their claim was based on statistics showing a discrepancy between the size of the pool of female applicants and the number of women actually hired. The accusation included a critical evaluation of the application process which among other things featured a non-gender-neutral personality test. Sears on the other hand were of the opinion that there was no active rejection of women for these positions: they could not help it if many women had a different mental disposition than many men (for instance, were less competitive). And 'male' characteristics were required to fill these vacancies satisfactorily. It thus challenged whether there were as many appropriate candidates as the EEOC assumed. Many women were simply less suitable.

Two well-known women's historians acted as expert witnesses in the case. Rosalind Rosenberg appeared on behalf of the Sears Company. She stated that men and women differ in their expectations of a job and the kind of product they want to represent to the customer. And she assumed, with Sears, that the EEOC erroneously considered this to be discrimination on the basis of gender. The company could not be held responsible for the consequences of cultural preferences, Rosenberg maintained in her expertise as a historian. With this opinion, she supported Sears' position that the under-representation of women among sales people on commission could not be attributed to discrimination, but was a consequence of the preferences of women themselves.

The EEOC employed its own historian as an expert witness. Alice Kessler-Harris argued that Rosenberg was overlooking an important aspect of the case. "What appears to be women's choices, and what are characterized as women's 'interests' are, in fact, heavily influenced by the opportunities for work made available to them [...] Where opportunity has existed, women never have failed to take the jobs offered. Failure to find women in so-called non-traditional jobs can thus only be interpreted as a consequence of employers' unexamined attitudes or preferences, which phenomenon," Kessler-Harris held, "is the essence of discrimination"[13].

Judge John A. Nordberg apparently did not agree with Kessler-Harris and decided in favour of Sears.

We can conclude that two historians, both specialized in the history of women and gender used their expertise to argue on two sides of the legal conflict[14]. While Kessler-Harris argued that women had long been discriminated against on the labour market, and that the company was perpetuating that discrimination by not hiring women for better paid jobs, Rosenberg tried to show that women historically had different attitudes towards professional challenges and demanding jobs. Rosenberg maintained that Sears was correct in assuming that women did not have the same kind of ambition as their male colleagues, and that therefore Sears was justified in their hiring practices.

Tradition *vs* equal rights

We see women's historians referring to the same past with different conclusions: the past proves that women have been discriminated against (K-H) or, by contrast, the different cultures and practices of women provide an argument in favour of 'discrimination' of women and this non-equal treatment should be tolerated. Although it is rare for historians to serve as expert witnesses in court cases, the Sears case played a significant role in the development of women's and gender history. The two diametrically opposed conclusions drawn from 'the same past' catalyzed discussions about the political stance of the new field of women's history. It came about at a moment when women's historians were reflecting on their role and connection to the feminist movement, being attacked by outsiders as partisan and not 'objective' historians because they explicitly used feminist language in defending the right of women to history. When women's historians found themselves describing women's separate spheres and their agency in creating these spheres, would they be contributing to the discrimination of women on the labour market? The past was not only a reservoir of examples which showed that women wanted and aspired to equal rights, there were also many histories to be told of women who were happy, strong and satisfied with their role as mothers, housewives, ruling the domestic sphere. Did historians who specialized in gender want to contribute to that argument?

Do references to a past where deep and lasting differences between men's and women's roles were real, accepted and confirmed by law and custom, support the idea that what

is perceived as unequal treatment should be tolerated? Do historical references help us to understand the Athenian citizen who defended his mother for selling goods at the market, or the Norwegian woman who claimed her right to paid work after she entered marriage? And are these cases clarified by using the concepts of discrimination and tolerance? Can we understand their pleas best when we conceive of them as a struggle against discrimination and in favour of tolerance? Are we as historians shedding new light on the counter-arguments when we point out that the Norwegian unions/cooperatives expected *tolerance* for their traditional way of dealing with gender differences? Does the conflict about the right for a woman to be employed as a priest symbolize opposition between the state ensuring equal rights for both genders and lack of tolerance shown by a religious convention/habit that excludes women? Can the case of age-discrimination among scholars and scientists be explained by seeing it as an instance of discrimination being defended by reference to the long-established conventions of scientific research that should be tolerated? To seek answers to these questions, we now turn to two contributions to the debate over discrimination and tolerance since both show the serious risk we run in positioning these concepts as opposites without any further thought.

Social psychology

The Sears case already shows us how ambiguous the concept of discrimination may be. What is discrimination really and what defines tolerance?

This question of definition has interested not only historians and lawyers, but engages social psychologists when they try systematically to analyze social phenomena perceived as problems, such as the integration of minorities. We turn to one example of their work to see whether the social sciences might provide useful suggestions for historians. Amélie Mummerdey and Michael Wenzel present a theoretical approach in an article on social discrimination, intergroup relations and reactions to intergroup difference[15]. According to their analysis social discrimination is a result of the generalization of perceived 'ingroup' attributes which become criteria for judging the 'outgroup'.

Discrimination and tolerance tell us something about the ways one categorizes oneself and one's surroundings. On this view discrimination is the result of generalized attribution of (possibly imaginary) characteristics of group members to the group as a whole. The prototypes thus arising become the criteria according to which one defines others as not belonging to one's own group. The two or more groups constructed in this way at once imply the existence of a 'higher' category under which all are included. Protestants do not consider themselves members of the group of Catholics, but would not object to being categorized as Christians, and the same goes for Catholics. In their turn, Muslims would not consent to being called Christians but would have no problem with the statement that they are religious.

Note that the above-used definition allows for both positive and negative aspects of difference between one's own and the other group(s). Discrimination can mean that one favours or prefers the members of one's own group, but it can also mean the downgrading and relative disadvantaging of an outgroup.

The authors argue that discrimination occurs when three requirements are met: first, there must be "sufficient motivation to establish positive distinctiveness of the ingroup, second, a sufficiently subjective legitimation of the negative behaviour against the outgroup", and third there should be disagreement between groups on the evaluation and legitimation of the exclusion[16]. Disagreement is essential. When we apply these criteria we do find ample evidence of these elements in the cases described before. But does the demand for abolishment of a practice perceived as discriminatory imply a demand for tolerance and if so, how do the historical actors expect this tolerance to be implemented?

Again, tolerance can hardly be construed simply to mean the absence of discrimination. Tolerance can indeed mean that individuals to whom one does not attribute the characteristics one attributes to one's own group are still included in the group. But tolerance can also mean that one does not categorize at all and does not interpret differences between individuals as differences between one's own and other groups(s). There are different kinds of tolerance. It can mean that one sees many differences between one's own group and the outgroup, but that these differences are somehow not deemed important. This is possible when there is sufficient distance, for instance when the outgroup is seen as 'exotic', which means that one does not expect everybody to belong to the same higher category. An example might clarify this. Some Germans discriminate against Germans with Turkish backgrounds, but nonetheless go on holiday to Turkey. In Germany, they are part of one society with the Turkish people, but in Turkey, the distance between 'German' and 'Turk' is sufficiently large for them not to be irritated by the characteristics they experience as 'different'.

According to Mummendy and Wenzel, the nature of the criteria also plays a part. What prototype does one use to characterize the members of the ingroup? How clear are the criteria for the prototype? How broad is it, that is to say, how many dimensions does it involve and how much variation is admissible? How complex is the prototype? One can have certain characteristics to any extent and still fall within the prototype because it is sufficiently complex and/or broad. Differences between people will then be valued positively as long as they seem to cohere with the group prototype, if only because the prototype allows for a lot of variation. Integration of minorities with clearly different ethnic and religious characteristics can be defined as coherence with an extremely complex overall prototype. For instance: everybody is European, and other characteristics are subordinate. This is a very diverse prototype by means of which everybody, irrespective of gender, age, ethnic origin, nationality or religious conviction is considered to be a member of the group of Europeans.

Distance and proximity between groups and the development of prototypes and therefore of criteria of in- and exclusion are dynamic processes. Our cases are snapshots, just moments in time. They are temporary fights in which some individual challenges the legitimation for what they perceive as discrimination. These deviant opinions can only become influential if all parties agree that there should be agreement on either inclusion or exclusion within the challenged group.

But what should be the question put by those reporting the cases? Should they demand an end to the exclusion while retaining the 'different' characteristics or is legitimation of the criteria for exclusion itself under question? This appears to differ from case to case. The Norwegian woman is married, the women who remain employed are not. There is no reason to fight about this difference, and so in the Norwegian case, the question is really about legitimation of the criterion. But in the Sears case, the issue might well be about whether women do or do not possess certain characteristics (ambition) needed if one wants to be a salesperson. Here, there is no demand for a broadening of the prototype for group membership, but for the affirmation that women actually do possess the characteristics needed.

All applicants in our cases state that they are equal to or interchangeable with members of the group they challenge but on different grounds. They differ as to the relevance of the dimensions the challenged group uses for comparison. Their self-categorisation has apparently changed over time or as a consequence of some influence. That is why it is always necessary to involve the history through which a group was formed! It might be more fruitful to investigate further how this came about and what conditions were necessary for it to happen. The cases are clearly symptoms of an underlying process in which categories are redefined and membership is reattributed. Historians might be equipped par excellence to map these long-term processes. But it is important to keep an eye open on the many-headedness of the concept of tolerance. Tolerance and discrimination as concepts will become much sharper tools for historical analysis if they are more clearly differentiated in this manner.

Equality *vs* Difference

This is actually the position taken by gender historian Joan W. Scott. In a seminal article she elaborates further on the dilemmas surrounding tolerance[17]. She argues that the concepts of equality and difference are not really antonyms, at least not as they are used in the argument. To suppose an antithetical opposition between equality and difference results in the idea that equality is only permitted when two entities are completely the same. In this perspective, women would only deserve equal rights when they were prepared to be the same as men in *all* respects. Scott points out that equality and difference presuppose each other: one cannot think about difference without envisaging equality. There is always a contrast, or antonym, built into every single concept.

In our discrimination cases this means that in order to be entitled to equal rights, women have to differ from men, otherwise they would have these rights by definition. This refers directly to broadening the prototype in such a way that women can be included. It does not address the question whether the perceived qualities of men and women, like being ambitious or not, are true. Scott rejects the idea that the differences matter. In doing so, she uses a definition of tolerance that amounts to broadening the definition of the own-group prototype in order to include more 'characteristics' such as 'womanhood'. The variant of tolerance in which two groups can function 'next to' each other, each with its own prototype, as members of a larger whole (people, employees, etc.) is not considered by her.

Alice Kessler-Harris made her own comment on the Sears case indirectly through her book *A Woman's Wage* (1990)[18]. Analysing the gender gap in income within specific periods and contexts of modern American history, she revealed both continuity and changes in the understanding of women as low-paid workers. Investigating 19h-century discourses, she found a double interpretation (and justification) of the fact that female labour was systematically paid less than male, even for the same work. Firstly, a piece of work performed by women was regarded as less valuable or productive than the same piece performed by men. Secondly, women were deemed to have more modest needs, regardless of their age and matrimonial status. It seems women are provided with a narrow prototype here.

During the 20th century, there have been varying justifications. When industrial labour protection was introduced, restrictions on women's work as well as economic freedom for men were argued for in terms of gender specific vocations: men were to be providers as women were to bear children. Different interpretations of justice were again brought into the reasoning. In regarding social equalisation as more important than equal rights for men and women, the marriage bar for women was deemed to be fair during the great depression of the 1930s. At all points unequal treatment was argued for in terms of scientific truth or laws of nature.

The comments of Kessler-Harris show that there are real dilemmas built into the cases we have presented here. To decide non-discrimination for one group, is very often to overrule another group. Some cases seem to be a clash between two understandings of justice: individual justice for women, versus social justice in times of high unemployment. How do historical actors perceive these dilemmas over time and when and how does this perception change?

Debates like this on difference and equality have contributed to a move from women's history as social history of female human subjects to women's or gender history that is defined as analysis of the way perceived differences between women and men have operated in different historical contexts.

Who is speaking?

Although the articles cited have widely different intellectual backgrounds, address different practices, and use completely different methodologies to come to their conclusions, we argue that they share an important trait. They all argue that a crucial factor in analyzing what happens when tolerance is preached, or discrimination is practiced, is that we take into consideration who is speaking, and from what position these principles are being invoked. For Mummendey and Wenzel reach their conclusion about the basic resemblance between discrimination and tolerance by pointing out how important the dynamics of prototype definitions are over time and how ambiguous the concept of tolerance may be. One can summarize this by an exclamation heard during the discussion at a conference on this transversal theme: "I'd rather be discriminated than be tolerated!"

Joan Scott concludes that when equality (we translate it here as claim to non-discrimination) has been claimed in the past it has always been based on the argument that equality means equal treatment of different entities. When a group that has not enjoyed equal rights asks for equal rights it does not argue that they *are* equal, that they are the same, but in most instances they claim that differences (e.g. of gender) should not play a role in a specific situation – be it legal, economic or political rights. Scott argues that feminist movements have throughout history always claimed equality on the basis of recognizing (and sometimes celebrating) differences.

We now enter the difficult field of the role of historical knowledge in court cases. Should historians serve as witnesses? While many of our colleagues would also hesitate to get directly involved in political struggles that are being fought in court or on commissions for equal treatment, historians of gender also share the insight that discrimination is often legitimized by, in their view, totally unjustified references to the past. Whether or not they will enter the court as experts is very difficult and complicated by the different understandings of 'evidence' used by historians and lawyers. This is not to deny that the knowledge produced by gender historians has a societal impact – it changes the way people think about gender differences. Historians are contributing to the dynamics of changing prototypes and thus to intergroup relationships.

Women's historians have provided three types of knowledge. They have shown that differences in behaviour between men and women cannot be reduced to biological differences – the enormous variety of gender roles throughout history testifies to this. Implicitly this supports women who go to court to claim equal rights – they can point out that biological differences should not be taken as a justification of unequal treatment. Secondly women's history shows that their exclusion from paid labour or from the public sphere has never been total. Women have been historical actors, agents and subjects. Thirdly women's historians have shown how exclusion on the basis of gender has been contested throughout time, either by individual women or by women's movements and

feminist organizations, and these efforts were often supported by men. The form these acts of opposition and contestation took depended on the social context.

To understand this, gender historians have shown that there is a history of opposition to sexism (discrimination on the basis of gender). Two elements explain why women look for public discussion. First the availability of equal rights that both grant women the right to go to court and provide them with a language to defend their claim; second the availability of 'women' as a social category. In societies where 'women' or gender are not explicitly used to refer to other categories: e.g. citizenship – as is the case in the Athenian example. The right of an individual woman to sell ribbons at the market is defended with reference to citizenship and economic necessity. When 'women' or gender are explicitly mentioned in legal discourse, in sociological knowledge or political language, women can protest about their exclusion with reference to such sources. The Icelandic woman who wanted to become a priest could point to the Icelandic law codes which declared women and men to have equal rights in the workplace. On the other hand women could argue that they were being discriminated against when they were treated with the same criteria as men were, without taking into account that women had different life cycles. This was the case with the Dutch women scholars who went to court over age-discrimination referring to knowledge about women's life cycles – more often (though not always!) mothering children when their male contemporaries were full time careerists: knowledge about gender allowed them to claim different treatment. In this case women refused to be a part of the prototype of the 'brilliant young scholar'.

This last conclusion brings us back to the usefulness of tolerance and discrimination as historical categories. When historians try to analyze historical court cases such as we selected for this chapter, the focus on discrimination and tolerance as such does not bring new insights. Both concepts take the acts of those discussing the exclusion of women as their starting point. When we want to understand what it meant when women went to court to fight a case of discrimination, it is historically more interesting to ask why such men and women go to court. Why do they seek public discussion of their right to work at this point and in this context? The question then turns from who discriminates and who tolerates to who fights discrimination, and who fights for tolerance, to what kind of tolerance is practised and why.

In other words: the question should not be whether there is discrimination or tolerance. Neither is the question whether and when discrimination should be replaced by tolerance. The question is how and when prototypes through which groups define themselves come under discussion. Which forms of tolerance occur in relations within and between groups (intra and intergroup relations) and how these processes and borders are influenced in different places and at different times. Although historians themselves – whether consciously or not – always contribute to social processes, their discipline is also well-suited to follow these processes of in- and exclusion throughout time and to clarify under what circumstances group relations are redefined. This means that we

should seriously take into account that historians themselves are part of this process adapting (if you like, broadening) prototypes and the adaptation of the categorizations themselves. This clearly appears from the Sears case, but is also part of our historical stories. It does not matter whether we are gender historians or social and economic historians or any other kind of historians. Our historiography can contribute to the definition but also to the shifting of characteristics attributed to prototypes. In this way one can reach the highest level of abstraction, one can more adequately neutralize political connotations and one can think more clearly about the way people define their own identity and under what circumstances shifts in such definitions occur.

Notes

[1] We gratefully thank our colleagues Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir, Tea Mayhew, Hege Roll-Hansen, Carla Salvaterra and Jeanette van der Sanden who brought up the cases for consideration. We thank the CLIOHRES network for facilitating the fruitful cooperation in thematic workgroup four on Gender, Work and Society.

[2] Demosthenes, 57 *Against Eubulides*, 31-35, Eng. trans. A.T. Murray (Loeb edition 1939).

[3] T. Berg, *Nødvendige hensyn i krisetid? Debatten om gifte kvinner i Oslo kommunes tjeneste med hovedvekt på gifte lærerinner 1928-1937*, Oslo 2006.

[4] S. Neunsinger, *I nationens intresse: Svenska och tyska kvinnors strid för rätten att arbeta*, in R.C. Florin, L. Kvarnström (eds.), *Kvinnor på gränsen till medborgarskap. Genus, politik och offentlighet 1800-1950*, Stockholm 2001.

[5] Norges Handel og Kontorfunksjonærers forbund [Norwegian Union of Employees in Commerce and Offices].

[6] E. Lønnå, *LO, DNA og striden om gifte kvinner i lønnet arbeid i mellomkrigstida*, Oslo 1975.

[7] *Alþingistíðindi* [Parliamentary Record] 1911 B II, 1319-1343.

[8] E. H. Halldórsdóttir, G. Dís Jónatansdóttir (eds), *Ártöl og áfangar í sögu íslenskra kvenna*, Reykjavik 1998, pp. 39, 58-59.

[9] The authors thank the historian Kristín Ástgeirsdóttir, now the director of the Centre for Gender Equality in Iceland, for kindly offering information about this case; for further information, see an article she wrote several years ago on Auður Eir Vilhjálmsdóttir's consecration and the debate that took place: K. Ástgeirsdóttir, *Við höfum bara aldrei séð konu í hempu!*, in A. Agnarsdóttir et.al. (eds.), *Kvennaslóðir. Rit til heiðurs Sigríði Th. Erlendsdóttur sagnfræðingi*. Reykjavik 2001, pp. 380-396.

[10] In 2006, 27 percent of the pastors serving in the Icelandic state church were women, and equality has, indeed, been high on the agenda of the church in recent years; see http://www.hagstofa.is/Hagtolur/Heilbrigdis,-felags-og-domsmal/Konur-og-karlar (accessed 7 August 2008).

[11] The Act however allowed for fighting indirect sex discrimination through age criteria.

[12] Interesting practical information on how to use intersectionality as a tool for gender and economic justice can be found in the *Facts and Issues of the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID)*, 9, August 2004. http://www.awid.org/publications/primers/intersectionality_en.pdf (accessed 9 October 2007). For further study: K. Crenshaw, *Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color*, in "Stanford Law Review", 1989, 43, pp 1241-1299.

[13] Cited from R. Milkman, *Women's History and the Sears Case*, in "Feminist Studies",1986, 12, pp 375-400, 376.

[14] More on the traps of historians having to give evidence in court in this case: J. W. Scott, *Gender and the politics of history*, New York 1988, pp. 167-177.

[15] A, Mummendey, M. Wenzel, *Social Discrimination and Tolerance in Intergroup Relations: Reactions to Intergroup Difference*, in "Personality and Social Psychology Review", 1999, 3, pp. 158-174.

[16] *Ibid*., pp. 161-162.

[17] J.W. Scott, *Deconstructing Equality vs Difference; or The Uses of Post-Structuralist Theory for Feminism*, in "Feminist Studies", 1988, 14, pp. 33-50

[18] A. Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage. Historical Meanings and Social Consequences*, Lexington 1990.

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Gender and roles from an anthropologist's point of view

Fabio Dei
Università di Roma, "La Sapienza"

L'antropologia si accosta al problema della differenza donna-uomo partendo dalla distinzione tra il concetto di sesso e quello di genere – una distinzione che corrisponde più o meno a quella tra natura e cultura, e che tende a relativizzare le differenze di genere in relazione ai contesti socio-culturali. Tuttavia, nella storia degli studi, gli antropologi si sono interrogati su certe invarianze nella costruzione sociale del genere, soprattutto nella diversa distribuzione del potere tra uomini e donne, cercando di darne spiegazioni di tipo naturalistico. In modo più o meno esplicito, si è delineata una sfera "domestica" della vita sociale, definita dalle esigenze biologiche della procreazione, a partire dalla quale si determinerebbe il ruolo sociale della donna. Il più recente dibattito post-strutturalista ha tuttavia messo fortemente in discussione queste basi naturalistiche del genere, convergendo in ciò con alcuni esiti del pensiero femminista. Se la "natura", secondo la lezione di M. Foucault, è una costruzione epistemologica dell'occidente moderno, noi non possiamo semplicemente assumerla come risorsa per studiare gli "altri". L'esempio della teoria antropologica della parentela dimostra come nell'accostarci ad altri sistemi culturali diamo per scontato più di quello che potremmo e dovremmo. L'antropologia che segue questa linea di riflessione è interessata più ai modi in cui diversi contesti storico-sociali tracciano i confini tra natura e cultura: ed è per questo che nozioni come "donna" e "uomo", "sesso", persino "corpo" passano da risorse ad oggetti dell'analisi antropologica: devono essere descritte e comprese e non servire a descrivere e spiegare.

Sex and gender

Here I wish examine the theoretical framework within which cultural anthropology has thought about the relationships between gender, society and political power. I am not specialized in gender studies, and I do not intend to furnish a survey of the studies in this field (as can be found in the excellent work by Mila Busoni, 1998). I am interested in understanding what specific contribution the anthropological way of looking at the world has brought and can bring to the definition of this problem.

I shall start from a premise. Anthropology, because of its very nature as a science of cultural diversity, is close to the study of gender because of its relativistic, or at least anti-ethnocentric, vocation. When faced with different cultures, anthropologists cannot avoid noting the presence of a multiplicity of gender models, of varied ways of defining the roles and the relations between male and female. Furthermore they insist on the socially formed character of these models: they are interested in understanding how each society constructs 'man' and 'woman' in a different way, assigning to each status, riches and political power in a different way.

In other words the starting point for anthropological reflection is the distinction between sex and gender: the fact, that is, that the differences in biological characteristics and those in social roles do not coincide at all, and they are linked less closely than it might appear. In some way, the assumption of the anthropological perspective is not different than the basic premise of feminist thought: both aim at relativising that link which to our common sense seems to be absolute and natural between sex and gender. The gender differences rooted in western history, which patriarchal ideology presents as natural and universal, are not so at all; rather they represent only one among the many social and historical possibilities of constructing the relations between men and women.

Naturalistic theories

Nonetheless, anthropologists have been struck not only by the diversity but also by the similarities or constants in the definition of gender (as of other cultural phenomena). This tension between diversity and identity describes in some way the entire space of anthropological reflection. In the words of A.M. Cirese, anthropology oscillates continually between two well known proverbs: "Paese che vai usanza che trovi" (wherever you go you find different customs) and "Tutto il mondo è paese" (things are the same all over the world). The latter proverb, hence attention for that which does not vary, has also strongly influenced the orientation of studies on gender. Researchers have wondered how to explain the fact that, notwithstanding the broad range of local cultural variations, in all or almost all known societies the man-woman relationship is strongly asymmetric – and invariably it is favourable to men in regard both to prestige or status and to political power. There have been explicit attempts, in anthropology, to construct broad comparative pictures in this connection: for example the American researchers who work on the *Human Relations Area Files* project, founded by George Murdock, attempt to compare data from hundreds of societies on which there are available credible ethnographic descriptions.

In truth, the objectivity of data compared in this way is highly questionable (for one thing, almost all refer to societies and cultures which are strongly modified and influenced by colonialism, which has itself introduced strong gender discriminations on the basis of the European model). Such research confirms in any case a general political and status subordination of women, although with great differences in relation above all to the prevailing economic and productive system and kinship descent system. As to systems of production, it seems that the great dividing line is the passage from horticulture to agriculture with the use of the plough; as to kinship systems, usually a higher status of women is found in matrilinear systems. But even in these latter the political functions are often in the men's hands.

The difference seems if anything to lie in the power that the women have within the domestic sphere, insofar as it is contrasted to the strictly public and political sphere. It is hardly necessary to note that anthropology considers the so-called matriarchate a myth – an idea which emerged in studies of the 19th century, which tended to project on remote and unknown phases of evolution the exact inversion of the gender relations which characterised western modernity.

Now to explain these at least apparently universal tendencies of the phenomenon of gender construction, anthropology has developed a series of hypotheses, which in some way re-introduce a sort of biological determinism. We can list some them synthetically as follows:

- the theory of physical strength: because it is greater in males, according to this view, it allows them to carry out work and functions which are more essential for supporting the social group and which is translated immediately into power and status;
- the theory of compatibility with caring for children: according to this view, since they must take care of procreation, nursing and raising the children (particularly in cultures in which children are fed at the breast for a long time), women could not carry out functions which require continuity and which would take them away from the home or put the children into danger;
- the theory of sacrificability: according to this view it is men who carry out the more dangerous jobs (but also those which give more prestige and are more closely connected to power) because they can be more easily sacrificed from an evolutionary point of view, that is, the loss of a man is less serious from a reproductive point of view than the loss of a woman.

These theories, or a combination of them, are intended to explain the exclusiveness (or at least the prevalence) of males in war, which is seen by many as the very foundation of political activity in traditional societies. The physical characteristics of the woman, and above all her procreative function, would confine her in an almost natural way to the domestic sphere, keeping her away from dangerous public activities and making it impossible for her to establish broad networks of social relations.

Hence, in final analysis it would be the natural characteristics of women to establish their place in society and culture. These theories reintroduce, under the form of presumed universal cultural characteristics, exactly that biological determinism which anthropology wished to fight. Furthermore, they tend to legitimatise as 'scientific truths' existing common sense judgements. Starting from an anti-ethnocentric posture, anthropology ends up by placing ethnocentric axioms at the basis of its explicative theories; in other words, it works around an idea of what is natural and universal which is deeply constructed in modern western culture. Cultural diversity thus is somehow made innocuous, and with it the distinction between sex and gender. Separated in opposition to common sense, the two terms are then brought near again in the name of general theories on culture. In reality, this theoretical system has profound effects on cultural anthropology, going far beyond the approaches which explicitly postulate a biological or naturalistic determinism. Let us attempt to understand better how this works.

Kinship and genealogical relationships

Cultural anthropology tends to construct models of social life composed by a series of "fields" or "domains" which are arranged in a progressive order with regard to nearness-distance from elements considered natural and universal. The first of these domains is that of family life and kinship relations, which not by chance anthropology has put at the centre of its theoretical approach, considering it to be the most basic element of the social and political organisation, and constructing the others (status and power systems etc.) as if they were in some way derived from it. It is kinship that, according to classical anthropology, constitutes the interface between female "nature" and the social construction of gender.

To be even more precise, many anthropologists have distinguished within kinship itself two fields: a "domestic" one and a "political-juridical" one (this is Meyer Fortes' terminology). The political-juridical field is supposed to have greater variability from place to place, and to be linked to rules and public activities, prevalently the competence of men; the domestic field would be tightly linked to emotional and sexual links, to the mother-child link and to childrearing practices; it would have a more universal character and would regard principally the women. Thus, women would bring to the system principally their ability to procreate and raise children: men their capacity to participate in public life.

Here too we can see clearly the typically anthropological need to recognise in kinship relations a political and juridical dimension which lies beyond the western common sense view – which tends to conceive of the kinship terminology as directly mirroring biological relations, the "natural fact" of descent. Nonetheless anthropologists feel the need to carve out a more basic and universal dimension of domesticity, linked to facts conceived as undoubtedly natural, which would explain the intercultural constants or lacks of varibility. Other functions then would be added on to this domestic dimension – political, ideological, economic, which change with the cultures and produce different definitions of gender – without, nonetheless, ever questioning the supposed basic role of the woman as protagonist of reproduction with all the consequences which we have seen.

Now, we can ask ourselves, is it possible to push the anti-ethnocentric tension of anthropology to the point of questioning the idea of the natural "domestic" bases of kinship and hence of the lack of equality between the genders in the fields of politics and status? Is it possible to recognise that the idea that social relations are deeply rooted in natural facts appears self-evident only from the point of view of our culture? And that giving the attribute of 'natural' to certain characteristics of women and men is part of a system of meanings which is constructed socially? Obviously, feminism and gender studies have given specific contributions to this problem, for example putting into discussion psychological or social-psychological generalisations on the invariable aspects of male and female characteristics, and on the other hand bringing a more complex dimension to the relationship between nature and culture to the discussion about the irreducibility of the difference.

As concerns anthropological studies and kinship theory, a line of reflection has been opened up in the debate of the last quarter of a century. In particular the work of David Schneider, a scholar from the United States, appears fundamental in that it has put into

discussion an axiom of the classical anthropological theory, that is, the idea that the fundamental units of kinship – the universal and natural bricks of which it is made, in every time and place so to say – are genealogical relations. The most difficult ethnocentric assumption to unmask is precisely this: that kinship is always and everywhere a group of relationships based on sexual reproduction. As Sylvia Yanagisako and Jane Collier, two researchers who have recently dedicated their attention to rethinking the relationship between gender and kinship from its very bases, write

> we assume that the primary reproductive relationship in all societies is the relationship between a man and a woman characterized by sexual intercourse and its physiological consequences of pregnancy and parturition […] In other words, we assume that creating human offspring – through heterosexual intercourse, pregnancy, and parturition – constitutes the biological process upon which we presume culture builds such social relationships as marriage, filiation, and co-parenthood [1].

The same is true for the construction of gender. We consider obvious that the circles and triangles of which our genealogies are made are *naturally* different categories of persons – where this difference is the basis of human reproduction and consequently of kinship.

Anthropologists – women and men – have given attention to the different ways in which, for example, conception, pregnancy and childbirth are conceptualised in different cultures. For example, they have often placed at the centre of their analyses a series of empirical "anomalies" found in the so-called primitive societies, which seem to put into discussion the fundamental facts of reproduction. The classic debates centre on the problem of the presumed ignorance of the mechanisms of biological reproduction among the Australian aborigenes or among the Melanesians of the Trobiand Islands studied by Malinowski, or on the cases of societies which allow marriage between persons of the same sex, that is, with the same genital apparatus (which does not at all mean of the same gender); or, to give another example, on those societies which do not seem to distinguish the two genders using a dichotomic model, admitting intermediate possibilities, or understanding gender differences as a sort of continuum rather than in terms of polarities each one of which excludes the other.

The classical theory, in these cases, has tried to interpret these phenomena, bringing them back in roundabout ways to "normality". Rarely has it been able to avoid the assumption that at the basis of the cultural organisation of gender stands the biological fact of procreation and of the natural difference between men and women. That is, it is taken for granted that specific social and cultural consequences necessarily follow this natural difference. Rather than assume that these facts are natural, as Yanagisako and Collier hold, we should study the way in which they are culturally constructed, as are all social facts, and we should also study, I would add, the cultural meaning of the fact that they are considered "natural".

Gender and meaning: the interpretative approach

In the last part of this discussion I must mention rapidly some interpretative possibilities which are opened up by this perspective – that is, by refusing to accept the idea that kinship and gender relations are rooted in biological "facts. It must be underlined that the crit-

ical perspective opened by gender studies is connected to a process of rethinking from the inside which has characterised cultural anthropology in the last twenty years, and in particular the so-called 'interpretative' or (improperly, in my view) 'post-modern' approaches. The deconstructionist criticism of many of the classical notions of anthropology, and the central role assigned to the subjective and dialogical role in the production of anthropological knowledge, have contributed decisively to the understanding of the problems of gender identity.

In this picture, we must consider first of all the studies on systems of meaning which in the different cultures define not only gender but also sexuality and the 'biological facts' having to do with it. From the 1970s on, this ethnographic line of investigation has been greatly developed, particularly by women researchers who have taken the problems of feminist thought into the field. The key idea here is that the very relationships and dividing lines between nature and culture cannot be defined in an absolute way, but depend on cognitive or semiotic frames which are culture specific. The title of an influential collection of essays published in 1981 is an emblem of this approach: *Sexual Meanings. The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* [2]. Sex and not only gender, is considered as constituted by a culturally determined symbolic system: what it means to be a man or a woman within a certain society is a question which can be answered only empirically, through research. If this line of study looks for universal truths, it does so on the level of the practices of power rather than on that of biology: the intercultural invariances have to do with the exercise of male power and the way in which is moulds the systems of meaning which define sexuality.

Researchers such as Sherry Ortner and Michelle Rosaldo, for example, underline the ubiquity of semantic frames which place women and men at opposite extremes of the nature-culture axis (that axis which, according to C. Lévi-Strauss, is at the basis of every symbolic construction of human groups). The cultural conceptions of femaleness are organised around the biological and sexual functions of women (think for example of the central symbolic role of menstrual blood and the tabus that surround it). As S. Ortner writes,

> their status derives from the stage that they have reached in the life-cycle, from their biological functions and, in particular, from their sexual or biological links with other humans. Women have more to do, than men, with the 'dirty' – dangerous for social life – element, giving life and mourning the dead, feeding, cooking, eliminating excrement etc. Consequently in the different cultural systems we find a recurring opposition: between man, who in final analysis represents culture and social order and women who, defined by symbols in which her biological functions are emphasised, represents nature and often disorder [3].

Thus, it is if women bring up the rearguard in protecting the dividing line with nature, participating dangerously in it – whereas men dominate the world of culture, the sphere of public, social and intellectual activities.

We must observe that precisely this tendency to confine woman in a natural, domestic, pre-social existential environment is part and parcel of her exclusion from the sphere of public discourse. Usually it is not the women, particularly in traditional societies, who "speak for" the whole society, who express the self-interpretation which a given culture gives of itself. Women participate in social life with their body, so to speak, whereas men

participate with rationality and discourse (and, let us note, with an inversion of cause and effect which is typical of dominant ideologies, patriarchal discourse tends to justify the subordination of women with their 'irrationality'). But that implies, for anthropologists, an extreme difficulty in studying the feminine point of view inside a culture, because that point of view hardly ever emerges explicitly, it is not structured in a coherent system – perhaps it is not even articulated in such a way that it can be expressed. Anthropologists, in the classical situation of research in the field, have access only to the native male discourse, and they tend to compare it with the male discourse of their own society. Furthermore, the social sciences, such as anthropology, are clearly moulded on an epistemological level on western male discourse ("discourse" here means deep structures of thought, categories of perception and of interpretation of reality): and it could be held that they are not able to recognise and the represent an "other" discourse even if they run directly into it.

This problem was posed in a pioneering lecture in 1968 by a male anthropologist, Edwin Ardener (1989). But it is significant that it has been a new generation of women researchers to have drawn a different scenario, putting into play their own female subjectivity in the field and producing a series of ethnographic studies which, for the first time, let the feminine point of view emerge forcefully from within a culture. Books such as *Nisa* by Marjorie Shostack, or *Veiled Sentiments* by Lila Abu-Lughod, give us an *entrée* into female forms of life and discourse with a depth unknown to previous literature, allowing researchers to become involved as women as well as ethnographers. At the same time, over the last twenty years, a critical reflection has developed on the relationship between women and fieldwork – that is, on the way women interpret the anthropologist's role, constructed from the beginning in sharply masculine terms (see Golde 1986 for a collection of classical contributions on this topic).

Can there be an anthropology of gender? We have seen that the greatest obstacles for a gender anthropology are, on one hand, the non-official, "hidden" and inarticulate character of feminine discourse in local cultures; and, on the other, the deep involvement of the descriptive and interpretative categories of classical anthropology in western male discourse. But how far can we take criticism of the classical categories of the discipline?

In the most recent debate, the concept itself of woman has been at the centre of the debate. While one part of feminist thought has insisted on an irreducible "difference" at the base of woman-man relationships, another part has instead taken to the extreme consequences the deconstruction of the common sense categories which we use (in the anthropological context as well) to describe those relationships. So-called post-modern anthropology has attempted to clarify the implications for the discipline of its central descriptive categories, which only seem objective and neutral: concepts such as society, culture, religion, or (as we have seen) kinship, define the essence of fluid and diversified realities in an ethnocentric perspective. They are tools for intercultural comparison, but their very use compromises, right from the beginning so to speak, the relationship with difference.

We can make the same observation for the notions of 'woman' and of 'gender'. It is not a matter of starting from an unvarying and obvious essence (woman, gender), to study how different cultures treat them or mould them. Gender should rather be understood as a process, tightly intertwined with the broader practices of power which run through social

relations. As has been written:

> Gender does not exist originally in human beings or bodies, rather in the whole of the effects produced in bodies, in behaviour and in social relations by of a complex political technology [4].

A similar approach proposes a strong break respect to 'classical' feminist thought. This latter was searching for an authenticity in the female condition, which could be gathered beyond and in spite of the political repressions and the ideological distortions of patriarchal society; the post-modern perspective does not believe in any possible authenticity – it does not believe, as we have said, that a 'woman' exists before and independently of the political practices, in a Foucaultian sense, which construct her.

This does not mean that it is necessary to erase the notions of woman and gender from the descriptive vocabulary of anthropology (or feminism), in the impossibility of finding more objective or neutral categories (we cannot avoid seeing and representing the world through concepts which have developed, as Ernesto de Martino used to say, in our cultural history). The problem is rather that of using them being aware of their partiality, or better of their historically and culturally situated character. Above all, the deconstruction of such notions modifies their role within anthropology. Marylin Strathern, one of the most influential researchers in the international debate today, has pointed out that the very definition of "anthropology of gender" is inadequate and contradictory: as if gender were an object or an entity of the social world, defined and separate respect to other objects, hence describable in a separate chapter in anthropology textbooks alongside kinship, political systems, religion and so forth. The idea itself that gender can be assumed con a unit of intercultural analysis for Strathern is completely wrong. Everything is gender, in the sense that every social practice is gendered (a concept that is hard to express in Italian). The argument is of the same nature as Schneider's criticism of kinship theory, which we considered above.

I began by saying that I am not a specialist in gender anthropology. I conclude with a twofold and paradoxical observation. On one hand gender anthropology cannot exist as such, that is, as a well defined sub-discipline, if it carries its anti-ethnocentric and anti-essentialist criticism to its consequences, denying the existence of gender as a social object. On the other hand, precisely because it does not define a particular specialistic field, no one can ignore the problems which it poses, which broadly affect the entire area of social and anthropological theory. What is put into question by the critique of the concepts of kinship, woman and gender which I have tried to delineate schematically, are in fact the very concepts of society and culture, understood as a systematic articulation of fields founded on the 'invariable' aspects of human existence, and which can be studied separately in an intercultural perspective. What is put into doubt is, so to say, the index of most anthropology textbooks, which are articulated around the themes of economy, politics, kinship, art, religion and so forth; it is the idea that it is possible to build a meta-description objectively founded of human life on the basis of an abstract model, a sort of Dewey code of the forms of life. The problem is that today we do not know yet what an anthropology that abandons the concepts of culture and society will be like, and we have no alternative language to talk about what we continue to call – exactly – cultural differences; in the same way it is not completely clear how anthropology or gender studies can get rid of concepts based on the idea that 'woman' and 'gender' can be defined by identi-

fying their essence.

NOTES

[1] Borowsky R. (ed.), *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*, New York 1994, p 193.

[2] Ortner S., Whitehead H. (eds.), *Sexual Meanings. The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, Cambridge 1981,.

[3] See Rosaldo in Mellino M., *Antropologia e lo studio del gender*, "Ossimori. Periodico di antropologia e scienze umane", 1997, 9-10, p. 164.

[4] See De Lauretis quoted in Mellino, *Anthropologia*, p. 167.

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From Visibility to Analysis: Gender and History

Andrea Pető
Central European University, Budapest

Abstract

The chapter describes the process by which European history writing has been changed due to the appearance of compensatory women's history writing as to well as the epistemological criticism gender imposes on history writing.

A tanulmány bemutatja, hogy az európai történetírás hogyan változott a kompenzációs iskola és a társadalmi nemek jelentette episztemológiai kihívás miatt.

Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey* wrote that history was boring and uninspiring because it was all about "(t)he quarrels of popes and kings, with wars and pestilences, in every page; the men all so good for nothing, and hardly any woman at all". Her words read as a prelude to two centuries of writers arguing that history as it had been written by men was incomplete[1]. In this chapter I would like to give a brief overview to prove that the change advocated by Austen – to include women, to make women visible in history – was only the first step towards making history inspiring: it can never be "complete". I would like to investigate how using gender as an analytical category of history moved historical narrative from compensatory history writing based on essentialized differences to epistemological questioning of these facts about "popes and kings, with wars". I do not in this chapter want to present the development of gender history as a linear progression. It is, rather, a complex interrelated matrix of academic inquiry and social movements which in different European countries under the overarching frame of modernity developed in differing ways depending on the different intellectual traditions. I am planning to explore a European intellectual road map of terminologies, a historical perspective giving examples of how gender became a category of analysis and what the limits to using it are. Here I have to be simplistic because of length restrictions, so I will limit myself to using major historical works to signpost different approaches to gender.

Historical canon and difference

If we define history as a site of remembrance, it is crucial to see it also as a reflection on power relations: who is remembering what, who is mastering the past and the remembrance of it, what is becoming visible in such a historical canon?

The development of history writing from the ancient masters onward defined events and canonized stories as important, visible for future generations. These stories became canonised "History" by the 19th century. History was defined as the science of the past of the state, which amounts to thematising the past of the nation as a descriptive and cognitive science. In this context there was the belief that description is possible, the world is cognitively understandable. And for a long time it was not considered problematic that half of the population, namely women, were excluded from this process.

Bonnie Smith in her book on *Gender of History* describes the process by which 19th-century history writing started to copy the rules and regulations of philology: a discipline which was institutionalized and generally acknowledged as a legitimate science[2]. The task of historians became that of writing real, objective history, and in order to do that they set up an apparatus, such as footnotes, and institutions, such as textbooks and monographs.

Ranke defined history as one of the empirical sciences: it deals with collecting, recovering facts. During the self-definition process of history, narratives about events in the past were divided into important and less important facts[3]. Women were not the only group excluded. Other excluded subjects of historical inquiry were those who had no relationship to the state or its institutions, who produced no documents about themselves as sources of history. As a result of this selection process less important events such as the history of everyday life, history of entertainment, history of working class and colonialized people – or to put it bluntly, everything related to women – were labelled as unimportant.

From the 19th century observation became the historical research method, borrowed from the natural sciences which staked a claim to normative monopoly in science. As Carlo Ginzburg asked, what are the consequences for history writing if there is the same logic of selecting and interpreting facts as a detective uses?[4] History then becomes a story of 'what really happened'; there is one privileged interpreter of past clues buried in the narrative, and that is the historian. At which point the participation or rather non-participation of women in history, in past events, became a tool for maintaining patriarchy.

The institutionalization of history writing ran parallel with the development of modern nation-states. During this process close institutional, personal, professional and emotional links were established. While underlining their objectivity and professionalism, historians defined what the nation is (or rather should be) as the only framework for

writing history, while in return they were guaranteed a monopoly on the educational system and on the institutions for teaching the crafts-man-ship of history at universities, namely departments of history.

By the end of the 19th century the educational system, by now affecting all strata of the population, had reached the point of producing history textbooks where women were not mentioned. If they were mentioned, women formed a part of the narrative of how the nation was born and survived its struggles; they were seen as mothers and heroic wives. Their task was to mirror the achievements of great men[5]. History at this point meant political history, which celebrated the nation and its founders from the perspective of the nation-state in Europe.

The beginnings: the issue of visibility

Against this traditional approach to our 'past', two types of resistance were developing: one which was a movement and the other which came from the institutional side in the form of scholarship. This division is somewhat artificial, but serves the cognitive purpose of the chapter as to how science and social movements develop in interaction with each other to foster change in history writing and in defining what history is.

The resistance driven by a movement started with the collection of women's texts where female authors spoke about their understanding of history[6]. The most important document of the modern women's movement mentioned among other things that historical counter-facts are needed to contrast the dominant brand of history writing. This was believed to be a solution for the political and intellectual dilemma of that time. In the collection edited by Tjitske Akkerman and Siep Stuurman the authors introduce "six waves" of European feminism from late medieval times to the present, viewing the equality of women as an integral part of European modernity[7].

The institutional or scientific resistance is connected to historians who began questioning the omission of women as scientific subjects of historical inquiry: *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* was the title of the path-breaking book edited by Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz in 1987. It is a collection of articles by pioneers in the making of women's history defining European context according to the criteria of the Cold War[8].

The early emancipation movements already recognized that historical memory is an important element of the formation of women's identity. They declared from London to Budapest that if women get to know their "own" history, they will be able to open up new political perspectives; they will get a new kind of knowledge. The creation of a history of their own – like a "room of her own", to paraphrase Virginia Woolf – was crucial for creating identity politics: establishing "women" as subjects of inquiry[9]. This was the aim: to make women visible, to recover the previously hidden truth and facts about women's lives. This was the first phase in reforming history writing, bringing in the

history of previously marginalized groups. There were books to be written on queens and prostitutes; these became the forerunners of the historical school, the "herstory" approach which aims at naïvely compensating for grievances that women had suffered at the hands of men.

Problematising women historically starts with defining "woman" and stretches all the way to historicizing gender[10] and nowadays to analysing intersections of gender with class, race, ethnicity, religion and sexuality.

History has a gender, a dominant masculine gender, and its importance was based on exclusion: excluding women, labourers, gypsies. On the long road from compensatory history writing to questioning the epistemology of history writing, the task for gender historians is not to create a taxonomy of excluded groups, because then we end up, as Butler said, as one of the etceteras[11]. It is more important to understand the power relations working behind the mechanisms that created historical exclusion practices, and to investigate how different normative concepts such as "man" and "woman" have changed historically.

Historians who aimed to revise history had to face the problem that women did not leave sources behind describing their activity. Women's history therefore posits women at the centre of analysis, and looks at their roles in social and political movements. That definition sheds light on the double problem of knowledge produced about women in a historical perspective. On the one hand, it was a long political fight to make the knowledge produced about women acceptable, valid and legitimate because, as one of the results of the 1968 new social movements, a new sensibility about difference was constructed. On the other hand, a body of knowledge needed to be produced questioning history writing as a positivist epistemological subject. According to Jacques Revel, the history of sexual roles changes the methods of history itself, integrating methods from sociology and anthropology[12]. On the other hand, as he also pointed out, recovery of the world in the lost world reproduced the lost world. So it is true that historical analysis of sexual roles became an acceptable historical topic but the manner of its birth, its close relationship to activism and its interdisciplinarity influenced the fate of that new-born. This approach was/is imprisoned in the historicizing of essentialized biological difference: producing works in line with the functions of the female body: birth, menstruation, breast-feeding.

The other approach in women's history writing consists of looking at the roles women played in society as domestic servants, witches, nuns or queens, confirming biological differences. These occupied the proper place for women, i.e. they became visible as they occupied positions that were acceptable for women. Women could be made visible where they were already present; that is the vicious circle of this approach. With this woman's history excluded itself once again from "*the* History" which is the history of power: political history.

Works on the lives of famous women, histories of women's education, women's employment, the family, or reproduction do not necessarily question the framework of knowledge, no matter how much women occupy the focus. This compensatory approach is still present, creating a considerable amount of knowledge about women which is at least a first necessary step on the road to making women visible.

As far as any fruitful interaction is concerned between the resistance of the movement and academic resistance to excluding women from science both as agents and as subjects, the first wave of feminism gained the right to vote for women in most European countries after World War I, and the second wave of the 1960s was thus able to build upon these achievements. Making women visible and objects of a legitimate scientific inquiry was on the banners of the second-wave feminists and they used it in their battle to institutionalize women's studies. Women's studies as a discipline became an institution: its practitioners taught and researched women's pasts. Parallel with these developments, history departments also felt the pressure to include women: hiring a woman to be the women's historian, creating a space for a person who is working on "women". The history of women by now reaches into all fields of history writing: politics, culture, theory, religion and economics, and is a field of its own.

Gender as a category of analysis

The achievements of "herstory" and integrating women into social history led to the institutionalization of women's studies but it left "history" as a science untouched by reconsideration.

The "add women (to history) and do not stir" approach was questioned in its essence when gender became an analytical category and a separate field of history writing at the same time. Women's history, as I have argued, always developed in relation to and in partnership with political movements emancipating women, providing intellectual ammunition in this struggle. Like labour history which worked in alliance with the labour movement, or oral history seen as a new way of using sources to create historical narratives. The method shifted from observation to participation.

One of the methodological innovations which helped women's history to meet the epistemological challenge is oral history. Oral history is both a critical method and a genre of inquiry; as such, it provides the perfect methodology for a new approach to our past. The genre and methods of oral history were born back in the 1960s in the framework of an elitist consciousness that posited a need for implementing change in a top-down way[13]. A methodological approach that defines the difference between narrated self and narrating self is a substantial step towards opening up new room for interpretation. Understanding the multiplicity of truth is a way of questioning power relations; doing oral history, interviewing women about their pasts and analysing their narratives contributed to the reconceptualisation of what history is.

Gender is the term which was first used by American scholars underlining the social characteristics of discrimination. Joan Kelly pointed out that gender is as basic a category of analysis as race and class.

There is the general belief in the mainstream context that since women's history is different from men's history it had better be written by women only. But we can also raise the question, as Fukuyama asked in his article in *Foreign Affairs*: what would happen if women ruled the world? Would it be more peaceful?[14] Is there such a thing as women's history or men's history? Gender as a category of analysis can help us to answer this question and face up to our romantic illusions. As Natalie Zemon Davis writes:

> Our goal is to understand the significance of the sexes, of gender groups in the historical past. Our goal is to discover the range in sex roles and in sexual symbolism in different societies and periods, to find out what meaning they had and how they functioned to maintain the social order and promote its change[15].

Joan Wallach Scott gave a lecture in 1986 about gender, and the journal "Gender and History" (1989) by its very title indicated that a new school was born, adding the slogan: "women's history writing does not concern half but the whole population"[16]. Scott pointed out that there is a burning need for a theoretical frame, otherwise the professional level and professionally acknowledged prestige do not meet. Gender as a category is used in two ways: as a descriptive category (mapping those territories where structures and ideologies meet) and as an explanatory category, which according to Scott has three different frameworks. The first of these is the feminist framework, which explains the difference from patriarchy. She points out its a-historical character since this standpoint says nothing else than that the gender system stands above all other social systems. The second explanatory framework is the Marxist one, where gender is only considered as a function of changing economic structures. The third one is French post-structuralism where the phallus is the only signifier[17].

Gender is a meta-concept, reflexive, itself a subject of analysis as is necessary in order to know how change happens and how gender identities are constructed. It helped to move scholarship from a compensatory approach to an epistemological critique. The main message is that "man" and "woman" are empty categories, they do not have a meaning of their own, but at the same time they are overburdened because they have different and ever-changing meanings. Hence the aim is to create new knowledge beyond these dichotomies[18]. Gender is often simply used as a synonym for women, whereas it should bring into focus how different social forms constructing differences work, and what their relationship to power is.

Of course, that is not an unproblematic process. There are many debates being waged among historians but I would like to address one which fits into the frame of this chapter: understanding the complex relationship between women's history and gender history. Women's historians are blaming gender historians for emptying out the political

zeal by using gender. For their part, gender historians are blaming women's historians for being descriptive, under-theorized and essentialist. However, answering the very simple question – 'where were the women? – will give work for several generations of women's historians and topics for PhD dissertations for long decades to come.

The discussion between June Purvis and Penelope Corfield sheds light on some aspects of the debate about gender vs. women's history. Penelope Corfield hailed gender history as an opening up of women's history towards history, while June Purvis insisted that it diminished the importance of women's social movements as its roots. The debate in the journal "Rethinking History" sheds light on the main issue: to define if there is such a thing as "historical facts" independent from an epistemic community. Corfield apparently believed in the existence of "History" which flows regardless of and untouched by women's actions and their emancipation battles[19]. This is a very specific debate referring to issues in the European context.

By the 1990s in Europe several gender studies programmes had been founded which in their analytical claim moved beyond "woman" as the target of historical description. It was widely accepted that the social agent is gendered and gender is acted out and "performed" on the individual level[20]. It is a pressing intellectual and political necessity for the analysis now to take into consideration the intersection of social differences such as race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, religion together with gender.

European contexts

CLIOHRES, publisher of this volume, is a European network of historians so that the "European context" as such needs to be problematised. The first problem is how gender is translated in the different European languages[21]. Michélle Perrot, the well-known French historian in the "Clio" journal of women's history, only uses women's history as a concept, not gender history and that already indicates a European – meaning non-English – approach to differences. In each country the development of writing gender history is deeply connected to national historiography and the characteristics of historians as an institutionalized profession. The bias towards gender or towards women's history depends on the local intellectual tradition regarding difference.

The second issue is the challenge of how to overcome the national frame of history writing. In 1987 the *International Federation for Research on Women's History* (IFRWH) was founded. By now every European country is a member mirroring the national division of history writing. Hence the challenge of the moment for European historians is how to get beyond those divisions[22].

The other issue which is important is the relationship of women's history and women's movements and their relationship to implementation of the European leftist project. Akkerman and Stuurman warned against "*a priori* reducing feminism to a belated ef-

fect of Enlightment egalitarianism"[23]. Unless we follow this suggestion, we exclude the possibility of creating powerful alliances with those streams of feminist thought which are based not on equality but on difference. That approach offers a chance to reconceptualise for example the social work or resistance movements based on the politics of motherhood as possible alliance for feminists[24].

The impact of post-structuralism on history writing is very limited: it seems to be a non-travelling concept, in Europe in general and in countries of the former Soviet Bloc in particular. Post-structuralism is essential for understanding the multiplicity of truths and the constructions of truths. The lack of knowledge of post-structuralism in Europe today is explained by Rosi Braidotti as having been caused by two factors: an unfair reception of poststructuralist French philosophers in the English-speaking world, and historical amnesia about movements of thoughts and ideas during the Cold War[25]. Thinking about inequalities in relation to differences was a part of the European leftist project which suffered a major blow during World War II. This was the time when the concept of difference was colonized by the first attempt of the Nazis to create *Festung Europa,* and also by the Soviet empire, which adopted this way of thinking about difference in a normative way, applying it to "class enemies".

After 1989 with the end of the Cold War and the quasi-pluralisation of the intellectual arena, leftist materialist thinking was deeply discredited because of the different practices of the statist feminist regimes in the former Soviet Bloc[26]. Victorious global neo-liberalism appeared as the only alternative after 1989 and, together with the non-intended consequence of the EU forming as a new supranational unit, caused the revival of neo-communitarianism and identity politics all over Europe. Gender as a category arrived in the countries of the former Communist bloc with a wrong passport[27]. It questioned all those 'sacred cows' that the countries regaining their independence after decades of communism wanted: a national frame of conceptualization and collective victimhood during communism. Besides, critical thinkers could feel the 'imperialism' of Western feminists. Again what was forgotten or rarely spoken about was the critical intellectual leftist project: the project which in past decades had created a space for thinking about our common past as a construction, as well as the 'differences' I pointed out before. We can only hope that future generations will be able to fill such spaces and build on them, if they are up to it.

Notes

1 J. Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, Hammondsworth 1985, p. 123.

2 B. Smith, *The Gender of History. Men, Women and Historical Practices*. Cambridge 1998, p. 135.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

4 C. Ginzburg, *Moretti, Freud, and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method*, in T. Bennett, (ed.) *Popular Fiction*, London 1990, pp. 252-276.

[5] G. Pomata, *History, Particular and Universal: Some Recent Women's History Textbooks*, in "Feminist Studies", 1993, 1, pp. 7-50.

[6] S. Groag Bell, K.M. Offen (eds.), *Women, the Family, and Freedom: the Debate in Documents*, Stanford 1984; K.M. Offen, *European Feminisms*, 1700-1950*: a Political History*, Stanford 2000; L. DiCaprio, M.E. Wiesner, (eds.) *Lives and voices: sources in European women's history*, Boston 2000

[7] T. Akkerman, S. Stuurman, *Introdution: Feminism in European History* in *Perspectives on Feminist Thought in European History from the Middle Ages to the Present*, London 1998, pp. 1-34.

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Gender and Herodotus

Ioannis Xydopoulos
University of Thessaloniki

The development of 'social history', focusing on society as a whole and the different groups that constituted it, forced historians to consider how far their view of the past had previously been dominated by the particular perspective of the elite. More recent theoretical developments have revealed a still larger blind spot: historians have ignored more or less half the people who have ever lived, their role in society and their contribution to historical development. Traditional social analysis has ignored the most fundamental division in society in favour of identifying different groups of men, taking it for granted – as Western society has for centuries – that women are defined by the status and activities of their fathers and husbands, and therefore scarcely need to be discussed.

With this introductory remark, Neville Morley tried to explain the identity/gender issue in ancient history a few years ago. Many of us agree with him. But, when we come to Herodotus questions appear. Have we viewed the ancient sources as we ought to? And how could such a gender perspective alter the picture we have developed? These questions arose in my case two years ago, when I started to deal with the identity issue in ancient Greece, with a focus on Greeks and non-Greeks alike. A few lines will help introduce this brief account of the way I confronted gender in ancient Greek history.

Identity is not born from the characteristics which individuals within a group share with one another but from the consciousness of differentiation within and beyond the group. We identify ourselves on the basis of our differences from the Other. Identity is situationist, therefore history cannot be understood as an objective source and cause of national characteristics. Furthermore, one should make clear that the 'we' identity is a complex identity. From the political point of view, in ancient Greece there was never one 'nation', but many city-states, each one preserving its own autonomy.

There has been a lot of discussion regarding the subjective perception among ancient Greeks of 'nationality', that is, their ideology. Terms such as nation, nationality, and ethnicity do not have ethnological meaning here since they cannot be attributed to ancient Greece. Edith Hall categorized the four main hypotheses in the following manner: (1) The notions of 'Hellene' and 'barbarian' already existed before the completion of the Iliad. (2) The emergence of the two notions was simultaneous and the starting point was somewhere between the 8th and the late 6th centuries. (3) The Persian wars created a collective panhellenic identity. (4) Although a sense of ethnicity already existed in the Archaic period, the polarization of Greek and barbarian was magnified after the Persian wars. This last hypothesis, is, in my opinion, the most probable one, as a Greek-speaker could already distinguish himself from a speaker of a non-Greek language in the

Archaic period. This linguistic difference between Greeks and barbarians is occasionally reflected in archaic literature.

The Greek perception of the barbarian can be seen to respond to events. The first such major event was the victory over the Persians, known as the Persian Wars. These Wars, however, were not the only cause of the pejorative portrayal of the Persians and the rise of the 'barbarian'. Many of the components of this image predated the Persian Wars. Certain other aspects of the later Greek-barbarian antithesis, however, were not clearly and emphatically marked in the period before the Persian Wars. The picture which the Greeks had, both collectively as well as in their individual communities, of themselves and of their history, had a huge impact on their understanding of themselves, and on their categorization of themselves and foreigners. It was a vital factor for the creation of a collective Greek identity and the definition of the Other. This self-categorization was systematically projected into the past so that even if it was recent and imaginary it seemed to reproduce an older tradition and created a standard for collective memory. What we owe to ancient Greeks is exactly this transition from the mythical past to *logos* (critical thought). Characteristic of their perception of history was the fact that history was created and transmitted from poets and historiographers and that the latter used the former as their sources. From the 6th century BC onwards historiography appeared through representatives such as Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Thucydides. They sought, through a process of *ἱστορίη* [discovery] and philosophical searching, to produce the truth through critical analysis. They often related history to identity, for example, when they dealt with genealogies and ancestral relations. History never rejected the world of myth and narrative. Myth survived through history, even if history criticized the 'tales of the Greeks'. In the end, mythos and *logos* served as two routes within a common journey toward understanding the past.

The case study I have been working upon is based upon a combination of the preceding and the representation of the Thracians and their land in Greek historiography of the Classical period (5th-4th centuries BC). I have tried to interpret this representation by examining information found in the complete or fragmentary literary works of the period from the end of the 6th century to the mid-4th century BC. I focus on the criteria that the historiographers used to characterize the Thracians, the use of myth and the use of the word *barbaros* in the narrative, always in the context of the main object of my research. But 'barbarian' needs an opposite. And that opposite is 'Greek'. The idea of the barbarian as an essential opposite of Greek civilization was the result of the growth of Hellenic self-consciousness caused by the expansion of Persia. This can be clearly seen in the use of the term 'barbarian' itself. Prior to the 5th century, references to this term were closely related to language and it was never used in the plural as a noun which marked the whole of the non-Greek world. The literary sources of the Archaic period occasionally feature this linguistic differentiation between Greeks and other peoples. Wider use of the term to encompass all non-Greeks can be seen in Aeschylus' tragedy *The Persians*, from

472 BC. Initially it referred only to the Persians, but since the Persian Empire was vast and enclosed many different nations with which the Greeks came into contact (Egyptians, Phoenicians, Phrygians, Thracians), it soon came to mean whoever was not Greek. The political factor, that is, the polar antithesis between tyranny and democracy, was also essential for the oppositional perception of Greeks and barbarians. It is obvious that this was the Athenian point of view.

Herodotus dealt with the definition of what was and was not Greek in terms of language, religion, and habits. The first impression is that gender has little to do with defining Greek-ness. To be sure, Greek men are superior to Greek women. Greek men go to the market alone, they deal with public affairs, they urinate standing up whereas Greek women stay at home, do not go out unattended, and perform all their physical needs seated. So far, so good. But Herodotus was also an ethnographer, a 'tourist' as he has been called. So, naturally, he did not confine his observations to Greek men and women. As François Hartog has persuasively argued, Herodotus tried throughout his work to 'hold up a mirror' to his Greek audience. Displaying a series of images of barbarian practices acted as a mirror reflecting Greek customs. The greater part of the *Histories* is concerned with the so-called 'barbarian *logoi*', that is, descriptions of the various cultural practices of other (non-Greek) peoples. Herodotus describes the Persians, Egyptians, Scythians, and Libyans. Recent studies of his portrayal of barbarians provide thorough analysis of this extraordinary effort to respect cultural diversity and refrain from adverse comparison between stereotyped barbarians and Greeks.

During my encounter with this Herodotean mirror, especially in his depiction of the Egyptian *logos*, I came across a surprising contradiction, already mentioned (but not discussed) by Paul Cartledge: Egyptian women acted exactly in the same way Greek men did! Herodotus explains that women in Egypt went to the market alone, dealt with public affairs, and urinated while standing (sic!) Egyptian men did the exact opposite. So, Egyptian men were, from this perspective, equal to Greek women and Greek men to Egyptian women! Where was, then, the 'masculine domination' in Egypt? And who was superior? The Greek man or the Egyptian man? Was there such a dilemma in Herodotus' mind at all? Or, was he confident that his contemporary Greeks were unique, therefore *a priori* superior to all other ethnicities? The only thing I know for sure is that I have to compare all cases where Herodotus mentions women (no matter whether Greek or not) from the perspective of gender, so that I can reach firmer conclusions. And this will not be an easy thing to do.

Defining the gentleman and the gentlewoman in the Italian Renaissance

Lisa Saracco
Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

La definizione del gentiluomo e della gentildonna nel Rinascimento si basa imprescindibilmente sul Libro del Cortegiano *di Baldassar Castiglione, un testo che ha contribuito in modo consistente alla costruzione della società di Antico Regime e che ne è stato la grammatica di base. Il* Libro del Cortegiano, *infatti, si propone come archetipo della letteratura di comportamento che tanta fortuna avrà durante il XVI e XVII secolo. Questo testo assume un importante valore normativo nella cultura europea grazie a due livelli di comunicazione, uno rappresentativo e l'altro prescrittivo. Infatti, accanto a contenuti espliciti, è molto interessante decodificare ciò che viene suggerito attraverso la descrizione dei comportamenti, dei ruoli, degli interventi maschili e femminili. Non si tratta dunque di affrontare unicamente le parole che vengono proferite dai personaggi maschili e femminili, ma anche il modo in cui questi ultimi si muovono sul palcoscenico creato dall'autore.*

La definizione dei ruoli di genere in questo tipo di organizzazione sociale e politica risponde alle stesse leggi severe che regolano i rapporti di potere al suo interno. Infatti, la struttura della società di corte di Antico Regime è strettamente gerarchica e fissa e il Libro del Cortegiano *ne costituisce la giustificazione etica ed estetica. La legge principale che deve essere seguita, sia dagli uomini sia dalle donne, è quella della grazia, ovvero l'arte di fare apparire tutto ciò che si dice o che si fa naturale, non artificioso. La Corte diventa così lo specchio dell'ordine naturale e divino delle cose, acquisendo un valore assoluto. La necessità di inserire le donne nel dialogo e il fatto che Castiglione dedichi all'educazione della donna di Corte il terzo libro della sua opera risponde alla necessità di conferire autorevolezza ed universalità alla sua opera, attibuendole una dimensione molto più rappresentativa della realtà. Non solo: infatti, il dialogo propone un modello sociale e politico equilibrato ed armonioso, nel quale viene "normalizzata" la presenza delle donne che nella tradizione misogina medievale ed umanistica rappresentavano un elemento di disordine.*

Per questo motivo risulta necessario nell'istruzione dei due generi il mantenimento di valori di riferimento chiaramente diversificati, pur conservando entrambi come finalità principale la "regula universalissima" della grazia. I diversi ruoli di genere all'interno della Corte sono chiaramente presenti già nell'andamento del dialogo, al quale l'elemento femminile non apporta alcuna novità. Esso, infatti, viene gestito attivamente e creativamente dai gentiluomini, che rappresentano un sapere classicamente speculativo mentre le gentildonne, con la loro presenza più concreta e corporea, ne garantiscono efficacia e validità.

La netta separazione dei ruoli fra uomo e donna si fonda sulla concezione che i due sessi siano caratterizzati da una differente natura fisiologica, che di conseguenza deve essere rigidamente rispettata nei comportamenti sociali: riguardo a questo tema si nota la presenza di una topica che vede l'incontro di temi culturali diversi, provenienti sia dalla tradizione filosofica greca (il mito dell'androgino di Platone, i Trattati sull'economia di Aristotele e Senofonte), sia dalla letteratura latina, sia da quella biblica e cristiana. Se l'uomo è per sua natura caldo, egli avrà una forza fisica ed intellettuale che lo porterà ad esercitare le armi e tutte le attività ad esse connesse. Il mantenimento della buona reputazione in questa società sarà legato però non solo al coraggio (come per i cavalieri medievali) ma anche al "bon giudicio", ovvero alla capacità di operare con autocontrollo e saggezza, utilizzando sempre il giusto mezzo, virtù imprescindibile per il cortigiano. Dall'altra parte la donna è per natura più debole fisicamente e spiritualmente e deve di conseguenza avere come principale obiettivo quello dell'onestà morale (viene qui chiaramente ripreso l'antico topos *della donna più incline alla tentazione e che di conseguenza necessita di maggiore controllo). Il testo rivela comunque il nuovo ruolo pubblico e intellettuale delle donne (appartenenti alle classi sociali privilegiate) nella società e nella cultura rinascimentale, in polemica con la misoginia medievale.*

Here I wish to discuss the way the figures of the gentleman and the gentlewoman developed in European culture during the Renaissance. To define these roles I will start from a very important text of Italian literature, *The Courtier* by Baldassar Castiglione [1]. This book, written as a dialogue, gradually came to exert great influence on court society. It contributed unquestionably to the building of the way of life in court society during the period of modern state formation. *The Courtier* provided the basic grammar of European court society until the French Revolution. Why? There are four reasons which give a particular authority to this book in defining the figures of the gentleman and the gentlewoman.

The first is the European perspective expressed by the book, which comes from the life experience of the author. Baldassar Castiglione, born near Mantova in 1478, lived in many Italian Renaissance courts: in Milan at Ludovico il Moro's court and later at the Gonzaga court in Mantova. From 1504 to 1513 he lived in Urbino, at the court of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro. The ducal palace of Urbino is the setting of the *Courtier*. In 1521, after the death of his wife, he became a clergyman. In 1524 he was sent by the pope Clement VII to the Spanish court of Charles V as apostolic nuncio. In 1529 he died of plague in Toledo. Although the genesis of *The Courtier* is strictly linked to the Urbino period, the book was subjected to some revisions, which allowed Castiglione's political and diplomatic experience and a new European perspective to emerge. The last revision corresponds to the edition of the book printed in 1528 in Venice. In the published work the particular view of the court became more universal.

The second reason is that *The Courtier* is the model, the archetype of the vast literature which came to be constituted by treatises on correct conduct, for people in every walk of

life, from clergymen, secretaries and counsellors to princes, women and children. This book is the founder of a big family: it was born in court society and at the same time it became the basis for the constitution and transformation of that society.

The third reason has to do with the new vision presented by this work in an aesthetic and ethical manner, that is, its efficacy in formulating the fundamental rule of self-control in instructions about good manners. There are some interesting studies about the connection between the fixed and hierarchical court society and the new importance given to self-control, used as a way of maintaining social and political order. The phenomenon of conduct treatises during the 16th century is tightly linked to the attempt to perpetuate royal and noble family values and tradition.

The fourth and more important reason for the *Courtier*'s central position in the European culture of the *ancien régime* is that it gave an absolute and universal model, for all gentlemen and gentlewomen. Although they might be of different nations, language or culture, they were linked together by the same model of conduct. Therefore this work assumed an important normative value in European affairs of the court due to two levels of communication. On the one hand there was the representative level, on the other hand a prescriptive level. In fact, in his *Courtier*, Castiglione defines gentlemen and gentlewomen not only as persons who obeyed a specific code of conduct in their behaviour, but also as personages living in a court environment and embodying the courtly ideal.

The dialogue takes place during the year 1507 at the court of Urbino, in Italy. Urbino provides a setting for the representation: such a stage makes it possible to present an ideal court in all its political and cultural power. This is the description of the palace of Urbino, built by the duke Federigo di Montefeltro:

> This man among his other deedes praise-worthie, in the hard and sharpe situation of Urbin buylt a Palace, to the opinion of many men, the fairest that was to be found in all Italie, and so furnished it with all necessarie implementes belonging thereto, that it appeared not a palace, and that not onelye with ordinary matters, as Silver plate, hangings for Chambers of very rich cloth of Golde, of Silke and other like, but also for sightlines: and to decke it out withal, placed there a wondrous number of auncient Images, of Marble and Mettall, very excellent paintings and Instruments of Musicke of all sortes, and nothing would he have there but what was most rare and excellent. To this verie great charges hee gathered together a great number of most excellent and rare bookes, in Greeke, Latin and Hebrue, the which all hee garnished with gold and silver, esteeming this to be the chiefest ornament of his great Palace. [*Source 1*]

The characters are nobles, men and women who entertain themselves during the evening by conversing in the chambers of the Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga. The passage through Urbino of the pope Julius II on his way back Rome is the occasion of their meeting and staying together:

> After pope Julius the ii. had with his owne presence by the ayde of the Frenchmen brought Bolonia to the obedyence of the Apostolyke Sea again, in the yeare mdvi. in hys retourn toward Roome he tooke Urbin in his way, where he was receaved as honorably as was possible, and with as sumptuous and costlye preparation, as coulde have bine in any other Citie of Italy whatsoever it be. So that beeside the Pope, all the Cardinalles and other Courtyers thought

themselves throughly satisfied. And some there were that provoked wyth the sweetnesse of this companye, after the Pope and the Court was departed, contynued manye dayes together in Urbin. [*Source 2*]

Elisabetta was the wife of the Duke Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, the first son of the famous Federigo. Because the Duke is ill, the Duchess guides the conversation:

Fig. 1
Piero della Francesca, *Ideal City*, Ducal Palace of Urbino (about 1470).

Therefore were all the houres of the day divided into honoureble and pleasant exercises, as well of the bodie, as of the minde. But because the Duke used continually, by reason of his infirmitie, soone after Supper to goe to his rest, everie man ordinarily, at that houre drew where the Dutchesse was, the Ladie Elisabeth Gonzaga, where also continually was the Ladie Emilia Pio, who for that shee was indued with so lively a wit and judgement, as you know, seemed the maistresse and ringleader of all the company, and that everie man at her received understanding and courage. There was then to bee heard pleasant communications and merie conceites, and in everie mans countenance a man might perceive painted a loving jocundness. (…) The like was betweene the woman, with whom we had such free and honest conversation, that everye man might commune, sitte dallye, and laugh with whom hee had lusted. But such was the respect which we bore to the Dutchesse will, that the selfe same libertie was a very great brindle. For this respect were there most honest conditions coupled with wondrous great libertie… [*Source 3*]

It is clear that the description of the court idealizes it, as the most beautiful of all, a true symbol of harmony.

In the dialogue women are included for reasons which are made explicit, in opposition to the widespread misogyny of Humanism and the Medieval period which supported the idea that women were physically and ethically inferior. The female presence is linked to the necessity of representing a universal value of perfection and equilibrium, in which everybody can be reflected. The inclusion of women makes the text more representative and gives it a much broader validity. The harmonious model suggested by the dialogue normalizes women's presence, considered in the previous centuries a personification of chaos and disorder. For this reason, Castiglione introduced in his work a part (the third book) which talks about conduct codes for women, especially in the court. We can read, at the beginning of the third book, the reasons Lord Cesare Gonzaga gave to justify including women:

You are in a great errour, for like as no Court, how great soever it be, can have any sightlinesse or brightnesse in it, or mirth without women, nor any Courtier can bee gracious, pleasant or hardie, nor at any time undertake any gallant enterprise of Chivalrie, unlesse he be stirred with the conversation and with the love and contentation of women, even so in like case, the Courtiers talke is most unperfect evermore, if the entercourse of women give them not a part of the grace wherwithall they make perfect and decke out their playing [*Source 4*]

It is clear that women are a vital part of the representation of courtly life and the author tries to explain his position. In the dialogue of the third Book the determination to escape from the misogynist heritage of the past is expressed by defending women against the medieval theories about their imperfection. This defence of women was present in

Fig. 2
The frontispiece from the first edition of the *Cortegiano* (Venice 1528).

some 16th century treatises on the equal dignity of women. In this context I wish to remember Flavio Galeazzo Capra's treatise entitled *Della eccellenza e dignità delle donne* (*Women's excellence and dignity*), which was published in 1525 (Rome) and 1526 (Venice). It is one of the first documents of Italian vernacular literature on women, along with the dialogue of Alessandro Piccolomini entitled *La Raffaella*, *ovvero Della bella creanza delle donne*.

Women have a specific role in the representation of the court which is delineated not only by their presence, but also by their behaviour towards men and as compared to men.

The male characters are defined by Castiglione as very remarkable individuals thanks to their precious intellects:

> Because the house was replenished with most nobles wittes. Among which, as you know, were most famous Lord Octavian Fregoso, Sir Friderick his brother, the Lord Julian de Medicis, m.

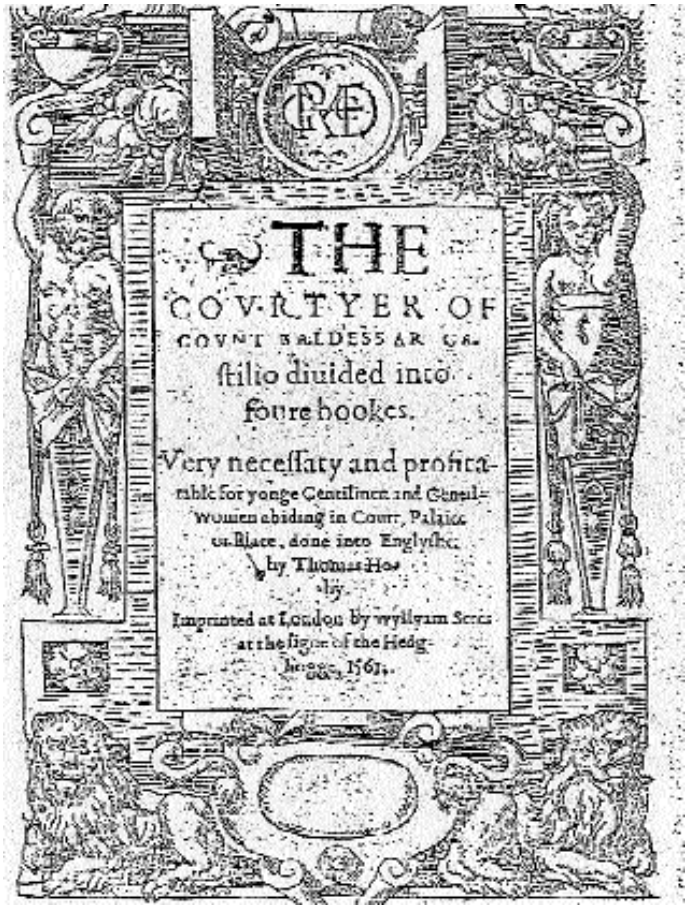

Fig. 3
The frontispiece of *The Courtier*, translated by Thomas Hoby (London 1561).

> Pietro Bembo, the Lord Cesar Gonzaga, Counte Lewis of Canossa, the Lord Gaspar Pallavicin, the Lorde Luduvicus Pius, Maister Morello of Ortona, Peter of Naples, Maister Robert of Bari, and infinite of other most worthy knights and gentlemen. Beesyde these there were manye that for all ordinarilye they dwelled not there, yet spent they most of their tyme there, as M. Bernard Bibiena, Unico Aretino, Johnchristopher Romano, Peter Mount, Therpander, M. Nicholas Phrisio, so that thither ran continually poetes, musitiens, and al kinde of men of skyll, and the excellentest in every faculty that were in al Italy. [*Source 5*]

On the other hand, the women are not characterized so well as the men (only the Duchess and Lady Emilia Pio take part to the dialogue, the others are not described, they are kept out of the conversation). The Duchess represents female dignity and worth: she defines the place (her chambers), the time (evening) and the order of the dialogue. She also represents power because she takes her husband's place. She is the icon of the court and of the female presence in it.

Emilia Pio is more active: she is declared by the Duchess to be her deputy. She has the role

of stimulating, regulating and concluding the men's speeches. But women never intervene to contribute new elements to the discussion about the perfect courtier. The author exempts women from creating speeches. This a men's prerogative, justified by their capacity to comprehend and express philosophical arguments that women cannot understand:

> Then the L. Emilia tourninge her to the L. Julian: For love of God (quoth she) come once out of these your Mattiers and Fourmes and males and females, and speake so that you maye be understoode [*Source 6*]

Thus the development of the dialogue marks a clear-cut distinction between the gentlemen and gentlewomen represented and their roles: the gentlemen work at defining the perfect Courtier and the Lady, gentlewomen are not the men's interlocutors but only a mirror of the natural male creativity. Gentlewomen do not participate in defining themselves using their feminine opinion, their function is only to guarantee and ensure with their presence that the dialogue is going in the best way.

Now we can go on to the second level of communication in *The Courtier* (conducted only by men): the definition of an overall code of conduct. Castiglione sets out an universal rule which constitutes the conscience of the Court. The basic category of this universal rule is "grace" (*grazia*). This is the password for entering *The Courtier*'s world. We can read how Castiglione defines grace:

> But I, imagining with my selfe often times how this grace commeth, leaving apart such as have it from above, finde one rule that is most generall, which in this part (me thinke) taketh place in all things belonging to a man in word or deede, above all other. And that is to eschue as much as a man may, and as a sharpe and daungerous rocke, too much curiousnesse, and (to speake a new word) to use in everye thing a certaine disgracing to cover arte withal, and seeme whatsoever he doth and saith, to do it without paine, and (as it were) not minding it. And of this doe I believe grace is much derived, for in rare matters and well brought to passé, every man knoweth the hardnesse of them, so that a readinesse therein maketh a great wonder [*Source 7*]

Therefore, all male and female behaviour must follow this necessary rule. In court culture grace means a way of life led without ostentation. Castiglione's *The Courtier* set forth a standard in aristocratic Renaissance manners, advocating that everything be done with *sprezzatura*, or seeming negligence and easy grace. This is the art of always concealing the effort and the hard work required to attain self-control. Everything must appear very natural and unaffected to confirm that the court is the mirror of the natural and divine order. And consequently, that this political and social organization is legitimate and correct. Like God at the head of creation, the Prince or the Lord is at the head of the court and maintains the established and fixed situation. Then, the term 'grace' is intimately connected with attaining social, economical and political objectives aims at social, economical and political achievement. Grace of behaviour is the sign of seeking the lord's favour: in this kind of society social success is essential. Gentlemen and gentlewomen maintain their privileges with grace. Consequently they have to be well considered, to have a good reputation. The word *virtue* shows the importance for gentlemen and gentlewomen of how they

appear from the outside. The idea of virtue, borrowed from Aristotle, is tightly linked to the rule of grace. All behaviour is virtuous if it is not excessive or defective [2].

Now let us consider the definition of the gentleman and the gentlewoman in the *Courtier*. High-birth is the basis of the gentleman's and the gentlewoman's training but it alone is not enough. Gentlemen and gentlewomen must start from this point, but both also have to follow the rule of grace and to be virtuous. However, the two genders do this very differently. To demonstrate this point, Castiglione again took up the Aristotelian and Platonic theories about the origin of gender. He did not confirm the assertion that women are inferior (presented by Aristotle in his work on the generation of animals) but he did use the theories that women's physical nature influences their social behaviour [3]. Besides, using the Platonic myth of the androgynous being, Castiglione declared that in God's creation the male and female character are complementary [4]. On account of their nature, their roles must be different and separated. We can read how, in Castiglione's view, this model became the example of the perfection of the universal order.

> Some qualities are common and necessarie as well for the woman as the man, yet are there some other more meete for the woman than for the man, and some again meete for the man, that she ought in no wise to meddle withal. The verie same I say of the exercises of the bodie: But principally in her fashions, manners, wordes, gestures and conversation (me thinke) the woman ought to be much unlike the man. For right as it is seemely for him to shew a certaine manlinesse full and steadie, so doth it well in a woman to have a tendernessee, soft and milde, with a kinde of womanlye sweetenesse in every gesture of hers, that in going, standing, and speaking what ever she lusteth, may alwaeis make her appeare a woman without anye likenesse of man [*Source 8*]

In the *Courtier* there is a tight connection between the physiological and anthropological theories on the different nature of men and women and their roles on the social and political level.

Due to his hot nature, man has the virile force and power necessary for using arms. This is the courtier's first duty, with all the connected activities (like hunting, riding, swimming, running):

> But to come to some particularitie, I judge the principall and true profession of a Courtier ought to bee in feates of armes, the which above all I will have him to practise lively, and to bee knowne among other of his hardiness, for his atchieving of enterprises, and for his fidelitie towarde him whom he serveth. And hee shall purchase himselfe a name with these good conditions, in doing the deedes in every time and place, for it is not for him to fainte at any time in this behalfe without a wondrous reproach. And even as in women honestie once stained doth never returne againe to the former estatee: so the fame of a gentleman that carrieth weapon, if it once take a foyle in anye little point through dastardlinesse or any other reproach, doth evermore continue shamefull in the world and full of ignorance. Therefore the more excellent our Courtier shall be in this arte, the more shall he be worthie praise [*Source 9*]

But there is a significant transformation from the medieval knight to the Renaissance gentleman. In addition to high-birth and the duty of bearing weapons, the gentleman has to add a specific culture which derives from the rule of grace. The virtue of courage is still

important (this is a society based on supremacy in the use of arms and war), but it is not the only one. The gentleman, using good judgment, must be wise and careful in his political relationships in the court and in advising his Lord or prince:

> I believe a good judgemeent in the Courtier is sufficient for all this (…) Therefore the well behaving of a mans selfe in this case (me thinke) consisteth in certainee wisedome and judgement of choice, and to know more and lesse what encreaseth or diminisheth in thinges, to practise them in due time, or out of season [*Source 10*]

He can obtain this wisdom through a specific education: he has to know how speak and write, he has to learn Greek, Latin, literature and music. The gentleman, the courtier, acquired a new public and politic role in the Renaissance court: he must use his culture and intelligence for creating, for giving life to a new kind of political conduct in which he has an active task. He is tightly linked to the sphere of "logos".

On the other hand, woman's nature is linked or connected with the sphere of the "body". She has a cold nature which gives her tenderness and gentleness. This nature makes woman weaker than man, in body and in soul. The woman's weakness has repercussions on the roles assigned to her. In fact, for a woman, the chief virtue is honesty and respectability. These moral principles must be observed, complying with some rules on love affairs. Woman, because of her feminine weakness, can be deceived by seducers and led into temptation. This moralistic argument reveals an old theological and philosophic topic: the moral fragility of woman present since the famous biblical story of Adam and Eve. Eve was considered by the Church Fathers and by the Medieval theologians the first sign of woman's natural instinct for being tempted. Then every relationship outside marriage between gentlemen and gentlewomen must be marked by chastity and honesty, the two qualities that women must own and show in court society. This is an important point in a book in which describes men and women talking and staying together in freedom.

In the third book Castiglione talked about the female role from two points of view: on one hand the feminine role in general, which is placed in the family. In Castiglione's vision the woman held the role of mother and wife; in fact he never talked about the woman's work, keeping the division between the life inside the house (for women) and outside (for men) from Xenophon [5]. On the other however he considers a particular kind of woman, the lady, the gentlewoman who lives in the court. She has not only to be like all women (mothers and wives) but also she must respect the rule of grace, though in a different way in comparison with men. Castiglione insisted very much on the necessity of difference between men and women in look and actions: "I believe none here, but understandeth concerning the exercises of the bodie, that it is not comely for a woman to practise feates of armes, ryding, playing at tenise, wrestling, and many other thinges that belong to men". Because of her tender, soft and sweet nature she must not do the kind of bodily exercises that men do. In the court she has the duty of entertaining her guests pleasantly: it is clear that in *The Courtier* there is an emphasis on her new public role. She must know letters, music, drawing, painting and singing, always doing these actions with grace and feminine modesty:

> And to make a briefe rehershall in few wordes of that is already saide, I will that this woman have a sight in letters, in musicke, in drawing or painting, and skilfull in dauncing, and in

> devising sports and pastimes, accompanying with that discrete sober moode, and with the giving of good opinion of her selfe, the other principles also that have beene thought the Courtier. And thus in conversation, in laughing, in sporting, in jesting, finally in everie thing she shall be had in great price, and shall entertaine accordingly both with jestes and feate conceites meetee for her, every person that commeth in her company [*Source 11*]

Therefore the rule of grace must be used in the choice of musical instruments, in the way of dancing, in words for conversation and, above all, in the care of beauty and fashion:

> I will not only have her not to practise these manly exercises so sturdie and boisterous, but also those that bee meete for a woman, I will have her to doe them with heedefulnesse and with the short mildenes that we have saide is comely for her. And therefore in daunsing I would not have her use too swift and violent trickes, nor yet in singing or playing upon instruments those hard and often divisions that declare more cunning than sweetenes. Likewise the instruments of Musicke which she useth ought to bee fit for this purpose. Imagin with your selfe with an unsightly matter it were to see a woman paly upon a tabour or drum, or blow in a flute or trumpet, or any like instrument: and this because the boistrousnesse of them doth both cover and take away that sweetie mildnesse which setteth so forth everie deede that a woman doth. Therefore when she commeth to daunce, or to shew any kind somewhat to be prayed, and a certain bashfulnesse, that may declare the noble shamefastnesse that is contrarie to headinesse. She ought also to frame her garments to this entent, and so to apparrell her selfe, that she appeare not fonde and light. But for so much as it is lawfull and necessarie for women to set more by their beawtie than men, and sundrie kindes of beautie there are, this woman ought to have a judgement to know what manner garments set her best out, and be most fitte for the exercise, that she estendeth to undertake at that instant, and with them to aray her selfe. And where she perceiveth in her a sigthly and chearefull beautie, she ought to farther it with gestures, words and apparrell, that all may betoken mirth. In like case an other that feeleth her selfe of a milde and grave disposition, she ought also to accompany it with fashions of the like sorte, to encrease that that is the gift of nature [*Source 12*]

The effort which the gentlewoman must dedicate to nurturing all the positive aspects of her real nature has the purpose of entertaining men, with kindness in speaking and a pleasant look: the gentlewoman has the role of receiving the gentlemen's speeches with judgement and agreement. Men and women's roles are the same on the prescriptive and on the representative level: the courtiers, in fact, thanks to their culture and philosophical knowledge, are entrusted with the production of a theory about gentleman and gentlewoman, making a logical settlement of reality. The receptive presence of the Ladies gives authority to this kind of settlement: this is a clear metaphor of the sexual relationship between the two genders.

For these reasons, in this work, gentlewomen were excluded from political life, but they had the important privilege of participating in public life.

In the book of *The Courtier*, although the definition of gender roles is put under the men's care, there is a new positive presence of women. Women (naturally this phenomenon concerned only noblewomen, who had these privileges) were more emancipated in comparison with the past without any doubt: I want to underline the new importance of cultural instruction for women and their visible presence on the public stage. Notwithstanding the definition of precise and hierarchical social structures in which the gentlewoman was inserted, there was a new freedom and a new possibility of expression for her. In Castiglione's book there are some elements which bear witness to a new kind and degree

of women's participation with their opinions in the cultural life of the Renaissance period: in the first half of the 16th century a new writing and intellectual season for women began (I am thinking of Vittoria Colonna, a friend of Castiglione, and Gaspara Stampa who were two poetesses and I want to remember Olimpia Morato who lived at the court of Renata of France and was a teacher of Greek and Latin). The explicit mention of the poetress Vittoria Colonna in *The Courtier*'s dedication to Don Michel de Silva, bishop of Viseu (Portugal), is not an accident, but probably the proof of Castiglione's awareness of women's active presence in cultural life. Besides the rigid structure of court society, in *The Courtier* there is a new classical attention to women and to their revaluation, in comparison with men. This trend will be replaced, in the second half of the century, by a women's return to a private sphere, inspired by the Counter-Reformation and its conservative morality.

Notes

[1] I will use the first English translation of the *Courtier* made by Sir Thomas Hoby, which can be called a masterpiece of 16th century prose. It was immensely popular, going through four editions in Elizabeth's reign. It was completely translated by 1554, but it was not published until 1561. Castiglione's original text in Italian appears in the "sources", below.

[2] Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1114b.

[3] See Aristotle, *De generatione animalium* IV, 6, 775.

[4] See Plato, *Symposium*, 189-193.

[5] Xenophon, *The Economist*, VII, 18-30.

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SOURCES

1. *Questo, tra l'altre cose sue lodevoli, nell'aspero sito d'Urbino edificò un palazzo, secondo la opinione di molti, il più bello che in tutta Italia si ritrovi; e d'ogni oportuna cosa sì ben lo fornì, che non un palazzo, ma una città in forma de palazzo esser pareva; e non solamente di quello che ordinariamente si usa, come vasi d'argento, apparamenti di camere di ricchissimi drappi d'oro, di seta e d'altre cose simili, ma per ornamento v'aggiunse una infinità di statue antiche di marmo e di bronzo, pitture singularissime, instrumenti musici d'ogni sorte; né quivi cosa alcuna volse, se non rarissima ed eccellente. Appresso con grandissima spesa adunò un gran numero di eccellentissimi e rarissimi libri greci, latini ed ebraici, quali tutti ornò d'oro e d'argento, estimando che questa fusse la suprema eccellenzia del suo magno palazzo.*

[The Courtier, I, ii]

2. *Avendo adunque papa Iulio II con la presenzia sua e con l'aiuto de' Franzesi ridutto Bologna alla obedienzia della sede apostolica nell'anno MDVI, e ritornando verso Roma, passò per Urbino; dove quanto era possibile onoratamente e con quel più magnifico e splendido apparato che si avesse potuto fare in qualsivoglia altra nobil città d'Italia, fu ricevuto; di modo che, oltre il Papa, tutti i signor cardinali ed altri cortegiani restarono summamente satisfatti; e furono alcuni, i quali, tratti dalla dolcezza di questa compagnia, partendo il Papa e la corte, restarono per molti giorni ad Urbino.*

[The Courtier I, vi]

3. *Erano adunque tutte l'ore del giorno divise in onorevoli e piacevoli esercizi così del corpo come dell'animo; ma perché il signor Duca continuamente, per la infirmità, dopo cena assai per tempo se n'andava a dormire, ognuno per ordinario dove era la signora duchessa Elisabetta Gonzaga a quell'ora si riduceva; dove ancor sempre si ritrovava la signora Emilia Pia, la qual per esser dotata di così vivo ingegno e giudicio, come sapete, pareva la maestra di tutti, e che ognuno da lei pigliasse senno e valore. Quivi adunque i soavi ragionamenti e l'oneste facezie s'udivano, e nel viso di ciascuno dipinta si vedeva una gioconda ilarità. (…) Il medesimo era tra le donne, con le quali si aveva liberissimo ed onestissimo commerzio; ché a ciascuno era licito parlare, sedere, scherzare e ridere con chi gli parea: ma tanta era la reverenzia che si portava al voler della signora Duchessa, che la medesima libertà era grandissimo freno; ne' era alcuno che non estimasse per lo maggiore piacere che al mondo aver potesse il compiacer a lei, e la maggiore pena di dispiacerle. Per la qual cosa quivi onestissimi costumi erano con grandissima libertà congiunti.*

[The Courtier I, iv]

4. *Voi sète in grande errore, – rispose messer Cesare Gonzaga; – perché come corte alcuna, per grande che ella sia, non po aver ornamento o splendore in sé, né allegria senza donne, né cortegiano alcun essere aggraziato, piacevole o ardito, né far mai opera leggiadra di cavalleria, se non mosso dalla pratica e dall'amore e piacer di donne, così ancora il ragionar del cortegiano è sempre imperfettissimo, se le donne, interponendovisi, non dànno lor parte di quella grazia, con la quale fanno perfetta ed adornano la cortegiania.*

[The Courtier III, iii]

5. *…dove di tali ragionamenti maraviglioso piacere si pigliava per esser, come ho detto, piena la casa di nobilissimi ingegni; tra i quali, come sapete, erano celeberrimi il signor Ottaviano Fregoso, messer Federico suo fratello, il Magnifico Iuliano de' Medici, messer Pietro Bembo, messer Cesar Gonzaga, il conte Ludovico da Canossa, il signor Gaspar Pallavicino, il signor Ludovico Pio, il signor Morello da Ortona, Pietro da Napoli, messer Roberto da Bari ed infiniti altri nobilissimi cavalieri; oltra che molti ve n'erano, i quali, avvenga che per ordinario non stessino quivi fermamente, pur la maggior parte del tempo vi dispensavano; come messer Bernardo Bibiena, l'Unico Aretino, Ioanni Cristoforo Romano Pietro Monte, Terpandro, messer Nicolò Frisio; di modo che sempre poeti, musici e d'ogni sorte omini piacevoli e li più eccellenti in ogni facultà che in Italia si trovassino, vi concorrevano.*

[The Courtier I, v]

6. *Allora la signora Emilia rivolta al signor Magnifico, – Per amor di Dio, – disse, – uscite una volta di queste vostre 'materie' e 'forme' e maschi e femine e parlate di modo che siate inteso".*

[The Courtier III, xvii]

7. *Ma avendo io già più volte pensato meco onde nasca questa grazia, lasciando quelli che dalle stelle l'hanno, trovo una regula universalissima, la qual mi par valer circa questo in tutte le cose umane che si facciano o dicano più che alcuna altra, e ciò è fuggir quanto più si po, e come un asperissimo e pericoloso scoglio, la affettazione; e per dir forse una nova parola, usar in ogni cosa una certa sprezzatura, che nasconda l'arte e dimostri ciò che si fa e dice venir fatto senza fatica e quasi senza pensarvi. Da questo credo io che derivi assai la grazia, perché delle cose rare e ben fatte ognun sa la difficultà, onde in esse la facilità genera gran meraviglia.*

[The Courtier I, xxvi]

8. *…ché, benché alcune qualità siano comuni all'omo come alla donna, sono poi alcun'altre che più si convengono alla donna che all'omo, ed alcune convenienti all'omo delle quali essa deve in tutto esser aliena. Il medesimo dico deglie sercizi del corpo; ma sopra tutto parmi che nei modi, maniere, parole, gesti e portamenti suoi, debba la donna essere molto dissimile dall'omo; perché come ad esso conviene mostrare una certa virilità soda e ferma, così ala donna sta ben aver una tenerezza molle e delicata, con maniera in ogni suo movimento di dolcezza femminile che nell'andare e stare e dir ciò che si voglia sempre la faccia parer donna, senza similitudine alcuna d'omo.*

[The Courtier III, iv]

9. *Ma per venire a qualche particularità, estimo che la principale e vera profession del cortegiano debba esser quella dell'arme; la qual soprattutto voglio che egli faccia vivamente e sia conosciuto fra gli altri ardito e sforzato e fidele a chi serve. E 'l nome di queste bone condizioni si acquisterà facendone l'opere in ogni tempo e loco, imperò che non è lecito in questo mancar mai, senza biasimo estremo; e come nelle donne la onestà, una volta macchiata, mai più non ritorna al primo stato, così la fama di un gentiluom che porti l'arme, se una volta in un minimo punto si denigra per coardia o altro rimproccio, sempre resta vituperosa al mondo e piena d'ignominia. Quanto più adunque sarà eccellente il nostro cortegiano in questa arte, tanto più sarà degno di laude.*

[The Courtier, I, xxvii]

10. *– e credo che basti in tutto questo dir che 'l cortegiano sia di bon giudicio, (…) Però il governarsi bene in questo parmi che consista in una certa prudenzia e giudicio di elezione, e*

conoscere il più e 'l meno che nelle cose si accresce e scema per operarle oportunamente e fuor di stagione.

[The Courtier, II, vi]

11. *E perché il signor Gasparo dimanda ancor quai siano queste molte cose di che ella deve aver notizia, e di che modo intertenere, e se le virtù deono servire a questo intertenimento, dico che voglio che ella abbia cognizion de ciò che questi signori hanno voluto che sappia il cortegiano; e de quelli esercizi che avemo detto che a lei non si convengono, voglio che ella n'abbia almen quel giudicio che possono aver delle cose coloro che non le oprano; e questo per saper laudare ed apprezzar i cavalieri più e meno, secondo i meriti. E per replicar in parte con poche parole quello che già s'è detto, voglio che questa donna abbia notizie di lettere, di musica, di pittura e sappia danzar e festeggiare; accompagnando con quella discreta modestia e col dar bona opinion di sé ancora le altre avvertenze che son state insegnate al cortegiano. E così sarà nel conversare, nel ridere, nel giocare, nel motteggiare, in somma in ogni cosa graziatissima; ed intertenerà accommodatamente e con motti e facezie convenienti a lei ogni persona che le occorrerà. E benché la continenzia, la magnanimità, la temperanzia, la fortezza d'animo, la prudenzia e le altre virtù paia che non importino allo intertenere, io voglio che di tutte sia ornata, non tanto per lo intertenere, benché però ancor a questo possono servire, quanto per esser virtuosa ed acciò che queste virtù la faccian tale, che meriti esser onorata e che ogni sua operazion sia di quelle composta*.

[The Courtier, III, ix]

12. Rispose il Magnifico: – Poich'io posso formar questa donna a modo mio, non solamente non voglio ch'ella usi questi esercizi virili così robusti ed asperi, ma voglio che quegli ancora che son convenienti a donna faccia con riguardo, e con quella molle delicatura che avemo detto convenirsele; e però nel danzar non vorrei vederla usar movimenti troppo gagliardi e sforzati, né meno nel cantar o sonar quelle diminuzioni forti e replicate, che mostrano più arte che dolcezza; medesimamente gli instrumenti di musica che ella usa, secondo me, debbono esser conformi a questa intenzione. Imaginatevi come disgraziata cosa saria veder una donna sonare tamburri, piffari o trombe, o altri tali instrumenti; e questo perché la loro asprezza nasconde e leva quella soave mansuetudine, che tanto adorna ogni atto che faccia la donna. Però quando ella viene a danzar o a far musica di che sorte si sia, deve indurvisi con lassarsene alquanto pregare e con una certa timidità, che mostri quella nobile vergogna che è contraria della impudenzia. Deve ancor accommodar gli abiti a questa intenzione e vestirsi di sorte, che non paia vana e leggera. Ma perché alle donne è licito e debito aver più cura della bellezza che agli omini e diverse sorti sono di bellezza, deve questa donna aver iudicio di conoscer quai sono quegli abiti che le accrescon grazia e più accommodati a quelli esercizi ch'ella intende di fare in quel punto, e di quelli servirsi; e conoscendo in sé una bellezza vaga ed allegra, deve aiutarla coi movimenti, con le parole e con gli abiti, che tutti tendano allo allegro; così come un'altra, che si senta aver maniera mansueta e grave, deve ancor accompagnarla con modi di quella sorte, per accrescer quello che è dono della natura. Così, essendo un poco più grassa o più magra del ragionevole, o bianca o bruna, aiutarsi con gli abiti, ma dissimulatamente più che sia possibile; e tenendosi delicata e polita, mostrar sempre di non mettervi studio o diligenzia alcuna.

[The Courtier, III, viii]

Regional Memory: Reflections on the Role of History in (Re)constructing Regional Identity

Miroslav Hroch
Charles University, Prague

Abstract

This contribution analyses the specificity of the construction of regional history in comparison with the construction of national history. The point of departure is the differentiation between 'nation' and 'region', both in historical development and in scientific discourse. The term "region" itself is used in contemporary social sciences and history in a rather confusing way, as if all units below the level of state had to be called regions. Under this term, we find historical territorial bodies, present and past administrative units, territories defined by ethnicity and territories defined by 'natural borders'.

Consequently, an all-embracing construct of "regional history" is a mere abstraction and today is far from real practice. We must distinguish different types of regional history: first, history of a region as a part of a larger state or national territory; second, history of an ethnically defined region, usually developing towards national history; third, history of macro-regions, which include territory of more than one state (or nation). Besides these different understandings of regional history, there is also local history to be considered as a separate category.

Common features of all three kinds of regional history seem to be their partiality (i.e. that they are histories of a part of larger unit); often the absence or marginalization of political history (in favour of cultural, social, economic history); attention to changing borders and, finally, the relative weakness or even absence of the image of an 'enemy'.

Tento článek se zabývá otázkou specifiky regionálních dějin ve srovnání s dějinami národními. Proto nejprve vymezuje rozdíly mezi národem a regionem a konstatuje, že tyto rozdíly nelze ignorovat. Následně sleduje v jakém smyslu se užívá termínu „region" v současném bádání a konstatuje, že je to užívání většinou spontánní a chaotické, jako by vše, co nelze určit jako stát, bylo regionem. Kritéria vymezující region kolísají od historických hranic přes hranice správních obvodů, etnických celků, až po hranice přírodní. Také z hlediska

teritoriálního rozsahu se regionem označují drobná území, stejně jako velké celky zahrnující několik států.

Odtud vyplývá i problém vymezení regionálních dějin, který lze řešit jen vymezením několika typů regionů (a tedy i regionálních dějin):

1. *dějiny regionu jako součást dějin určitého národa, resp. národního státu,*
2. *dějiny národního hnutí, v jehož průběhu se regionální území stává územím národním, resp.regionální dějiny, které přerostly do kategorie dějin národních,*
3. *dějiny makroregionu, který zahrnuje dějiny několika národů.*

Společným rysem regionálních dějin je jejich parcialita (jsou dějinami jisté části většího státního celku), koncentrace na kulturní, sociální a hospodářské dějiny, často také proměnnost hranic a slabá či žádná představa „nepřítele" v sousedství.

This chapter aims to ascertain to what degree a preference for regional history may modify or even replace a collective identity based on national history. Studying the processes of regionalization at this time, we also have to be aware of the historical dimension of regionality. Thus, the present contribution should be understood in essence as a complement to the excellent introduction to this volume written by Steven Ellis and Raingard Eßer[1]. Let us start with the accepted view that the myth of a common past was one of the most important factors in strengthening national identity. If collective memory and the construct of national history accompanied modern nation-formation, what role did history play (and does it still play) in the case of regional identity? There is no doubt that the role or the cultural impact of regional historical consciousness (collective memory) differs from that of national history. Does it mean that the regional historical discourse differs from that of the nation? Even if we accept this meaning, we have to face another conceptual problem: we have no clear-cut criteria by which to distinguish between where the nation ends and the region starts. For this reason, the first part of this contribution is dedicated to the clarification of the concept of "region".

Region and Nation

As regards the relationship between region and nation, it is difficult to approach this problem empirically – for instance, to ask ourselves what has already been published on the history of regions. A short overview of those scientific texts which describe themselves as "regional" histories highlights the wide range of topics presented under this term. For this reason, I find it preferable to start with some kind of "ideal typical" (in the sense of Max Weber) procedure, trying to compare these two concepts so as to define similarities and differences between them. Only then can we reflect on the issue of the historical roots of regional and national identity.

At its most banal, an almost self-evident but very often forgotten difference between the phenomena which we call region and nation is the fact that the term "modern nation" is understood as a more or less homogeneous large social group which is composed of self-conscious members, i.e. those who accept a national identity. The term "region" defines above all a space, a land which is settled by a collection of people – the region does not have members, but inhabitants, who are not necessarily aware of belonging to this region. We cannot study nation regardless of the degree of national identity (or "national awareness", "nationalism"), but we can study regions without "regionalism". In other words, regions may exist independently of the subjective identity of their inhabitants. Therefore, it is prudent to distinguish regionality as an "objective" fact and regionalism as a political or cultural activity which has sometimes but not always resulted from regionality. Since the nation, as a social group, cannot be constructed without national identity, it is impossible to regard "regionalism" and "nationalism" as terms of the same category and therefore also as synonyms. This does not exclude the occasional complementarity of the two terms.

What does this mean in the case of frontiers? Perhaps regions, and so by definition 'regional interests', need not have stable, clear, and generally accepted frontiers. On the other hand, a nation or national interest has by definition to be characterized by clear-cut borders (be they historical, ethnical or political). As a consequence, a regional community is derived from living in 'the same' territory and its interests correspond to this fact. The national community is created by and based on a national consciousness, as a result of a combination of many common features, thoughts and ties. In regard to this, regional identity and a sense of belonging seem to be only a part of this national sample of ties and relationships. For this reason, it was not difficult to personalize the nation and to construct its history based on some kind of narrative about the personal past. The "collective memory" needs a subject, with a memory of 'its own' past – and the personalized nation fits this role much better than a collection of inhabitants of a territory or a region. Irrespective of this difference, the regional "collective memory" naturally existed. It differed from the national one not only through the inconsistency of its subject, but also – and above all – through the object of memory: it was not only about "us", but about "our region". National memory is concerned above all with the group – its members – naturally living in a given territory: regional memory is primarily related to a territory – naturally an inhabited one.

In linguistic and cultural respects difference is evident: national identity is founded on the existence of a distinct culture that is defined as national and differs from other national cultures, but regional culture is usually a part of one or more national cultures. Sometimes – for example, in Schleswig, Transylvania or Moravia – regional culture is a part of two or more national cultures. In this second case, however, we have to ask, in terms of regional culture, if the two identities – the two or more ethnicities – cancel each other out. Sometimes they may be complementary. Could the same be said about the overlapping of regional and national history? Having their own regional histories, Transylvania could at the same time be understood and interpreted as a part both of

Romanian and Hungarian histories, Flanders analogically as a part of the history of Netherlands, of Belgium and recently as a part of the Flemish national territory. In this connection, unfortunately, it is too often forgotten that there are rather different connotations of the term "nation" in English, "die Nation" in German, "la nation" in French, "národ" in Czech, and so on[2].

Different Types of Regions

There are two separate levels in the relationship between the nation state and the region. At the level of politics and administration, regions are part of the state and their position oscillates between a simple administrative unit and what is essentially an autonomous province. At the level of economic and social structure, however, regions may differ strongly from each other within the same nation state. In regard to the present chapter, we need to begin with typological reflections about differences among regions. To distinguish between such types, we may use various criteria. If we use as a criterion of comparison the presence or absence of political subjectivity of regions, four basic types of region emerge.

Firstly, there are regions corresponding largely to former historical units, which played some time in the past the role of subjects in political history – like Moravia, Transylvania, Bavaria, Holland, Tuscany, Brittany. As they were formerly smaller states or autonomous territories, where for some time they played a limited role in political history, this type of region is usually defined in terms of political frontiers, which sometimes survive albeit in an altered form to the present day. Secondly, there are the traditional units of internal state-administration without international political subjectivity, but with some degree of autonomy and clear-cut frontiers, like English counties or French départements. Thirdly, we can understand regions as "non-political units", territories defined primarily by geographical, ethnographic, or by an almost forgotten political specificity – by various valleys, defined by mountains, as in Norway or Slovakia. Similarly, regions can be defined by historical myths, as in Moravia and also other parts of Central Europe, or by specific dialects. In most cases the frontiers are not clear cut. Finally, in recent times, some newly created 'artificial' regions have been constructed by decisions from above; and consequently, their elites have had to start searching for historical background, inventing traditions – all this in order to strengthen a newly-formed regional identity.

We may take another criterion, the criterion of size (and of the intensity of social communication), and use it as a basis for a modified typology which may be defined as follows. There may be small regions, where almost everyone knows everybody else, and where the term "regional" means almost the same as "local". In this instance, identity is based on everyday experience, concerning what is understood as "our common interests", or "our common past". This type may be related to the "non-political regions". Secondly we have regions of sub-national size, with stable "historical" frontiers, to which the indi-

vidual is taught that he belongs, and where he needs the ability of imagination to regard himself as its inhabitant, without meeting all the other members. This region is, or was in the past, a political unit, but not a national one (Moravia, Slavonia, Saxony, Tuscany and so on). We can also have regions of sub-national size without exact and clear frontiers, representing a traditional space, where the individual inhabitant may feel himself in "his" land, because he has better possibilities for communication (thanks to a common dialect, ease of travel, common living standards, and administrative structures). Examples of such regions are Provence, Pomorze in Poland, Upper or Lower Germany, or the Alps. Finally we have macro-regions (also "mezzo-regions") on a trans-national scale. What is meant here is several nations existing within the territory of a particular region, such as Central Europe, the Baltic countries or the Balkans.

Now let us reflect on the differences and difficulties in constructing "regional history" under conditions of these different types. Even though it is more a field for future research, the construct of regional history has to be related to the above-mentioned different types of regions. It has also to take into account that there are different branches of historiography and historical research. So long as we understand history in the narrow, traditionalist sense of the word, the history of political activities and institutions, the difference between national history and all types of regional histories is evident. The term "region" itself evokes the idea of a partial territory, usually on the periphery, or of a province of a state-nation or nation state. It can be argued that nations which lived in the territory of multi-ethnic empires also developed their regional history, but there is an important difference. In this case, national identity adopted a standpoint which rejected the nation's peripheral position within a multiethnic empire and the construct of national history was concentrated on a personalized nation without regard to regional structure. This is not to accept the traditional opinion that all national politics attempted to achieve a statehood. There is, however, no doubt that the narrative of national history – in this traditional political sense of the word – implicitly tended to be interpreted, understood as a nation-state history (naturally with exception of that type of nation-formation which could not construct its continuity with any political subject in the past, such as the Estonian, Latvian, Slovene or Slovak national movements)[3]. By contrast, regional history is usually understood as a part of the history of the state (not necessarily of a nation-state).

If we agree that history is "understood", it leads to a further question, understood by whom, and in which language? These questions raise the problem of perspectives. To be more intelligible, let us begin with some examples. From a British perspective and in linguistic use, Scottish or Welsh movements (and histories) are called regional, regionalist movements, while in their own vocabulary, they see themselves as nations, having a national history and as being "nationalist". The Catalan patriotic associations at the end of the 19th century initially described themselves as "regionalist", but during the following decades they relabelled themselves as "national". This problem of terminol-

ogy naturally has a linguistic aspect. In the Czech or German linguistic tradition, the term "nation" or "národ" is not primarily connected with statehood, but with language and culture. Consequently, it is acceptable to speak about Slovak or Slovene national history, even if these regions represented no political unit at all. By contrast, states like Saxony or Bavaria did not seek to construct their "national" history but rather regarded themselves as part of the German nation.

While nations – or more specifically their members – defined themselves by their relationship (also their differences and conflicts) with other nations, regional identity might be defined both in relation to a nation (nation-state), as its component, and in relation to its neighbourhood, the neighbouring regions. The historical dimension of these different types of "living in a neighbourhood" evokes a very different selection of events and processes. In the case of the nation, the history of "living in a neighbourhood" was the history of "international relations" with other (state-)nations, including war and peace. The structure of this relationship centred on the border, including its defence and any changes in its character. International relations were conducted in terms of national interests, interpreted as group-interests of all members of the nation. These relations also developed and exploited stereotypes (sometimes even "institionalized" stereotypes) about other nations. In the case of the region, there existed a permanent tension between feudal landlords during the Middle Ages, but we have difficulty in imagining a persuasive construct of a modern inter-regional war in the name of "regional interests" which could mobilize politically the masses of one region against the inhabitants of another region, unless regional differences were to be expressed in terms of ethnic xenophobia. Much more persuasive is another construct of regional interests, a construct based on the relationship between the region as province and the state – as some kind of tension between a (regional) periphery and the centre, which might be represented by a centralist nation-state or an Empire.

This relationship between centre and province included also the aspect of social stratification and of vertical social mobility. Ruling elites at national level were somehow "higher" than those at the regional level. Social advancement at the regional level therefore included the potential step from the lower, regional to the higher national (or to state) level. Some members of regional elites succeeded in advancing from regional to national level (they became members of government, generals, bank directors, and so on). The question is: how were they represented in the regional memory? Were they traitors to their region as national heroes? Were they portrayed as a "lost son", representing a regional contribution to national glory? This second attitude seems more common. Nevertheless, a "lost son" is usually understood in national, not regional terms. For example the Danish author Holberg, born in Norway; the Polish poet Mickiewicz, born in Lithuania; or the Austrian general Radecky, born in Bohemia. Usually, regional "great sons" are at the same time national ones. Another aspect of regional variability needs to be mentioned, migration. It is generally accepted that crossing regional fron-

tiers is much easier than crossing national ones. Consequently, when leaving the territory of a nation, a member of this nation retained (necessarily retained) his/her national identity, or at least the consciousness of belonging to this nation. As against this, it was sometimes seen as natural if the inhabitant of a region lost his original regional identity, or if it weakened, after he had settled in another region, and if he assumed the identity of "his" new region or felt a sense of belonging to it. Nevertheless, this is only a stereotype, a simplification, because the interdependence between migration and regional identity is much more complex. Migration might be limited to crossing the border of a neighbouring region, but it might also mean migration to a distant region in the territory of a different state or/and nation. The change in the hierarchy of identities could be seen in different terms if it concerned migration from one region to the other in one and the same national territory, as opposed to the case of "international" migration. Nevertheless, we know of cases in which migration into a region in the territory of a nationally different country was accompanied by assimilation (Czechs in Vienna), but also cases in which assimilation did not occur even over several generations (Saxons in Transylvania). Sometimes, immigrants from a different region of the same nation state did not abandon their regional identity (Sicilians in Northern Italy).

Last, but not least, we have to take into account the social and economic component. Both regional and national identities have to do with class differences and with the level of uneven development. From this point of view, there were distinctions between regions and also in the social belonging of migrants. To what kind of settlement did the place of departure belong? Who were the migrants and where did they find their new home, in a village or a city? All these factors might influence the intensity of their identification with the region they left and with their new home. In other words, migration cannot be regarded as a constant factor of regional identity, and it also plays a very limited role in the construction of regional history. On the other hand, inhabitants of regions with a stronger historical consciousness, with a more highly developed sense of collective memory, might prove more able or determined to retain their identity than those coming from regions with a low level of collective memory. This is, however, only a hypothesis.

Constructing Regional History

So far we have dealt with general aspects of the region-nation relationship. Let us now step down to the level of concrete forms of historical thought. The traditional view regards as regional the history of those political or administrative units which did not have statehood. In other words, they were not the subjects in the struggle for political power in international relations. Some regions whose history was regarded and constructed as part of the history of larger (and more important) units, i.e. nations, found themselves written as part of the history of France, Spain, Poland and so on. This perspective has, nevertheless, two weak points. Firstly, the struggle for political power un-

der the conditions pertaining to pre-modern society took place not only between states and their rulers, but also, as already mentioned, between local authorities, local rulers. Can we classify these conflicts as a part of regional history? Both positive and negative answers to this question cause problems. If we include these conflicts as a part of regional history, what about the conflict situations between the local ruler and state power, between the provincial and central elites? If we exclude these conflicts from regional history, we accept the dualism between national and regional history and regard all political conflicts as conflicts between subjects of political power, which might be – according to the time and place – either regional or national ones. This difficulty leads to a second, more pressing problem. Analyzing the problem of regional history, we have to abandon the limitation of the concept of history relating to political events alone. If we try – as contemporary historiography seeks to do – to include social, cultural, economic events and changes in our field of observation, we will be able to distinguish national and regional history more exactly. In this way, an orientation towards social history is almost self-evident in the research for regional history.

History is written by historians who usually have their national and regional background and who are formed by their own tradition of education. The main feature of this traditional education is, as already mentioned, the concept of national history as the basic central concept, to which both general (continental), and regional history has to be related. Since the reality of a "national past" (i.e. the sample of events which might be constructed as national) has strongly differed in the case of the different European nations, so the placement of regional history in a national context has also strongly differed. In such cases, we have to distinguish several types of conceptualization of regional history in relationship to the national past. This includes regional history as a part of national history, as it was reconstructed under conditions of "old" nation states – i.e. nations whose history can without too much difficulty be identified with the past of a state with stable borders, such as France, Portugal or England. Each of these states or state-nations was divided into smaller units – provinces, départements, counties etc. – and the history of these units is regarded as a regional one. These regional units emerged either as a result of their conquest by, or integration into the state, usually during the Middle Ages (County of Toulouse, Wales) and in early modern times (Alsace in France). They may also be result of administrative decisions (regions as counties, départements). Naturally, this duality of historical integration and administrative division might sometimes give rise to overlapping regional histories. As long as the level of national history was regarded as the dominant and decisive one, such overlapping did not play any important role: but the higher the relevance of the regional approach, the higher the importance of overlapping regional histories. When looked at from a comparative European perspective, this type of relationship between national and regional history is rather unique and concerns not more than three or four states. The number of cases could be increased, if we were also to take into account

the history of state-nations which emerged during the early modern period – Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, also in a specific sense Brandenburg-Prussia. These states emerged through the political unification of independent medieval states which were themselves the subjects in political history (Castile, Aragon, Catalonia in the case of Spain; the Dutch provinces struggling against the Spanish rule; the Swiss cantons). In other words, national history in the Middle Ages might in these states only be constructed as a collection of several state-histories. The extreme case of constructing national history through the integration of regional state histories is represented by Italy after its national unification. Less extreme, but also belonging to this category, is the construct of Romanian national history.

The Italians were not the only modern nation which was formed during the 19th century in order to achieve statehood. National movements tried to construct or "discover" their past, their history. This task was less complicated where the modern national movement was able to invoke a pre-existing independent medieval (or even an early modern) state which had lost independence during the 17th or 18th centuries. Most famous in this category are the Poles, who demanded the restitution of their multi-ethnic Empire, redefined as a nation-state. The Magyars regarded the kingdom of Hungary as their national state, likewise the Czechs in regard to the lands of the crown of Bohemia, Lithuanians in regard to the medieval Grand Duchy, Croatians as regards their three-fold medieval kingdom, and the Norwegians in regard to their Kingdom. In all these cases, except the Polish one, the construct of national history concerned territories which had been for several centuries part of other larger states or empires. Their history was in this context in the position of a regional history. In other words, national history was constructed as an integrated history of one or several regions, whose specific feature was that they possessed stable borders: Bohemia and Moravia as regards Czech history; Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia proper in respect of Croatian history; Transylvania as a part of Hungarian history. Nevertheless, all these historic lands, which were accepted as the basis for national history, were inhabited not only by members of the modern nation so constituted, but also by other ethnic groups who regarded themselves as nations or (in the case of minorities) as members of another nation which lived outside the territory claimed by the national movement (Slovaks in Hungary, Germans in Bohemia). Their collective memory was oriented towards another type of regional history. The space of this regional history was defined by ethnic and in some cases by natural borders.

Those European national movements that could construct their national history only as a transformed regional history have to be regarded as a specific type: Estonians, Latvians, Slovenes, Finns, Slovaks. Having no or almost no "political history", and having also only very vague and ambivalent units of administration, these nations constructed their national history by focusing on social conditions of life and on cultural specificity: they corresponded in a high degree to the "ideal type" of regional history as a history of the people without politics. This last type might be called "adopted" history.

Here we have on the one side great medieval multi-ethnic empires historiographically transformed into the predecessors of modern nations: the most famous case are those German historians responsible for the adoption of the Holy Roman Empire as their national state, together with another adoption, Prussia, as the teleologically interpreted predecessor of Germany. In this understanding, the history of Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, and so on are regional histories of a specific kind, "Landesgeschichte". Less famous adoptions are the medieval Bulgarian and Serbian empires as the construct of national histories; and above all the controversial construct of Greek national history, with its interrupted continuity not only with Ancient Greece, but also with the Byzantine Empire. The adoption of the history of smaller lands as *pars pro toto* of the modern nation may be observed in the Flemish movement which adopted the regional history of Flanders for national aims; or the Byelorussian movement, adopting the history of the medieval Lithuanian state. Naturally, we must not forget that recently-created regions (or their leading elites) also try to foster the collective memory of their inhabitants in order to strengthen regional identity through its historical dimension. Statistically, this is the most numerous group; politically, this is the group which is most welcomed in the name of the vision of a de-nationalized Europe.

This typology based on the relationship between national and regional history takes into account only one regional type – the political one. But to complete the picture we have to remember other types – from the point of view of their size, or better yet their categorization according to the space of the region. It is generally known that some authors (Szucs) use as a historical category the term region as a supra-national space – Western or Central Europe as regions. On the other hand, as already mentioned, regional historical research includes also small units, such as one valley, one feudal domain, one town and its environment.

General aspects of regional histories

Since the ambiguity of the term region is well known, the use of plural-regional histories is well-founded. Does this also mean that these different types of regions inhibit us in making general observations about our problem? The answer is both yes and no. There are very few characteristics, indeed, which could be regarded as a common feature of regional history. Among the few common characteristics of regional history one seems to me to be basic – and this its partial nature. The reflections in this chapter began by trying to define an "ideal type" of regional history as history: a component of the state, or of the nation and its characteristics as measured in relation to this larger "higher" unit. In addition, regional history in this ideal type described and analyzed the population, its life in the past, while national history was regarded as a history of a specified quality, of a personalized whole. Naturally, we know that in some cases, regional history was re-organized and constructed as national history. In other words, we

are accepting such a category of regions in which regional history might be transformed from the regional to the national, with corresponding consequences concerning the change of collective identity. With the exception of this particular type, which represents a transitional situation towards national history, regional history has difficulty in defining its exact frontiers. Regional frontiers were usually flexible and changed both according to changes in the historical situation but also according to the way regions were defined. It is difficult to draw clear and unambiguous frontiers of regions which are defined by their social and/or economic specificity and it is also difficult in those cases where internally heterogeneous regions were called by traditional terms borrowed from ancient times (like Dordogne, Franken, Provence), usually without clear-cut frontiers. Moreover, these traditional territories were also composed of some smaller regional units which had their own provincial history. The degree of overlapping of regional territories and the openness of the frontier was less in those cases where we are dealing with the type of the region which was demarcated by historical (political and administrative) borders, such as, for example, the case of Moravia, Franche-Comté or Carniola. A region might be both mono- and multi-ethnic, but its frontiers might also from time to time be called in question: they might be "redefined" and the historic regional territory might be divided by reference to new ethnic or economic criteria. For example, Moravia as a historic region was divided during the 19th century firstly through an ethnic border between the Czech- and German-speaking parts, while the German-speaking territory itself consisted of two parts which had little in common – the northern part adjoining Silesia and the southern part adjoining Austria. As a result of industrialization, the north-eastern corner emerged as a specific region which included also a part of the historical Silesia and was inhabited by three ethnic groups – German, Polish and Czech.

A specific case which has not been mentioned in this contribution is border-regions, i.e. those regions which include parts of different states in their neighbourhood. The reason for this omission is above all that these are usually artificial territorial units, constructed with a political goal: to weaken nationalist prejudices and to strengthen international cooperation. No matter how noble-minded the purpose of this territorial contract, it is difficult to accept it as an object of historical research.

The image of the national enemy is regarded as a very important instrument in strengthening national identity. What role was assigned to the enemy in the regional past? Neighbouring regions are, in theory, possible to imagine as an enemy only if the difference with the neighbour was combined with other relevant differences, such as ethnic or religious differences, or a difference in living standards (poor regions in highlands as against rich ones in lowlands). "The other", who belongs to another confession, has different habits, speaks a different language – this other can without difficulty be portrayed as a historic enemy. It is, however, not self-evident that these differences may be transferred into the past and written in terms of the history of a hostile neighbour. Such

a switch could only be successful if the reason for present hostility (such as, for example, a surviving linguistic or religious difference) could be extrapolated from the present time to the past. In most cases, such kinds of apparent demarcation of regional alterity were absent and it may very much be doubted whether an inter-regional historical conflict could be based only on a difference in the place where people lived.

While the construct of other regions and their people as "regional enemies" depends only on very specific preconditions, it does, however, seem to be a rather frequent phenomenon in the relationship between the regional province and the (national) centre. We often find historical constructions and arguments aimed at fostering regional antagonism against the central government, against the state and its rulers, or its elites, as "our" enemy – also in such cases as when they belonged to the same nation as the regional population. Such historical arguments were under certain circumstances understood by the inhabitants of the region, especially if the centre-periphery relationship was accompanied by differences of wealth, power or education. In such instances, likewise, we need more empirical research to prove or modify this hypothesis.

What about the interdependence between the construct of a common regional past and the interests of the present regional society? All narratives, including regional ones, were written for a public. Their authors aimed to be read by their own countrymen. This was a rather narrow readership, perhaps reduced in reality to local social elites and intellectuals. Since we know that national history was "rewritten" from time to time – as an answer to changing needs and interests among contemporaries – we would like to know whether an analogical phenomenon might be found in the case of regional history. The most striking case of re-writing regional history has already been mentioned: it was the switch from regional to national history, where regional identity was transformed into a national one. We might also imagine a changing attitude toward the centre: the weakening or strengthening of centre-periphery tensions might influence the narratives about this relationship in the past, constructed as national or as regional history.

Even though we are able to imagine some situations in which regional history played an integrating role, these situations are in the general context of writing regional histories rather marginal. The ideal type of regional history includes significantly less arguments and connotations for exclusiveness and aggressive stereotypes towards "the other" than is the case in national history. While national history usually serves as a basis for "national interests", in the case of regional history this is more the exception than a rule. The applicability of this conclusion is, nevertheless, limited. Above all, we know two forms of regional history whose integrating force was rather strong, because they were immediately joined with national identity. The first is the already-mentioned case of re-writing regional history into a national one (Estonian, Welsh, Finnish and others): the second is the understanding of a regional past as a structural element of national unification, an integrating part of national history. This was the case with the history of

Italian or German towns or lands: each of these lands had its own specific history, but it was constructed as an instrument of national unification.

If we eliminate these two cases as specific ones, we are left with the convincing impression that regional history, as compared with national history, played a less important role as the factor of identification. Insofar as it is free from elements of national identity, or nationalism, the collective regional memory seems to be less aggressive, less xenophobic, more consensual, and its most frequently-invoked enemy is usually the central(ist) state power. This latent "peaceful" capacity of certain types of regional history seems to be accompanied, above all in the 19th century, by some degree of patriotism in the enlightened sense of the word, which – from the point of view of identification and social mobilization – has two faces and an ambivalent impact. One face is the call for responsibility towards "your" country, region, land; the other face is the indifference towards identification with this region. One and the same territory, the same space can be included in two or more different regional histories, sometimes even without claiming any clear identification among its inhabitants. In other words, the stronger the trend towards the regionalization of historical research, the weaker becomes the political relevance of history. We are free to discuss whether this is useful or dangerous from the point of view of regionalization in Europe.

Notes

[1] See there also the rich sample of bibliographical references to the recent literature analyzing the problem of regions and frontiers. For this reason, the present chapter forbears to repeat these references and offers instead the following references to some relevant texts which are not mentioned in the Introduction. Here we will mention some texts in which the problem of regionalism – notably in connection with borders – has been discussed. Already in 1970s and 1980s, a group of Swedish historians (centred in Lund) published the results of two projects on this topic: S. Tägil, K. Gerner, G. Henrikson, R. Johansson, I. Oldberg, K. Salomon, *Studying Boundary Conflicts*, Lund Studies in International History, Lund 1977; S. Tägil (ed.), *Regions in Upheaval. Ethnic Conflict and Political Mobilization*, Scandinavian University Books 1984. Theoretical Aspects of regionalism have been studied with particular reference to the French case in D. Gerdes, *Regionalismus als soziale Bewegung*, Frankfurt - New York 1985. The tensions between regionalism and national identity are studied in a volume edited by K. Duwe, *Regionalismus in Europa. Beiträge über kulturelle und socio-ökonomische Hintergründe des politischen Regionalismus*, Frankfurt am Main - Bern - New York - Paris 1987; and (with a stronger emphasis on identities) an interdisciplinary team has analyzed the regions of Western Europe: G. Bosson, M. Erbe, P. Frankenberg, Ch. Grivel, W. Lilli, *Westeuropäische Regionen und ihre Identität*, Mannheimer Historische Forschungen 4, Mannheim 1994.

[2] The differences were, to my knowledge, demonstrated for the first time from a rich sample of sources by the Finnish historian, Aira Kemiläinen, *Nationalism. Problems concerning tle Word, the Concept and Classification*, Jyväskylä 1964, ch. 2.

[3] Recently, the European Science Foundation began in 2003 an important research project on the structures and aims of national history, "Representations of the Past: the Writing of National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe", coordinated by Stefan Berger.

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Choice of Script as a Mark of Cultural or/ and National Identity

Pier Giorgio Borbone
University of Pisa

Ogni lingua può essere rappresentata con qualunque sistema grafico. L'adozione di una scrittura deriva in gran parte da ragioni extralinguistiche ed è un interessante indizio di aspetti culturali, religiosi, politici della storia di un popolo. Presenteremo due esempi, lontani nel tempo e nello spazio, come spunto per ulteriori riflessioni. Il primo esempio è quello del popolo ebraico: già dal V secolo a.C. la lingua ebraica cedette il posto all'aramaico come lingua parlata, rimanendo lingua letteraria e liturgica. Con la diaspora, gli ebrei adottarono la lingua del luogo: si parla perciò di giudeo-arabo, giudeo-persiano, giudeo-italiano, giudeo-spagnolo ecc.

La più antica scrittura ebraica è affine a quella fenicia, ma con l'adozione dell'aramaico come lingua gli ebrei ne assunsero anche l'alfabeto, la cosiddetta "scrittura quadrata". Solo in alcuni rari casi si ricorreva all'antico alfabeto fenicio, per ragioni religiose (scrivere il nome di Dio) o politiche (iscrizioni su monete).

In seguito, pur adottando le lingue del luogo dove vivevano, gli ebrei usavano però scriverle quasi sempre con l'alfabeto quadrato. Questo fenomeno si prolunga nel tempo fino al caso più recente dello yiddish, il dialetto alto-tedesco degli ebrei dell'Europa orientale, sempre di preferenza scritto in caratteri ebraici. L'appartenenza religiosa ed etnica, nel caso del popolo ebraico in epoca antica e medievale, sembra quindi che si esprima in modo privilegiato con la scelta di usare il proprio alfabeto.

Il secondo esempio riguarda le lingue turche dell'Asia centrale. I più antichi testi in turco sono scritti con un alfabeto detto "runico", ma ben preso se ne hanno molti redatti con altri alfabeti, di origine non turca (brahmi, indiano; sogdiano e manicaico, iranici; siriaco, di origine vicino-orientale). Popoli o gruppi sociali di lingua turca, convertiti a una determinata religione (manicheismo, cristianesimo, buddhismo), tendevano ad adottare l'alfabeto che la caratterizzava. Questa tendenza si manifesta in piena evidenza con l'arrivo e l'espansione dell'Islam: tutte le lingue turche, dall'Anatolia alla Cina, adottano allora l'alfabeto arabo.

A partire dal XIV secolo, le popolazioni turche dell'Asia centrale condivisero un'unica lingua scritta, detta "Chagatay", scritta con un alfabeto arabo parzialmente adattato alla fonetica turca. Solo negli anni '20 del XX secolo, quando l'Unione Sovietica ebbe suddiviso in varie repubbliche indipendenti il vasto territorio che era stato il Turkestan russo, le lingue turche delle nuove repubbliche assunsero una definizione etnica e nazionale. Nel Turkestan cinese (Xinjiang) nel 1935, con categorie affini a quelle sovietiche, si determinarono ufficialmente gruppi etnici, tra cui uiguri, kazaki, kirghisi, uzbeki, tatari, popolazioni di lingua turca. Si pose quindi il problema di scegliere un alfabeto per le loro lingue. Questo cammino si svolge parallelamente in Unione Sovietica e in Cina, e appare contraddittorio: si inizia in Unione Sovietica con la decisione di adottare un alfabeto latino modificato per tutte le lingue turche d'Asia Centrale, per passare all'adozione di alfabeti cirillici modificati diversi per ciascuna lingua. Anche in Cina tra il 1956-1957 si propone di adottare un alfabeto a base cirillica. Prevale poi, tra il 1960 e il 1983, la latinizzazione della scrittura.

In Cina nel 1984 si torna all'alfabeto arabo, ma in forme differenti per uiguri, kazaki, kirghisi ecc. Questo ha reso più complicata la comunicazione tra popolazioni di lingua affine e ha contribuito a sviluppare tensioni nazionalistiche. Dopo la dissoluzione dell'Unione Sovietica, i vari stati indipendenti seguono ciascuno la propria via: in Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan e Uzbekistan si impiega un alfabeto latino adattato, in Kazakhstan e Kyrghyzstan ancora quelli cirillici. Nel XX secolo in Asia Centrale dalla lingua turca letteraria comune (Chagatay) si è dunque passati a circa 30 differenti lingue letterarie, con un parallelo processo di creazione di nazionalità in cui anche la scelta della scrittura ha avuto, ed ha, un ruolo.

This chapter regards the relationship between language, alphabet, and nationality. The subject obviously is vast and in order to treat it thoroughly I would need a great deal of time, and above all, competences that I do not possess. Hence I will limit myself to presenting two cases, one rather ancient and the other more recent, which can serve as examples and can stimulate reflections having to do with other chronological periods and geographical areas.

The starting point is to establish that there is no obligatory relationship between language and writing: per se, every language can be represented with any graphic system, even systems originally created for other languages – if necessary with certain adaptations [1].

This means that the decision to adopt a certain kind of script depends to a large degree on other considerations, not having to do with the language itself, and that the choices of script made by different peoples and nations are an interesting clue to cultural, political and religious aspects of their history.

The first case that we will take into consideration is that of the Hebrews from "Biblical times" (circa 8th - 1st century b.C.) to "post-Biblical times" (from the 1st century b.C. to the Middle Ages).

The linguistic history of the Hebrew people is very complex: as early as the 5th century b.C. the Hebrew language had been replaced by Aramaic as the language spoken by Jews, taking on the functions of the language of the literary and religious culture. Indeed, the rabbis of the first centuries of our era called Hebrew *leshon ha-qodesh*, that is "sacred language": a definition that immediately emphasizes that it is not used in everyday communication, but rather is restricted to the liturgy – reading the Holy Scriptures in the synagogue – and to the study of the religious tradition.

The literary and epigraphic documentation shows us that from the late Biblical period on, that is from the 3rd century b.C, the languages used by Jews in the Near East were Aramaic, Greek and Hebrew: how well they were known and how and when they were used varied according to the environment (daily life, family surroundings, economic dealings, religious cult and so forth) and on the social and cultural level: there were literary persons able to read Greek lyric poetry and to

compose poetic works in Hebrew inspired by them (such was the author of the "Song of Songs"), that is a category of intellectuals endowed with elaborate linguistic competences. On another level, a minimal – superficial but efficacious – knowledge of Greek must have been widespread among the classes of those who were not cultured but rather engaged in commercial and economic activities [2]. That people in general did not understand Hebrew is demonstrated by the fact that it was necessary, in the liturgy in the synagogue, to translate immediately into Aramaic the passage of the Bible that was read in Hebrew, so that those present could understand the meaning.

Fig. 1 The Hebrew "square" alphabet compared with the old Hebrew alphabet.

The willingness of the Jewish people to use "other" languages instead of their own was confirmed in later times, when, after the first rebellion against Roman rule (which ended with the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem in 70 b.C) and a second equally disastrous revolt (135 a.D.), the Jews dispersed in all the Near East, and then in Europe. Of course, there had already been Jewish communities outside the lands of Israel for many centuries: in Egypt, in Arabia and, above all, in Mesopotamia. Over time, these communities adopted the language of the place where they were living, not only in their everyday life, but also as a language of culture: the case of Arabic in the Near East, but in Spain too, is perhaps the best known, because numerous Jewish grammarians, philosophers, scientists and theologians wrote in this language [3]. But the same thing happened in the case of Persian in the East, and for the Romance languages in Europe. For this reason we speak of "Judaeo-languages": Judaeo-Arabic, Judaeo-Persian, Judaeo-Italian and Judaeo-Spanish. The encounter with the Germanic languages led to the adoption of a High German dialect which produced Yiddish, the language of the Jewish communities of Eastern and Northern Europe.

In the context of such an evident permeability and willingness, both for everyday purposes and for literary purposes, to use different languages, how did the question of the use of alphabet appear?

The most ancient Hebrew inscriptions (9th-8th centuries b.C.) adopt an alphabet substantially similar to the "Phoenician" alphabets of the Near East. However, in parallel to the adoption of the Aramaic language, the Jews also adopted its alphabet. The present Hebrew script, in reality, is nothing but the last phase in the development of an Aramaic alphabet. It is called "square script", because each character – they are only consonants – tends to occupy a square space. This development began, it is presumed, in the 4th century b.C. and was concluded around the 7th century a.D. The Middle Ages is the period in which the appearance of the Hebrew characters is defined, those characters which are still used in Israel and wherever Hebrew is written [4].

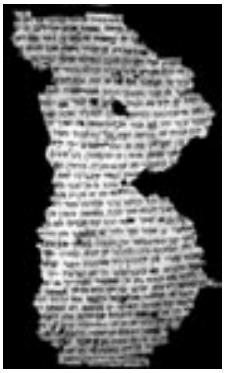

Fig. 2 Judaeo-Persian fragmentary text from Central Asia (9th century ?).

The "square" alphabet derived from the Aramaic alphabet hence became the one used generally, and it is interesting to note in what cases the ancient Hebrew alphabet was used. These are very rare cases: the first is documented by some Biblical fragments found in Qumran (from 1948 on). In these the name of God, that is the four letters YHWH, are written with the ancient Hebrew alphabet.

The reason for the variation of the script certainly derives from the necessity of marking the divine name with evidence in the text, insofar as – according to the restrictive interpretation of the commandment "Thou shalt not name my name in vain" the ancient Hebrews did not used to pronounce the name aloud when reading, but substituted it with other terms (especially "Lord", and then also "Name", "Place", "Eternal"). The reason for which the ancient alphabet is used is religious: in a certain sense it is a "codification" for the name of God.

The religious matrix is at the base of the choice made by the Samaritans, a Jewish religious group detached from the main stream of the Judaism at an uncertain date (between the 5th and the 3rd centuries b.C.): for sacred texts they still use the ancient Hebrew alphabet, and not the "square" alphabet of Aramaic origin [5].

During the second revolt against the Romans, in 135 a.D., the Jewish rebels minted coins with the inscriptions in the ancient alphabet: in this case the choice appears to be motivated by political considerations, and gives clear testimony to the nationalist soul of the revolt.

In the post-Biblical period, as we have said, the Jewish communities scattered around the world adopted the languages of the places where they lived, while Hebrew maintained its function as a liturgical language and as the language of high culture [6]. However Arabic, Spanish, Italian and so forth, that is the adopted languages, are almost always written by Jews with the square Jewish alphabet, with the appropriate modifications in order to represent vowels and phonemes which do not exist in Hebrew.

As a matter of fact, scholars question whether it is really possible to speak of "Judaeo-languages", that is of languages that can be distinguished from the forms used by non-Jews by their linguistic characteristics (morphology, syntax), or whether the only distinctive aspect is the Hebrew script, and naturally the lexicon, enriched by terms which are specific to Jewish culture. For example,

Fig. 3 Judaeo-Arabic text (12th century: *Incipit* of a treatise by Galen translated into Arabic).

can we consider the Arabic written by Maimonides (Cordova 1138 - Cairo 1204), which we call Judaeo-Arabic because the author is a Jew and because the manuscripts of his works are written in the Hebrew alphabet, a different language respect to that written by contemporary Muslim or Christian Arab writers? Obviously we will not attempt to answer this question here, leaving that task to the specialists.

This phenomenon, that is the use of the Hebrew alphabet for the languages spoken and written by Jews in the Diaspora, lasts in time until the most recent case, that of Yiddish, it too normally written in Hebrew characters.

The sense of belonging to a religious and ethnic group, in the case of the Jewish people from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, seems to be expressed much more through choosing to use their own alphabet rather than in being attached to their own language. This perhaps can be explained by the fact that the Hebrew language continued to be used prevalently in the liturgical and religious sphere and that since it was defined as a "sacred language" it was not considered appropriate for "profane", that is non-religious purposes [7].

The use of the alphabet as an "ethnic-religious marker" among the Jews has a good parallel in the Near East: the Christians of present day Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, whose language was an Aramaic dialect called Syriac, after the Muslim conquest (from the 7th century a.D. on) started to write in Arabic, but very often using the Syriac alphabet. That system lasted until the 19th century.

The second case I would like to present takes us from the Middle East to Central Asia, and regards Turkic languages.

The oldest Turkic texts date back to the 8th-9th centuries being found in memorial inscriptions on stone discovered in what is now Mongolia. They are written in an alphabet that is called "runic" because it looks very similar to the runic alphabet of ancient Germanic languages [8]. This "runic" alphabet may be regarded as being the original alphabet of Turkic languages in Central Asia. It also represents vowels and enables one of their typical characteristic phonetics, the so-called "vowel harmony", to be reproduced in writing.

Fig. 4 "Runic" alphabet of the oldest Turkic inscriptions.

However not so very long ago there were Turkic texts written in other alphabets [9], almost all of which originated in non-Turkic countries (*brahmi*, Indian; Sogdian and Manichaean, Iranic; Syriac, with Middle-Eastern origins) with the exception of the one called the Uighur alphabet because produced by the Turkic population of the Uighurs.

The Sogdian, Manichaean and Uighur alphabets share the same origins, having indeed derived from Aramaic alphabets (of Near Eastern origins) that are very similar to the Syriac one. While the definition of "Sogdian" is a geographical and ethnic one, since it denotes the language and the alphabet of the Iranic inhabitants of Sogdiana, the definition of "Manichaean" refers to the type of writ

Fig. 5 "Chagatay" text in Arabic alphabet (XIX century).

texts written with this alphabet. These works go back to the preaching of Mani (216-277) and to the religion he founded, Manichaeism. There is therefore a relation between the script and the religious content of texts using the Manichaean alphabet. There again, there is also a religious link to be found in the case of the Syriac alphabet, it in fact being a question of the language and scripts typical of Christians in the Middle East and Central Asia.

An indication of the complex religious history of the Turkic population in Asia is that in Central Asia during the Middle Ages various alphabets were adopted for the Turkic languages and these alphabets were linked to a particular religious tradition (Buddhism with its relation to Indian texts can be added to the Manichaean religion and Christianity). It is apparent that when they were converted to a particular religion Turkic speaking peoples or social groups tended to adopt the alphabet that was typical of that religion not only for their theological, exegetic and liturgical texts but also for their literary ones.

As is common knowledge, the Turkic Medieval world's overall tendency to adopt the alphabet of the religious culture to which it belonged later developed – with the arrival and the expansion of Islam – in all the Turkic languages from Anatolia to China from that time forward adopting the Arabic alphabet.

To hold that the religious aspect was really the only one considered in establishing the choice of an alphabet would probably be incorrect. The tremendous importance of cultural prestige and social structure, in short of civilisation, that are communicated through a given language and a given script should also be remembered.

From a practical viewpoint almost all the "foreign" scripts adopted by the Turks, from Sogdian to Arabic, are characterised by being alphabets of languages that are phonetically different from Turkish and in particular are exclusively consonantal. However, problems arose in their use, and while it was possible to adapt certain characters with a few modifications to represent Turkic phonemes, the difficulty of representing the vowels was not resolved until much more recently in the 20th century. As shall be seen, drastic measures were taken by passing to alphabets that write vowels (Latin, Cyrillic), or less drastically by inserting characters with unambiguous vowel symbols into Arabic scripts [10].

In the Middle Ages therefore, the Turks of Central Asia knew two distinct alphabets, the "runic"

Fig. 6 Population groups in Russian Turkistan / Central Asiatic Soviet Republics / CSI Central Asiatic Independent Republics.

alphabet and the Uighur one, but they also used other scripts up until the time when the Arabic alphabet became dominant [11].

For several centuries the Central Asian Turkic peoples shared common written language, the so-called "Chagatay" [12] which began to develop around the 14th century. The most famous literary work written in Chagatay is perhaps the autobiography of Babur (1483-1530), the conqueror of India.

The Turkic languages of Central Asia acquired their status of independent written languages after the Soviet Union had carried out along ethnic lines the division of what had previously been Russian Turkistan into a number of Union Republics, Autonomous Republics and Regions during the 1920s.

In "Chinese Turkistan", the westernmost region ruled by China under the name of "Xinjiang", the categories for the division of the peoples living in Russian Central Asia were adopted by the governor in 1935.

Principal ethnic groups officially recognized were: Uighur, Kazakh, Kyrghyz, Uzbek, Tatar, Han

Fig. 7 Ethnic composition of the population in Xinjiang (PRC).

(Chinese), Hui-Dungan (Chinese Moslems), Manchu, Daur, Mongol, Xibo, Tajik, Russian, Taranchi. The first five are Turkic-speaking peoples.

At the same time as different nationalities were being recognised within the Turkic peoples the attempt was also being made to find more suitable writing systems than the Arabic alphabet for their languages.

In the Soviet Union the Latin alphabet was first officially introduced in Soviet Azerbaijan in 1925 [13], and a "Unified Turkic Latin Alphabet" for all the Turkic languages of Soviet Central Asia followed between 1927 and 1930.

But in the second half of the 1930s the policy was changed, and a campaign began to introduce, in place of the unified Latin alphabet, several Cyrillic alphabets somewhat different for each Turkic language. For instance, the Cyrillic alphabet for the Uighur language consisted of 41 letters – the Latin one being of 32.

The first change in China took place in 1937. It was indeed a minor one, but not insignificant. The government of Xinjiang was at that moment following a political course strongly influenced by the developments in the Soviet Union, and the Uighur intellectuals, although retaining the Arabic letters, agreed upon changes that brought their *order* and *number* in line with those of the Latin alphabet used for the Uighur language in Soviet Union.

During the years immediately following the establishment of the People's Republic of China, three sets of changes were introduced into the writing of the Turkic languages, under the general principle established by the declaration according to which "all minority nationalities shall have freedom to develop their languages and writing, to preserve or reform their traditional customs and religious beliefs" [14].

In fact, each change had been strongly influenced by Soviet national minority policy.

Fig. 8 The Latin alphabet used in the Soviet Union during the 1920s.

Fig. 9 The Cyrillic alphabets used in Soviet Union and in Xinjiang (China) for the Uighur language.

The first official alphabet and orthography reform was published in 1954: the script adopted was a reformed Arabic alphabet, consisting of 30 letters.

By 1954 Soviet cultural influence, particularly that from the Soviet Central Asian Republics, had reached new heights: textbooks, political propaganda, as well as novels and stories printed in Alma-Ata (Kazakhstan; nowadays Almaty) and Tashkent (Uzbekistan) were to be found everywhere in Xinjiang. In fact, throughout China in the economic and cultural fields – including the linguistic one – the Chinese were expected to study and follow the Soviet model.

Even an attempt at Cyrillization of the script took place in Xinjiang, when in 1956-1957 it was proposed to use a Cyrillic alphabet. It was a failure not because of any practical or technical shortcomings, but because very soon it was judged a political mistake by China's leadership.

The second change, which took place from 1960 to 1983, consisted in the Latinization of the script.

During 1956, linguists working at the reform of written Chinese agreed upon a preference for a Latinized phonetic alphabet for the transliteration of Chinese characters. This choice affected also the languages of the "minority nationalities": they should create their alphabets on the basis of the Latin letters; moreover, the appropriate letters from the Chinese phonetic alphabet were to be used as far as possible.

A Latin alphabet consisting of 33 letters was created for Uighur in 1960; it was officially adopted in January 1965.

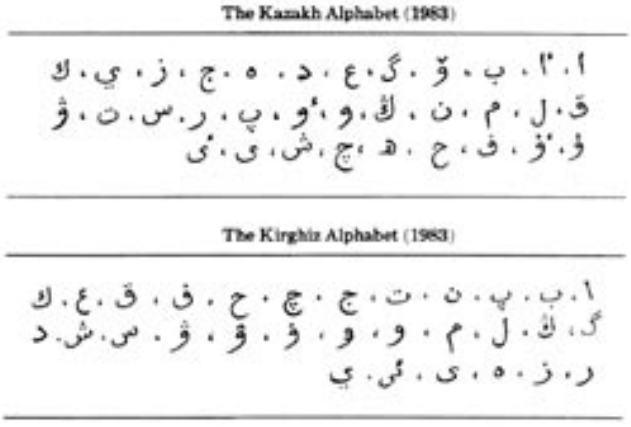

Fig. 10 The Kazakh and Kyrghyz Arabic alphabets in use in Xinjiang (China).

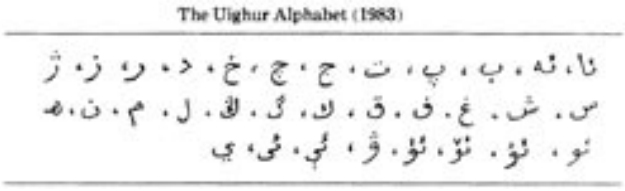

Fig. 11 The Uighur Arabic alphabet in use in Xinjiang (China).

Fig. 12 Contemporary printing in Uighur: "Marco Polo" translated from the Chinese.

Fig. 13 Contemporary printing in Uighur: English handbook.

For various cultural and practical reasons the application of this reform proved more difficult than foreseen. Meanwhile the politics of the Chinese central government regarding linguistic and national minorities had changed with local languages being valued more highly and encouraged, in the area of administration too.

As a result, in 1984 the return to the use of the Arabic alphabet was made official. This time there were three different alphabets, for the Uighur, Kazakh and Kyrgyz languages in Xinjiang. The order of the letters has changed and all the vowels are unambiguously expressed by the use of consonants with diacritics. This revival of the clearly modernised Arabic alphabet proved to be culturally rewarding with improved literacy of the population and a significant increase in all types of publication, technical, literary and scientific.

Yet it is interesting to note that the extreme differentiation of the alphabets according to the different Turkic languages spoken in the independent region of Xinjiang, instead of furthering communication between peoples of similar languages complicated it and in particular contributed to creating nationalistic tensions. In a certain sense this is the outcome of a course that started in the 1920s with the promotion of the different Turkic peoples of Soviet Asia to nations and of their oral languages to written ones, replacing the common literary language.

Fig. 14 Contemporary press in Uighur: English handbook.

Fig. 15 Contemporary press in Uigthur: political propaganda: "Man zhongguoluq" [I am a Chinese].

And so, to this day, Turkic speaking peoples living in the People's Republic of China write their language with modified Arabic alphabets.

The situation is different for the Turkic-speaking peoples of the Soviet Union. The use of various modified Cyrillic alphabets, in this case too with variations for the Azeri, Kazakh, Turkmen, Kyrgyz languages etc., was the norm at the time of the break-up of the Union. Nowadays the various independent states each go their separate ways: in Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan a modified Latin alphabet is used, while in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan the Cyrillic ones are still used. Obviously to some extent these choices reflect the political relationships that exist, or are desidered, with Russia and Turkey.

The 20th century is one in which national languages have rapidly developed and increased in number. If we speak about European national languages, they have increased nearly threefold (from 16 to 50) in something more than 100 years. In Central Asia, if only the Turkic language writing systems are taken into consideration, the unified literary language (Chagatay Turkic) developed into 30 different literary languages.

Notes

[1] So much so, that as is well known, the Chinese language can be transcribed in Latin characters, although for Chinese themselves it is more difficult to read, with respect to their traditional characters.

[2] The situation may be compared to that of the present day, with the widespread use of English at different levels.

[3] Often, or better usually, these apparently diversified activities were carried out by single individuals: cultivated people in the Middle Ages, both in the Western and in the Eastern world, were characterised by a multiplicity of interests and competences.

[4] Alongside the classical form naturally there were kinds of cursive script already in the Middle Ages, and today different fonts, more or less decorative, are used, according the typographic requirements.

[5] This may mean that the separation took place *before* the alphabet deriving from Aramaic came into use, or else that the Samaritans wanted to distinguish themselves by choosing an "archaic" alphabet.

[6] In other words, the Jews of the Diaspora that had not expressly studied the "sacred language" did not understand it.

[7] In the Middle Ages there were some non-religious literary works written in Hebrew and translations into Hebrew of works originally written by Jewish authors in Arabic, produced shortly after the appearance of the original. However the discussion on the legitimacy of using Hebrew as a spoken language is still open, although in a very marginal way: even after it was adopted by the State of Israel in 1948, there are groups of ultra-Orthodox Jews that prefer Yiddish, and believe that Hebrew must not be used for "profane" purposes.

[8] Obviously between the two there is no relationship, neither historical nor phonetic. The resemblance is due to the type of support on which the script was originally used, that is stone and wood.

[9] The majority of the written documents come from Turkistan, the vast region of Central Asia inhabited prevalently by Turkic populations which were never politically united except at the time of the Mongol Empire. More recently it was divided between the Russian – later Soviet – rule and Chinese rule, and today it is represented politically by several independent states – Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan – and by the Autonomous Region of Xinjiang-Uighur, part of the People's Republic of China. The principal discoveries go back to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. They are due to the adventurous work of various explorers and scholars – Russian, German, English, French, Japanese. For these aspects, see the work by P. Hopkirk given in the bibliography.

[10] In effect, in the use of the Arabic alphabet for Turkic languages, the vowels either are not indicated, or they are indicated in a very ambiguous way, to such a point that the same sign could represent four different vowels (e.g., the consonant *w* can have the value of *u*, *ü*, *o*, *ö*). This ambiguity can be overcome only by those who have an excellent knowledge of the language. Furthermore, certain consonants too are ambiguous in Arabic script: *k* can stand for *k*, but also for *g*.

[11] This does not mean that the other alphabets have been completely forgotten. The Syriac alphabet continued to be used sometimes until recently 19th century, by Christian communities of Turkic language living in eastern Anatolia; the same is true of the Greek alphabet, used by Turkic speaking Christians of the Greek-Orthodox tradition living in Anatolia. The Uighur alphabet did not disappear in Turco-Muslim literature and in chanceries; and it can be found in Ottoman manuscripts. It still survives today in Mongolia, where since 1992 it has been reintroduced as the ufficial alphabet for the national language, after a long phase in which Cyrillic was used. The reason for adopting the Uighur alphabet goes back to the times of Gengis Khan (1206-1227) who, since the Mongols were illiterate, had recourse to Uighur scribes for the administration of the empire and to write down the Mongolian language. Mongolian is in fact a language related to the Turkic languages. A modified form of the Mongol Uighur alphabet is that used for the language of Manchuria, and it is still used today in the People's Republic of China.

[12] The name derives from that of Gengis Khan's son, who received the territory of Turkistan at the death of his father.

[13] Three years later, in 1928, another important Turkic-speaking community, Turkey, introduced the Latin alphabet instead of the Arabic one.

[14] *Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference* (September 1949), Article 53.

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"A European on the Road": in pursuit of "Connecting Themes" for Frontiers, Borders and Cultural Identities[1]

Lud'a Klusáková
Charles University, Prague

Abstract

The introduction to this chapter raises a series of general questions. The author aims to place the themes of her own personal research interests in the context of the wider interests of the research group, and of the research project. In the section devoted to approaches, the author elaborates the various possible interpretations of connecting themes with respect to the main research field of frontiers and identities. The following section focuses on concepts, problematizing four particular concepts as the connecting themes of this volume. These are: (1) Civility and Savagery; (2) Construction and Deconstruction of Borders and Frontiers; (3) Challenging Identities (most often through mobility or migrations); and (4) the Construction of Images and Stereotypes. The section devoted to empirical evidence addresses once more these chosen concepts, but approaches them through the lens of one particular problem, which is defined as the individual (European) "On the Road". The author chooses in particular (a) the experience of crossing the frontier and of encountering the power of the state; (b) the experience of observing different landscapes and of meeting different cultures; (c) various representations of identities, communities observed through the lens of Otherness, or civility and savagery; and last but not least (d) knowledge and imagination of geographical boundaries and the construction of images in the broad sense. The experience of mobility among individuals or groups, transmitted to us in their writings or pictures, affords us particularly rich material for the analysis of links between frontiers, identities and other issues of interest, defined as "connecting themes". In conclusion, the author points to the problematic nature and content of the various concepts, methods and sources. This, in turn, points to the value of revisiting these matters in a future volume of the series.

Cílem příspěvku je poukázat na provázanost problematiky hranic a identit s širokým spektrem problémů kulturních, sociálních i politických dějin. První část kapitoly autorka začíná velmi obecnými otázkami po smyslu hledání tematických a metodických "spojnic" a začleňuje svůj příspěvek do výsledků výzkumů a diskusí badatelské skupiny, respektive celé excelentní sítě. V

části věnované přístupům autorka rozvíjí různé varianty interpretace "spojnicových témat" s ohledem na hlavní badatelské pole hranic a identity. Posléze v části věnované konceptům nabídla čtyři témata k hlubší diskusi: jsou to (1) Civilizovanost a Barbarství; (2) Konstrukce a dekonstrukce fyzických a imaginárních hranic; (3) Destabilizace identity v konfrontaci s mobilitou a migracemi; a (4) Konstrukce "obrazů" a stereotypů. Část věnovaná argumentaci empirickým výzkumem se vrací k těmto otázkám prostřednictvím cestovatelské zkušenosti raně novověkých Evropanů. Autorka své argumenty opírá o výsledky rozboru raně-novověkých cestopisných textů. Poznatky předávané v písemných zprávách či v kreslených obrazech, vytvářejí obzvláště bohatý materiál, který umožňuje při analýze propojovat hranice a identity s dalšími oblastmi definovanými jako "spojnicová témata". Autorka upozornila zejména na téma (a) zkušeností z přechodu hranic a setkání se státní mocí; (b) zážitku pozorování různých krajů a kultur; (c)různé reprezentace jinakostí a vnímání civilizovanosti a jinakosti; v neposlední řadě (d) reálné geografické poznatky a mentální představy, ale i konstrukci obrazů v širokém smyslu slova. V závěru autorka poukazuje na bohatství problémů, které umožňují analyzovat zvolené koncepty, metody a prameny a nabízí tento úhel pohledu jako téma pro další rok společných výzkumů.

Introduction

The historians' art is especially compelling when it helps to answer questions concerning the history of a society or concerning those contemporary problems which are of interest not only to professional historians, but also to social scientists, or even to citizens at large. To establish the links and connections between one's own particular research interests, the interests of other scholars in the research group or in the wider research project, and the wider academic debates is an important exercise and a very challenging one. It brings into play the various possible relations and implications, from many different angles, to present many layers of analysis, with the aim of focusing on several pre-selected pertinent issues.

The agenda of "frontiers and identities", in the most general terms, reflects the discourse regarding the idea of Europe, its culture (or cultures) and its civilization (or civilizations). These very questions reflect a conscientious pondering more about 'us' than about 'them'. Where do we belong, how do we see ourselves and how do we perceive others? Defining ourselves and our identity (or rather, our identities) is linked to the definition of space to which this identity is attached, and to its borders, specifically to the definition of the borders of Europe[2].

History is used in these public debates as an argument, as a container full of examples at the disposal of all participants. Historical analysis contributes very considerably, of course, to discovering the contents of identity and of identification processes. It may help to analyse the nature of definitions of territorial borders in Europe, as well as cultural or symbolic frontiers. Gerard Delanty recently posed the crucial question whether we actually need "macro-identities, such as the European idea, the national idea or religious world-views", since they are "more commonly divisive than unifying and are fre-

quently products of enforced and violent homogenisation"[3]. In his volume devoted to analysis of the construction of the Idea of Europe he draws on contributions to the debate from sociologists, philosophers, political scientists, historians and writers; he uses historical examples to support his argumentation, but does not conceive of his study as historical and written for historians. As I understand it, our ambition is to develop multidisciplinary discussions, and focus on the tools of analysis, and on the contents of historical examples which are used quite frequently in the argumentation, and perhaps to draw in some new ones. The overall European framework of academic debate on this issue is concentrated on questions pertaining to the formation or construction of European identities, and historians can contribute to this debate on the role of culture and of society's consciousness of history in the process of identity formation. They should also explore and delineate the links and ties between these issues and ideas.

Approaches

It may appear that the task of establishing the links and connections between these themes is rather unspecific, and that almost anything might constitute a correct answer to our first question: How the frontiers and identities connect with other fields of research? Obviously they touch every individual, every social group, and every aspect of life. The issues are all encompassing, but what is peculiar about them, in our understanding, is that they focus on change. This is readily apparent, since we have decided, somewhat ambitiously, to articulate a wide range of concepts and issues, which in one way or another intersect with both frontiers and identities. The purpose of this article is to ask what is to be found at the intersections and crossroads of frontiers and identities. In the first volume we have used the metaphor of 'communicating vessels' to underline the fact that the two issues usually do not occur independently[4]. Identity has to be defined and protected. For these reasons, it has to create some sort of barrier, border, or frontier to protect itself. A border, once established, divides territories, it inhibits the passing from one region to another, or it creates conditions and rules which regulate the usage of territories and of crossings, and which have to be respected. Ultimately, borders are stimulating; they function as identity builders. Is it the very existence of the physical barrier alone, or is it the effect of pressures from those who are on the other side of the barrier, that destabilizes and reconfigures identities? Is the territorial border identical with the cultural frontier? Our research experience suggests, first, that there is a constant shift of identities in their continuous rebuilding and reframing, and second that belonging to any group is based on a definition of otherness (alterity).

Border, frontier, barrier, limit and all the other terms pointing to divisions between spaces and people are of very ancient origin in all the European languages, as we concluded earlier[5]. Since there were terms, there were also concepts and evident problems described by them. They link the research to geographically – and politically – defined regions; they add a political accent to territorial (spatial) borders, especially to those between political units; and they point to their time dimension. Studies of historical,

political, or natural borders, and of the ways in which they overlap, are pertinent to the issues of states and power, as well as to the definition of European and non-European perspectives. The contemporary approach of historians, and of academic discourse in general, has been strongly influenced by anthropology, politics and geography. The Norwegian anthropologist Frederik Barth long ago pointed to the processional and permeable character of territorial borders, and to the crucial role of the cultural code in the formation of ethnic identities. Borders as instruments for the protection of identities, and as the lived experience of ethnic communities, were the focus of debate at a conference of Scandinavian anthropologists, which was later published in a thin volume rich and stimulating in ideas. The opening chapter to that volume, written by Barth himself, has since been considered a key text for identity and border studies[6].

When we began to develop our research of the construction of European identities, we took as a starting point the discussion at the Stuttgart congress, chaired and opened by Hélène Ahrweiler, with the up-to-date analysis focused on the issue of alterity in respect to collective identities[7]. We have chosen to enlarge, or further develop, the agenda which was gradually constructed both from the contribution of that historian and also from the work of B. Geremek and M. Mollat de Jourdin, among others[8]. We concluded that previously, and particularly at the conference held in Stuttgart, identities and otherness were discussed primarily in the context of the history of mentalities, and that the theme of frontiers was in large measure incidental or marginal to this. In our project, however, frontiers are the focus. We are interested not only in territorial borders and physical barriers, but also in all kinds of symbolic frontiers. We remarked in our previous volume that "we see identities as generating borders, just as every border, whether territorial or symbolic, generates identities"[9]. In these circumstances, therefore, it is quite logical that we should explore not only ethnic communities and national identities, but also all kinds of reciprocal images – defined or instigated by gender, religion, ideology, psychology or mentalities, economies and social roles. We have articulated our strong commitment to this inevitable 'shift [of] the lens'. We have decided not to analyse the phenomenon of territorial borders, cultural frontiers and identity separately, but above all to highlight the links between them, their interconnectedness and their mutual interaction. Our purpose, therefore, is to discern why, and how, they function as 'communicating vessels'. This aim also presupposes that we are very much preoccupied with frontiers, with a plethora of symbolic barriers, and with their real influence on the life of individuals and of communities.

Concepts

The discussions within our research group have led to a consensual articulation of four concepts which, as we decided, are deployed in this volume as the connecting themes: (1) Civility and Savagery; (2) Construction and Deconstruction of Borders and Frontiers; (3) Challenging Identities (most often as a result of mobility or migrations); and (4) Construction of Images – and Stereotypes.

(1) Civility and Savagery

Most often, cross-border perspectives are used to accelerate identification through the images of the other, or even the stereotyping of the other. Those who are assigned to the category of the 'Others' are usually in a worse position than those categorized as 'Ours', and in the European past, the dichotomy of civility and savagery, or of civilized and barbarian, was an essential explanation for all kinds of division lines.

Barbarians, in Roman times, were those who did not speak Latin, and did not obey Roman Law. In early medieval Europe, barbarians were defined by confession – they were basically pagans or heretics. They did not believe in the true God, or did not worship Him in the proper way. Early modern societies and especially modernizing states, with a programme of social discipline, contributed to the definition of many of the marginalized, and also to the redefinition of the savage or barbarian. Although Enlightened Europeans articulated the image of the 'noble savage', in reality this friendly attitude remained marginal, and the inimical behaviour of "the other" was much more frequent. In this context the history of modern serfdom appears as not surprising at all[10].

The dichotomy of Civility and Savagery is predominantly based on the principle of the exclusion of otherness and the cleansing of the 'civilized' area by excluding all kinds of alterity, but also in some cases by demonstrative reclusion. This approach of excluding social groups was defined by sociologists as pathological, in contrast to inclusive principles of the definition of belongingness. The contents and the forms of civility and savagery, as we see them, are unstable and reversible, influenced by the civilizing process (in the sense introduced by Norbert Elias)[11] and established by implication through the barrier of shame or legislatively imposed norms[12]. The legislative and executive institutions of the state defined the mechanism of discipline, as well as its tools, which were exploited by the state. The concept of slave, slavery and forced labour indicates that the barriers of shame were somewhat weak, and did not secure sufficient protection. The law imposed by the state as an instrument of civilisation and as a mechanism for the control of savagery stands in this context in a very important place – provided the state endorses the 'correct' interpretation, and does not intervene as a protector of savagery.

(2) Construction and Deconstruction of Borders and Frontiers

The second conceptual issue is the problem of the construction and deconstruction of various barriers which separate and protect identities, and consequently they provide the link between territorial borders and cultural frontiers. Identity requires space and needs to be sheltered or protected, but this does not necessarily mean total enclosure. For example, once the border of the lordship or state had been established and institutionalised, it was necessary to add to it rituals for its passage and also forms to regulate and control it. The border was rarely impassable: even the strongly controlled Iron curtain did not hermetically close and separate the 'East' from the 'West'. The construction and control of borders is a very political issue, but it also has anthropological aspects and it impacts on life and society in the borderland. There are specific terms which are linked both to historical situ-

ations and to the types of borderlands in a chronological perspective, such as Polish *Kresy,* or the English Pale in Ireland. The border separates territories and often cuts arbitrarily through towns and villages, and thus through families and through the lives of individuals. Berlin, Nikosia and Jerusalem are famous examples, but they were not the only towns divided by state borders. In eastern central Europe, there are Zgorzelec/Görlitz on the Polish-German border and Těšín/Cieszyn on the Czech-Polish, in Ireland Lifford/Strabane, and there are many others. People living close to the frontier became used to life on the edge, while perceiving differences on the other side of the hill, river, or in the other part of a divided village or town. For them, the borderland was their *Lebenswelt*, and the interior of the country a distant world. They collaborated in evading border controls, they smuggled and they eluded the control of state police. These issues connect the interests of historians with those of anthropologists: their methods of questioning combined with qualitative analysis are very thought-provoking.

Border conflicts have filled the pages of historical narratives for centuries. They can be studied also from other perspectives: they have strong identificative power, and they impact on identities over a *longue durée*. Viewed from the perspective of a conflict, and the resulting reconstruction of the border, an obvious question to ask is whether there are identities without frontiers. Are there borders that do not create identities? Is the appearance of a new frontier within an identity a factor which inevitably causes the fracture and disappearance of this identity? In a historical perspective, a border has a role as a symbol – in military conflicts, for example, the crossing of the national border constitutes the beginning of the war. In mental maps, the frontiers are symbols (signifiers) of alterity, and in practice, the crossing of the frontier has a symbolic value.

Borders and limits are primarily linked to larger territories, but they are very obvious within urban societies, and here again they appear to be indivisibly linked with identities. Urban space is organized, labelled and particularized, sometimes even stigmatised. Territories are identified with certain urban functions. By negotiations, they are assigned a certain role for a particular urban group: consequently we can study the territorialization of identities.

In the urban world, as we have discovered, metaphorical frontiers are very powerful. They also have their social and spiritual dimensions. They are created by various group-identities (professions, social status and wealth, immigrants, confessions, education) which feel the need to protect themselves – either their economic situation, their social well-being or their cultural integrity. In this way, a frontier is constructed: physical properties being one reason for this, and the metaphorical another. Although these frontiers have the character of non-spatial borders, they may aim to reach spatial projection.

The ongoing construction and deconstruction of frontiers and identities, the permanent building, creating, strengthening, weakening and suppressing of frontiers means that identities are inevitably also affected in one way or another. In a small local society, a township or a regional centre, this may take the form of searching for a significant other in a larger than local dimension – in other words, a regional, national or transna-

tional unit which local society can look up to and identify with. This search takes the form of looking for a model to follow. Does it influence the way of life of the community, or does it affect the character of the settlement?

As we analyse the forms of intersection between frontiers and identities, we see them, like F. Barth, in flux – we see their procession. Borders are constructed, sometimes formed. Identities are formed, and also constructed, and they initiate the formation of a frontier. The process is reversible. It can be studied through the use of various methods and approaches. What links and connects our approaches and our research issues is the idea of construction and deconstruction as a permanently present aspect in all the shapes and forms of identities, borders and frontiers.

(3) Challenging Identities (most often as a result of mobility or migrations)

The third concept is linked to situations which arise as a result of the mobility of individuals, the exile of small groups or the migration of larger groups of population[13]. This involves the individual or group attempting to reach a solution which is perceived as good or at least acceptable. It has the general form of assimilation, acculturation or resistance. Such situations we see defined within minorities which are settled and stable, when they defend themselves against a strong offensive pressure; or among economic migrants or political exiles, when they develop a strategy of coexistence with the host community. In reaction to the influx of immigrants, the host society develops various tools to handle it: once it opens its gates it senses the danger, and shuts them. Protectionism is a very obvious form of regulation of migration flows. Around this issue, most of the social sciences and humanities can find common interests. One way to confront the problem is through the legitimization (justification) of the frontier, as well as the legitimization (strengthening, defending and explaining/justifying) of identity. To analyse these phenomena, historians usually draw on theoretical tools formulated by sociologists. Olga Seweryn in her chapter pays particular attention to this issue[14].

(4) Construction of Images, and Stereotypes.

The fourth concept is the construction of the image or stereotype of the other. This may be an individual or a group differing in culture, religion, language, and ethnicity. Firstly, identification, or the process of creating an identity, is a conscious activity, as Barth concluded from his study of the relationships between ethnic groups and states – which are of course rarely coterminous. On the other hand, the representatives of the state and established society are those who define the rules for inclusion and exclusion, and use instrumentally the tools of propaganda to support this procedure through the construction of reciprocal images, respectively stereotypes of friends and enemies. Today, we work with the concept of the stereotype, as Walter Lippmann had defined it in the early 20th century (and many others later followed his path)[15]. These tools (propaganda and stereotype) were used, *avant la lettre*, by medieval and early modern states, as it is widely known, and has been confirmed by extensive research[16].

This last concept of stereotyping relates to historical and social consciousness[17]. Memories of borders, borders in historical consciousness, and in various discourses, may become a very strong political tool, an important issue to be researched. Forgotten borders, borders as part of historical identity (shared memories, destinies) remind us of the concept of *lieux de mémoire,* which Pierre Nora formulated in the introduction to three volumes of the same title, and which powerfully influenced international debate[18]. The concept was so attractive that it overshadowed debates about historical consciousness and public history which are simply different aspects of the same issue. The commemoration of territorial borders, and of edges, or liminal issues, is the focus of cultural, ethnological and political studies, as well as one which is of interest to historians. For modern societies, the discourse about places of memory, and related rituals presented to the public as traditional, and thus more reliable, were and are core supporting activities for the construction of group identities[19].

So far we have asked many questions, more than we may be able to answer in one volume, let alone one chapter. The task we have set ourselves is to explore the connecting themes of the research area of Frontiers and Identities, as outlined in the preceding pages, and to split these themes into a series of problems and case studies, each of which focuses on one or two of them. These are, however, very complex issues on the agenda of historians, comprising many of these particular questions, if not all of them. On the following pages, I should like to develop this point with the help of more tangible material: in other words, being a historian, I need to support my argument with empirical evidence.

Empirical evidence: Europeans on the road

The examples of the complex experience of a situation that I wish to draw on concern individuals or groups which found themselves on the crossroads of 'borders and identities', as well as of 'frontiers and identities'. Such situations generated evidence which connected this issue with all the above-mentioned themes and which may be characterised as the 'European on the Road'. Such a situation can be articulated in an even more general way, as a 'man' (human being, man or woman) 'on the road' or, on the contrary, it may be focused on a particular social group in a defined period. Whoever he or she was, in whatever way an individual or a group might move, they went through a more or less adventurous and difficult, but rarely pleasant, experience. Written evidence is very rich, but since we know that what survives is only a fragment of what was originally written, it provides evidence for only a small fraction of what took place. If something happens without being noticed and registered in a written form, it has little impact. Information and evidence is today a most important tool. It can be considered a good or a product. What was written in the preceding lines in the present tense can also be rendered in the past tense, because the value of written (published) evidence grew with the coming of modernity and with the invention of the printing press.

In early modern Europe, those who played an important role in the flow of information were educated travellers. Not only did they explore known and unknown territories;

they also experienced an acceleration of travel, and they felt the change in spaces, landscapes, ethnicities, and cultures. They described what they saw in the form of information to their fellow citizens (in the sense of inhabitants of towns); they wrote about the experience of crossing geographical boundaries, cultural borders and state frontiers. The early modern travel guides, literature about the art of travel (*apodemica*) and travel writings are widely researched, and the bibliography is now enormous[20]. The European continent was already then a theatre of diversity: even travel in its core territories offered the experience of the crossroads of multiple borders and identities. Even more so, this otherness was perceived by travellers who set off on journeys to Europe's peripheries in all parts of the continent. Very strong self-identification impulses came from the travel writings produced about south-eastern Europe. Those who set out on the road to Constantinople were often not travelling very far, but they were not only crossing borders with a hostile state, but also the frontiers of European civilisation, without crossing the geographical boundaries of the continent.

I propose to follow four types of thematic interconnections: (a) The crossing of the frontier, in the sense of encountering the power and institutions of the state; (b) The experience of travel, of roads, the observation of new landscapes, and the encountering of different cultures; (c) The encountering of various representations of otherness, or civility and savagery; and last but not least: (d) Knowledge and imagination of geographical boundaries and the construction of images in broad sense.

(a) Crossing the frontier: meeting the power of the state

There were many kinds of borders in early modern Europe: between feudal lordships, historic territories, or states. Some were very stable, though most were rather unstable, and in many cases challenged. The crossing of a border was therefore not an exceptional experience. We would expect this crossing in general, towards a hostile territory in particular, to be accompanied by some kind of ritual, on which travellers would comment. But, when we reread the travel accounts of those who visited the Ottoman Empire with this question in focus, we see that travellers rarely comment explicitly on state borders, and seldom do they describe the complete ritual of crossing the border. This may be explained either by a low consciousness and a weak perception of borders, or the contrary, that such a banality did not deserve attention. Both explanations conflict with the bulk of evidence which demonstrates that it was very easy to get into difficulties at all kinds of checkpoints – especially during periods of war and conflict and on borders between hostile states. An English gentleman like Fynes Moryson was particularly sensitive to this as he journeyed across a continent divided by Reformation and Counter-reformation[21]; so too was Louis Deshayes-Cormenin some fifty years later, during the Thirty Years War[22]. To establish and maintain one's own identity was not always simple. The checkpoints and toll points were 'besieged' by guardians who observed and controlled the traffic. There was no chance to travel independently. Every traveller had to have a valid passport. An individual traveller had to be attached to a caravan of merchants, or to a diplomatic mission. Even ambassadors and members of their entourage were not

secure, as we know from the experience of Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq or Friedrich Krekvitz. The former, luckily, was only interned on a pleasant island and managed to survive; the latter languished in prison and eventually died as a result of the treatment he received[23]. Cases are known in which persons were put in jail, not only for political reasons, but for suspicion of smuggling[24]. In the worst case, a lone foreigner might have been mistaken for an escaped slave or a fugitive, as was pointed out by Stéphane Yerasimos and Olga Zirojević in their research on the traffic on the roads of Ottoman Empire[25]. It appears that those who lived in the neighbourhood of the Ottoman border, under direct threat, did not describe the crossing of the border as the act of entering a foreign territory. It was a lost part of their country. For those who took the Military road, the crossing point was Moča (Motch in the cited travel book of Edward Brown), a village half way between Komárno (Comorra) and Esztergom – between the last Christian/Habsburg and the first Ottoman fortress – and only after 1683 did it begin to move slowly south. Those who commented on the crossing of the border were people from far away, who were not as emotionally entangled in the experience of bloody war – for example, French and English travellers if they took the Military road (though not all of them did).

> But to return into the road again; we parted from Comora, being towed by a Saick of twenty four oares. The Hungarians rowing upon one side, and the Germans on the other, they saluted the Fortress with two small Guns, which they carried at the head of the Saick, and so we passed by Sene, Nesmil, Rodwan and came to Motch, the exact place of the Frontiers. Here we expected a Turkish Convoy; which coming betimes in the morning, we made ready for them. Their Officers went first on shoare, then our Veyda or Veyvod with the Interpreter , and chiefes of the company, both parties walking slowly, and at meeting gave hands to one another, then we delivered our Boat unto the Turks, which they fastened to their Saick, and sent one into our Boat to steer it: and turning about, saluted the Christians with one Gun, and then with 18th Oares rowed down the Danube, we carrying the Eagle in our Flag, they the Double Sword, Starr and Half-Moon[26].

A similar description was provided about the passage of the border by Reinhold Lubenau, a pharmacist from Königsberg, who accompanied Bartolomeo Petz in 1587, and an experienced French diplomat Louis Deshayes-Cormenin, in 1621[27]. The latter was particularly sensitive to state borders and to the confessional situation wherever he went. This does not surprise us, as he travelled during the Thirty Years War via Strasbourg, along the Danube to Vienna, and further via the Military road to Constantinople, noting which mountain, river or place functioned as a border and how confessional problems were resolved, what was the position of Catholics or what was the form of Protestantism, and how numerous each were. Occidental observers reported on borders between spaces and the contents of spaces (of regions or states), in terms of settlements, rivers and mountains, through which they defined the geographical boundaries, and through ethnic and confessional features they classified their population and they discovered cultural barriers or frontiers. The consciousness of the state border was apparently growing during the years of conflict, as a consequence of the strengthening of

the early modern state. Travel writings demonstrate that sensitivity to the confessional situation was apparent even long after the end of the War[28]. The metaphors used for American society – a 'melting pot' or 'salad bowl' – are equally helpful in characterizing the European situation.

(b) Roads: Consuming the landscape, meeting cultures

Routes, whether on land or via waterways, both connect and divide places and people. They are a means of communication, but it is also with their help that people become aware not only of physical but also of cultural differences. Not every route fulfils this dual role to the same extent, but it is certain that the Danube fulfilled it strikingly, and still does today, as did the full length of the road from Vienna to Constantinople. I propose to look at the road not only from a political perspective, but also from a geographical and cultural viewpoint. The road splits into two sections: the upper and lower. The upper (northern) section leads through flat country. Variants of the route all more or less followed the course of the Danube, and travellers profited from its navigability as far as Belgrade. The southern stretch of the road led overland through the mountainous interior of the Balkans. From Antiquity onwards, the road had run through more or less the same places, with several variants once again determined by natural conditions. This road of many names (it was called Military, Middle, Royal, Imperial, Belgrade or Constantinople) could not be of merely local importance, since it had always been and would remain, one of the major lines of communication in Europe. The same route would be followed by the railway and the modern highway, which is in fact the closest of all to the *via Traiana* of Antiquity. If we wished to go from Vienna to Istanbul by train on the same route, we would cover a distance of just under 1,700 kilometres. In the 16th and 17th centuries, travel by boat offered enough time to observe the country, but was still faster than horseback and evidently more comfortable; it took a varying amount of time depending on weather, the fitness of the party and local conditions. If we follow the same experienced travellers to the Ottoman capital, we can compare their journeys and their perceptions: Ogier Busbecq travelled from Buda to Belgrade in seven days, Reinhold Lubenau in six days, the embassy of David Ungnad in seven days, Melchior Besolt in Lichtenstein's legation in eight days and Vratislav of Mitrovice in ten days. The journey took about eighty hours on horseback. For a modern comparison, we should note that the railway between Budapest and Belgrade is 345 kilometres long. The speed of travel, the season and the weather also influenced the construction of the image. There were wagons or pack beasts in the escort. Horses usually travelled at a walking pace. Moryson claims that they were not trained to trot, and knew only how to walk or gallop. From time to time, people and animals needed to rest. Travel on horseback, or a slow wagon, offered fine views and the opportunity to take a good look at the surrounding environment. Hans Dernschwam, who joined Anton Vrančić's legation, left Vienna on 22 July 1553, and reached Constantinople on 25 August. His party therefore travelled for two months and three days. Busbecq's journey to Constantinople took 39 days. David Ungnad fell ill in Belgrade and the embassy was delayed there

for a week – their journey finally concluded after fifty-one days. Salomon Schweigger, in the escort of Joachim Sintzendorf, travelled for fifty-two days in late autumn, passing Christmas evening in prayer in Havsa. The tribute legation of Henry of Lichtenstein in 1584 left Vienna on 30 August, and arrived in Constantinople after more than a month and a half – probably on 17 October. They all observed and perceived the visible section of the countryside, the towns visited, and staging places. These images were combined with information about old and recent history. The proportion of lived and learned documentation in the final image was specific to the individual, and depended last but not least on the season and the weather.

In terms of cultural history, the Danube has a very specific connecting and dividing role. As an important part of the road, it formed the border between two worlds while also serving as a communications artery for trade and travel. Travellers were impressed by the mightiness of the river – in period dictionaries it is designated as the largest river in Europe. There was great interest in detailed descriptions of the Danube, but it was rare for this interest to extend far into the interior of the peninsula and beyond the roads. The road was a supply line, and garrisons and forts guarded it along the way. The military-strategic motivation behind these descriptions was therefore obvious. Europeans were equally interested in accounts of the southern, imperial section of the road. Travel along this road in a way went against the times. The upper section, running through lower Hungary (Alföld) to Belgrade had been relatively recently lost to the Ottomans and as such the consequences of the destruction of war were felt intensely. Observers originating from central Europe stressed that they were travelling through an old land of Saint Stephen's Crown (a province of the Hungarian kingdom). The lower section had been conquered earlier: in the mid 16th century it was already integrated and perceived as Ottoman. The physical features of the landscape – of towns, villages and populations – contributed to its special character. If its history is recalled, then it was part of Antiquity.

On the other hand the travellers of the period were producing ethnological observation about alimentary or funeral habits.

(c) Otherness in the neighbourhood: who is civilized and who savage?

The lived experience of a long journey, of a road which passed through different regions, inhabited by various ethnic groups, including various cultures and religions, became more frequent and was increasingly described in documents which were published and read in modernizing societies. The discourse about civilization and savagery was nurtured by the explorations of the New World on the one hand, and by the age-old observations of familiar Eastern cultures on the other. Journeys on the European continent in the period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation made travellers particularly sensitive to these cultural and political issues, and again the journey across the continent, to its south-eastern boundary, was exceptionally challenging. First of all, those who took the road through what we call today central

Europe down along the Danube, and through the interior of the Balkan Peninsula, encountered Islam, and also found themselves in an ethnically diverse society, which spoke an unusual mixture of languages, at least in comparison with western (eventually also central) Europe. Language and religion labelled the country as different in a cultural sense. However, being different does not necessarily equate with being savage. As far as languages are concerned, they were always noticed; but it was only the traveller who was particularly surprised by this situation, of course, and particularly ill-equipped to deal with it, who drew much attention to the language problem. On the other hand, questions of religion, of Islam and of its coexistence with Orthodoxy and Judaism, contributed to the image of the Ottoman Empire as 'the other', and eventually as 'the savage'. The experience of war, especially in borderlands with the Ottomans, and the perceptions of Europeans along the main route taken by the Ottoman forces during their Hungarian campaigns and later by the Anti-Turkish Coalition when it was re-conquering Lower Hungary and Serbia, contributed to the stereotype of the enemy and savage.

The Constantinople Road led through regions that had a complex past and present, which was obvious in the character of settlement and the appearance of the towns. To travel along it must have been a profound experience. Along the Danube in the north, and along the road in the south, towns of great significance for the region were located – capital cities, administrative centres and renowned staging towns. Analysis of itineraries shows that travellers were consistently stopping at a number of major staging posts, some of which were actually obligatory halts. Between Vienna and Istanbul, the traveller did not cross one 'state frontier', but several historical and major cultural borders. They entered a society that was not only hostile, but lived according to a different cultural code. A cultural border was coterminous with the state border, but the intensity of cultural integration grew as one progressed southwards along the road. It was defined in terms of materialised symbols of Islam – mosques and minarets, but also cemeteries and social institutions concentrated in towns and stage places – inns (hans or caravansarays), soup-kitchens (imarets), baths (hammams) and covered markets (bazaars). They all symbolised alterity. Another cultural border was between Latin and Orthodox Christianity. The presence of Orthodox Christian and Jewish communities was perceived at the time as an expression of otherness (unusual with regard to multi-ethnicity and multi-confessionality) and in the case of Lutherans, Calvinists in Hungary and of the Orthodox in Rumelia, as islands of oppressed 'ours' or friendly culture. The journey was continually interrupted in time and space. People and horses had to eat, drink and sleep. They found various places of overnight shelter, but the most important locales were naturally towns. Along the road, and especially at staging posts, the travellers had the opportunity to observe and digest passing frontiers and borders, and observe the process of Ottomanization, its characteristic marks, its depth and its permanence. Passage through towns and villages, overnight in a caravansaray (an inn built to accommodate large caravans), or a visit to a bath or a bazaar, was also a sensual experience, full of colours and smells, producing feelings of curiosity, delight, tension and stress.

(d) Knowledge of Geographical boundaries and Construction of Images

Perception of geographical space by 16th-century humanists as well as by 17th-century intellectuals represents yet another connecting theme, pointing to the evolution of occidental ethnological studies, and to the emergence of a modern academic discourse about geographical issues[29]. Certainly Western travellers did not claim to enter either 'Central Europe' when they took the direction from Strasbourg to the East (Cormenin), or from Hamburg and Lübeck to the South (in the case of Moryson), or that they were going through the interior of the Balkans, when they went from Belgrade or Raguse (Dubrovnik) to Sofia. They travelled to Constantinople, to the place loaded with historical symbols related to Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire, or to the boundary of the European continent with Asia. Their proximity was expressed by the climate and nature of the coast. For all those famous, forgotten or anonymous commentators it was the journey to the Mediterranean, to the cradle of European civilization which might yet be discovered underneath the layer of the Ottoman presence. It was not yet viewed so much as the 'Orient', although it was perceived as exotic. On 16th-century maps, we find a plate called the Turkish Empire, Greece as part of Europe, and eventually plates of individual countries going into more detail. In the early modern period, the Ottoman state frontier was the first line of Ottomanization and the crossing of the Nishava River and mountains beyond it were the symbol of the deep interior of Rumelia, as the Ottomans called their European province that covered the Balkans. Only in the 19th century did the perception of the peninsula called by the Ottoman name for Stara Planina, a belt of mountains, become extended and identified with it. The modern and contemporary notion of the Balkans is not identical, and differs between individual countries. The contents have changed dramatically. In the mental maps of modern Europeans, the Greece that we see extending on the Ortelius map all over the peninsula is not always included in the idea of the Balkans.

The focus on how frontiers, borders and boundaries were experienced points to the role of the road and to the difference between the images obtained from the seashore, major sea-ports, and from the capital city, in contrast with the overland road passing through the interior of the peninsula. The road (highway) as the link between destinations represents an atypical segment of experience. Along a road people lived rather differently, more intensively, dramatically and busily, and the things that happened differed from those of the interior. Even today the scenery and rhythm of life along major long-distance routes is very different from the manner and rhythm of life in the towns, townships and villages of the 'interior'. Although the Constantinople Road offered only one slice of Ottoman reality for observation, it ran through so many different environments that perceptive travellers were able to identify important phenomena and symbols. These they understood and labelled as important, just as ultimately we consider them to be fundamental (labelling or stigmatising). They included town buildings, houses, places of religious worship, social institutions, forms of organization and means of work.

Early modern travellers were ultimately discovering and creating images, and consequently contributing to the construction of stereotypes. By their curiosity to learn and to discover, they also initiated the emergence of western ethnology. Those who invented the image of the 'Balkans' and loaded it with various connotations, came later, and often did so at home, comfortably seated in their study rooms. And 'Balkanism' was, according to Maria Todorova, what they produced, and what should be treated as a parallel to Edward Said's 'Orientalism'[30].

Conclusion

This chapter has offered several possible approaches to the task of connecting border and identity studies with those other issues on the agenda of social scientists and historians. Its ambition has been both to raise questions, to inquire how they connect to the main issue, and to establish whether or not they reflect interdependencies – rather than to solve these particular problems or answer specific questions. It is most interesting and important to support the argumentation by empirical evidence, but the space available for this in one chapter is limited. Nonetheless, the chapters that follow in this volume develop this idea, as they analyse, discuss and answer problems and questions raised here; and they also develop and enlarge the catalogue of connecting themes. The task of connecting the research area of frontiers, borders and identity studies with other research issues and areas, explored by the following analytical studies, points to more general methodological questions, as well as to particular problematic concepts and sources. Last but not least, frontiers and identities interconnected with proposed themes invite further research in various ways, with the aim of investigating frontiers and identities as conceived in comparative perspective. They invite a focus on the analysis of the processes of identification at a local, urban, regional or national level, which would aim to deepen and broaden the discussion in a comparative perspective.

Notes

[1] This chapter was written with the support of the research scheme of the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic MSM 0021620827 *České země uprostřed Evropy v minulosti a dnes* (Czech Lands in the Middle of Europe, Past and Present), held by the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts of Charles University in Prague.

[2] The author is using the term border in the sense of a territorial, physical barrier and the term frontier in the sense of a cultural or metaphoric border.

[3] G. Delanty, *Inventing Europe. Idea, Identity, Reality*, London 2002, esp. p. vii.

[4] L. Klusáková, K. Kubiš, B. Říchová, V. Sušová, M. Krocová, O. Daniel, *Within and Beyond: the Reciprocal Relations and Intersections of Identities and of Symbolic and Territorial Borders*, in L. Klusáková, S.G. Ellis (eds.), *Frontiers and Identities: Exploring the Research Area*, Pisa 2006, pp. 108-111.

[5] L. Klusáková, S.G. Ellis, *Terms and Concepts: 'frontier' and 'identity' in academic and popular usage*; in L. Klusáková, S.G. Ellis (eds.), *Frontiers and Identities: Exploring the Research Area*, Pisa 2006, pp. 3-10.

[6] F. Barth, *Introduction*, in F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Oslo - Bergen - Tromsö - Boston (MA) - London 1969, pp. 9-38.

[7] H. Ahrweiler, *L' image de l'autre: étrangers, minoritaires, marginaux. L' image de l'autre et les mécanismes de l'altérité,* in *Rapports /Actes II /* Comité international des sciences historiques, XVI[e] congrès international des sciences historiques, Stuttgart du 25 août au 1er septembre 1985, Stuttgart 1986, [Réd.: August Nitschke] pp. 60-66; B. Geremek, *L' image de l'autre: le marginal*, *Ibid*., pp. 67-81 and M. Mollat du Jourdin, *L' image de l'autre dans la mentalité occidentale à la fin du moyen âge*, in *Ibid*., pp. 95-105.

[8] Klusáková, Kubiš, Říchová, Sušová, Krocová, Daniel, *Within and Beyond* cit., in Klusáková, Ellis, (eds), *Frontiers and Identities* cit., p. 111.

[9] *Ibid*.

[10] See M. Křížová, *Frontiers of race, frontiers of freedom: The Fabrication of the "Negro slave" in the European discourse of the Early Modern Era*, in this volume, pp. 109-123.

[11] N. Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen. Erster Band. Wandlungen des Verhaltens in den weltlichen Oberschichten des Abendlandes* and *Zweiter Band. Wandlungen der Gesellschaft. Entwurf einer Theorie der Zivilisation,* Basel 1939.

[12] The mentioned concept of civility is applied also in the articles of this volume written by W. Aird, S. Ellis and C. Gioia.

[13] We can follow the analysis of the exile of small groups of dissident elites with Eva Kowalska in contrast to larger group of economic migrants with Raingard Eßer and compare the two analytical tools in their articles.

[14] See in this volume O. Seweryn, *Identity Change as a Consequence of the Migration Experience*, pp. 21-42.

[15] W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, New York 1922; Z. Bokszanski, *Stereotypy a kultura*, Wroclaw 1997.

[16] Let us cite one, as representative of all: B. Taithe, T. Thornton (eds.), *Propaganda. Political Rhetoric and Identity, 1300-2000*, Phoenix Mill 1999.

[17] As the last section of our volume demonstrates, both the instrumental usage of history, and the use of manuals of history and various presses for the purpose of building of images and collective identity were widespread in modern Europe. This is therefore a very important issue for identity studies.

[18] P. Nora, *Entre Mémoire et Histoire. La problématique de lieux*, the chapter is an introduction to P. Nora (ed): *Lieux de mémoire, I , La République,* Paris 1984, pp. XV-XLII.

[19] E.J. Hobsbawm, T.O. Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 2003.

[20] My argument is based on content analysis of early modern (esp. sixteenth and seventeenth century) travel accounts, and drawings of town views depicting the experience of passing frontiers, borders and boundaries on the way from Vienna to Istanbul, which was published in L. Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Towns through Christian Eyes*, Prague 2002.

[21] F. Moryson, *An Itinerary*, 1617, reprint Amsterdam 1971.

[22] L. Deshayes-Cormenin, *Voiage de Levant etc. fait en l´année 1621*, Paris 1624, pp. 5 ff.

[23] C.T. Forster, D. Blackburne (eds.), *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. Seigneur of Bousbecque, Knight, Imperial Ambassador, I,* London 1881; V. Vratislav z Mitrovic, *Příhody*, ed M. Nedvědová, Prague 1976.

[24] P. Cernovodeanu, *Le voyage de Pierre Lescalopier à travers l'Europe centrale (1574),* in "Revue roumaine d'histoire", 1968, 7, 3, pp. 371-383.

[25] S. Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs dans l´empire ottoman (XIV[e]-XVI[e] siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, Conseil Suprême d´Atatürk pour culture, langue et histoire, Publications de la Société turque d´histoire, Serie VII – N. 117, Ankara 1991; O. Zirojević, *Carigradski drum od Beograda do Budima u XVI i XVII veku.* Institut za izučavanje istorije Vojvodine, Monografije, knj.14, Novi Sad 1976; Id., *Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije (1459-1683)* Zbornik IMS (Istorijski

Muzej Srbije), 7, Belgrade 1970, pp. 3-196; Id., *Mreža turskih puteva (kopnenih i vodenih) na području današnje Vojvodine i Slavonije*, in "Istorijski Časopis", 1987, 34, Istorijski Institut Belgrade, pp. 119-129.

[26] E. Brown, *A brief account of some travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, etc.*, London 1673, pp. 30-31.

[27] L. Deshayes-Cormenin, *ibid.*, pp. 37-39.

[28] A. Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe,* Cambridge 1995.

[29] On particularly important role of merchants see f.e. M.-L. Pelus - Kaplan, *La géographie des Hanséates,* in G. Chabaud, É. Cohen, N. Coquery, J. Penez (eds.), *Les Guides imprimés du XVI^e au XX^e siècle. Villes , paysages, voyages*, Paris 2000, pp. 129-140.

[30] E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978; M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York 1997.

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Multiple and Hybrid Identities: Inspirations for Further Research into Cultural Contact and Cultural Change

Markéta Křížová
Charles University in Prague

Harieta Mareci Sabol
Ştefan cel Mare University of Suceava

Alexandre Massé
University of Toulouse II-Le Mirail

Abstract

This chapter aims to turn the attention of social scientists to the phenomena of the blurring and transgressing of borders and the dissolution of identities (and the subsequent creation of new ones), to the necessarily temporal character of any type of boundary, physical or symbolic; as well as to the multiple and overlapping identities that are being constantly re-created by each specific group. The authors' accentuation of the transient and ambiguous character of the results of human interaction rather than an effort to isolate them and then study the ideal-typical, clear-cut groups resonates with the development of the historical and social sciences in the past decades. The authors aim not only at sketching specific situations and their possible relevance for other problems of history, but also at reflecting their changing perception in historiographical works. Markéta Křížová focused on the colonial history of the American continent as an example of abrupt encounters of previously unacquainted races, ethnic and religious groups that gave a stimulus to creating a broad spectrum of mixed cultural forms and newly formed identities. Alexandre Massé includes in his text a reflection of the problem of race and mixed race (*métissage*) by scholars of Ancient History. And the case of Bukovina, analyzed by Harieta Mareci Sabol, serves as an example of a transitional space that throughout its history experienced various forms of cultural influences and consequently gave rise to very specific forms of self-identification on the part of its inhabitants.

Kapitola se snaží obrátit pozornost sociálních vědců k fenoménům narušování a překračování hranic a rozvolňování identit (a následnému vytváření identit nových), k nutně do-

časnému charakteru jakékoli hranice, fyzické či symbolické; a také k fenoménu mnohovrstvých a překrývajících se identit, které jsou konkrétními lidskými společenstvími soustavně přetvářeny. Důraz autorů na dočasnou a rozporuplnou podobu výsledků interakce lidských společenství spíše než na snahu izolovat tato společenství a pak je studovat jako ideální typy kolektivních entit odpovídá vývoji historických a společenských věd v posledních dekádách. Markéta Křížová se soustředila na koloniální dějiny amerického kontinentu. Vnímá je jako příklad situace náhlého setkání do té doby oddělených ras a etnických a náboženských skupin, které se stalo podnětem pro vytvoření širokého spektra smíšených kulturních forem a nově vytvořených identit. Alexandre Massé do kapitoly připojil pasáž věnovanou tématu rasy a rasového míšení (métissage) a jeho odrazu v dílech věnovaných starověkým dějinám. Za příklad proměnlivého prostoru, který v průběhu svých dějin pocítil rozmanité kulturní vlivy a následně dal vzniknout velmi specifickým formám sebeidentifikace svých obyvatel, může posloužit Bukovina, kterou ve svém textu představila Harieta Mareci Sabol.

Ce chapitre a pour but d'attirer l'attention des chercheurs en sciences sociales sur d'une part les phénomènes de brouillage et de transgression des frontières, et de dissolution des identités (et la création éventuelle de nouvelles frontières et identités), et d'autre part le caractère nécessairement temporel de tout type de limites, physiques ou symboliques, ainsi que des multiples identités qui se chevauchent et qui sont constamment recréées par chaque groupe spécifique. L'accentuation voulue par les auteurs concernant le caractère transitoire et ambiguë des résultats de l'interaction humaine vise, plutôt que de tenter de les isoler et des les étudier ensuite comme des groupes clairement définis et idéal-typiques, de faire écho au développement des sciences historiques et sociales au cours de ces dernières décennies. Les auteurs visent non seulement à décrire des situations spécifiques et leur éventuelle pertinence pour d'autres problèmes de l'histoire, mais aussi de refléter leur perception changeante dans les œuvres historiographiques. Markéta Křížová a axé sa contribution sur l'histoire coloniale du continent américain comme un exemple de situation de rencontre brutale entre populations et groupes ethniques et religieux différents, qui ne se connaissaient pas auparavant, qui a donné une impulsion à la création d'un large éventail de formes culturelles métissées et à des formes d'identités nouvelles. Alexandre Massé développe une réflection touchant à la question raciale et aux mélanges raciaux (métissage) par les étudiants d'histoire ancienne. Enfin, la Bucovine, analysée par Harieta Mareci Sabol, peut servir d'exemple en tant qu'espace transitionnel qui tout au long de son histoire a connu diverses formes d'influences culturelles et, par conséquent donné lieu à des formes très précises d'auto-identification par une partie de ses habitants.

Scopul capitolului este acela de a îndrepta atenţia specialiştilor în ştiinţe sociale asupra fenomenului de estompare şi transgresiune a frontierelor, de disoluţie a identităţilor (şi de creare, ulterioară, a altora noi), asupra caracterului temporal necesar oricărui tip de frontieră, fizică sau simbolică, şi asupra identităţilor multiple şi interferate, recreate continuu de către fiecare grup specific în parte. Accentuarea de către autori a caracterlui tranzitoriu, neclar şi ambiguu al rezultatelor interacţiunii umane depăşeşte simplul efort

de a izola şi apoi investiga grupurile ideal-tip, clar definite, rezonând astfel cu dezvoltarea ştiinţelor istorice şi sociale proprie ultimelor decenii. Obiectivul autorilor nu este doar acela de a schiţa situaţiile particulare şi posibila lor relevanţă pentru alte probleme ale istoriei, ci şi acela de a reflecta schimbarea perspectivei istoriografice din ultimele decenii. Markéta Křížová şi-a concentrat cercetarea pe istoria colonială a continentului american, ca exemplu de intersectare bruscă a unor grupuri rasiale, etnice şi religioase anterior total separate, proces care a stimulat crearea unui spectru larg de forme culturale mixte şi de identităţi inedite. Alexandre Massé a inclus în acest text o reflecţie asupra problemei de rasă şi a amestecului rasial (métissage), aşa cum este ea percepută de studenţii în istorie antică. În ceea ce priveşte cazul Bucovinei, analizat de Harieta Mareci Sabol, el poate servi ca o ilustrare a spaţiului de tranziţie care, de-a lungul istoriei sale, a experimentat diferite influenţe culturale şi, prin urmare, a generat forme specifice de auto-identificare de către o parte a populaţiei.

Introduction

Markéta Křížová

Creating and maintaining identities is a dynamic and multi-faceted process, be it on the level of an individual or a community. As no person or group can exist in isolation, the maintenance of their identities takes place in constant interaction with the development of the broader society, as well as the natural setting. While these statements might seem obvious, even banal[1], the fact remains that it is rather difficult to treat such dynamism in historical studies. Figuratively speaking, it is necessary to translate a three-dimensional phenomenon of cultural change and evolution into the two dimensions of scientific texts. Therefore, in the study of identity building the most common direction of research – including the work done within CLIOHRES Thematic Work Group 5 – has been that of description and cataloguing. The differences and particular features of certain human entities, be it on the local, regional, national or supra-national level, are identified and then analyzed as fixed entities. This approach was very evident in the discussions on the topic of citizenship that constituted one of the core themes of the CLIOHRES project. Citizenship at the first glance seems to constitute one of the unequivocal, non-negotiable aspects of self-identification – from the "emic" point of view of the bearers of identity themselves, as well as from the "etic" point of view of the social scientist. And as such it has been so far presented. But is it that simple also in the 21st century, in an era of transnationalism, of the new strengthening of autonomous regions within the nation states, in the period of parallel and sometimes schizophrenic fortifications of European and national citizenships?

Tied with this way of studying identities is also the manner of studying frontiers. Within this area of study too, the preponderant majority of texts included in the previous

volumes of TWG5 aimed at the identification of frontiers in which the concrete examples of identities – national, regional, gender, religious or class – were consciously or unconsciously closed and preserved by their bearers, mostly through resisting outside pressures and influences[2]. "Frontiers institutionalize differences", Steven G. Ellis mentioned during the discussion of the topic of "citizenship" at CLIOHRES' plenary meeting in Pisa (11-12 December 2009). Without denying the essential utility of this direction of research, we aim at the same time at turning the attention of social scientists also to the phenomena of the blurring and transgressing of borders and the dissolution of identities (and the subsequent creation of new ones), to the necessarily temporal character of any type of boundary, physical or symbolic; as well as to multiple and overlapping identities that are being constantly re-created by each specific group. Frontiers – in the physical sense as well as the imaginary frontiers and mental liminal spaces – are not only areas of most intense contact, but also areas that can give rise to unique, albeit impermanent cultural forms, born out of this intense contact.

Martina Krocová and Miloš Řezník in the present volume mention the fact that the phrase "multiple identities" can be seen as a "successful, yet not entirely satisfactory metaphor, since it implies an image of schizophrenic individuals swaying between different identities". However, the two authors subsequently conclude that "multiple identities represent rather a scale of referential frameworks and groups (collectivities) participating in the formation of one specific identity of an individual or group. From the individual's perspective, the multiplicity refers to a multilayered character rather than to a plurality of identities"[3]. Precisely this thesis – and its reflections in the social sciences – will be developed further on the following pages, with the help of three case studies, drawn from various regions and time periods: from the field of Ancient History, colonial studies and the Modern History of Eastern Europe. In all these settings the processes explored will be those of cultural mixing, not those of multiculturalism. In a commonly accepted definition, multiculturalism implies the parallel existence of several cultural traditions, existing side-by-side in mutual respect and non-interference (either voluntary or imposed from above). This chapter, however, deals with different ways of cultural development – with social systems for which permanent interchange is characteristic.

The following pages assemble very diverse themes and approaches. While this might seem somehow experimental, the chapter reflects aptly the methods of our collective work during the five years of the project. It can serve, therefore, not only as point of departure for more thorough and specialized considerations of the problem of multiple identities, but also as an example of the "work in progress" of an international group of European researchers, specialists in a wide spectrum of historical problems, drawn together by their shared uneasiness with the common methods of research[4].

The authors' decision to emphasize the transient, blurred, ambiguous character of the results of human interaction rather than make an effort to isolate them and then study ideal-typical, clear-cut groups resonates with the development of the historical and so-

Fig. 1
Negative perceptions of hybridity in the imagination of the Enlightenment – the wild inhabitant of the Philippines, in transition between human and beast (engraving that accompanied the German translation of George-Louis Buffon, *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte*, Berlin 1771).

cial sciences in the past decades. Since its formation at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, the research of human cultures and experiences, past and present, has been characterized by what has become almost an obsession with "pure forms". We can mention the efforts of protagonists of national revival movements to purify national languages and homogenize dialects[5]; the efforts of historians to follow the path of bounded, essentially unchangeable national communities (that were like biological species, expected to be born, flower and decay), to clear their memories of false interpretations, as well as to cleanse the sources of the adhesions of later centuries; efforts of ethnographers to uncover primordial traditions and catalogue the cultures of the world one by one. On the other hand, mixed literary genres, corrupted languages, deformed traditions and "mixed races" have almost always been negatively connoted[6]. As Harieta Mareci Sabol proves in this chapter: when a "mixed" culture or region was studied by historians, the representa-

tives of specific nations tried to appropriate such regions and homogenized them in their texts, or searched for the "nationality" of the protagonists of historical events.

All of this had begun to change throughout the 20th century, especially after 1950, when new waves of worldwide migrations exposed great numbers of people to various forms of alterity and provoked new attitudes toward culture, skin colour and ethnicity. Even though the historiography based mainly on national (hi)stories is not in such decay as many theorists thought a decade ago, it has surely been supplemented by many new reference points and units of research. For example, there has been a progressive breaking down of the barriers between "foreign" and "domestic" history. During the last decades, the development of the social and historical sciences has revealed clear interest in "impure", hybrid social, cultural and biological phenomena in the research of humanities. This is the more so, because historians came to the conclusion that as many other aspects of reality, also boundedness and uniqueness are also socially constructed; they are not objectively existing immutable facts. The contemporary experience of multiculturalism and the resulting blurring of boundaries between various cultural forms, as well as their constant reconfiguration, has stimulated historians to search the past for similar types of problems, structures and developments[7].

In 1982, Victor Turner noted that "what was once considered [...] contaminated, [...] promiscuous [...] impure is now becoming the focus of postmodern analytical attention"[8]. This might also be true in the field of studies of cultural change, especially with a view to the dissolution of political, geographic, ethnic, cultural, and aesthetic boundaries in our contemporary world. Many concepts originally designed for the literary or social sciences, such as transculturation, creolization or *métissage*, are nowadays put to use by historians against the traditional search for authenticity, embedded in the Western European sciences at least since the Enlightenment era. The protagonists of the "study of the impure" accentuate the dynamics and fluidity of cultural processes over the efforts to fix them in a stable, permanent state. Besides that, such an approach facilitates the overcoming of the traditional stereotypes of hierarchical binary oppositions (high/low, European/African, centre/periphery, we/others) used in the interpretation of cultural and historical phenomena. This is especially true for disciplines like gender history. Nowadays, the dualistic, oppositional and essentialist nature of gender is refuted and presented rather as open to interpretation and resignification[9]. And, as the present paradigm refutes the existence of clear-cut boundaries of gender, a similar refutation can apply to the notion of "race", "nationality" or "culture".

At the same time the very field of the science of man experiences in the recent period the blurring of borders that used to divide the specific disciplines. The current enthusiasm for interdisciplinary work among historians is part of a much broader (though also contested) recognition that the borders dividing conventional departments and disciplines are arbitrary and, often enough, not very functional. Instead of a strict separation of goals, methods and theoretical approaches, the interchange of experiences opens the

Fig. 2
The Maori, with his face deformed by tatoos, is another example of human-beast hybridity (George-Louis Buffon, *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte*, Berlin 1771).

door for mutual enrichment. Of course, such combinations of inspirations from various time periods and localities should not slide into simple eclecticism. But comparative history in the strictest sense, with the precise delineation of goals and methods and the identification of the common features of the objects compared is not applicable in this way to historiographical studies precisely because of the unique character of each cultural configuration and its natural setting in a concrete historical moment. We should be careful not to employ mechanically models designed on the basis of specific data and sources. Nevertheless, cross-cultural comparisons can reveal the essential similarities in the processes of cultural interaction that had surely been and still are one of the most important promoters of the historical development of mankind; at the same time, the comparison of the changes of historiographical paradigms reveals essential similarities in the development of various branches of social sciences.

The three authors of this chapter aim not only at sketching specific situations and their possible relevance for other problems of history, but especially at reflecting their changing perception in the historiography of recent decades. The process of overseas colonization, promoted by various European countries from the 16th to the 19th centuries offers itself as an extremely rich source of various forms of interaction that transgress once-stable physical and mental boundaries. The situation of abrupt (and amply documented) encounters of previously unacquainted cultures, ethnic and religious groups in unaccustomed ecological settings allows nowadays the distinguishing of a broad spectrum of mixed cultural forms and newly formed identities. These were, in the following centuries, amply studied by the protagonists of the national histories of the decolonized nations of America. Markéta Křížová in her part of the text aims to prove that, while colonial history reveals such processes in a pronounced form, it can be used as a source of inspiration for detecting and analyzing similar processes of identity-building and cultural mixing that occurred in other time periods and regions. Alexandre Massé included a reflection on the problem of race and mixed race (*métissage*) by scholars of Ancient History. And the case of Bukovina, analyzed by Harieta Mareci Sabol, can serve as an example of a transitional space that throughout its history experienced various forms of cultural influences and consequently gave rise to very specific forms of self-identification from part of its inhabitants. Through this historiographical overview, it is apparent that in these various fields of the social sciences, many authors, often unaware of each other, have reacted in a similar way to the challenges presented to them by the dynamism of their own times. On the one hand, historical knowledge offers many tools for the strengthening of communities, for binding people through emphasis on a shared past. National histories in the 19th and 20th centuries are examples of this aspect of historiography *par excellence*. On the other hand, historical scholarship can, and should, provide critical distance from such claims about identity, about national pasts and shared histories. Historians can show how traditions were invented, communities imagined and how these processes were accompanied by exclusion and 'othering' of people not belonging to the imagined community[10].

Transculturation and *métissage*

Markéta Křížová
Alexandre Massé

In the science of mankind, the concept of "race" had and still has a very special importance. Since the 17th century and William Petty[11], we find the idea of "race" (*espèce, Stamm)* with its modern meaning of a division of mankind – a "more or less homogeneous ethnic group, fixing in relatively precise geographic bounds, and forming since several centuries a specific social and cultural entity, in spite of the fluctuations of politic frontiers". Already in 1829, William-Frédéric Edwards published his treatise *Des*

caractères physiologiques des races humaines considérés dans leurs rapports avec l'histoire, the first application of the idea of race in history[12].

Of course, there were exceptions during the 19th century. Some authors promoted the study of the creative dynamics of human societies rather than the acknowledgement of the conservative forces able to maintain the "purity" of the race, nation and culture. Edgar Quinet was the first to apply the concept of race in history with the example of Greece and the Ionian and Doric "races" in *La Grèce moderne et ses rapports à l'antiquité*[13]. This went contrary to the common interpretation of Greek history that juxtaposed, on the one hand, Sparta, the warlike city symbol of order and of discipline, and on the other hand Athens, the city of arts and of democracy. This dichotomy had consequences for the Greeks' representations by the Occident, as Dimitri Nicolaïdis pointed out[14]. This dichotomy was also used to provide rhetorical examples, notably during the French Revolution[15]. Between 1820 and 1824, Karl Otfried Müller, a German philologist, published his *Geschichten hellenischer Stämme und Städte*[16]. He invented the myth of a Greek migration (based on the legend about the Heraclids, the sons and other heirs of Heracles who returned to regain rule over Sparta), which supposedly brought together predominantly two races, the Ionians and the Dorians, that would populate Greece. In fact, Müller mingled new racial theories and the ancient opposition between Athens and Sparta. For him, Greek history was the history of clashes between two breeds, the Ionian (represented by Athens) and the Dorians (represented by Sparta)[17].

Thus, going against the mainstream interpretation, Quinet developed the idea that what he called the Greek spirit was born from contacts between the two Greek races – the Ionians and the Dorians. According to him, this spirit disappeared when the Doric race was destroyed at the battle of Mantineia in 362 BC. Quinet's is a positive view of the "mixing of the races", based on the idea that the best features of Greek culture were born from the contacts and the exchanges among peoples, not by the internal development of each of them. We have to clarify that for the mixing of races Quinet did not use the term *métissage* that later became integrated into the study of history, but other terms such as encounter, mixing, union, penetration and absorption. However, the very integration of the notion of racial mixture as a positive and stimulating factor in the development of culture and society was in this period a very progressive one.

The example of Quinet demonstrates that the very idea of race does not necessarily imply the negative labelling of the contacts between peoples. However, a few years later, in 1853, Joseph Arthur Gobineau, influenced by Quinet, published his *Essai sur la valeur du critère ethnique*, which laid a firm foundation for a negative approach to biological and cultural mixing in history through its idea of a racial hierarchy based on the purity of blood[18]. After the Second World War had revealed the shocking outcomes of racial theories, the notion of race disappeared totally from French historiography, whereas in Anglo-Saxon historiography it was still used. Only in the 1970s and 1980s, did the French social sciences revive their interest in analyzing the results of mutual exchanges

and contacts between peoples, through the study of representations and, in recent decades, through the notion of cosmopolitanism. Here, the contacts between peoples are deliberately perceived and studied as positive. And the very concept of race had undergone an important transformation. Once a basis for the unequivocal cataloguing of mankind, it has nowadays been presented as culturally constructed. Race is not a fixed essence, a concrete and objective entity, but rather a set of socially constructed meanings subject to change and contestation through power relations and social movements. Hence, racial identity is presented as historically flexible and culturally variable, embedded in a particular social context[19].

The inspiration for such directions of study was drawn from various sources. A century after Quinet, in a completely different setting but with essentially the same objectives in mind, Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz coined the term transculturation[20] in a deliberate effort to challenge the concept of "acculturation", capitalized widely in Anglo-American anthropology, sociology and other branches of social sciences of the 1930s[21]. The concept of acculturation was designed by American sociologists to describe the effects of mutual relations of distinct cultural systems, concretely the contacts of Native Americans and Europeans and also the contacts of new immigrants with the "Old American" culture. In its most common usage, acculturation became a synonym for gradual homogenization and the erasing of weaker cultures and nations, and the predomination of stronger ones, able to maintain their purity and integrity. On the other hand, the transculturation concept was destined to describe multifaceted processes in which completely new cultural forms were created.

According to Ortiz, the unique character of the Cuban nation arose thanks to the active – even though forced – participation of Native Americans and African slaves in the process of the creation of the "Creole" culture in the New World. This new culture did not consist of a mechanical assemblage of identifiable elements taken from the original cultures involved, but was an original and independent phenomenon, marked also by local ecological conditions. Through transculturation, Ortiz hoped to grasp the reciprocally transformative character of cultural encounters under colonialism, a process of "mutual penetration of cultures" (*interpenetración cultural*) and, implicitly, also accentuate the physical mixing that occurred in the colonial milieu. And there is also another important factor, namely the conscious self-identification of this new culture's bearers – the "Creoles", people of European ancestry, but born on the American soil – as "others", different from both the colonizers and the original colonized cultures. On the other hand, such self-identification can be promoted further by the refutation of parts of the dominant culture of "bastards" (again, in the biological as well as in the cultural sense)[22].

Transculturation, in this way of theorizing, is the process of the creation of culture and, subsequently, of identity out of contact, a drawing of new borders and the creation of a new sense of belonging. In this interpretation, Ortiz followed the tradition of Latin American thinkers who since the end of the 19th century had searched for the Ameri-

can character's essence in biological and cultural blending (*mestizaje*) and – in deliberate opposition to homogenizing and Euro-centric theories of European social sciences – voiced the opinion that it was *mestizaje* that defined Latin American creativity, historic originality and strength. Because the New World has been one of the regions in which racial and cultural mixing has taken place most extensively and most violently in the period of colonization, it was a theme that virtually every Latin American writer/intellectual has addressed in one fashion or another. While their main motivation was an effort towards emancipation from Spanish culture after the severing of ties of political domination in the first half of the 19th century and to homogenize – and therefore, stabilize and strengthen – the newly established national communities, at the same time this approach constituted an important innovation that stood against the traditional perception of mixing as the "contamination" of race and culture.

For example, four years prior to Ortiz, Gilberto Freyre published his study on the problem of "cultural mixing" in Brazil that, without doubt, served as an important inspiration for Ortiz. Freyre was convinced of the pervasive influence of African elements not only on biological mixing, but on the culture of any member of Brazilian society. While

Fig. 3
The idealized depiction of a "pure" Native American tradition, unaffected by contact with Europeans (From Olfert Dapper, *Die Unbekannte neue Welt oder Beschreibung des Welt-Teils Amerika und des Süd-Landes*..., Amsterdam 1673).

his idyllic depiction of harmonious co-existence and the blending of races in the New World might sound today as a hypocritical apology for the slavery system, in his time this thesis of the positive influences of Africa on the creole culture of Portuguese colonies represented a novel and provocative statement. In Mexico, José Vasconselos advocated the fusion of diverse ethnic elements into a "synthetic race" he called the "fifth universal race". His central thesis was that the various races of the earth tend to intermix at a gradually increasing pace, and eventually will give rise to a new human type, composed of a selection of positive traits from each of these races already in existence[23].

These theses acquired a new meaning in the second half of the 20th century, when more complex cultural systems had become subjects of anthropological research – be it "traditional" peasant communities of the Old World or the "high" cultures of Africa and Asia. It became apparent that modernization pressures do not necessarily bring about total destruction. Besides, after 1945 the struggle of colonized nations and minorities within developed countries intensified and there was a manifest disillusionment with the alleged advancements of European civilization and of the European "race". Therefore, anthropologists came to accentuate the ability of marginalized cultures to choose actively aspects of the colonizers' culture and utilize them for their own benefit, without losing their cultural integrity, group identity or their ability to influence the dominant culture, be it in a direct or an indirect way.

But the theorization of *mestizaje* was not unique to the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking world. Francophone America has also contributed its share to the ample body of writings on *mestizaje* in America. In the 1980s the concept of *créolité* arose in literary studies of the Caribbean, deliberately set against the older notion of *négritude*, propagated in the 1920s and 1930s[24]. *Négritude* drew attention to the African roots of Caribbean cultures and the suffering of black slaves, accentuating the maintenance of the African or even tribal identities in the American setting and the deliberate resistance to cultural pressures from parts of the majority societies. In other words, this concept followed the traditonal obsession with cultural and racial "purity" characteristic of the European social sciences, albeit with a reversed scale of evaluation. On the contrary, the French neologism *créolité* (based on the term *creole* that, as was explained above, in the colonial period designated persons born in the New World), accentuated the fact that Caribbean tradition owed its unique character to the long-term, even though forced, co-existence of the cultural traditions of Europe, Asia and Africa. Also in French historiography the concept of *créolisation* appeared first as a component of linguistic studies, for example in the work of Jean-Pierre Jardel. The concept alluded to the processes of social and cultural genesis but also combined the ideas of interbreeding and of acculturation[25].

The same ambitions were voiced by historians and literary theorists who in colonial studies turned to the concept of *métissage*, another term that originally had the almost completely negative connotation of the mixing of "higher" and "lower" races, i.e. interbreeding. In French historiography, the concept of interbreeding was reflected within

the framework of various research fields. In the first half of the 20th century, it was the object of many debates by students of race who wondered if the mixture of breeds had positive or negative results. In 1942, René Martial concluded that the French population was the product of a successful interbreeding, but warned against "disharmonious" interbreeding in the future and recommended its prevention by controlled immigration[26]. Mostly, the evaluation of *métissage* was rather negative[27]. However, the anthropologist Henry Neuville in 1933 recommended not focusing solely on the "biological" aspects of interbreeding, on the "physical man", but also on the "social man", that is, to study manifestations of cultural mixing. And, in this respect, he considered the study of interbreeding as greatly inspiring for ethnography and for anthropology[28].

After World War II, the concept of interbreeding was exclusively taken away from the biological sciences into the humanities. Since, the notion of interbreeding is more and more used in social sciences, nevertheless it is a concept "hardly perceptible" and "without a biological reality" (as Nellis Schmidt notes)[29]. *Métissage* in recent historical research – not only in texts produced by French historians – is understood much more broadly than as simple biological interbreeding. It is viewed highly positively as intercultural mixing, as a process that produces alterity, a dynamic "third space" in the continuous stream of cultural reproduction, a "queer culture" resisting a clear-cut delineation. Of course, it had been applied in the first place to the history of colonization. According to Homi Bhabha, it embodies the "criss-crossing, the overlapping and the in-betweenness of cultures. It is at the cutting edge of the translation and negotiation of cultures"[30]. It promotes the search for a common ground within the dynamics of exchange, interchange and inclusion, the "continued encounters across cultural boundaries, of the confluence of more than one cultural tradition, of the negotiations of dominant and subordinate positions"[31].

All these concepts had been commonly applied mainly within the frame of American or African history and anthropology, and especially to the processes of the colonial era. But, as was stated in the introduction, it would be stimulating to utilize these concepts in the study of European history. Transculturation, *métissage,* hybridization or creolization – even though we cannot equate these terms, as they were designed as analytical tools for specific purposes – they all emphasize the notion of culture as flux, as a product of the constant interaction of human groups. Therefore, they offer inspiration for the exploration of borders between and within societies, and of the processes of identity building and identity transformation at individual and group levels.

One example can be chosen from the field of the intellectual history of Early Modern Central Europe. The 17th and 18th centuries were, in this region, a period of bitter religious encounters. Traditional historiography presented these conflicts as those of clearly delineated groups: Catholic vs. Protestant (of various denominations). However, the popular culture of the time distinguished less clearly among the versions of "true" Christian faith. Rather, specific local forms of popular beliefs arose, drawing on elements tak-

Fig. 4
The unwanted hybridity. The depiction of South American llamas combines the features of various animals known to Europeans; the resulting image is that of a monstrum (From Olfert Dapper, *Die Unbekannte neue Welt oder Beschreibung des Welt-Teils Amerika und des Süd-Landes...*, Amsterdam 1673).

en from the contesting theologies and occupying a hybrid midway between the orthodox variants of religious systems[32]. In the study of Catholic/Protestant transculturation, we can find inspiration in the complex processes of religious syncretism that occurred in overseas regions during the colonial period, in studies on the topic of nativistic, revivalist and millenarian movements that produced neither purely "native" nor orthodox Christian belief systems. We can analyze the self-identification of the members of these new denominations as "others", and follow up the hybrid religious traditions in the subsequent history of Central European regions, their contribution – as in the case of Quinet's interpretation of Classical Greek culture – to the cultural uniqueness of this part of Europe. Such an approach would contrast sharply with the efforts to localize the remnants of Hussite or other Protestant traditions preserved in the Czech national character, as several generations of nationalist historians struggled to do.

Similarly, the history of the European Jews has for a long time been understood by historians in essentially dichotomous terms. On the one hand, there was the Jewish nation which had tenaciously survived almost two millennia of exile and dispersion by dint of its internal solidarity, faith and inventiveness. On the other hand, there were the combined forces of change which, unless creatively absorbed and organically integrated by the nation, could only set in motion a process of inexorable erosion and a process of self-destruction. Only in recent years, historians have focused more on the specific processes of reintegration, group cohesion, historical continuity, and group consciousness at work in the various Jewish communities[33]. And in general, the study of cultural communities on the borders and frontiers (such as the Böhmerwald region between Bohemia and Germany) as specific entities and in fact focal points of new cultural forms, rather than on the margins of national cultures, acquires new relevance. Through such studies, it becomes apparent that even at the core the "national character" is constantly re-negotiated through contacts with other cultures and nations.

And so to the last, but not the least of the examples: while there has been a firm conviction that, especially in the modern era, the development of urban-industrial societies tended to destroy specific cultural traditions and impose a culture standardized by mass media and a homogenization of attitudes, values, and behaviours, contemporary urban communities represent specific new cultures which emerged as a result of the interaction of people of various ethnic backgrounds during the process of adjusting to a new physical environment. Large cities such as New York, Los Angeles, São Paulo, Tokyo, and others constitute new cultural forms that, while not squeezable into the mould of "national traditions", are not undistinguishable parts of one global culture. Rather, they are new, specific wholes. And in this, they evoke the multicultural, multiethnic American and African communities and cities of the colonial era that constituted a focus of cultural and racial exchange and mixing and gave rise to original cultural formations that until now continue to influence African/American cultural traditions[34].

Precisely these forms of intense cultural contact that took place in the colonial cities could also be observed in the multi-cultural, pluri-lingual region of Central and Eastern Europe. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the communities that arose from the transculturation and *métissage* processes in the Caribbean, and the hybrid communities of Eastern Europe, were equally usurped by authors from various national communities. Unequivocal nationality or citizenship was given precedence over the local peculiarities.

Multiple Identities of Bukovina

Harieta Mareci Sabol

The "Land of Beech Forest" (as the name Bukovina translates) can serve as an example for a region with an uncertain identity, which implies certainty and doubt, reality and myth, ideology and imagination, political construction and invention, traumatic his-

tory and touching poetry. Periodically organized and re-organized, Bukovina's territory was successively a part of medieval Moldavia (from the 14th century to 1774), of the Austrian Empire (1774/1775-1918) and of the Kingdom of Romania (1918-1940; 1941-1944). Divided by the USSR, after World War II, between Romania and the Ukrainian SSR, the historical province remained a "country of the past", the presence of which "is represented by mere memories"[35].

Of all the historical and cultural stages of the province, Austrian Bukovina attracts the most intense attention. It can serve as an example for the varied effects of the coexistence of various cultural traditions on a restricted space and in relation to the dynamics of historical development. And the avatars of Bukovina can also serve as an example for the varied reflections of such processes in historical writing. According to some historians, Bukovina is a vulnerable structure, with rather sensitive nerves, with tensions and animosities. Its multicultural character is perceived as weakness. In other texts, this province illustrates the successful history of transformation from the "colony of punishment", "a terminus station for ministry and officers' careers" or "one of the world's ends"[36] into a *Musterland*[37], or a model of sage administration and political wisdom that is able to reconcile the varied heritages into one collective entity. Taken over by these images, the real Bukovina is transfigured into a utopian space, in which the project of the united Europe was realized *avant la lettre*, many decades before its concrete delineation[38]. Its typical inhabitant, the *homo bucovinensis*, fascinates some researchers and vexes others.

Speaking of the sonority of this semantic construction, Florin Pintescu considers that it belongs to Hans Prelitsch, who made it popular starting in 1956[39]. Rudolf Rybiczka assumes the paternity of the term as well, granting himself the title of "inventor and supporter" of it, expressing his satisfaction and happiness of bearing its "seal"[40]. And also the German researcher Emanuel Turczynski proposes the expression of the "provincial product"[41]. In their statements, the *homo bucovinensis* is the legacy of the identification of the inhabitants with the province's particularities, with a well-established legal system, tolerance and sociocultural progress, where loyalty towards these values did not mean disloyalty towards the personal, ethnical or religious community. It is seen as an intercultural resource, generating collective values. This idealized person is tolerant and peaceful, accepting any form of religion, race or ethnicity, bi- or even multi-lingual, and gathering in himself the most refined elements of Austrian culture and civilization. His presence is associated with the special situation in Bukovina, where the representatives of the imperial administration and the indigenous elites allowed the preservation of organic regionalism, based on harmony, as opposed to "the nationalist influences coming from Moscow, Bucharest and Vienna"[42].

Yet, before and contrary to these opinions, at the beginning of the 20th century the historian Ion Nistor presented, with nationalistic emphasis, the "exotic" features of the *homo bucovinensis*[43]. From his perspective, the *homo bucovinensis* was the best example of Bukovina's politics of Germanization[44]. Often, the German element appears in the historical discourse or in memoirs as a link or 'balance factor' in the multi-ethnic

Bukovina society. The German language unified an important segment of the province's population within the regiments, the school or the administrative system[45]. Its usage changed the province's inhabitant into a "specific type" called *German* by the Romanians. In one Romanian journal edited in Bukovina in 1913, it is stated: "The German is not always a German; he can be Czech, Polish, Ruthenian, Jewish and even a Romanian who is serving the state". The essential condition is to "write in German"[46]. In other sources, the *Beamter* [official], a "hybrid and clumsy creature" who "has no home, no nationality", replaces the German. The *Beamter* is just a "cosmopolitan and selfish element, with an artificial language based on some German formulas". In one of his political essays, the Romanian publicist Mihai Eminescu mentioned: "If you would take, from the *Beamter*, these old and bad stylized formulas, he would know no language. And this is because he spoke Russian in his parents' house, then studied in a Hungarian secondary school, then went to a German university, ending without knowing any decent language"[47]. Nistor and the other liberal nationalists believed that the key to a *homo bucovinensis's* existence seems to be nothing but a disguised way to elude historical truth and preserve the spirit of ethnic moderation promoted in Bukovina, especially after 1918, as it meant "the Austrian legacy of compromise". Instead of this legacy, they wanted to completely install Romanian nationalism[48]. The realization and the construction of individual identity was for the Romanians in Bukovina a problem that involved, in a decisive way, the nation's destiny. Still, the Austrian lawyer and Romanian politician Aurel Onciul assumed and proclaimed his multiple identities. As a "convinced European", a "good Austrian", and a "good Romanian", he declared his support to all nationalities in Bukovina, not just to a particular ethnic group[49].

After many decades and beyond the political aspects, the doctrine of "Bukovinism" developed by Onciul and associated with the image of the *homo bucovinensis*, was understood as an exemplary *modus vivendi*. The Polish researcher Kazimierz Feleszko wrote that "Bukovinism" ceased to be just a mental structure and became a real universal good. Moreover, one of its largest effects is the *homo bucovinensis*, a personality open to all cultures around, and actively participating in them[50].

Another Polish author, Krzysztof Czyzewski, the initiator of the Pogranicze Foundation, defined "Bukovinism" as "the child of the diverse ethnical groups' elite" or "a programme meant to institute an entity, in diversity, of the universal Bukovinean identity"[51]. This is born out of the simple daily life. Stemming neither from ideological nor political compromise, it is a realization in the short term, but with durable consequences. According to Czyzewski, the Bukovinean does not give up his own identity, be it ethnical or religious, but on the contrary, he preserves it and consolidates it in a new one, on the ground of a "mutual consensus". The memoirs of former inhabitants of Bukovina speak not only about the constellation of cultures and ethnicities, but also of the elite's efforts to build a universal organism that is supposed to bring progress. They contain episodes related to the practice of conversation in other languages, to the respect shown to those

who speak another language. One of the most frequently invoked allegories belongs to Adolf Armbruster and concerns "the tarock table". There could be heard not only German – *lingua franca* or the *Kulturträgers* language – but also another four languages, reflecting the players' nationalities: a Romanian priest, an Ukrainian forester, a Polish pharmacist and a German teacher, next to whom would often stand a Jewish shopkeeper[52]. Such customs have led to a "code-switching". In her paper about Bukovina as "Europe in miniature", Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko considered that "the mutual borrowing of words, phrases and entire expressions was a natural and spontaneous process within the larger cultural community of this region"[53]. This statement supports Zbigniew Herbert's opinion on the multi-linguistic region: "it made you think that language is fun"[54].

In addition, the portrayal of the *homo bucovinensis* is difficult to imagine in the absence of the city. For instance, the French geographer Frédéric Beaumont considers the *homo bucovinensis* as a mere product of the provincial city life of Austrian origin[55]. In Bukovina's case, the most representative city is Czernowitz, a geographical, cultural, ethnic and religious crossroads, a bit of the West in the East. Named, in 1997, by the same writer Zbigniew Herbert, with an expression that stayed in fashion, "Europe's last Alexandria"[56], but also "Little Vienna" or "the East's Vienna", the capital of the province is the model of the symbiosis of cultures, the place where the most productive elements of Bukovina gather. Its cosmopolitism does not cover the competition among different groups or circles, but equally prevents crossing the limits of a civilized rivalry, stimulating the perpetuation of cultural dialogue. In 1963, one editor of "Die Stimme", a newspaper for expatriate Bukovinians in Haifa, summed up the image of a Czernowitz inhabitant in terms of an anecdote about "The second Flood". If a new Flood should come, who would be chosen to preserve the old European traditions? A Frenchman? A German? An Englishman? They could only tell a part of the story. However, definitely a native of Czernowitz would be chosen[57]. In other words, a *homo bucovinensis* as a mixture of various worlds, whose shape and memories, autobiographies, diaries, and memoirs stand for his identity. A *homo bucovinensis* filled with emotions, redundant, and hesitant: qualities which constitute an ideal basis for nostalgic dreamers[58].

Concluding Remarks

Markéta Křížová

Equivalents of the *homo bucovinensis* and his oscillation between allegiances to various cultures and nations could be found in various cities of the Habsburg Monarchy[59]; and, of course, not only within its limits. And even though none of the authors who touched upon the mythical, idealized *homo bucovinensis* in their writings had probably ever heard the term transculturation or profoundly reflected on the theme of *métissage*, the resulting image of Bukovina in their texts is very similar to that of Cuba by Fernando Ortiz or that of the "mixed Greek race" of Edgar Quinet. That is, of a space that does

not fit into the clearly delineated categories of nation, race or culture that, however, is being conquered discursively by representatives of these categories.

On the level of historical research as such – that is, on the level of the academic interest in the various forms of human interaction – we may ask what aspects of the culture systems that entered into contact and experienced the processes of hybridization proved to have the greatest viability. We may take into account the differences of cases when the cultural transfer is realized within the framework of the relationship of power (colonization, re-Catholicization, economic dominance, forced political unification) and those cases that result from more spontaneous interaction. We may consider the role of individuals, of middlemen, cultural brokers and "social climbers" who mediate and intensify cultural influences.

At the same time, we use these analyses as stepping stones for more general considerations with respect to the confused and multi-faceted identity-building processes in the contemporary world. Rather than struggle to disentangle the various levels of belongingness, sometimes hierarchized, sometimes blurred and unclear, we might perhaps just see them as examples of the varied and dynamic human character.

Notes

1 And, in fact, they were already formulated plausibly by O. Seweryn, M. Smagacz, *Frontiers and Identity: Approaches and Inspirations in Sociology*, in L. Klusáková, S.G. Ellis (eds.), *Frontiers and Identities: Exploring the Research Area*, Pisa 2006, pp. 17-25; L. Vörös, *Methodological and Theoretical Aspects of 'Social Identities' Research in Historiography*, in *Ibid*., pp. 27-45.

2 See, in this respect, the chapter dedicated to the problem of resistances in this volume, especially the introductory pages focusing on frontiers as "codified spaces for various kinds of accommodations with otherness" and consequently "result of processes which can be labelled as resistances to external changes, leading to a positive affirmation of the self" (p. 103). Similarly, Martina Krocová and Miloš Řezník in their chapter in this volume quote Pierre Bourdieu's statement that "to define one's own *identity* means also to establish the *limits* of it" (p. 6).

3 *Ibid*., p. 21.

4 The authors would like to thank Laure Teulières and Elena Mannová for helpful insights and comments to the first version of this text.

5 See, for example, P. Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2004.

6 Cf. J.-C. Marimouton-Carpanin, J.-M. Racault (eds.), *Métissage. Littérature-histoire*, Paris 1992.

7 Many provocative ideas in this respect can be found in P. Duara, *Transnationalism and the Challenge to National Histories*, in T. Bender (ed.), *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, Berkeley - Los Angeles CA 2002, pp. 25-46.

8 V. Turner, *The Ritual of Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play*, New York 1982, p. 77.

9 J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York - London 1990; P.H. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, Boston MA 1990; see also K.A. Cerulo, *Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions*, in "Annual Review of Sociology", 1997, 23, p. 391. See the comparison of the "blurring of borders" in colonial and gender

history, M. Křížová, *Gender, Colonization of America and European Self-fashioning during the Early Modern Era*, in C. Salvaterra, B. Waaldijk (eds.), *Paths to Gender*, Pisa 2009, p. 229.

[10] These inspiring thoughts were presented by CLIOHRES TWG4 during the discussions on citizenship during the Plenary Meeting in Pisa (11-12 December 2009).

[11] W. Petty, *Nouvelle division de la terre, par les différentes espèces d'hommes qui l'habitent*, in "Journal des Savants", 24 April 1684.

[12] W.-F. Edwards, *Des caractères physiologiques des races humaines considérés dans leurs rapports avec l'histoire* (Paris 1829), quoted in R. Minder, *Allemagne et Allemands. Essai d'histoire culturel*, Paris 1948, vol. I, p. 29 and mentioned by E. Will, *Doriens et Ioniens: essai sur la valeur du critère ethnique appliqué à l'étude de l'histoire et de la civilisation grecque*, Paris 1956, p. 13; cf. M. Sarga, *L'idée de "race" dans les sciences humaines et la littérature (XVIIIe et XIXe siècles)*, Actes du colloque international de Lyon (16-18 novembre 2000), Paris 2003.

[13] E. Quinet, *La Grèce moderne et ses rapports à l'antiquité*, Paris 1830 (reprint Paris 1984).

[14] D. Nicolaïdis, *D'une Grèce à l'autre. Représentation des Grecs modernes par la France révolutionnaire*, Paris 1992, p. 91.

[15] M. Bouyssy, *L'Antiquité ténaréenne de Barère*, in "XVIII^{e} siècle", 1995, 27, pp. 259-268.

[16] K.O. Müller, *Geschichten hellenischer Stämme und Städte.* vol. 1. *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, Breslau 1820; vol. 2. *Die Dorier*, Breslau 1824.

[17] It was necessary to wait until 1956 for historian Édouard Will to show the falsity of this dichotomical representation without any historical base, see Will, *Doriens et Ioniens* cit.

[18] G. Gliozzi, *Le métissage et l'histoire de l'espèce humaine de Maupertuis à Gobineau*, in Marimoutou-Carpanin, Racault, *Métissage* cit., pp. 51-58.

[19] J. Duany, *Reconstructing Racial Identity: Ethnicity, Color, and Class among Dominicans in the United States and Puerto Rico*, in "Latin American Perspectives", 1998, 25, 3, p. 149.

[20] F. Ortiz, *Contrapunteo Cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*, La Habana 1940.

[21] The first known use of the word "acculturation" is in an 1880 report from the Bureau of American Ethnography on changes in Native American languages. Three years later, the same author explained that "acculturation" refers to the psychological changes induced by cross-cultural imitation. J.W. Powell, *Introduction to the study of Indian languages*, Washington DC 1880; Id., *Human evolution*, in "Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington", 1883, 2, pp. 176-208. Until today, the most influential definition has been that produced in the 1930s: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". R. Redfield, R. Linton, M. Herskovits, *Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation*, in "American Anthropologist", 1936, 38, p. 149.

[22] Similar conclusions are reached by Martina Krocová and Miloš Řezník in their analysis of boundaries and identities in this volume. On the topic of the "bastards", see the work of Ann Stoler focused on the problem of historical construction of the categories of colonizer and colonized, especially within the framework of British and Dutch colonial empires. For example, A. Stoler, *Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule*, in "Comparative Studies in Society and History", 1989, 31, pp. 134-161.

[23] G. Freyre, *Sobrados e mocambos: Decadencia do patriarchado rural no Brasil*, São Paulo 1936; J. Vasconselos, *La raza cósmica*, Barcelona 1925.

[24] J. Bernabé, P. Chamoiseau, R. Confiant, *Éloge de la créolité*, Paris 1989. While as direct inspiration served the concept of "Caribbean identity" voiced by Édouard Glissant, served the very term "creolization" shows that it was inspired by linguistics.

[25] D. Veronique (ed.), *Créolisation et acquisition des langues*, Aix-en-Provence 1994; R. Chaudenson, *Des îles, des hommes, des langues. Essai sur la créolisation linguistique et culturelle*, Paris 1992.

[26] R. Martial, *Les Métise*: *Nouvelle étude sur les migrations, le mélange des races, le métissage, la retrempe de la race française et la révision du code de la famille*, Paris 1942.

[27] An exception is M.E. Moresco, *De la condition des métis et de l'attitude des gouvernements à leur égards*, Congrès international colonial, session de Brunswick, Bruxelles 1911, vol. II, pp. 299-325, 447-463.

[28] H. Neuville, *L'espèce, la race et le métissage en anthropologie*, Paris 1933.

[29] N. Schmidt, *Histoire du métissage*, Paris 2003, p. 7.

[30] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London 1994.

[31] S. Hall, *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, London 1996, p. 471.

[32] Even for contemporaries the boundaries between these two – seemingly opposite – ways of religious differentiation were often not clear. For example, in one of the domains in Bohemia which resisted the pressure of the Jesuit missionaries, one of the village magistrates of the community of Rückesdorf urged the villagers to become "at least a bit" Catholic. E. Štěříková, *Exulantská útočiště v Lužici a Sasku* [Retreats of exiles in Lusatia and Saxony], Prague 2004, p. 19. To the problem of unclear ways of confessional self-identification, see E. Kalivodová, *Crossing the Confessional Border: a Possible Path towards Religious Tolerance in the Bohemian and French Kingdoms?*, in G. Hálfdanarson (ed.), *Discrimination and Tolerance in Historical Perspective*, Pisa 2008, pp. 125-146.

[33] J. Frankel, S.J. Zipperstein (eds.), *Assimilation and Community: the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Cambridge - New York 1992, p. 4.

[34] For colonial America see, for example, R. White, *The Middle Ground*, Cambridge 1991; for Africa see L. Heywood (ed.), *Central Africans and cultural transformations in the American diaspora*, Cambridge - New York 2002. For the study of "transnational" communities in the present time see M. Kearney, *The local and the global: the anthropology of globalization and transnationalism*, in "Annual Review of Anthropology", 1995, 24, pp. 547-565.

[35] M. Iacobescu, *Erich Beck şi Bucovina* [Erich Beck and Bukovina], in "Codrul Cosminului", 2006, 12, p. 272.

[36] H. Hofbauer, V. Roman, *Bucovina, Basarabia, Moldova*, Bucharest 1995, p. 112.

[37] E. Zöllner, *Istoria Austriei* [History of Austria], vol. I, ed. and trans. A. Armbruster, Bucharest 1997, p. 390.

[38] Hofbauer, Roman, *Bucovina* cit., p. 114.

[39] Florin Pintescu, *Consideration sur la situation culturelle des juifs de Bucovine entre 1775-1918*, in "Codrul Cosminului", 2005, 11, p. 45.

[40] E. Satco, *Rudolf Rybiczka (26 martie 1911-6 octombrie 1998)*, in "Analele Bucovinei", 2000, 1, p. 277.

[41] M. Iacobescu, *30 de zile în "Siberia": căutând arhivele Bucovinei* [30 days in "Siberia": searching Bukovina's Archives], Iaşi 2003, pp. 235-241.

[42] E. Turczynski, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit. Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft*, Wiesbaden 1993, p. 8.

[43] I. Nistor, *"Homo bucovinensis"*, in *Amintiri răzlețe din vremea Unirii* [Scattered Memories of the Union Time], Czernowitz 1938, p. 285.

[44] M. Iacobescu, *Simpozionul internațional "Bucovina de partea dialogului" (21-28 aprilie 1996, Sejny, Polonia)* [International Symposium "Bukovina on the Dialogue Side" (21-28 April 1996, Sejny, Poland)], in "Codrul Cosminului", 1996, 2, p. 543.

[45] F. Pintescu, *Atitudinea germanilor din Bucovina față de regimul românesc în anul 1919* [The Attitude of Germans from Bukovina to the Romanian Regime in 1919], in "Codrul Cosminului", 1999, 5, p. 272.

[46] M. Olaru, Ş. Purici, *"Bucovinism" şi "Homo Bucovinensis": consideraţii preliminare* ["Bucovinism" and "Homo Bucovinensis": Preliminary Considerations], in "Analele Bucovinei", 1996, 1, p. 9.

[47] M. Eminescu, *Răpirea Bucovinei* [Kidnapping of Bukovina], ed. D. Vatamaniuc, Bucharest 1996, p. 58.

[48] I. Livezeanu, *Cultură şi naţionalism în România Mare* [Culture and Nationalism in Greater Romania], Bucharest 1998, p. 77.

[49] M. Iacobescu, *Elita românilor bucovineni între anii 1862-1918* [Romanian Elite from Bukovina 1862-1918], in Ş. Purici (ed.), *Bucovina 1861-1918: Aspecte edificatoare pentru o Europa Unită?* [Bukovina, 1861-1918: Edifying Aspects for a United Europe?], Suceava 2002, pp. 206-207.

[50] http://pdk.drl.pl/

[51] K. Czyzewski, *Paul Celan and Bukovina's dialogue culture*, in "Krasnogruda", 1998, 8, http://pogranicze.sejny.pl/archiwum/english/cafe/czyzew/celan.htm

[52] A. Armbruster, *Europa im kleinem: Die Bukowina*, in A. Armbruster, S. Papacostea, *Auf den Spuren der eigenen Identität: Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Rumäniens*, Bucharest 1991, p. 226.

[53] E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, *Europe in Miniature*, in "Academia", 2006, 1, p. 6.

[54] Czyzewski, *Paul Celan* cit.

[55] F. Beaumont, *Nostalgie habsbourgeoise et Bucovine interethnique chez Joseph Roth et Gregor Von Rezzori*, in "ROCSIR", 2004, 1-2, p. 80.

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Bridge at Jelgava, Livonia.

The Moral Territory: Sexual Frontiers and Identities in Urban/Rural Historiography

Laurent Gaissad
University of Toulouse le Mirail (UTM- FRAMESPA – CNRS)
Free University of Brussels (ULB - FNRS)

Abstract

This chapter attempts to present sexuality as a field of human experience which may help in conceptualizing frontiers and identities. Though written from a sociological perspective, the chapter is nevertheless interested in the contribution of historiography to the problem. It shows that historiography has frequently addressed sexual behaviour – including questions relating to designation and degrees of acceptability – in territorial terms, particularly urban or rural. Consequently, this study argues that sociological conceptions of (sexual) identities and frontiers may be seen as inspired by the diversity of historiographic and ethnographic evidence, rather than as simply sources of conceptual models disconnected from their specific historical and cultural contexts. Revisited from a sociological point of view, the considerable corpus of relevant historical research may be taken as representative 'data', and discussed without regard to customary chronological frameworks. The chapter will also assess the relevance of the concept of "moral territories" in the analysis of contrasted urban and rural living conditions, and to stimulate inventive empirical inquiry into the history of sexuality. Classic interpretations, particularly the Chicago School's conceptualization of the metropolis as a sociological laboratory, are also re-examined, showing how they continue to inspire socio-anthropological surveys as well as fieldwork. Overall, the study posits a sociologically-grounded historical explanation of sexual frontiers and identities, stressing in particular the scales and rhythms of mobility (or change) in spaces, times and norms revealed by the historiography in this specific field.

La sexualité, prise comme domaine de l'expérience humaine, constitue dans cet article une opportunité pour penser les notions de frontières et d'identité. S'appuyant sur le caractère historiquement construit des conduites sexuelles, il montre au combien l'historiographie s'est attachée à restituer leur désignation et leur degré d'acceptabilité en ville ou à la campagne. Il y est donc envisagé que les conceptions sociologiques de l'identité et des frontières (sexuelles) s'alimentent de la diversité des résultats historiographiques ou ethnographiques,

plutôt que de faire office de boîtes à outils conceptuelles souvent universalisantes et deconnectées de leurs contextes historiques et culturels spécifiques. Pour autant, l'abondante bibliographie est revisitée d'un point de vue sociologique, en tant que "donnée" représentative, et abordée sans égard pour les conventions chronologiques. Le survol proposé entend démontrer la pertinence de la notion de "territoire moral" pour l'analyse comparée des modes de vie en milieu urbain et rural, et stimuler une recherche empirique innovante en histoire de la sexualité. Les définitions classiques de l'ordre moral, élaborées dans la métropole vue comme un laboratoire sociologique (École de Chicago), sont également ré-examinées, pour montrer comment s'en inspirent encore aujourd'hui les enquêtes socio-anthropologiques sur les réalités urbaines, rurales ou circulatoires. Surtout, l'article suggère une explication historique sociologiquement fondée des frontières et des identités sexuelles, en insistant plus particulièrement sur les échelles et les rythmes de la mobilité (ou du changement) dans l'espace, le temps et les normes tels que les révèle l'historiographie dans ce domaine précis.

Introduction

This chapter is written from a sociological point of view, and must therefore be understood as a transversal approach to the historiography of sexuality. Its objective is not to discuss interdisciplinary borders and definitions, though an essay which treated of the similarities and contrasts between history, sociology and anthropology with regard to urban spaces would be worthwhile[1]. The present discussion is based partly on ongoing interdisciplinary research on norms, gender and sexuality in Brussels[2]. Here, the spatial dimension of intimacy and sexuality throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe and its colonies has emerged as particularly relevant, and has increasingly constituted a major axis on which to base our results. For instance, through the organisation of academic and cultural events such as conferences, exhibitions and film festivals on contemporary Western sexual practices and representations, attention has been drawn to various categories of sexual space, including public and intimate spaces, and what may be considered to be 'normative space'. While public spaces comprise urban areas traditionally associated with the sex industry (red light areas, public baths or brothels) or more implicitly sexualized social venues (cafés, dance halls, clubs), intimate spaces include the diverse range of domestic and matrimonial contexts, which may vary according to socio-economic and cultural influences. Of course, religious and educational spaces may also be analysed as normative spaces for the definition of sexuality, together with other more or less coercive institutions, such as those associated with health and medicine[3]. Besides this, social scientists have attempted to 'map' mental sexual space – for instance by locating the famous Freudian impulses, supposedly within every individual, on the frontier between the self and society, or between imagination and reality[4].

At first sight, this subdivision of sexual spaces may appear oversimplified, and the relation to differences in urban/rural lifestyles vague. However, it must be noted that

one of Michel Foucault's early definitions of "other spaces"[5] as forms of *heterotopias* encouraged the conceptualizing of sexual experiences in territorial terms. Moreover, the so-called "crisis heterotopia" in traditional societies refers to privileged, sacred or forbidden spaces, generally reserved to individuals living in a state of crisis with society. Institutions like the 'Men's House', dedicated to initiation rites, are familiar concepts in classic anthropology[6], and their role in the production of gender or sexual frontiers and identities has been underlined by French[7] and American[8] ethnographers. Obviously, long-established same-sex institutions in religious, educational, martial and leisure spheres have constituted places for (first) sexual experiences too, but the role of an urban/rural dialectic in such processes has not attracted much scholarly attention, save for some controversial works on 'gay culture' in both history[9] and sociology[10], where the attraction for the urban world is sometimes evoked as a sexual form of rural exodus. In fact, mobility is mostly neglected when it comes to sexuality. It is nevertheless explicit in such well-established rites and rituals as the honeymoon, the locations of which Foucault characterised as "a place of nowhere", a "heterotopia without geographical markers". Other exceptions to the trend include recent French historiographers of sexuality and love during the First and Second World Wars[11], who have emphasised mobility as having had a major influence on the organisation of intimacy.

Therefore, it is clear that there has been considerable global interest in the *longue durée* history of sexuality as a spatial phenomenon. Foucault pioneered this with a celebrated three-volume essay; and continued with his collaboration with Arlette Farge on the *lettres de cachet* (royal writs which could be used to sanction a person's imprisonment) contained in the Bastille archives[12]. Here, the apparent breaching of norms governing spatial conducts was often the basis of the condemning *lettres*. Although the strategy of *lettres de cachet* lasted for a short period (1660-1760) and concerned only France, their study opened an important broader debate on the nature of judicial and penal archival material, and on the "lives of infamous men"[13] as evidence for everyday spatial and sexual conducts. A great deal of the historiography has concentrated on the margins of human sexual experience – which does not contradict the persistence of more or less implicit normative models both in the societies studied as well as the historical approaches themselves. However, the most 'visible' forms of sexual practices clearly appear to be the ones that have continuously fed the archives of control and sanction, precisely because they infringed established sexual orders and representations. Instead of considering them as mere peripheral deviations from the norm, current perspectives in the history of sexuality integrate the socio-anthropological idea that there is a continuity between normative and alternative (or subversive) expressions and practices, and that the latter may thoroughly document the former[14].

Suspicious spaces, conducts and creeds

Of course, many historians have shown that the archives constantly reveal the existence of 'suspicious spaces' for the expression of clandestine sexual activity. 18th-century Paris has provided copious examples, such as Rétif de la Bretonne's famous work on the territorial divisions of nocturnal Paris, and the diary of Jacques-Louis Ménétra, with its accounts of the Bois de Boulogne and Vicennes – wooded, marginal areas notoriously associated with sexuality[15].

One constant trend of historiography is to consider both sexual and religious conduct from a territorial perspective. In his famous book on homosexuality from the beginning of the Christian Era to the Renaissance, John Boswell[16] argues that most societies tolerating religious heterodoxies also accepted sexual deviance. Benassar's work on the Spanish Inquisition describes the opposite situation[17], showing the institution's tendency to associate religious and moral irregularity on a territorial base. For Benassar, this tendency does not simply concern the extreme peripheries of the empire, such as during the conquest of the New World, where native sexual behaviour was stigmatised as a sign of demonic influence[18]. His careful analysis of the Inquisition trials, and in particular their origins and evolution, demonstrates that during periods when rival religions were perceived as less threatening, the Inquisition focused on the moral (and sexual) crimes of the 'old Christians':

> As soon as it became interested in other goals, considered to be the priority, [the Inquisition's] rigour against 'the abominable sin' relaxed. Therefore, after the intense repression of the years 1570-1577, a rise in Moorish agitation diverted Aragon's Inquisition from sexual offences[19].

Religious uncertainty resulting from the European Reformation – in concert with the development of the nation state – has been related to the contemporaneous anti-witchcraft campaigns[20]. Moreover, it had been argued that witches were not only considered sexually suspicious members of the local community, but were represented as archetypes of the 'irrational female', whose ancient rural skills and knowledge was to be progressively destroyed in favour of 'rational male's' modern and urban science[21]. But such linkages between moral/sexual and religious misconduct are common in historiography – and may be used, for instance, by those interested in the etymology of sexual or religious designations. French historian Maurice Lever, for example, reveals the link between sodomy and heresy in the doctrinal struggles of the medieval Church, specifically in terms of the crusades against the Cathar heresy[22]. Lever shows how the French *boulgre* and *bougerie* derived between the 10th and 12th centuries in reference to migrating schismatics who became established in Bulgaria. Originally referring to foreign-based heretics, the words progressively came to signify sodomy. For Lever, such use of the word *bougre* to designate both the heretic and the homosexual until the 18th century illustrates clearly the conceptual confusion to be found in many other histori-

cal contexts. He cites the reputation of the court of King Henri III (1574-1589) as another example:

> The 'mignons' stand for starving the people; worse: they are enemies of France. Besides, don't they cultivate a foreign vice? Xenophobia becomes the rule, dominated by a hatred of the transalpine neighbour. The association is easy. Italian vice means Italian soul, breeding betrayal of the homeland. We are not far from the medieval confusion between heresy and sodomy[23].

A similar form of association is evoked by Guy Hocquenghem, whose work on official attitudes in France to sexual conduct during the Second World War argued that the French hatred of women and homosexuals was mainly expressed by the fear they might be in "communication of soul" with the enemy or the foreigner[24]. This fear of communication on sexual grounds has also been underlined in Alain Corbin's examinations of 19th-century metropolitan attitudes towards sexual conducts and migrants[25].

Times and spaces for moral (dis)order

Nevertheless, historians have also nuanced the concepts surrounding space and morality by emphasising the temporal dimension in the use of space, and the effects of mobility. This is exemplified by Jacques Rossiaud's study of prostitution in the Rhone valley in the 15th century. The importance of time is highlighted, showing how women gravitated towards markets and fairs, pilgrimages and seasonal agricultural events; certain locations saw increases in prostitution at specific times[26]. Within this framework Rossiaud identifies further temporal divisions – the periods before and after the organization of prostitution in the cities. He shows that between 1350 and 1450, many Rhone valley cities institutionalised prostitution, building their *prostibulum publicum*, if they did not already have one, at the central meeting point of public and political urban space[27]. In general these urban establishments practiced without common restrictions such as the interdiction of trade on the Sabbath. At times, however, regulations were introduced which forced prostitutes to wear special badges, or partitioned areas of prostitution from the rest of the city, such as the 'Lo Partit' area of Perpignan from 1380-1586[28]. But Rossiaud notes that, even in the restrictive context of such territorial confinement, the clandestine activity tended to mix with regular practices in the surrounding quarters, even at religious or public ceremonies, blending into the wider context.

Another interesting example is provided by David Stevenson's detailed study of the Beggar's Benison all male club in the small Scottish town of Fife (1732-1836). Vern L. Bullough reports that "The Benison (a term for benediction) was devoted to convivial and obscene celebration of the idea of free sex and free trade (read smuggling) with somewhat subversive political sentiments" and exposes the historian's speculation that "it grew out of a smugglers group (smuggling in eighteenth-century Scotland was a major industry) that expanded to include the custom official, mainly English, who, hated

as outsiders, could be accepted by the power structure of the Benison club. Meetings could encourage the growth of male comradery and trust that crossed class and governmental barriers"[29].

But let us make another jump in time: there is of course a considerable amount of work on sexuality in antiquity, and some has addressed the issue of its territorial organisation. Catherine Salles' study of Greek and Roman underground sexual culture[30], for instance, shows the classical identification of sexual misconduct with foreign influence. Among its illustrative quotations is the following:

> I cannot abide, Quirites, a Rome of Greeks; and yet what fraction of our dregs comes from Greece? The Syrian Orontes has long since poured into the Tiber, bringing with it its lingo and its manners, its flutes and its slanting harp-strings; bringing too the timbrels of the breed, and the trulls [prostitutes] who are bidden ply their trade at the Circus[31].

It also underlines the specific role of big cities and, in particular, of the major ports of the Mediterranean. According to the correspondent Plautus, at these commercial hubs:

> The prostitutes usually send to the harbour their little slaves, their young servants. If a foreign ship enters the harbour, they ask what the country of origin is and who the owner is. They immediately hook the owner of the ship, sticking to him, and if they manage to trap him in their nets, they send him back completely broke. There is a real pirate vessel now in the harbour and I judge that we must be on our guard[32].

Some classical urban spaces developed protective areas for clandestine sexual and other activities. The sacred woods of Rome, for instance, sheltered the social outcasts – such as the lowest classes of prostitutes, minority religious groups, and hardened criminals – who all sought refuge beyond the reach of the civic authorities. Also, large portions of waste land outside the capital or along the avenues extending from it, and even in the Esquiline graveyard, constituted peripheral places for the development of marginal, and sometimes, secret sexual activities[33]. In fact, some scholars have established from Cicero's correspondence that urban space was defined by the existence of such 'frontier zones', particularly the vast peripheral zone of gardens which, delimited by the Tiber, formed a 'green belt' around the city[34].

The transformation of vast portions of the once wooded suburban landscape into public places dedicated to the leisure of city crowds has actually inspired recent European researchers in urban history focusing on more recent periods. Their particular taste for original archives thoroughly depicting the moral organisation of spaces and conducts (through legislation, autobiographies, drawings, police reports, court cases, etc.) does not simply reveal territorial conflicts in the central districts, nor those specific to established and visible 'milieux' – taverns, cabarets, brothels – as opposed to less official rendez-vous, prostitution[35], and men-to-men sexual settings scattered in streets, markets, railways, squares, public toilets and parks[36]. The direct outskirts of capitals newly converted into fashionable promenades are in their turn re-examined in detail, to show

that they also inevitably favoured marginal, and of course, secret sexual activities. The Champs-Élysées, for example, which still constituted a frontier between the city and its countryside in late 18th-century Paris, are ambivalently portrayed throughout Swiss guard Ferdinand de Federici's meticulous daily reports (1777-1791): the tumultuous *tout Paris* not only gathered there in dangerous mobs, quarrels and duels; the peripheral public space concurrently happened to be the designated scene of gamblers, thieves, hawkers or hustlers, and of the continuous "schemes of pederasts" too[37].

For many historians, the role of local authorities and institutional control have been considered vital to understanding the presence of spaces associated with sexual deviance, and the demarcation of urban space according to sexual behaviour[38]. But some historiographical approaches insist on taking into account the collective and individual elaboration of moral frontiers and identities, not only speculating – as conceptual sociology or anthropology would – on the notions of law, norm or taboo, but building more complex evidence from a great diversity of sources. Examining prostitution in the French colonial world from multiple angles, Christelle Taraud describes the transition from male to colonial domination for women in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco (1830-1962)[39]. Based on administrative, medical, judicial, and military sources, as well as perspectives offered by orientalist literature, the arts, city planning and architecture and the press, her arguments show how women involved in prostitution in the far margins of the French empire adapted 'sexual Taylorism' imposed by the occupying forces. In maintaining a strong link with their traditional society, while experiencing Europeanization, they assumed a very singular position in which they constantly connected the 'indigenous' and the European communities. While such an interpretation allows us to deconstruct stereotypes generally attached to colonial societies, it also defines the prostitute as a moral character standing at the frontier between different and antagonistic worlds and between contrasting social identities. Moreover, this example offers the possibility of considering moral frontiers on a larger geographical scale, in which the colony becomes a sort of hinterland of the metropolis, a place far away from home where sexual transgressions are not only permissible but implemented. In addition to this spatial organisation of sexual conducts, the colonial experience constitutes a specific period of time likely to breed exceptional forms of emancipation and constraints. Therefore, it is clear that vicissitudes in time and space should be considered when discussing sexuality.

In fact, many historians have considered temporal implications: some have examined the potential of the night as an agency in the development of clandestine activities in, for instance, urban and rural areas in the middle ages[40]; and recent studies of the introduction of public lighting to urban spaces reflects a growing interest in the differentiation between daily and nocturnal social life[41]. Yet sociology also considers night as a specific 'territory', and Murray Melbin's article, *Night as a frontier*[42], introduced useful data, which established similarities between geographic and temporal frontiers, and

compared urban and rural circumstances. Melbin compared social activities observed in nocturnal Boston of the 1970s (namely, the gradual extension of nightlife into the nightly hours) to those described at the end of the 19th century on the North American frontier. According to his findings, the expansion of settlements into the time and space of the frontier relied on groups that were more isolated and more homogenous, especially in terms of gender: "The proportion of males in the population is higher on the frontier. Just as this part of the total is largest in Plains and Mountain States (71%), males comprise the largest part of the street population (89%) in the middle of the night"[43].

As a frontier, night also seemed to shelter stigmatized groups and promote new behavioural patterns. However, over time, it developed its own specific legitimacy, orders, and norms – as my own work on the ecology of male sexual locations in urban public space has shown[44]. Indeed, even very recently in France, some researchers have argued that night remains a territory for city planners to 'conquer'[45]. Nevertheless, other theorists maintain that city nights, just like days, create constraints and institutions that determine the spatial acceptability of behaviours[46].

The "moral region" revisited

Of course, such analysis inevitably leads us to consider the contribution to urban sociology developed by the Chicago School. Shaped in part by the German sociological heritage[47], it developed in the context of the tremendous urban growth of Chicago in the first decades of the 20th century, and the cultural changes brought about by a sudden influx of immigrants. The School was interested especially in the city's impact on its inhabitants, describing conflicts arising from the presence of cultures in close proximity; its founders also condemned the confusion between sociology and social morality in a period which experienced, for example, prohibition[48]. Among them was Robert Ezra Park, who had been a student of Georg Simmel, the German phenomenologist and theorist of modernity in sociology, whose articles *The Metropolis and Mental Life*[49] and *The Stranger*[50] constitute very useful methodological contributions to frontiers and identities. More particularly, Park's earliest studies on the urban moral order proposed the notion of "moral regions"[51], referring to districts notoriously dedicated to desire and emancipation that were simultaneously segregated and allowed by urban life. As a man of his times, he postulated that: "In order to understand the forces which in every large city tend to develop these detached milieus, in which vagrant and suppressed impulses, passions, and ideals emancipate themselves from the dominant moral order, it is necessary to refer to the fact or theory of latent impulses of men"[52].

Feminist historians later showed that Park was not the first to define neighbourhoods according to sexual behaviour. Meyerowitz[53], for example, in her study on the furnished room districts of Chicago argues that "evidence from newspapers, autobiographies, vice

reports, and social surveys also suggests that the furnished room districts were indeed the centres of sexually unconventional subcultures". The "sexual subtext of several key concepts from the so-called Chicago School" was recently evoked to explain the erasure from historical memory of this field in the development of urban sociology[54]. However, the notion of the moral region deserves to be examined critically in order to understand the complex interactions which took place between the diverse populations of modern cities. As a matter of fact, the compartmentalized idea of the moral region was contradicted by the concept of the "marginal man", developed later by Park[55]. "Marginal man" is very close to the notion of liminality, since it refers to an individual condemned to stand at the threshold of two distinct social worlds. While the moral region necessarily conceived an individual as being from here or from there, "marginal man" implied that the individual might well be from neither here nor from there, and many contemporary sociological works – on migration for instance – have since established that one could be from here *and* from there at the same time, stressing the individual's ability to circulate between different social spheres (especially in urban contexts of intense social exchanges and mobility, but also in the exchange between urban and rural contexts)[56]. In fact, much ethnographic evidence has been put forward to demonstrate that the notion of the moral region itself could be in direct contradiction with the individual's ability to cross physical borders, and of course symbolic ones, since norms can be understood as social borders in the socio-anthropological tradition. Urban anthropologist Ulf Hannerz[57] has criticised further Park's propositions by arguing that: "To describe the separate 'moral regions' or 'social worlds' became one of the major tasks of the Chicago sociologists. But the fact of the coexistence of these worlds in the city could also lead to further questions about the relationships between them"[58].

Envisioning the city as a network of juxtaposed areas – a sort of mosaic, as Park would have put it – has been challenged seriously by the introduction of a temporal aspect to the analysis of contrasting sexual conducts, that often seem to be 'superimposed' onto daily life. The case of impersonal male sex on suburban highway rest areas, described by Humphreys[59], is one of the various examples of ethnographies that inspired my own observations of the scarcely visible sexual exchange in peri-urban woods during rush-hour, or discreet forms of prostitution in city market crowds and big railway stations. An even more serious remark concerning the notion of "moral region" and, in general, the Chicago ethnographic tradition, has come from David Mazra[60] who underlined the very little relevance it showed for the "ordinary facts of transiency" – in other words, *mobility* – declaring that "their approach of overlap was minimal. They exaggerated the separation between deviant and conventional worlds, building frontiers too firmly"[61]. Such a critique of the founding fathers of urban sociology encourages the examination of the nature, and of course, the scale of spatial and identity 'shifts' in human exchanges, not only in city contexts – where anonymity overcomes the dilemma of "multiple realities"[62] – but also in the narrow networks of acquaintances that characterise rural

cultures, where secrecy and rumour are very likely to create an alternative relation to freedom and constraints.

Considering this dimension too, the methodological challenge may be confronted by returning to Foucault's advice regarding heterotopias: that they "always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable"[63], or to describe transitions, entry rites and, of course, the relation of such spaces to the rest of social life. Last but not least, the temporal dimension was not entirely excluded from Foucault's useful attempt to define alternative spaces, since: "Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time, which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies. The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time"[64].

Momentary emancipation can therefore be depicted following the extraordinary contingency of values experienced at, for instance, fairs, carnivals, holidays or migrations, and in the sudden meeting of normative uncertainty and self- or social conservation. It is very probably in this sense that Georges Gurvitch introduced the idea of "suspended" time as part of his general theory of the multiplicity of social times[65]. He wanted to indicate circumstances when the present conflicts with the past and future. This subjective conception of time has of course raised severe criticism from historians, who suggest that sociologists lack a real and objective sense of time[66]. The attention to scales and rhythms of mobility revealed by the historiography of sexuality must however be understood as a sociologically-grounded historical explanation of (sexual) frontiers and identities in time that is nevertheless likely to open promising perspectives for historical research.

Obviously, such historiography does not only establish the importance of real and potential spaces for the variety of sexual expressions (identities) and limits (frontiers), it also constitutes an opportunity to confront subjective and objective definitions of time[67]. Although marginal experiences are emphasized to an extent that objectively asserts a (historical) continuity of normative models, it also highlights at least two subjective yet contradictory temporal orientations. First, a strategic use of time – including the time of the unconscious postulated by Freud – made necessary by the constant constraints of social life or institutions; second, an eternal conception, mythically defining sexuality as 'natural' and unaltered by time.

Notes

1 The necessity for such epistemological developments is clearly illustrated by the cross-reading of this chapter with the contribution of D. Kalwa's to this volume.

2 The "Norms, gender and sexuality" project in the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) is a collaboration between the Faculty of History and the Comparative and History of Law Centre supported by the Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique (FNRS), bringing together researchers in History, Sociology, Anthropology and Law. Contact by e-mail: lgaissad@ulb.ac.be

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[11] L. Capdevila, F. Rouquet, F. Virgili, D. Voldman, *Hommes et Femmes dans la France en Guerre (1914-1945)* [Men and Women in France at War (1914-1945)], Paris 2003. A collective catalogue of the exhibition "Amours, Guerres et Sexualité" at the Hôtel National des Invalides in Paris (22 September – 31 December 2007) has recently been published for the occasion: F. Rouquet, F. Virgili, D. Voldman, *Amours, Guerres et Sexualité (1914-1945)* [Love, War and Sexuality (1914-1945)], Paris 2007.

[12] M. Foucault, A. Farge, *Le Désordre des Familles: Lettres de Cachet des Archives de la Bastille au 18ème Siècle* [The Disorder of Families. "Lettres de Cachets" from the 18th-century Bastille archives], Paris 1982.

[13] M. Foucault, *La Vie des Hommes Infâmes* [The Life of Infamous Men], in *Dits et Écrits* cit., III, pp. 237-256. Reprinted from "Les Cahiers du Chemin", 15 January 1977, pp. 12-29.

[14] This assumption was very clearly admitted in most of the works presented at a recent symposium organised in Brussels on the "History of Heterosexuality: Research Unthought?", Université Libre de Bruxelles, 12-13 October 2007.

[15] R. de la Bretonne, *Les Nuits de Paris* [Nights of Paris], Paris 1986; M. Lever, *Les Bûchers de Sodome* [Burning at the Stakes of Sodom], Paris 1985, pp. 255-265; D. Roche, *Journal de ma Vie. Jacques-Louis Ménétra, Compagnon Vitrier au 18ème Siècle* [The Diary of my Life. Jacques-Louis Menetra, Glaziers' guildsman in the 18th century], Paris 1982.

[16] Boswell, *Christianity,* cit. p. 15.

[17] B. Bennassar, *L'Inquisition Espagnole* [The Spanish Inquisition], Paris 1979.

[18] B. Bennassar's analysis has since been added to, in particular by the more complex approach suggested by J. Goldberg's article *Sodomy in the New world. Anthropology Old and New*, in "Social Text", 1991, 29, pp. 46-56, in which the usual paradigm of self and other, oppressor and oppressed, is revisited looking at the most violent episodes against sodomite Indians in the conquest of South America.

[19] Bennassar, *L'Inquisition* cit., pp. 337-338. My translation.

[20] G. Bechtel, *La Sorcière et l'Occident. La Destruction de la Sorcellerie en Europe, des Origines aux Grands Bûchers* [The Witch and the Western World. The Destruction of Witchcraft in Europe, from the Origins to the Great Burnings], Paris 1997.

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[22] Lever, *Les Bûchers* cit., p. 44.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 83. My translation.

[24] G. Hocquenghem, *La Beauté du Métis. Réflexion d'un Francophobe* [Beauty of the Metis. A Francophobe's Reflections], Paris 1979.

[25] He argues for an ethno-historical approach of social environment in the context of the (urban) industrial revolution: A. Corbin, *Le Temps, le Désir et l'Horreur. Essai sur le 19ème Siècle* [Time, Desire and Horror. Essay on the 19th century], Paris 1991.

[26] J. Rossiaud, *La Prostitution Médiévale* [Medieval Prostitution], Paris 1988.

[27] See the work of urban anthropologist F. Paul-Lévy in *La Ville en Croix* [The City in Cross], Paris 1984, correlating the 19th-century Haussmann 're-foundation' of Paris to the ancient territorial foundation of cities 'in cross' and to a quadripartite spatial organisation of traditional societies.

[28] É. Déplanque (archivist at Perpignan), *Les Infâmes dans le Perpignan du Moyen-Age* [The Infamous in Middle-Ages Perpignan], Narbonne 1998.

[29] D. Stevenson, *The Beggar's Benison: Sex Clubs of Enlightenment Scotland and their Rituals*, East Lothian 2001, reviewed by V. L. Bullough in "Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies", 2003, 35, pp. 361-363.

[30] C. Salles, *Les Bas-Fonds de l'Antiquité* [Underworlds of Antiquity], Paris 1982.

[31] Salles, *Les Bas-Fonds* cit., p. 241. From Juvenal, *Satire III*, v. 62-65: http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Satire_3

[32] Salles, *Les Bas-Fonds* cit., p. 88. From Plautus, *Menaechmi*, v. 338-344.

[33] Salles, *Les Bas-Fonds* cit., pp. 241-264.

[34] M. J. Kardos, *Lieux et Lumière de Rome chez Cicéron* [Sites and Lights of Cicero's Rome], Paris 1997.

[35] C. Huberty, L. Keunings, *La Prostitution à Bruxelles au dix-neuvième siècle* [Prostitution in Brussels in the 19th Century], in "Les Cahiers de la Fonderie", 1987, 2, pp 1-19, underlines the official distinction between *house* prostitutes and *scarce* (vagrant) girls.

[36] N. Chartier, *De Homoseksuele Subcultuur in Brussel in de negentiende eeuw* [Homosexual Subculture in Brussels in the 19th Century], MA dissertation, Leuven 2004.

[37] A. Farge, L. Turcot, *Flagrant délits sur les Champs-Élysées. Les dossiers de Police du Gardien Federici (1777-1791)* [Caught in the act on the Champs-Élysées. The Police Reports of the Guard Federici (1777-1791)], Paris 2008.

[38] The famous laws of Solon (around 640/558 BC) constitute an early attempt to organise prostitution for the preservation of Greek racial purity, diverting young people from married women, providing the Greeks with cheap pleasure without remorse or consequence as Salles, *Les Bas-Fonds* cit., pp. 20-21 puts it.

[39] C. Taraud, *La Prostitution Coloniale. Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc, 1830-1962* [Colonial Prostitution. Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, 1830-1962], Paris 2003.

[40] J. Verdon, *La Nuit au Moyen-âge* [Night in the Middle-Ages], Paris 1994.

[41] Brussels City Archives recently organized an exhibition dedicated to the historical uses of light in town: "Du halo au réseau. La lumière dans la ville" (7 September – 31 December 2007).

[42] M. Melbin, *Night as Frontier*, in "American Sociological Review", 1978, 43, pp. 3-22.

[43] *Ibid*., p. 8.

[44] L. Gaissad, *From Nightlife Conventions to Daytime Hidden Agendas: Dynamics of Urban Sexual Territories in the South of France*, in "Journal of Sex Research", 2005, 42, pp. 20-27.

[45] L. Gwiazdzinski, *La Nuit, Dernière Frontière* [Night, the Last Frontier], in "Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine", 2000, 87, pp. 81-88.

[46] A. Cauquelin, *La Ville la Nuit* [The City at Night], Paris 1977.

[47] In particular by the Weberian idea that city air sets you free: "Stadtluft macht frei" is in fact a German medieval proverb reminding us that moving to a city at that period was often an escape from serfdom.

[48] In the 1960s and 1970s, a second generation of Chicago School social researchers would react to the behavioural functionalism trends notably at work in a sexual sociology of the family and of its "deviances", insisting on the fabric of norms themselves, and on the use of stigma in daily life.

[49] G. Simmel, *Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben* [The Metropolis and Mental Life], in "Jahrbuch der Gehestiftung zu Dresden", 1903, 9, pp. 187-205.

[50] Id., *Exkurs über den Fremden* [The Stranger], in Id. (ed.), *Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*, Berlin 1908, pp. 509-512.

[51] R. E. Park, *The City. Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment*, in "The American Journal of Sociology", 1915, 20, pp. 577-612.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 610.

[53] J. Meyerowitz, *Sexual Geography and Gender Economy: The Furnished Room Districts of Chicago, 1890-1930*, in "Gender & History", 1990, 2, pp. 274–297.

[54] C. Heap, *The City as a Sexual Laboratory: The Queer Heritage of the Chicago School*, in "Qualitative Sociology", 2003, 26, pp. 457-487.

[55] R. E. Park, *Human Migration and the Marginal Man*, in "The American Journal of Sociology", 1928, 33, pp. 881-893.

[56] See A. Tarrius, *Les Nouveaux Cosmopolitismes. Mobilités, Identités, Territoires* [New Cosmopolitisms. Mobility, Identity, Territory], Paris 2000, and Missaoui L., *Les Étrangers de l'Intérieur. Filières, Trafics et Xénophobie* [The Inside Outsiders. Networks, Traffics and Xenophobia], Paris 2003. The notion of "moral region" is also recently extended beyond its initial urban limits to describe vast European spaces of transnational migration in Andalucia and in the Balkans by A. Tarrius, *La Remontée des Sud. Afghans et Marocains en Europe Méridionale* [Southwards Rising. Afghans and Moroccans in Southern Europe], Paris 2007.

[57] U. Hannertz, *Exploring the City. Inquiries Towards an Urban Anthropology*, New York 1980.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[59] L. Humphreys, *Tea Room Trade. Impersonal Sex in Public Places*, Chicago 1970, inopportunely published in French under the title *Le Commerce des Pissotières. Pratiques Homosexuelles (sic) Anonymes dans l'Amérique des années 1960*, Paris 2007.

[60] D. Matza, *Becoming Deviant*, New Jersey 1969.

[61] *Ibid*., p. 70.

[62] A. Schütz, *On Multiple Realities*, in "Philosophy and Phenomenological Research", 1945, 5, pp. 533-576.

[63] Foucault, *Des Espaces* cit., p. 760.

[64] *Ibid*., p. 759.

[65] G. Gurvitch, *La Multiplicité des Temps Sociaux* [The Multiplicity of Social Times], Paris 1958.

[66] F. Braudel, *History and the Social Sciences*, in "American Behavioral Scientist", 1960, 3, pp. 3-13.

[67] J. R. Hall, *The Time of History and the History of Times*, in "History and Theory", 1980, 19, pp. 113-31 provides a complete overview of this general debate opposing historians and sociologists, far beyond what can possibly be discussed within the limits of this chapter.

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Note on Contributors

Pier Giorgio Borbone

Pier Giorgio Borbone, born in Torino (Italy), studied Classical and Semitic Languages at the University of Torino. He teaches now Hebrew and Syriac Language and Literature at the University of Pisa. His main fields of research are the philological study of the Biblical text, and the Syriac historical literature. His most recent publications are related to the evidence of Syriac culture in Inner Asia and China (*Some Aspects of Turco-Mongol Christianity in the Light of Literary and Epigraphic Syriac Sources*, "Journal of the Assyrian Academic Studies" 19, 2005, pp. 5-20; *I blocchi con croci e iscrizione siriaca da Fangshan (Cina)*, in "Orientalia Christiana Periodica", 2006).

Maria Paola Castiglioni

Maria Paola Castiglioni has obtained her doctorate and now teaches at the University "Pierre Mendès France" of Grenoble. She is a member of the Research Centre CRHIPA (Centre de recherche en Histoire et Histoire de l'art. Italie- Pays alpins) and of the Archaeological mission in Apollonia (Albania). Her main research interests are relations and contacts between Greeks and indigenous peoples in Illyria in ancient times, the diffusion and the reception of Greek myths, the concepts of ethnicity, identity, acculturation and frontier in colonial contexts.

Fabio Dei

Fabio Dei is professor of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Pisa. He has worked on history and epistemology of the social sciences, publishing several volumes, including *Ragion e forme di vita* [Reason and forms of life] (with A. Simonicca, Milano 1990) and *La discesa agli inferi. J.G. Frazer e la cultura del Novecento* [The descent into the underworld. J.G. Frazer and the culture of the 20th century] (Lecce, 1998). He has also received a research doctorate in Medical Anthropology, working on the theme of non-conventional medicine. At present his interests are the Anthropology of violence and mass culture.

Laurent Gaissad

Laurent Gaissad is a socio-anthropologist; he completed his PhD at the University of Toulouse II-Le-Mirail in 2006. His surveys and publications on sex in public space led him to examine the dialectics of exposure/secrecy in urban and rural contexts from various angles (sociology, anthropology, urban history and geography, public health). He is now working on current scientific expertise of gay sex and substance use in Brus-

sels (LAMC - Université Libre de Bruxelles) and Paris (LASCO-Sophiapol CNRS - Université de Paris Ouest Nanterre).

Dimitar Grigorov

Dimitar Violetov Grigorov was born on 26 January 1976. In 1994 he graduated at the Russian High School in Sofia. MA in history (1999) with a thesis entitled "The Final Solution in the Yugoslavian and Greek territories occupied by the Germans during the World War Two", he is now Assistant Professor at the Historical Department of Sofia University. The title of the thesis is "Propaganda Images and Popular Perceptions of Balkan State and Party Leaders after the Second World War: Tito and Ceausescu". Dimitar Grigorov is especially interested in the problems related to the cult of personality in the Balkan socialist states after the Second World War and the aspects of political culture on the Balkans in 19th and 20th century.

Gro Hagemann

Gro Hagemann is Professor of modern history at the University of Oslo, and senior researcher at Forum for contemporary history. She was research fellow at The Salzburg Seminar (1988), the Swedish Colloquium for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (1992 and 1996), and leader of the research programme "Gender in Transition" of the Norwegian Research Council (1996-2001). Her research focuses on gender, class and politics in the 19th and 20th centuries. Among her recent publications are *To become a Political Subject: Enfranchisement of Women in Norway* (Cambridge 2009) and *The Value of Domestic Work: Economic Citizenship in Early Postwar Norway and Sweden* (Torino 2009).

Miroslav Hroch

Miroslav Hroch is Professor of Modern History at the Faculty of Humanities and Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, Charles University, Prague. He has also been Visiting Professor at the European University Institute in Florence, at the Freie Universität Berlin and at UCLA. He specializes in the issue of nation building processes especially among small European nations. His many books include *V narodnim zajmu. Pozadavky a cile evropskych narodnich hnuti v komparativni perspektive* [In the name of the Nation. National Programmes and Demands in Comparative Perspective], Prague 1996; *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, Cambridge 1985; *Handel und Politik im Ostseeraum während des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Prague 1977.

Luďa Klusáková

Luďa Klusáková is full Professor of History (2009) from the Palacký University at Olomouc. Since 2000, she has chaired the Seminar of General and Comparative History at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague. She took her scientific degree from the same university in 1981 for her comparative research on the modernization of European urban networks. Her publications include *The Road to Constantinople: The Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Towns Through Christian Eyes* (2002; and 2003 in Czech), as well as many articles on problems of urban innovations, modernity and backwardness. Her current interest is in the role of history in the creation of regional and urban identities.

Markéta Křížová

Markéta Křížová is *A*ssociate Professor at the Centre for Ibero-American Studies at the Charles University in Prague. She received her MA in History and Anthropology, PhD and habilitation in Ibero-American studies at the same university. She held a doctoral fellowship at Universidad Autónoma de Mexico. Her doctoral dissertation, *La ciudad ideal en el desierto: Proyectos misionales de la Compañía de Jesús y la Iglesia Morava en la América colonial* [Ideal city in the wilderness: missionary projects of the Society of Jesus and The Moravian Church in colonial America], was published in Prague in 2004; her habilitation is *The strength and sinews of this western world...: African slavery, American colonies and the effort for reform of European society in the Early Modern Era*, Prague 2008. Her research focuses on European overseas expansion, colonial history of America and cultural encounters and competitions.

José de Kruif

José de Kruif is a senior researcher at the Research Institute for History and Culture of Utrecht University in the Netherlands. She gained a Masters degree in social and economic history. She earned her PhD in cultural history with a prize-winning dissertation on reading culture in the 18th century. In 2004 she was awarded a five-year grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research with which she started a research project into mediahypes in pamphlets and newspapers in the Netherlands in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Ojārs Lāms

Ojārs Lāms (1965), Dr.philol., and associate professor of Literary Theory at the Department of Baltic Studies, University of Latvia, studied Classical and Baltic philology at University of Latvia, and further continued his studies at the Universities of Turku

and Athens and the International Olympic Academy (Olympia, Greece). As guest lecturer he has worked at University of Münster. He has translated into Latvian several modern Greek poets as well as translating and editing "On the Sublime" by Longinus. He is the author of numerous other publications on the history and theory of the epic and perception of the culture of antiquity. His articles have been published in Latvian, English, German, Finnish, both in Latvia and abroad.

Harieta Mareci Sabol

Harieta Mareci Sabol graduated from the Ştefan cel Mare University, Suceava, Romania, in 1995. She obtained her PhD in 2002, with a thesis on Romanian historiography. She is currently lecturer in the Department of History, Faculty of History and Geography, in the Ştefan cel Mare University, where she teaches historiography and contemporary world history.

Alexandre Massé

Alexandre Massé obtained a diploma of *professeur certifié* of history and geography, and is preparing a doctorate in contemporary history at the University of Toulouse II-Le Mirail focused on the role of French consuls in the east of Greece during the first half of the 19th century. His main research interests are representations and their political and economic consequences, the birth of the idea of a civilizing mission and the place of France in the East. He has already published an article in the *Cahier de la maison de la recherche en sciences humains* (2007) and in the joint publication run by Jörg Ulbert (2010) on consular functions in the 19th century.

Giovanni Moretto

Giovanni Moretto is a doctoral student in the Department of History at the State University of Milan. His field of study is History of Slavic Countries. His main research interests are history and culture of Russia and particularly social history and material culture of the Soviet Union.

György Németh

György Németh was born on 25 June 1956 in Kaposvàr, Hungary. In 1980 he finished his studies in Hungarian and History at the Faculty of Arts, ELTE, Budapest, and, in 1982 in Ancient Greek. In 1982 he received his doctor's degree; in 1997 he became head of the Ancient History Department of the Kossuth Lajos University, Debrecen. Since July 2001 he has been professor of the Universities ELTE, Budapest and University of Debrecen; since September 2002 he is also associate professor of the Univer-

sity Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca (Romania). His research field is archaic and classical Greece, internal politics is Athens in the 5th century B.C. and Greek epigraphy.

Andrea Pető

Prof. Dr habil. Andrea Pető is an associate professor at the Department of Gender Studies at the Central European University in Budapest where she teaches courses on social and cultural history of Europe. Her books include: *Women in Hungarian Politics 1945-1951* (Columbia University Press/East European Monographs New York, 2003), *Geschlecht, Politik und Stalinismus in Ungarn. Eine Biographie von Júlia Rajk*. Studien zur Geschichte Ungarns, Bd. 12. (Gabriele Schäfer Verlag, 2007). At present she is working on gendered memory of World War II and forms of political extremism.

Lisa Saracco

Lisa Saracco was born in Capua, Italy, in 1974. She received her Laurea degree from the University of Rome "La Sapienza" with a thesis in Reformation History dedicated to the translation of the Italian Bible made by the Dominican friar Santi Marmochino (1538). In November 2000 she became a doctoral candidate in Modern History at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa. She has been commissioned by the Claudiana publishing house of Turin to translate – from Latin into Italian – Luther's theological thesis "Quaestio de viribus et voluntate hominis sine gratia disputata", and "Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam", written between 1516 and 1522. She is also very interested in women's history, especially during the Reformation and the Renaissance. For this reason, she was elected to the Committee for the development of Protestant Women's Archives in Torre Pellice (Italy).

Berteke Waaldijk

Berteke Waaldijk is a Professor of Language and Culture Studies at Utrecht University. She received her PhD at Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands. As a historian specialized in gender studies she has published on histories of gender and welfare, the Dutch women's movement, media and citizenship. With Maria Grever she published *Transforming the Public Sphere: the Dutch National Exhibition of Women's Labor in 1898*, (Durham, Duke UP, 2004). Her current interests include colonial cultures and transnational citizenship. She is the leader of "Thematic Work Group 4, Work Gender Society" in the EU FW6 Network of Excellence CLIOHRES. Berteke Waaldijk is the academic director of the EU Thematic Network of Women's Studies, ATHENA.

Ioannis Xydopoulos

Ioannis Xydopoulos teaches Ancient Greek History as an Assistant Professor at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. The author of several works on ancient Macedonia, beginning with *Social and Economic Relations between Macedonians and the Other Greeks*, Thessaloniki 1998 (rev. ed. 2006), his interests now centre on issues of identity and perception, as in his current book project, *The Perception of Ancient Thracians in Classical Greek Historiography*.

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Printed in June 2011
by Dedalo Pisa