in lieu of duration

Spatiotemporal Excursions in Literature, Film and Architecture

Edited by Maciej Stasiowski

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Interdisciplinary Discourses

IN LIEU OF DURATION: SPATIOTEMPORAL EXCURSIONS IN LITERATURE, FILM AND ARCHITECTURE

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Unit 3A, Gateway Tower
32 Western Gateway
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www.lcir.co.uk
info@lcir.co.uk

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Past is not a foreign country – an introduction

Is Past still a foreign country? Does such spatio-temporal conflation continue to serve its literary purpose, or is it just a cognitive habit we aren't able to shake off? Why should we? Whereas this territory seems already reclaimed by neuroscience and modern physics, a truly enriching insight might come with the language we use, and to which we resort, when describing peculiarities of our situatedness in time and space. But in order to set out on such complex conundrums, let us first inspect the vocabulary. Like Quixotean or Kafkaesque, Sebaldian has become a term that – outside of the circuit of incessant name-dropping – can redirect us to an erudite, subjective account of reality as firmly tied to unresolved past conflicts, a rupture in the fabric of the everyday made by history. "Sebald came to serve in art's pantheon, not as a proper name, for that had already been claimed by another discipline, but as an adjective that both suggested a new medium and launched a fresh critical palliative. Next to Freudian, Kuhnian, Foucauldian, and Deleuzian, there would be another – *Sebaldian*."[1] When applied to a specific field of knowledge, text or artwork, it inevitably conjures up an atmosphere of suspension and displacement. It points to an essayistic quality of piece that dives deep into ruminations on our rootedness in particular locations, while enmeshed in past conflicts and their contemporary (mostly inconclusive) resolutions – all mediated through memory. It points to a certain "...way of narrating through which the author wonders and interacts with different people, objects, historical moments"[2].

1 - Lise Patt, (2007), 'Introduction: Searching for Sebald: What I Know for Sure' [in:] *Searching for Sebald: Photography After W.G. Sebald*, ed. Lise Patt and Christel Dillbohner, Los Angeles: The Institute of Cultural Inquiry, p. 17.

2 - https://kosmopolis.cccb.org/en/sebaldiana/post/06-s-sebaldiano/ [accessed: 03.05.2021]

While each researcher's recollection hasn't – in most cases – been yet monopolized by the late German emigrée, allowing a myriad of other inspiring philosophers to flock in, the characteristic air and flair of his prose weaves a multilayered fabric of personal events and chapters in any chronicle reflected in this volume. Carefully embroidering the vacant spaces, where forced erasures were meant to silence or repress, the Sebaldian narrative of the book You have decided to pick up and invest at least a few minutes in, invites on a similar journey to the peregrinations recounted in *Austerlitz* (2001), *Vertigo* (1990), or *Rings of Saturn* (1995), exploring these two categories through lenses of literature, architecture, film studies, and other disciplines oriented at spatio-temporal aspects of place and body memory. Even the fashion of this interdisciplinary study remains Sebaldian, as its subject is often transient and ephemeral, encompassing dialectic materialism's grasp on historical mentality, identities emergent in border regions, or neoliberalism's non-places which support the infrastructure for a precarious existence. With a pinch of nostalgia its pursuit makes us wonder and wander through temporal strata, while covering topographic distance, not unlike the mileage reported on in *The Rings of Saturn*, in which categories of time and space are knit together tightly into an elaborate, though confusing tapestry. What else is there for reflecting on our elusive presence?

"How uninviting Somerleyton must have been, I reflected, in the days of the industrial impresario Morton Peto, MP, when everything, from the cellar to the attic, from the cutlery to the waterclosets, was brand new, matching in every detail, and in unremittingly good taste. And how fine a place the house seemed to me now that it was imperceptibly nearing the brink of dissolution and silent oblivion. However, on emerging into the open air again, I was saddened to see, in one of the otherwise deserted aviaries, a solitary Chinese quail, evidently in a state of dementia, running to and fro along the edge of the cage and shaking its head every time it was about to turn, as if it could not comprehend how it had got into this hopeless fix."[3] Encapsulated in short fragments like these, Sebald's lectures on a

3 - W. G. Sebald (2002), *The Rings of Saturn*, transl. Michael Hulse, London: Vintage Books, p. 20.

declining grandeur and the aftermath of History are the essence of his writing. They allow the reader for a mental time travel, without resorting to science fiction tropes or motifs.

Editing a book that consists of similar time travels, where each text embarks on locating and shedding light on the 'hopeless fix' at its base, evolved into a project that will engage its readers in an inquiry much more inspiring, gratifying and cautious than a mere collection of essays on geography and chronology. Consider this a ticket for multi-page peregrinations, rather than a last minute trip at an age when travel options are still severely limited. This three-part journey begins with an inspection of the literary notion of topos, discussing the nature of linguistic substitutions for geographic locations, physical settings and the materiality of buildings. The second section shifts the focus to metaphorical and political borders, although also venturing into lives conducted on social margins. In comparison with the two, the third and final assemblage of articles invites more radical space-time blending, either physical (by means of an urban survey), philosophical (in literature, but from a historiographic vantage point), or imposing an altogether meta-narrative framework on writing/thinking about alternatives that inherently binds even hypothetical temporalities to a site. This is a Sebaldian line of inquiry and intellectual flight, which opens up the narrative in this volume to all literary paradoxes. Let us proceed then to the point of departure.

I

The German writer has authored a number of academic essays and essayistic fictions, so the safest way to approach a Sebaldian detour is from the side of literary tropes: the topos of ruins, metaphors and images substituting for the dematerialized notion of place, and genres most prone to spatial description. In *Rings of Saturn* he wanders through Suffolk, English countrysides replete with industrial ruins of rusted silos, vacant factory halls, and dug

out, dismantled fuel tanks. Inna Matyushina's contribution traces such *ruin lust* back to medieval poetry of the 10th century, which sets apart comparable descriptions found in the Bible and ancient Roman lamentations – not explicit evocations of the punishment for the sinful humanity, but and aesthetic object denoting inevitable passage of time. This epistemic and philosophical shift, mirrored in age's poetry, has taken place due to "[t]he discovery of the individual in the Middle Ages transforms an ancient genre, encomium urbis (glorification of Rome), into a lyrical subject de excidio urbis, which is prompted by the destruction of Rome." (p. 39) Bringing together examples of the historical and mythic cities' levelling, beginning with ones in *The Book of Revelation*, through St Augustine's 'De excidio urbis Romae sermo' (the fall of Rome), Gildas' sermon 'De excidio et conquestu Britanniae' ('On the Ruin and Conquest of Britain'), Alcuin's 'On the destruction of Lindisfarne monastery', to Ausonius' 'Ordo Urbium Nobilium', Matyushina pinpoints a watershed moment in the evolution of this topos, from "...the generalisation of the description of ruins, the shift of accent from the material ruin to the symbolic meaning of the destruction signify the birth of a lyrical topos." (p. 39) This mode of nostalgic excavation of ancient past is at the base of Sebaldian melancholia, present in his flowing descriptions of physical landscape, towns and cities, and their dissolution due to warfare and disasters. As Renée R. Trilling notes – referenced in Matyushina's text – "...ruins are particularly well suited to signifying this complex and paradoxical understanding of temporality" (Trilling 2009, 51). The abundance of details substitutes for the lack of a material correlate, becoming also the focal point for subsequent chapters by Katherine Anna New, Laura Marzo, and Miriam Sette.

A piece of poetic work of art is like a marble column or statue is a telling metaphor connoting longevity and firmness, despite the erosive doings of time's passage. In her text Katherine Anna New takes this metaphor a bit further in her comparison of the 'temporal-spatial characteristics of the poetic monument metaphor' in the works of Quintus Horatius Flaccus, Alexander Pushkin, and Gavrila Romanovich Derzhavin. This embodiment of the work as a pyramid,

or something made of bronze, brings to mind durability – an architectural element that would stand the test of time. Does it also translate to spatial organization of the cases selected? Is there more substance behind the use of this *adynaton* – a hyperbole expressing complete impossibility – given the presence of toponyms, as for "[t]he image of space narrows from the reference to the universe to the list of concrete toponyms, given in the order of linear perspective from the seas to the rivers, and finally widening again to the immeasurable and the immortal, thus combining the linear and the reverse perspectives," (p. 52) while the "...combination of the narrowing perspective of time and the simultaneously widening perspective of space creates a tension which stresses the psychological, spiritual plane, prevailing in the poetic system of the text over its temporal-spatial scheme." (p. 57) Conjuring up a purely spatial dimension in a sequential narrative is not just implying impossibility, but stretches the boundaries of writing to do just that, consequently depicting the 'future epic as a marble temple.' (p. 45)

Laura Marzo's chapter titled *The Time of the Civil Wars in the City of God: The Narrative of Time as Rupture of the Social Order* is an essay on St. Augistine's aporia of time, as presented in *Confessions* (397-401). She writes: "Augustine depicts the historical presence of civil wars as watershed of two value and time systems that are intrinsically and extrinsically opposite to each other. [...] Therefore, civil wars become a narrative occasion which, in their concreteness of historical event actually happened, reflecting the deeper conflict between paganism and Christianity and hence between pagan time that refuses God and Christian time that worships God (O' Daly 1999, 87-8)." (p. 70) Thus dual temporalities are levelled with clashing ideologies of (divine) historical time, contrasted with subjectivity who chooses between the two. The mutilation that results from historical atrocities is as much literal as it is eschatological, and invites to inspect perception of time as adherence (or lack thereof) to the divine order. It is precisely this that the Sebaldian subject finds broken, and caught up in perpetual disrepair. Eternal time – as opposed to 'the tragic mutability of human time' – seems inaccessible for the contemporary subject. We

will see that worked through (while never completely resolved) in further texts assembled in this volume, most prominently featured in the chapters by Waldherr and Jissov.

Before that happens, there is yet another text to conclude this section in the most appropriate way, bringing up travel journal literary genre. More specifically, an inquiry into William Beckford's displaced Orient, reanimated on the pages of his *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha* (1835). However, what Miriam Sette cautions us against, prior to commencing this literary Mediterranean journey, is that Beckford's travel journal never strays from deliberately imaginative forays into the realm of exoticisms rendered as distant to his English manor as possible. Beckford's is an inner journey in recollections of places and associated memories, which sublimates in his descriptions of the Mediterranean flora. His "...Portuguese garden expresses an aesthetic of taste contrasting the triumph of artifice of the English garden. The English garden imposes itself as the culmination of an extenuation of man's manipulative tendency towards nature, which is bent to an ordo artificialis in which the negation of nature, the negation of man, takes place." (p. 88) Any analysis would be lost on his burgeoning descriptions, if judged solely by its fidelity, but – as Sette points out – "...the greatness of the travel diary genre lies in the extreme plasticity of its structure. It is not just a pure description of the places, but, above all, an attempt to rewrite the experience based on the author's taste and sensitivity." (p. 91) For Beckford then "Portugal, [...] is not only a psychic reflection of his anguish, but also a mythical space, a new poetic horizon, and the place itself of the revelation of the Divine in all its forms, just as the mysterious Orient of his previous writing had been (Cf. Said 2003)." (p. 89)

Fleshing out the topos from these inquiries into literature, we find most studies – even when focusing either on the spatial or temporal aspect – entangled to some extent in both. Even in the exploration of Beckford's travel journal, which explicitly displays a geographic estrangement, substituting the oppressive English society for an enchanting mystery of the Portuguese Orient, remainders of past trauma impose themselves on his narrative.

II

Whereas literature allowed authors brought together in the first section of this book to move back and forth on the spatio-temporal plane, the essays featured in the second are mainly concerned with borders. Crossing topographic demarcations, transgressing social ones, existing on the edges of communities, inhabiting in-between spaces, unregulated by political agents, yet also shunned by market economy – becomes the issue here. And so we relocate to the Australian outback, precarious motels and nameless drive-by facilities, lower strata of Juárez and Tokyo, following the lives of prostitutes and shoplifters.

The insanely long trek along the eponymous 'rabbit-proof fence' explores an Aboriginal interpretation of the Sebaldian wanderlust, with the spiritual concept of the walkabout. In dreamtime, where and when ancestors state their presence to the journeyman, Lucija Periš sees a symbolic 'refuge' for the spatio-temporal dislocation experienced by the characters of the Doris Pilkington's novel *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996) as well as its adaptation by Philip Noyce (2002). The metaphoric border is thus a 'small strip' of land, and a symbolic social space in which White and Aboriginal identities becomes intermixed with what "[t]he colonizers call the mixed-race children half-castes and Aborigines call them muda-mudas to indicate their alienation in the community." (p. 103) The children, Molly, Daisy and Gracie, are part of what has been retroactively termed 'the stolen generation' – taken away from their families and schooled rather than educated, as to better suit the needs of white settlers, during the time of apartheid politics in Australia. 'Half-castes' are viewed by the author as transient identities, which, instead of being rooted in both cultures, belong to no place – neither the already-colonized swathes of Australia, nor those still in the hands of indigenous people. Their journey is a necessity, a pilgrimage to the lost homeland. Like in the previous example, the Occident projects its image upon the Orient, and all three main protagonists evidently fall prey to this, not merely

symbolic, but outright violence. Finally, space – if considered separately from the purely physical cruelty of the trudge – is interpreted in the chapter on the part of the *third space* category, introduced by Homi K. Bhabha. Collation of a linguistic, ethnic and cartographic understanding of this term is only a natural consequence of its application to post-colonial readings of the book, as well as to history and cultural transformations that provided the 'fertile ground' for its appearance.

Fictions less removed back in time, yet not even remotely more benevolent, constitute two case studies presented in the next chapter. Capitalization of time in service-based free market economy has reached a point of constant deficiency long ago. Ronja Waldherr's chapter on afterlife fictions set against the background of neoliberal economies (*Reclaiming TINA Neoliberalism's Precarious Futures: Utopia and Narrative Democracy in Postmillennial Afterlife Fictions*) addresses and probes the depths of our contemporary negative capabilities[4], or, in other words, resilience to such stress and overload that stems from a hostile takeover of time by the powers of commerce. The fictions put in the spotlight are Ali Smith's *Hotel World* (2001) and *10 Minutes 38 Seconds in This Strange World* (2019) by Elif Shafak. Waldherr inspects the "(re)configuration of an inherently violent social timescape through the concept of precarity" (p. 120), revealing how the main characters in these texts (Tequila Leila and Sara Wilby) exist – or cease to – on the margins of the world market economy devoid of an alternative, in the timelessness of non-places such as shoddy hotels, back alleys and street corners, where drug deals are made. The mutilation due to a precarious living defined by neoliberal service economy doesn't relinquish its grasp on Sara or Leila even after each narrator's passing. Their lives are defined by uncertainty, inability to plan out, or even envision a sustainable future outside of the 'cycles of disasters and upsurges' that perpetuate a flawed system, trapped between a non-reflexive 'present historic' and the inexistent long-

4 - According to John Keats, this is a 'measure' of writer's ability to emotionally detach oneself from the subject matter, and accept uncertainties, while suspending moral judgement.

term planning of the 'future conditional'. "Like the character's wobbly temporal location between immobility in the present and an uncertain future trajectory within the fast-spinning world of consumer capitalism, the indeterminacy of her perspectival positioning speaks to Lise's profound displacement from the 'normal' social timescape." (p. 136) One could probably roam indefinitely in this post-industrial landscape, salvaging half-buried histories, if only Romantic notions such as this weren't already a remnant of a bygone era, extinct in the precarious 'nowness' of the unencumbered capitalism.

The same market forces drive the Shibata family into bleak poverty and criminal existence. Less concerned about temporal ambiguities, Hirokazu Kore-eda's film is a sociological study of marginalized spaces in the city – places so much frequented and devoid of character that they simultaneously belong to everybody and no-one. In this story they belong to the multi-generational family of Shibata who live at the tail end of this capitalist food chain. Takeshi Suzuki's essay provides a second look on urban spaces similar to those in New Delhi, studied by Ashni Jain and Amrita Madan a few pages further. Kore-eda's rendition, however, presents a busy, throbbing centre, where diverse social actors collide with one another in a crime-infested labyrinth. Among a large body of texts engaging with a literary studies reception of poetry and prose, in this particular instance the author cautiously guides his readers through an interpretation stemming from cultural/film studies. This mode of inquiry allows for a better understanding of the sociological content of the film. As Suzuki writes, "...by exploring the social strata of the main characters, the critic can analyse in what urban spaces they inhabit, which 'working area' they select, and how the landscapes accentuate the characters' social background." (p. 163)

It is curious that Sebald had a scarce chance to glimpse at the 21st century, witnessing hardly any of its new media, socially-networked intrusions into daily concerns (at least not many of them made it onto the pages of his novels), given the fact how his reflections have proliferated on blogs (https://sebald.wordpress.com/, https://kosmopolis.cccb.org/en/sebaldiana/). The curse of

repeating an unresolved past still looms large over that mainly analogue bibliophile, who never had a proper go at the iterations of remembrance and forgetting encoded in new digital media. Cinema, on the other hand, was more than familiar terrain for Sebald. Being a cinema buff, obsessed with Wim Wenders' *Kings of the Road* (1976) and Alain Resnais' *Last Year at Marienbad* (1961) – first one, a relentless and nostalgic road movie, the other – a study of memory in motion. Both are strange attractors in his oeuvre. In this context, Kore-eda's film proved to be perfect for exploring the "...aspect of temporality in the narrative..." (p. 155) present in adopting "... strategically what Kenneth Burke called 'repetitive form' (1968)." (p. 155) At the same instance, Suzuki makes use of the mode of a film analysis to embrace a Loachian[5] critical social commentary that "... point[s] out that Japan's safety net fails to save the poorest class of people [...], hence, sometimes forcing them to survive by resorting to any means necessary." (p. 159)

Equally conscious of the thin line separating vicious class struggle from street-cleansed urban borderlands is Laurence Wensel's essay on Chicano border plays. Cross-border territories in most geographies are seen as acrimonious conflict zones. In the few last years, however, the Mexican-US tensions and migrancy politics of the latter repeatedly made the headlines, while drawing attention to human rights violations. When we add to these issues those that pertain to gender, sex trafficking, and capitalist exploitation of the workforce, cities like Juárez, Tijuana, or Matamoros present themselves as ground zeros of related criminal activity. Hopefully artistic activity is catching up to such exploits. Laurence Wensel looks into this process of identity forging (primarily of transgender people, identified as "Latinx") through culture clash and hybridization: "...the identities of anyone of Latin descent and origin are shaped, challenged, and reformed through the spaces and places they experience. This situation is no less true on the border as it is a chiasm of places and spaces, including gender, architecture, and identity." (p. 177) Wensel pays attention to built environment, engaging with a critique of urban spaces like the plaza, a suburban

5 - As indicative of Ken Loach's perspective to 'kitchen sink' realism.

meeting place, which turns into a prostitution and drug trafficking hub at night. He conjures up the quote: "'Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other' (2014)," adding that "[b]y incorporating theories of space and place and utilizing three plays from TCDL, I investigate how the intersection of systems formulate answers and questions concerning identity that arise for this group of Chicano writers." (p. 166) The author argues that the 'border fictions' moniker is only valid as long as the subject is treated as a problem specific to the region, thus viewed via its limited geographic spread, instead of being noticed for the universality of its themes. This is what the activities of Teatro Chicano de Laredo (TCDL) are aimed at.

III

There is a high capacity of transcendence in the third and final part of this book, which urges the reader to embrace the 'big picture', in which categories of time and space become inseparable from each other. In tandem, divagations on space and subjective, historical temporalities are concluded by a metatextual inquiry into counterfactual thinking – a slide into alternative histories, even if only on a hypothetical level.

A concrete view on built environment comes through in the tactical urbanism's take on the urbanscape of Paharganj in Central Delhi in *Temporality from Transience: the Urbanscape of Paharganj*. Surveyed here are temporary structures of a public marketplace that blooms overnight and in the early hours of the morning to wrap up and disappear completely before night falls again. Architecture here is makeshift, but it also encompasses the socio-cultural network of clients and vendors. Ashni Jain's and Amrita Madan's urban survey privileges human factors equally to spatial ones, recognizing intricate patterns of use and (temporal) habitation as pivotal to forming the community of Paharganj. The authors map activities intrinsic to the site, throughout the day.

"Every space in Paharganj, be it public or private, outdoor or indoors, grand or humble is associated with a predefined function allotted to it. This in turn creates an undeniable connection between humans and their physical environment, which inevitably becomes a part of their existence. Upon such fixated allotment, the element of transience dematerialises, making the space stagnate as well as the user experience, and resulting in a structural compromise. It bounds a space to a certain type of user and activity, making the space exclusive and not inclusive." (p. 189) Involving a discussion on the spatial layout of the urban district, along with transient patterns that emerge in daily rhythms, the text partakes in the theme of identity and belonging, as well as it identifies an ongoing negotiation between two types of memory that forms this identity – collective, cultural memory, and that which is associated with monuments and heritage – the dynamic, generational experience. Together with institutional, or even historical identification with a given religion, culture, and ethnic identity, it provides a valuable insight. In this context, tactical urbanism is harnessed as a method proposed by the authors for regulating and streamlining apparent flows and interactions. The chapter is an ingenuous manifesto for urban development that comes from bottom-up, NGO tactics, instead of being superimposed by artificial 'regeneration' projects that often spawn little more than gentrification. Alongside Sebald, another author's prose comes to mind for this occassion. Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* (1972) successfully reoriented the focus from built structures towards their (even temporary) inhabitants for generations of architects to come.

With Milen Jissov's contribution on Czesław Miłosz's *The Captive Mind* (1953), we return again to a historiographic account of literature by assuming a vantage point of a transient subject, traumatized by temporality (as Camus would have described it), and searching for reattachment with the self (human vulnerability, familial bonds, re-enchantment with the world). The source of this split, as well as the reason behind the fractured East European mentality is the Diamat – dialectic materialism – or, how Miłosz characterizes it, the totalitarian rule of philosophers, restless in

effacing human values, passions, empathy, down to the last irrational atom, causing a mental incarceration of the subject. Diamat manipulates human subjectivity, as extracted from historical temporality, and progresses through a traumatizing control of time. As Jissov points out, Miłosz's three means of escape are also rooted in temporal policing, although they hark back to concepts outside of the New Faith's "total rationalism" and streamlined vision of history. These are: "a pilgrimage to an ancient human past of sexual freedom", "recognition and embracing of eternity of human subjectivity", and poetry – although, the author remarks, none of these is free from the irony of an annihilation of time, even though its agenda is resurrective, rather than dogmatically memorializing. In effect, this "...contemplation of humans as bearers of a timeless 'mystery', and the contemplation of timeless values through art, promise redemption from Diamat's mental prison. In these visions, the salvation of human subjectivity lies in its emancipation from Miłosz's own historical present, and in its contemplation of eternity." (p. 220) And so, with a journey into Miłosz's entrapped European history, we find ourselves standing on the verge of eternity, or a Platonist projection thereof.

Marta Helena Nowak's essay *The role of time and space in counterfactual thinking. Cognitive perspective on historical studies* somehow summarizes the pursuits collected in this volume, asking where exactly and under what circumstances does a 'what if' question arise. Where does historical analysis 'take place' then? What is considered in this chapter is not just the mental process, but the hypothetical, alternative geography of the parallel universe (past, present) in which our thought experiment is carried out. What is implied by this obviously points to a sort of utopia, where space is created in order to carry out the experiment in an apparent timelessness. Nowak's study dissects this methodology, a mental process of counterfactual thinking, which she describes as "...the ability to design the alternative scenarios of the past" (p. 224). According to the conceptual blending concept (Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner), counterfactuals are not simply creations of alternative scenarios, but can be understood as "a mental process

that enables people to understand the world." (p. 225) Nowak's thesis therefore states that "...historical thinking (thinking about the past) and the design of a historic narrative is always the result of counterfactual thinking, the subject of which consists of a great deal of different aspects of reasoning, judging and decision making." (p. 226)

And again, upon returning to Sebald's works, we eventually find a place on and of the page, where counterfactuals are born like liquid Pleiades, where readers' imagination can ramble and wander, ascending and descending past's stratigraphic layers. As Nowak wrote, "[a]ny analysis of abstract space and time, referring to past events, is always based on designing blends in which we juxtapose different facts and models of the past in order to achieve the most satisfactory solution. Counterfactual thinking is therefore constantly present in the course of historical analysis, and does not only occur at the moment of consciously shaping the probable past. Judgments and opinions on any subject concerning a bygone reality are based on the processes of compression and compression of important relationships, which are the basis of any historical analysis." (p. 230) Commencing with epic poetry, while finishing by questioning the limits of spatio-temporal queries altogether, from a late modernist perspective of Sebald's literary project we have arrived at a conceptual deconstruction of the language instrumental to historical analysis. Maybe the only appropriate conclusion to this traverse should be a Dadaist one, provided by a recurring Duchampian principle of art's futility when faced with inevitable erosion of all things material, alongside those slightly less so, like ideas put in writing? Roberto Bolaño conjures up that experiment on the pages of his *2666* (2004). Published posthumously, the novel employs it as a kind of whipping post for self-mockery of his characters. All of them live for and from translating others' texts, analysing and interpreting literary works, and by that their authors' identities. Óscar Amalfitano, a Chilean professor, is the most important persona among these intertextual vagrants. Outside of his apartment he hangs a book on geometry. Ragged, soaking, and weathered, it would stay there for months. Tied to the clothesline, next to his

trousers, blankets and shirts, this was to be the translator's (an expert on Benno von Archimboldi) own take on the Duchampian experiment, which was referred to by the latter as an *Unhappy readymade*. "Dieste's book was still hanging with the clothes Rosa had washed that day, clothes that seemed to be made of cement or some very heavy material, because they didn't move at all, while the fitful breeze swung the book back and forth, as if it were grudgingly rocking it or trying to detach it from the clothespins holding it to the line."[6] The readymade was truly unhappy, judging from the damage inflicted. By far, nothing even closely resembling a collector's object, the piece has been conceived by the conceptual artist as a wedding gift (1920) for his sister. Such miserable outcome was inevitable. Epic battles against forces of nature usually end up even worse. A hundred years later we can reimagine Duchamp's challenge any piece of writing can pose to the elements, specifically this volume. The ending will be grim. All endings are, so there is no reason for worrying too much. And yet, I am sure that the essays brought together on the 233 pages, which You are leafing through right now, will persist to intrigue, fascinate, even urge its reader to wrap their heads around the concepts put forward in these Sebaldian excursions. Please remind me again, was that a book on geometry or one on space and time that had been hung on the clothesline, blowing in the wind?

6 - Roberto Bolaño (2008), *2666*, transl. Natasha Wimmer, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, pp. 168-169.

PART ONE

Inna Matyushina

The Topos of Ruins in Medieval Poetry

The Old English poem called 'The Ruin', describing a city deserted by its inhabitants and destroyed, is included into the manuscript of the *Exeter Book*, which was presented by Bishop Leofric to the Cathedral Library in Exeter shortly before his death in 1072. The prominence of the motif of ruins in this poem of the *Exeter Book* can be accounted for by its composition during one of the most unstable periods of English history, marked by the mutinies of Mercian and Northumbrian lords, the raids of the Vikings, and the desolation of buildings. The poem is a meditation on the transience of worldly glory (Fell 1991, 172-189), which comprises a series of living pictures, juxtaposing images of past magnificence and contemporary decay: the present with its desolated cities is reassessed against the background of past glory. The concept of nostalgia is frequently mentioned by scholars in connection with the Old English 'Ruin', which was called 'an imaginative nostalgia for a glorious past, stimulated by a particular scene spread out before the poet's eyes' (Leslie 1961, 3) and was said to embody a 'nostalgia for a past that is unbroken, inhabitable, articulate and contiguous as well as a reminder of the speaker's own present state of brokenness, isolation, fallenness, and silence' (Liuzza 2003, 16). The poem permits various interpretations, which range between historical-archaeological[1] and

1 - Historical-archaeological interpretations concentrate on analysing archaeological, architectural, historical and other extra-linguistic evidence with a view to identifying the place described in the poem (cf. Herben, 1939, 37-39; Herben, 1944, 72-74).

allegorical[2], and account for its special impact on the audience both medieval and modern.

The first lines of the poem (Wrætlic is þes wealstan, / wyrde gebræcon[3], 1, 'This wall-stone is wondrous; calamities broke it') briefly summarise its theme, reminding the audience that all the works of man are as transient as himself. Attention is first drawn to the fate of the buildings (burgstede burston, / brosnað enta geweorc, 2, 'these city-sites crashed, the work of giants is decaying'), and then to its builders (Eorðgrap hafað / waldend wyrhtan, 6b—7a, 'The grip of the earth holds the mighty builders'). The perfection of human creation in the past is visualised by the poet as bright halls of the city, magnificent bath-houses, lofty peaked roofs, mead-halls filled with merry human voices: all is full of happiness and joy. Suddenly the imagery changes: pestilence takes human lives, the city collapses, only ruins are left where once happy people were enjoying the abundant gifts of life in their mead-halls. The buildings become desolate: red curved roofs collapse, ceiling-vaults fall to the ground, even the ruins crumble into mounds, symbolising human mortality. At the end of the poem the focus is narrowed again, from description of the ruins to representation of hot springs. The last lines of the manuscript cannot be deciphered with any certainty, but their main drift can be guessed: the splendour of the past is contrasted to a dismal present.

The abundance of picturesque details suggests that the creator of the poem is describing his personal experience: his memories of the past magnificence of cities, the might of people long gone, and the glory of those who once inhabited the dwellings, all come to life in his meditations before the ruins. The description of visualised edifices does not exclude identification with a specific place in England, possibly the ruins of the Roman baths, the *Aquae Sulis*, which were

2 - Allegorical explanations of the poem range from suggesting a Christological interpretation (Murgia 2010, 180-202) and defining the poem as a metaphor for Christ (Cammarota 1997, 25–48) to viewing it as a description of the fall of Babylon (Keenan 1966, 109-117), or as a body-city riddle (Johnson 1980 397–411).

3 - The text of 'The Ruin' is quoted from: Klinck, 1992.

taken by the Saxons after the battle of Deorham in 577. As has been pointed out by editors, 'there is no evidence to show that Bath (or Acemannesceater, as it is called in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 973A) was ever completely in ruins or desolate' (Krapp and Dobbie 1936, lxv)[4], however other scholars suggest that in the eighth century, when the poem was allegedly composed, the city of Bath could have decayed (Wentersdorf 1977, 173)[5]. Other identifications of the ruined city described in the poem have been proposed (Hadrian's Well, Chester, Caerleon)[6]. It has been suggested that 'as a traveller in an antique land the poet looks on an alien civilisation' (Fell, 180), therefore he is 'undoubtedly describing Roman ruins, as relatively few Anglo-Saxon buildings were of stone' (Fulk and Cain 2005, 187). However, as will be shown in this chapter, no identification is vitally important for the understanding of the poem, as it deals with a lyrical commonplace, a *topos* inherited from preceding literary traditions.

'The Ruin' seems to be independent of the gnomic tradition permeating the whole of Old English lyrical poetry: all kinds of moralising or didactic statement are totally absent from this poem[7]. It does not explicitly express Christian or pagan views whose intricate synthesis characterises many Old English poems. The poem is strikingly objective, with no actions taking place during

4 - The general consensus among scholars is that, if any specific city is described in the Old English 'Ruin', it is Bath (cf.: Hotchner, 11-59, Wentersdorf, 171-180, Lee, 443–455, Greenfield, 1966).

5 - Barry Cunliffe points out that 'by the eighth century enough of the superstructure, less the vaults, was still standing to be intelligible to the Anglo-Saxon poet' (Cunliffe 2009, 146).

6 - For the identification of the ruined city as Hadrian's Well see Herben, 1939, 37-39; Herben, 1944, 72-74. For the city identified as Chester see Dunleavy, 112-118; for comments on Caerleon see Wentersdorf, 171-172.

7 - Some scholars have expressed opposite views, arguing that the poem is composed as a warning against the sin of pride, lust and luxury (Doubleday 1972, 369–381). Doubleday views 'wlonc ond wingal' as a formula which accounts for the destruction of the city in 'The Ruin'.

the monologue[8]. If any events at all take place, they do so not in the past and not in the narrative 'reality', but in the imagination of the creator of the poem, for whom the past becomes more visible than the ruin and desolation beheld in the present. By belonging simultaneously to both the present and the past, 'ruins are particularly well suited to signifying this complex and paradoxical understanding of temporality' (Trilling 2009, 51). The theme of time determines the composition and the structure of the poem, based on the contrast between the past and the present[9]: only the imagination of the individual beholding the ruin can overcome the destructive might of time. The device of contrast dominates this poem, in which every statement contrasts with the previous and the following: 'This wall-stone is wondrous': 'fates broke it'; 'Roofs have fallen, towers in ruins': 'Bright were the castle buildings'; 'The grasp of the earth has taken mighty builders': 'many warriors, joyful <...> gazed at treasure'. Contrast between the past and the present is underlined by shifts between present and past verbal forms which permeate the poem, starting from its first lines: Wrætlic is þes wealstan, wyrde gebræcon, 'This wall-stone is wondrous, fates broke it'; 'burgstede burston, brosnað enta geweorc', 'the castles decayed, the work of giants is crumbling'[10]. As was pointed out by Renée Trilling, 'the poem balances a series of dialectal tensions – present/past, death/birth, decay/wholeness, inside/outside, material/ideal – without privileging one over the other' (Trilling, 51). The contrast of temporal perspectives can be called the basic structural principle of the Old English 'Ruin'.

The contrast between the past and the present, which is embodied in the image of a deserted mead-hall, can be found in the lyrical fragment of *Beowulf*, containing the lament of a father for

8 - Marc Amodio called 'The Ruin' 'more dispassionately ruminative than intensely emotional' (Amodio 2014, 273).

9 - Time and Fate were identified as the two 'characters' of the Old English 'Ruin' (Murgia, 183).

10 - Calder views the 'shifting tenses' as constructing the reader's perspective of temporality through the speaker's train of thought (Calder 1971, 443).

his son: Gesyhð sorhcearig / on his suna bure // winsele westne, / windge reste // reote berofene. / Ridend swefað, // hæleð in hoðman; / nis þær hearpan sweg, //gomen in geardum, / swylce ðær iu wæron (2456–2460)[11], 'With sorrow he beholds the dwelling of his son, deserted wine-hall, wind-swept lodging, deprived of noise. The riders sleep, warriors in their graves, there is no sound of the harp, of the joy in the courts which once was there'. Scholars have suggested that the lament of the father for his son is 'as far as it can be from the triumphant note of 'The Ruin'' (Fell, 182), however the theme of both lyrical passages is the same. As in 'The Ruin', the dwelling, which was once full of joy and happy feasting, is presented in the lyrical fragment of *Beowulf* as desolate and waste: the people who inhabited it in the past are in their graves, and only the wind blows through their empty buildings.

The description of the deserted city included into the Old English poem 'The Wanderer' is even closer to the imagery of 'The Ruin': þonne ealre þisse worulde wela / weste stondeð, // swa nu missenlice / geond þisne middangeard //winde biwaune / weallas stondaþ, // hrime bihrorene hryðge þa ederas.// Woriað þa winsalo, / waldend licgað // dreame bidrorene, / duguþ eal gecrong, // wlonc bi wealle[12], 'when all the wealth of this world lies waste, as now in various places throughout this middle-earth, walls stand, blown by the wind, covered with frost, storm-swept the buildings. The halls decay, their lords lie deprived of joy, the whole troop has fallen, proud by the wall (74-80a). In 'The Wanderer' the description of the ruin is one of many images determining the complex architectonics of the poem, whereas in 'The Ruin' the description of deserted buildings constitutes the only theme of the poem. Scholars have concentrated on the dissimilarities of 'The Wanderer' and 'The Ruin' (Liuzza, 10-15; Lee 1973, 453-454), however the two poems share a number of common motifs and images. In both poems the fate of a human being is implicitly likened to the destiny of cities and buildings erected by people for their enjoyment. In both, the theme of universal transience

11 - The text of *Beowulf* is quoted from: Klaeber, 1950.

12 - The text of 'The Wanderer' is quoted from: Klinck, 1992.

is symbolically expressed in the images of ruined cities and deserted buildings. The description of the decay and desolation of buildings in both the 'Wanderer' and 'The Ruin' includes a number of parallels both of specific motifs (e.g., human beings confined to their graves, people who were once happy now deprived of joy, buildings laid waste, frost clinging to mortar) and in verbal details ('wlonc ond wingal', 'proud and flushed with wine' in the 'Ruin', 'wlonc bi wealle', 'proud by the wall' in the 'Wanderer'). The inner world of the lyrical heroes (their microcosms) acquires a macrocosmic significance through the images of desolate buildings, which in past days served as safe dwellings and harbours of happiness.

The image of a grave, concealing the warriors and the builders alike, is symbolically widened to encompass the whole universe: the fortresses of the giants (enta geweorc, 87), which are destroyed and laid waste, resemble an enormous cemetery full of monuments to past glory. The values of the heroic world: 'the joys of palaces' (seledreamas) and 'the halls of feasts' (symbla gesetu) have turned to dust but have become more precious for the lyrical persona, because they are gone forever. Understanding that in this world all that he loves is mortal, and therefore must be irretrievably lost, fills his soul with sorrow and grief, but it teaches him humility and resignation. Lyrical nostalgic notes give way to a Christian conceptualisation of the universal transience of sublunary nature. The main themes of 'The Wanderer' and 'The Ruin', the destruction of earthly creations, human mortality and resignation to the inevitability of death, appear in Old English lyrical poetry from the perspective of the Holy Scriptures.

One of the most striking descriptions of the destruction of cities is contained in the final book of the *New Testament*, 'The Book of Revelation' (18:2–23). The fall of Babylon is seen as well deserved and just, because the city was full of evil: 'in one hour all its great wealth has been brought to ruin!' (18:17): no one will buy their cargoes anymore (18:11), its luxury and splendour have vanished, never to be recovered (18:14). There is a striking difference in the description of the fall of Babylon in 'The Book of Revelation' and the destruction of cities in Old English lyric: in the former the city is

destroyed as a just punishment, whereas in the latter the destruction of cities is described with grief and nostalgia[13]. In Old English poetry the attention of the audience is focussed on the loss of happiness and human mortality. The Biblical descriptions of ruins are associated with human sinfulness and unrighteousness and therefore occur in a cultural context different from that of Old English poetry[14].

In their tone, the Old English images of desolate buildings are closer to mournful laments over ruined cities in the Old Testament to than to the description of the Fall of Babylon in 'The Book of Revelation'. In the 'The Book of Isaiah', the motif of ruin appears in the lament about the sudden destruction of Moab (15:1-9), in the warning that 'Damascus will no longer be a city but will become a heap of ruins. ... The fortified city will disappear from Ephraim, and royal power from Damascus' (17: 1-3), and in the prophecy about the destruction of Tyre (23). The destruction of these cities in 'The Book of Isaiah' shares similar motifs and images with the Old English poem, such as the motif of vanished glory ('the glory of Jacob will fade', 17:4), the motif of merriment and joy in the past and silence in the present ('gladness and joy shall be taken away from Carmel, and there shall be no rejoicing nor shouting in the vineyards, 16:10), the image of a harp ('Take a harp, go about the city, 23:16), the motif of pride ('The Lord of hosts hath designed it, to pull down the pride of all glory, and bring to disgrace all the glorious ones of the earth', 23:9). In the Old Testament, dwellings are turned into ruins according to God's will: 'For He shall bring down them that dwell on high, the high city He shall lay low. He shall bring it down even to the ground; He shall pull it down even to the dust (26:5). Thus similarly to the Old English 'Wanderer', the reason for the destruction of cities is stated clearly and bluntly: human pride leads to desolation.

13 - The parallel between the Old English 'Ruin' and the fall of Babylon was first drawn by Keenan (109-117), but the differences, making the parallel unconvincing, were summarised by Doubleday (370).

14 - The difference in the cultural context has even led scholars to the conclusion that the motif of ruin does not exist in Old English poetry and has no relevance to the Biblical tradition (Hume 1976, 341-344).

In contrast to 'The Book of Isaiah', where the description of the ruin is a marginal motif, in the 'Lamentations of Jeremiah' the destruction of the city (Jerusalem) becomes the predominant theme: the gates are broken ('all her gates are broken down', 1: 4), walls are destroyed ('the wall hath been destroyed together', 2:9), fortifications are ruined ('he hath overthrown all the walls thereof: he hath destroyed his strong holds, 2: 5), only scattered stones are lying in the streets ('the stones of the sanctuary are scattered in the top of every street', 4:1). The inhabitants of the city are gone: ('The Lord hath taken away all my mighty men', 1:15); feasts exist only in the past ('The Lord hath caused feasts and Sabbaths to be forgotten', 2:6), the city which was once full of inhabitants is now empty ('How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people!' 1:1). The main structural principle in the 'Lamentations' is the contrast between former glory and present desolation (4:1-11), which is present in both the Old English 'Ruin' and the 'Wanderer'. The destruction of the city is described with the help of similar motifs in both the 'Lamentations of Jeremiah' and the Old English 'Ruin': the destruction of gates (steap geap gedreas, 'high gate has collapsed'), the fall of fortifications (hreorge torras, 'ruinous towers'), the collapse of the walls (weal eall befeng, 'the wall enclosed all'), the death of the inhabitants of the city (wylt eall fornom secgrofra wera; wurdon hyra wigsteal westen staþolas, brosnade burgsteall, 'death swept all the brave men away; their war-fortresses became waste places, the city decayed'). As in the Old English poems, the destruction of the city is depicted in the 'Lamentations of Jeremiah' in a detached generalized style, not as if it had taken place in the eyes of the beholder. The description of material ruins in the 'Lamentations of Jeremiah' gives way to their symbolic significance: architectural details are less important than the impact of the destruction of cities on the present and future.

The tradition of the Old Testament 'Lamentations' is reflected in St Augustine's *De excidio urbis Romae sermo*, in which he analyses both the causes of the fall of Rome and the doom impending over any worldly city[15], and in his *De civitate Dei,* which also examines

15 - Woods, 331-337 argues that the earthquake described by St Augustine is a historical event which took place in Constantinople 1 April 396.

the decline of the Roman Empire[16] under the impressions of the destruction of Rome by Alaric and the Visigoths in 410. The City of God or Heavenly City (civitas Dei or *civitas caelestis)* is inhabited by those who reject earthly pursuits and devote themselves to God and the eternal truths of the Christian faith. The Earthly City (civitas terrena) is inhabited by ordinary people and is not, as such, evil: its times of peace, relative well-being and earthly goods are 'undoubtedly gifts from God' (sine dubio Dei dona[17]) and therefore people should be grateful for them. The danger lies in the inhabitants of the Earthly City neglecting the values of the City of God and satisfying only their worldly desires, focussing exclusively on earthly matters, objects of vanity and on pleasures of the present, passing world. Then there is no salvation in the Earthly City: 'necessarily miseries will follow and increase' (necesse est miseria consequatur et quae inerat augeatur). St Augustine's historical-philosophical treatise is permeated with sorrow for the follies of those who doom themselves and their city to destruction through their own obliviousness to the Heavenly: it is not fate which is to blame for the desolation of cities, but those who fail to understand that spiritual ends are more important than worldly ends, and consequently do not keep the Kingdom of God in mind as their ultimate goal. It is possible to suggest that the description of the destruction of cities in Old English poetry is closer to the tradition of St Augustine than to that of the 'Book of Revelation'.

One response to St Augustine's request for arguments against pagan opponents of Christian faith who blamed the Church for the fall of Rome was Paulus Orosius' treatise, *Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem* (Bately, xciii). In his *History*, Orosius follows St Augustine's line of argument, who in the third book of *De civitate Dei* shows misfortunes haunting Rome from its foundation, in order to demonstrate that the veneration of pagan gods did not relieve the Romans from calamities. Orosius presents the whole history of

16 - Parallels between the Old English 'Ruin' and St Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, Orosius' *Historiae adversos paganos* and Gilds' *De exidio et conquestu Britanniae* were drawn by Doubleday (369-381).

17 - St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* is quoted from: Dombart, Kalb, 2003.

the world as a succession of four empires (Babylon, pagan Rome, Macedonia and Carthage), each growing out of the ruins of the preceding, and specifies causes for the destruction of Babylon and Rome. His description of the latter concentrates on military defeat, plague, earthquake, fire, and the invasion of the Gauls, who poured into the defenceless city, setting fire to the houses, 'the flames cremating the bodies and the falling roofs burying them <...> When the Gauls had departed, only offensive heaps of shapeless ruins remained within the circuit of the former city. Everywhere the echo of the voices of those who wandered amid the obstructions, ignorant where their own property was, resounded and kept the ears alert. The very silence was terrifying; for loneliness in the open is in itself a cause of fear'.[18] The description of the fall of Rome by Orosius is characterised by the use of motifs similar to those of 'The Ruin': fallen roofs (in 'The Ruin': Hrofas sind gehrorene, 'roofs are fallen'), only heaps of ruins left of former glory (in 'The Ruin': Hryre wong gecrong gebrocen to beorgum, 'The ruin has fallen to the ground broken into mounds'), silence over the desolate city (in 'The Ruin': Forþon þas hofu dreorgiað, 'so these buildings grow desolate'). The description of both Rome and Babylon is reproduced in the Old English translation of Orosius initiated by King Alfred, in which the same motifs as in the Old English poems are preserved: Babylon, which was the first among cities, is described as lying waste, its gates and walls which have collapsed tell all mankind of its fallen might. In both the Latin original and the Old English translation the conclusion is the same: the glory of Rome, as formerly the pride of Babylon, was destroyed by God's will, in punishment for human sins.

Orosius had high authority in medieval England and was quoted by Aldhelm, Bede the Venerable and Gildas. Gildas' sermon 'De excidio et conquestu Britanniae' ('On the Ruin and Conquest of Britain') presents a history of Britain with the single purpose of moral exhortation. Starting from the description of flourishing cities, Gildas shows how the inhabitants of Britain stopped giving praise to God and wallowed in sin, arrogance, lying, cruelty, corruption, luxury and ignorance. Consequently the Lord deserted

18 - The text of Paulus Orosius is quoted from: Orosius, 1936.

Britain, leaving it to its own faults. British leaders invited the Saxons, who came and devastated the land: 'columns were levelled with the ground by the frequent strokes of the battering-ram, all the husbandmen routed, together with their bishops, priests, and people, whilst the sword gleamed, and the flames crackled around them on every side. Lamentable to behold, in the midst of the streets lay the tops of lofty towers, tumbled to the ground, stones of high walls, holy altars, fragments of human bodies <...> with no chance of being buried, save in the ruins of the houses'.[19] With graphic detail, Gildas describes the deaths of people, cities abandoned by their inhabitants, high towers lying in dust, demolished buildings witnessing to God's anger and warning to sinners. The expressive visualisation of the ruins in 'De excidio et conquestu Britanniae' suggests that Gildas, like the creator of the Old English 'Ruin', could have been basing his work on accounts of first-hand witnesses.

Gildas's treatise served as a source of inspiration for a famous scholar of the Carolingian Renaissance, Alcuin, who referred to the author of 'De excidio' as 'Gildas sapientissimus'. It was under the influence of Gildas that Alcuin composed his poem 'On the destruction of Lindisfarne monastery' ('De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii'). In Alcuin's elegy, 'references to the glories of Lindisfarne, including St. Cuthbert, are overshadowed by lamentation for its present desolation and the widespread ruin and destruction throughout the once glorious Roman empire' (Schlauch 1941, 22). Alcuin compares the sad fate of Lindisfarne with the fall of Rome, Jerusalem and Babylon, viewing it not only as punishment sent to the people of Northumbria for their sins (according to early Medieval annalists, Viking raids were seen as God's punishment as foretold by the prophet Jeremiah: 'Then the Lord said unto me, Out of the north an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land', 1:14) but also in accordance with the Old English lyrical tradition of the transience of all worldly creations. Starting from the Fall of man and the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, after which calamities and misfortunes determined human destiny, Alcuin describes the destruction of Babylon, Jerusalem and Rome, and then narrates the

19 - The text is quoted from: Gildas and Nennius (2020), 7-43.

events of the immediate past and the present: then 'the whole of Italy was moaning during the Gothic invasion', 'for nine years the whole of Gaul was suffering from Hunnish swords', and now still 'wide Asia is groaning under the yoke of heathens', 'Africa, the third part of the great world, is enslaved', 'people of Spain are oppressed by the power they hate' (77–81). Alcuin moves on to the destruction of Lindisfarne, which was attacked by the heathens from the north: they destroyed buildings of the monastery, ransacked libraries and scriptoria, slaughtered priests and monks:

Sic maior magnis subito saepissime rebus Eveniet casu forte ruina malo Haec exempla dedit periturus et undique mundus, Divitiis florens, qui perit in pelago. Voce prophetarum partes per quatuor orbis Iam praedicta vides subruta regna modo. Nobilis urbs regno et prima potentia regum Perdidit, o, Babilon Caldea regna potens <...> Roma, caput mundi, mundi decus, aurea Roma, Nunc remanet tantu saeva ruina tibi. Gloria castrensis gladiis aequata remansit, Lutea pars tegetum sola videtur iners (25–40)[20]	Thus unexpectedly the greatest works come to even greater destruction by the will of chance or evil fate. Everywhere the world doomed to destruction gives this lesson; its wealth flourishes and is lost in seas. On the four sides of the world the fall of kingdoms can be seen, which was foretold by the words of the prophets. The noblest city in the realm and the main stronghold of kings, the mighty Babylon, alas, lost the kingdom of Chaldea. <...> Rome, capital of the world, wonder of the world, golden Rome, now only wild ruins are left of you. Its military glory is destroyed by sword and only the lifeless part of dirty roof-tops is visible.

20 - The text of Alcuin's *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii* is quoted from: *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini,* 229–235.

Alcuin concludes his elegy by addressing the Bishop of Lindisfarne, Higbald, asking him to find consolation for his soul in the thought that all those who perished at the hands of the heathens will forever be with the saints. In his letters to Higbald, Bishop of Lindisfarne, Alcuin states that the reconstruction of the ruins of Rome and Jerusalem should give hope of the restoration of Lindisfarne monastery, but in his elegy, the image of destroyed cities reminds readers of the universal doom impending on all earthly cities. The similarity of the description of the destruction of the monastery in Alcuin's elegy to the images of ruins in Old English poetry lies in the presence of topic motifs of fallen roofs and the loss of former glory, as well as in the contrast between past prosperity and present desolation.

Alcuin based his poem 'On the destruction of Lindisfarne' not only on the treatises of Gildas and Orosius but also on the poetic works of the Gallic and Italian poets of the 5-6th centuries. The destruction of the urban civilisation of Antiquity, which gave way to the peasant culture of the Middle Ages, the fall of the Roman Empire, and the invasion of Germanic tribes supplied all the extra-linguistic conditions necessary for the development of the motif of ruin. Whereas the literary tradition of Antiquity created panegyrics describing and glorifying cities in the genre of *encomium urbis*, in the Middle Ages, which inherited from Antiquity only the ruins of urban culture, a new lyrical genre was cultivated: *de excidio urbis* focussing on the apophthegm *sic transit*.

The lyrical genre of *de excidio urbis* is found not only in Western European but also in Middle Eastern poetry. A Persian poet and prose-writer, Afzal al-Dīn Badīl ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿOthmān, commonly known as Khāqānī, composed a qasida on 'The Ruins of the City of Madaen': *Hān ey del-e ʿebrat-bin az dida ʿabar kon hān/ayvān-e madāʾen rā āyina-ye ʿebrat dān, 'My spirit, behold the transient world with the eyes of meditation; read fate in the deaf ruins of Madaen as in the mirror'*. The ruins of fortified towers in Khāqānī's poem narrate the sad story of their destruction: 'you are made of clay and we have become poor clay, / And formerly we sparkled with wealth, might and beauty <> We were erected by justice and we were

destroyed by mighty yoke. Behold, this is how the whirl of time will erase palaces of tyrants! By whom was the beauty of these proud walls and towers destroyed? Did heaven erase them or the power which rotates the skies?' Khāqānī's qasida is based on the same structural principle as the Old English 'Ruin', contrast between the past and the present. In the past the city of Madaen could boast of might and splendour; now it lies in ruins. The motif of pride is present in both the Old English 'Ruin' ('wlonc ond wingal', 'proud and flushed with wine') and Khāqānī's qasida ('proud walls and towers'). In contrast to the Old English poem, in which time is named as the sole culprit of destruction, in Khāqānī's poem the question of who is responsible for the downfall of the city remains open.

Like Old English poets, Khāqānī refers to the people who used to inhabit those buildings which now are lying in ruins: 'Oh, Madaen, how many faces are concealed by the stone tablets! Processions of silent stone kings are walking along your walls <> Imagine, the gates are the same, palaces and squares are the same. But empty are the stairs and the entrances... Where are the rulers, where are people? Dismount your horse, touch the sacred earth and listen: silence'. Khāqānī warns mighty rulers who owned palaces that they cannot escape the fate of all earthly creations: they will turn to ashes like the ruins of splendid palaces, reminding them of their mortality. The motifs of the silence and emptiness of decayed cities occur in both Khāqānī's poem and the Old English 'Ruin', which are united by the shared theme of earthly transience.

The description of urban ruins is developed in the poem 'De Reditu Suo' by Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, of which only seven hundred lines have survived. Rutilius narrates his impressions of the cities during his voyage from Rome to Gaul in 416, starting his poem with praise of the great city, its founders and its victories. He describes the ruins of Castrum, above which the statue of Pan is still visible (stringimus hinc effractum et fluctu et tempore Castrum: / index semiruti porta vetusta loci', 'Next we coast by Castrum, shattered both by wave and time: an age-worn gateway

marks the half-ruined place' I, 227 –228)[21], and recounts the fall of Cosa caused by rat infestation, 'ridicula causa' ('cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas / et desolatae moenia foeda Cosae. / ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam / promere, sed risum dissimulare piget. / dicuntur cives quondam migrare coacti / muribus infestos deseruisse Lares!', 'Then we descry, all unguarded now, desolate Cosa's ancient ruins and unsightly walls. It is with a qualm that I adduce mid serious things the comic reason for its downfall; but I am loath to suppress a laugh. The story runs that once upon a time the townsfolk were forced to migrate and left their homes behind because rats infested them!' I, 287–290). The ruin is depicted by Rutilius not as a magnificent image reminding the reader of the glory of past generations but as an unfortunate, annoying, almost embarrassing sight. The description of ruins in Rutilius's 'De Reditu Suo' and in the Old English 'Ruin' is thus strikingly dissimilar[22].

Like Rutilius, who includes into his poem praise of the glory of Rome, another Roman poet, Ausonius, composes a poem, 'Ordo Urbium Nobilium', in the style of encomium urbis about Rome and another thirteen cities of the Roman Empire, in which he depicts the flourishing of architecture on the verge of its catastrophic destruction. However, Ausonius' grandson, Paulinus of Pella, describes the destruction of building and the demise of cities not in panegyrical but in rather mournful verse. In his 'Carmen Eucharisticus', Paulinus recounts the calamities of his life: the invasion of the Germanic tribes, the burning of his city and of his house by the Goths, the siege of the neighbouring city of Bazas, his own life on a devastated and ruined estate. The losses of the lyrical hero are made significant by a detailed narrative of the riches accompanying his former life in his ancestral home: a multitude of servants, sumptuous feasts, ornate

21 - The text and translation of Rutilius Namatianus's poem is quoted from: Keene, 1907; Rutilius Namatianus' Going home, 2020.

22 - The dissimilarity of the description of ruins in Old English poetry and in Rutilius' 'De Reditu Suo' has led scholars to deny the existence of the motif of ruin in Old English poetry (Hume, 346).

silver utensils, huge stables full of pure-bred horses (200 –210)[23]. Like the persona of the Old English 'Wanderer' lamenting the loss of his lord, Paulinus mourns the death of his father, which coincided with the destruction of the whole civilisation: 'At mihi damna domus populantem inlata per hostem, / per se magna licet, multo leviora fuere / defuncti patris inmodico conlata dolori, / per quem cara mihi et patria et domus ipsa fiebat', 'But for me, the havoc wrought on my home by the ravages of the enemy, though great in itself, was much lighter when compared with my boundless grief for my departed father, who made both my country and my home itself dear to me' (238-242)[24]. On Paulinus, the death of his father inflicted a much harder blow than the ruining of his estate. Moreover Paulinus realizes that his loss of material things was for the better, because when his house was flourishing, abundant in pleasures and delights (cum mihi laeta domus magnis floreret abundans deliciis 435), the thoughts of the owner inevitably turned to transitory luxury. Thus the house is depicted not as a focus of cultural esteem but as a symbol of perishable utilities and worldly comforts (amissis opibus terrenis atque caducis, 441), and its destruction helps the lyrical persona to aspire to eternal values.

The motif of urban decay is given more nostalgic treatment in the elegy, 'De Excidio Thoringiae', by Venantius Fortunatus[25]. The lyrical voice in this poem belongs to the Thuringian-born princess Radegunda, who describes the Frankish destruction of her kingdom of Thuringia[26]: her palace, which shone in splendour, is ruined by

23 - Kathryn Hume points out that Paulinus, unlike the speaker in 'The Wanderer', actually owned all the things he enumerates in his poem (Hume, 346).

24 - The Latin text of Paulinus' poem 'Carmen Eucharisticus' and its English translation 'Thanksgiving' by H.G. Evelyn White are quoted from: Paulinus Pellaeus: *Eucharisticus*, 1921.

25 - For a detailed study of the motif of ruin in Venatius' elegy see: Brandl, 84.

26 - The authorship of the poem is disputed: K. Cherewatuk argued that it was composed by princess Radegunda herself (Cherewatuk 1993, 20–45), whereas Brian Brennan attributed the authorship to Venantius Fortunatus (Brennan, 335-345).

enemies; the golden roofs dazzling the onlookers are burned to the ground; the people who inhabited luxurious dwellings are lying dead:

Conditio belli tristis, sors invida rerum! Quam subito lapsu regna superba cadunt! Quae steterant longo felicia culmina tractu victa sub ingenti clade eremata iacent. Aula palatino quae floruit antea cultu, hanc modo pro cameris maesta favilla tegit. Ardua qaue rutilo notuere ornata metallo, pallidus oppressit fulgida tecta cinis missa sub hostili domino captiva potestas, decidit in humili gloria celsa loco[27]. (1–10).	O sad condition of war, O fate, envious of things! With what a sudden collapse have proud kingdoms fallen! The pinnacles, which stood happy for so long, lie conquered, burned, by great disaster. The regal palace which was once a place of elegant opulence is now roofed by dismal cinders instead of vaults. The high glittering roofs which once shone, adorned with red-gold metal, are now smothered by pale ashes. Power was sent as a captive to a hostile lord; lofty glory sank into a humble place.

Venantius' elegy has greater resemblance to Old English meditative lyrical poetry in its description of ruins than to any other poetic or prose work mentioned above. Like the Old English 'Ruin' (and in contrast to the 'Wanderer' where earthly decay is depicted in general terms), the elegy 'De Excidio Thoringiae' contains the description of a specific place. Like the creator of the Old English 'Ruin', Venantius contrasts decayed buildings without roofs with grand edifices with golden tops which had happily stood for centuries (3–6, 22). The narrative of past joys (cf. 'The Wanderer', 41–45, 'The Ruin', 25–26) makes the description of present decay all the more

27 - The text of Venantius' elegy is quoted from: Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati Presbyteri Italici Opera Poetica, 271.

poignant and moving (cf. in Venantius' elegy 17: 'Alas, unburied corpses cover the field'). In both poems, the Old English 'Ruin' (1, 24) and 'De Excidio Thoringiae', the predominant motif is that of inescapable fate[28] ('sors invida rerum!', 'O fate envious of things!' 1; 'Consuluit fortuna viris quos perculit hostis', 'Fortune appointed the destiny to those whom an enemy' killed, 35). In Venantius' elegy, fate or fortune is referred to in the singular (sors, fortune), however in the Old English 'Ruin' the noun wyrd ('fate') is used both in the singular ('oþþæt þæt onwende wyrd seo swiþe', 'until mighty Fate changed that', 24) and in the plural ('wyrde gebræcon', 'fates broke it') in the first line of the poem. The plural of the word for fate (wyrde) brings to mind the goddesses of fate (Fata, Fates) in pagan mythology and the three norns Urðr (Wyrd), Verðandi and Skuld who shaped the fates of both people and cities alike, determining their demise.

In Venantius' elegy, the fall of Thuringia is compared to the fall of Troy: 'Let Troy be not the only one lamenting its destruction, as, like it, Thoringia suffered from the same calamity' (19–20). The mention of Troy could have been a common-place in rhetorical exercises, which motivated the transition to the description of ruins. As is well-known, accounts of the destruction of Troy are absent from Homeric epic; however, in Latin retellings, such as 'De excidio Troiae historia' by Dares Phrygus or 'Ephemeris belli Troiani' by Dictys Cretensis, the desolation of Troy becomes a subject of literary representation. The description of the destruction of Troy by Dares, in which sympathy is expressed towards the Trojans (rather than Greeks as in Homeric epic) was widely studied in the Middle Ages, since the Romans, as well as the Franks and the Britts claimed to be descended from the Trojans. Dares and Dictys could have inherited the description of the Trojan ruins from Virgil, who must have been the first to introduce the motif of ruins in his *Aeneid* (Book 12). It is not unlikely that Venantius owes the comparison of Thoringia to Troy to the topic motif going back to Virgil. Starting with the elegy 'De Excidio Thoringiae' by Venantius Fortunatus, whose poem could have been known to the creator of

28 - On the motif of fate in Old English poetry see: Timmer (1941), 24-33, 213-228.

the Old English poem, the description of ruin develops into a topic motif of medieval lyrical poetry.

Thus, in the early Middle Ages the motif of ruin was based on the Old Testament, in which the destruction of cities is viewed as punishment inflicted by God. The description of ruin developed in homiletic and historical literature, in the works of St Augustine, Orosius and Gildas, is responsible for the introduction of this motif in medieval lyric, but with a different function. The destruction of the city is viewed not only as a punishment for sin, but also as an inevitable consequence of universal mortality and transience. Nostalgic tones appear in the lyrical motif of ruin under the influence of the attitude to the destruction of the city in Classical Antiquity: Virgil and later Dares and Dictys describe the burning and ravaging of Troy, viewing Rome with its universal mission as its direct descendent. The fall of Rome gives a new impulse to the development of the poignantly represented lyrical motif of ruin, enriched by the associative bond between earthly city and sin, which was given to world culture by the Holy Scriptures. The discovery of the individual in the Middle Ages transforms an ancient genre, *encomium urbis* (glorification of Rome), into a lyrical subject *de excidio urbis*, which is prompted by the destruction of Rome. The repeatability and reproducibility of the motif in medieval lyric (not only European but also Persian, as is confirmed by Khāqānī's qasida), the generalisation of the description of ruins, the shift of accent from the material ruin to the symbolic meaning of the destruction signify the birth of a lyrical topos. For the majority Medieval poets the topics of ruin is used in its semantic and symbolic function, but the Old English poem analysed at the beginning of the present article bears witness that in the Middle Ages the ruins were conceptualised as an object of aesthetic experience. The Middle Ages has yet discovered neither the ornamental or the decorative function of ruins which was only noticed in the Renaissance and cultivated in the Baroque epoch. However the aesthetic perception of the ruin is undoubtedly present in the Old English poem included in the 10th century manuscript of the Exeter Book.

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Inna Matyushina is currently Leading Researcher of the Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow) and Honorary Professor of Exeter University (UK). Her publications include the following monographs: The Magic of the Word. Skaldic Libellous Verse and Love Poetry; The Earliest European Lyrics (Two volumes); Skaldic Poetry. Co-authored with Elena Gurevich; Medieval Lyric of Europe; The Poetics of Chivalric Sagas (riddarasögur); Words before blows: The Tradition of Flyting in Old Germanic Culture and over a hundred articles on Old English and Old Norse literature, Old High German epic poetry, issues in translating medieval poetry. She is the editor of Arbor Mundi: The Journal on the History and Theory of Culture (published since 1992).

Katherine Anna New

The Reception of Horace's Ode 3.30 in Russian Poetry

The chapter focuses on the artistic imitations of Horace's Ode, whose main function is, to use Roman Jakobson's terminology, poetic rather than communicative (Якобсон 1975, 193-230). The methodology employed is based on the works of Mikhail Gasparov, who focuses on the unnoticed shades of meaning, the selection and succession of images with the aim of reconstructing the poetic system of the text as a whole (Гаспаров 2000, 323-373). These methods of research can be applied to the study of the metaphor of the verbal monument based on Horace's Ode 3.30 (from Derzhavin and Pushkin), with focus on the mechanisms of intertextuality: quotation, allusion, parody.

Intertextuality appears to be a necessary requirement of the poetic monument tradition, as can be seen in the numerous predecessors of Horace's ode: an Egyptian papyrus of c.1200 BC praises ancient scribes who 'did not make themselves pyramids of bronze with iron plaques… their teachings are their pyramids; … their monuments are covered with earth… but their names are mentioned because of their books' (West 1969, 113-134). The Egyptian papyrus clearly differentiates between the metaphoric representations of poetic monuments (scribes' names, their teachings and their books) and their material (ekphrastic) manifestations (pyramids made of bronze, iron plaques, monuments). Material monuments, as stated in the Egyptian papyrus, are covered with earth but the names of the scribes will be remembered forever because of the books and teachings.

One of the most renowned Greek lyrical poets Pindar (c. 518 – 438 BC) in his Pythian Ode for Xenocrates of Acragas Chariot Race (490 BC) announces that treasure-house of songs has been built in honour of a Pythian victor which will not be harmed by adverse weather conditions: 'a ready-built treasury house of songs for Pythian victory has been erected in Apollo's golden valley. This neither winter's rain, coming an implacable alien host of roaring cloud, nor wind will drive into the hollows of the sea, pounded with jumbled debris' (6. 7-14).[1] Although commentators on Pindar do not 'equate the building with poetry but rather with the fame of the victor as embodied in the poetry' (Lowrie 1997, 73)[2], it can be suggested that Pindar uses metaphors which will find reflection in later poetry, i.e. Horace's famous ode 3.30.

The metaphor of poetry as an immaterial construction is one of the early *topoi* of ancient literature preceding Horace famous ode: an epitaph attributed to Cleobulus (c 600 BC) describes how 'a bronze statue on the tomb of Midas will last as long as water flows and trees are green' (Korzeniewski 1968, 29-34; Slings 2000, 3-12); Simonides's (c. 556–468 BC) dirge on the dead at Thermopylae states that 'his tribute, unlike material offerings, will not be dimmed by decay or time' (Harrison 2001, 261-264); Aristophanes' (c. 446 – c. 386 BC) masonry metaphors are applied to Aeschylus's verses (Taillardat 1962, 438); Callimachus's (c. 310/305 – c. 240 BC) fragment represents two temples in terms suggestive of poetry (Thomas 1999, 76); Virgil (70 – 19 BC) depicts his future epic as a marble temple (Suerbaum 1968, 172-175). Although Horace's ode might include allusions to or direct quotations from any of these, the most striking are the textual parallels with the Egyptian papyrus, where imagery develops from concrete material constructions (pyramids of bronze) to the immaterial pyramids of the scribe's teachings; the image of transience, revealed through destructible material monuments

1 - Quoted from (Lowrie, 72).

2 - Cf. also (Bowra, 20-23, 323).

covered with earth (prefiguring the image of death and immortality central to the poetic monument tradition), is contrasted with the image of indestructibility, represented by texts, i.e. verbal monuments.

The notion of the durability of verbal art in time and in space is expressed through the poetic device of adynaton (which will become characteristic of the monument tradition) in Virgil, Simonides, Cleobulus, Pindar and in the Egyptian papyrus. The notions of time and/or space are viewed by Horace's predecessors as challenges to their immaterial monuments but do not participate in the spatial or temporal organisation of their texts.

In Horace's ode[3] the spatial-temporal structure is revealed by means of a double perspective, that of time, prevailing in the beginning of the poem, and of space, dominating towards the end (Гаспаров, 323-373). The image of time, viewed as an antagonist of the poet's verbal monument, is given a physical embodiment at the beginning of the poem, where it is moulded into material manifestations (bronze and pyramids). The monument is said to be 'more lasting than bronze', aere perennius. The adjective 'perenne' can mean 'lasting through the years', as in this context, or can denote a much shorter span of time, 'lasting all year' (Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 368), whereas the noun 'aere', literally meaning bronze, can also be used to denote the bronze statues erected to commemorate victorious warriors or sportsmen, or alternatively coins, which, during the years of the Roman Principate, were imprinted with the image of the emperor. Thus the point of Horace's comparison is to contrast the material concept of money (or statues) and earthly sovereignty, which are doomed to be destroyed by time and forgotten, and the power of his poetic art, which is immortal (Nisbet, Rudd, 368-369). Horace's monument is also 'loftier than the regal structure of the pyramids' (regalique situ Pyramidum altius 2), pyramids themselves being material symbols of time. The word-combination 'regali situ Pyramidum' presents difficulties to interpreters. The noun 'situs' is sometimes understood as meaning 'structure',

3 - The text of Horace's Odes is quoted from: *Horace Odes III. Dulce Periculum.* Ed. D.West. Oxford, 2009.

however its other meaning is 'decay'; the word-combination then can be viewed as including a genitivus inversus, i.e. an abstract noun accompanied by another noun in the genitive case, used instead of a combination of an adjective with a noun (*Horace Odes III,* 261).

The image of time seen in material terms develops into an image of immaterial eternity (the monument cannot be destroyed 'by the countless succession of years and the flight of time', innumerabilis / annorum series et fuga temporum 4-5), paradoxically expressing the idea of time as being 'both infinite and also fugitive' (Nisbet, Rudd, 371). Immaterial eternity turns into personal immortality ('I shall not wholly die, a great part of me will escape Libitina[4]', non omnis moriar, / multaque pars mei vitabit Libitinam 6-7) and immortal fame ('I shall always grow in praise with posterity', usque ego postera / crescam laude recens 8). The scope of the metaphor of the verbal monument is thus widened from the material to the immaterial, immortal and eternal.

Having reached the semantics of eternity, the temporal perspective cannot be widened any further and therefore gives way to the imagery of space, which starts to expand from the concrete toponyms in the precise middle of the poem (line 8 out of 16): the Capitol, being a symbol of Roman *imperium* (Nisbet, Rudd, 373), where a priest climbs with the silent vestal virgin, dum Capitolium / Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex 8-9. As has been pointed out by E. Oliensis, 'The ascent of the high priest with his properly subordinated, chaste, and silent female companion underscores the decorous reallocation of sexual and verbal powers that has cleared the way for Horace's triumph' (Oliensis, 1998). The virgin is silent, as if deprived of speech by the solemnity of the procession, and is implicitly contrasted with the poet endowed with the gift of poetic speech. The spatial dimension in the description of the procession is united with the temporal image, as 'the future life of Rome with its unalterable ceremonies is taken for granted, if not to the end of all time, yet for so immense a period that no one needs to cast his thought beyond it' (Fraenkel 1957, 303). The shift of perspective

4 - Libitina was the Roman goddess of funerals (Nisbet and Rudd, 372).

takes the audience from the very centre of 'speechless' Rome to Horace's homeland (in the south of Italy, Venusia), where the violent Aufidus, the chief river of Apulia, roars (qua violens obstrepit Aufidus 10) (Nisbet, Rudd, 374). The implied contrast between the noise of Apulia and the quiet of the procession in Rome draws on imagery not only of space but also of sound and speech.

The spatial scope introduced by the use of a hydronym as synecdoche to refer to Horace's birthplace is widened in the metonymy of the proper name, Daunus[5], referring to Apulia ('where Daunus, poor in water, ruled rustic peoples', qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium / regnavit populorum 11). The perspective is further widened in the reference to the poet's homeland, with which his 'local pride' ('but local pride seen sub specie aeternitatis', Commager 1966, 314) is associated: 'it shall be said of me that I, powerful from my lowly origin, was the first to have brought Aeolian song to Italian measures', dicar... ex humili potens / princeps Aeolium Carmen ad Italos / deduxisse modos 10-14. The statement of the poet's achievement, consisting in composing Latin poetry in Greek lyric metres for the benefit of a Roman audience, encompasses the whole poetic *oikumena*, thus widening the perspective almost to the immeasurable.

The poet can therefore justly claim what he deserves when asking Melpomene to 'take up the pride obtained by (your) merits and graciously encircle my (your) head with Delphic laurel' (Sume superbiam / Quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica / Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam 14-16). The Delphic laurel was bestowed upon victorious athletes in Apollo's Pythian Games and had never been awarded for poetry; granting this honour to a poet is Horace's invention, and he has nominated himself to receive it (*Horace Odes III,* 266. Pöschl 1970, 260. Nisbet, Rudd, 369). The poet's address to Melpomene is justified by the widest temporal perspective of eternity and the widest spatial perspective of the entire poetic universe, in which the poet's metaphoric monument is placed.

5 - Daunus is a legendary Greek from Illyria, who founded Daunia, part of Apulia (Nisbet, Rudd, 372).

The development of the images of time and space in Horace's poem can be viewed through two reverse perspectives: the objects are widened the further they are found from the spectator (the temporal perspective is represented first through bronze, then through the pyramids, then through the unnumbered procession of years and the flight of time; the spatial perspective widens out from the Capitoline hill to Apulia and finally to the whole poetic universe). The metaphor of the monument therefore can be said to be expanding from the material to the infinite in its spatial perspective and from the concrete to the eternal in its temporal scope.

The expansion of the metaphor reflected in the spatial-temporal structure of the ode creates the context for introducing a completely new motif which had not appeared in Horace's predecessors. This new motif may be termed the poet's 'egocentricity': the creation of the verbal monument is linked to the motif of individual immortality achieved by the fame of the poet's works. As was pointed out by Andrew Kahn, the poet 'turns his own text into a monument', measuring his own worth in terms of posterity (Kahn 2016, 506). The poet's contribution to art is assessed through references to his own homeland and humble origin, i.e. poetic 'biography'. The logical conclusion of Horace's ode is also innovative: the metaphor of verbal monument, unfolded through time and space, justifies the poet's address to the Muse, asking her to crown his glory with laurel symbolising his fame.

In Russia the canonisation of the metaphor of a poetic monument, expanded by Horace, starts with Lomonosov's translation of ode 3.30 (Пумпянский 1977, 76-88). Lomonosov's translation differs from Horace's Ode in that the word 'monument' is replaced by the word 'sign' ('Я знак бессмертия себе воздвигнул'); the reference to the Capitol is substituted by a reference to Rome ('Я буду возрастать повсюду славой, / Пока великий Рим владеет светом'); the hydronym and the mythological name are interpreted not as references to the poet's homeland but as places of his future glory.

However Derzhavin's 'Pamyatnik' (1795), the first poetic imitation of Horace's ode, makes the metaphor of verbal monument a fact of Russian literature. Of the two meanings of the word

'pamyatnik' which, as was pointed out by Andrew Kahn, can mean either 'monument or statue' (Kahn 2008, 84), Derzhavin actualizes the former. The second of the two meanings is developed in the poem, composed a year earlier than his 'Monument' and called 'Moy istukan' (Державин 1957, 200–206). Derzhavin's earlier poem creates a material representation of the poet's image and raises the same range of moral and philosophical questions of poetic immortality, the poet's own achievement in verbal art, his fate in posterity, as are discussed in the 'Monument', but lacks the metaphoric treatment of the poetic monument which is central for the present paper. Derzhavin's 'Pamyatnik' carries the constituent features of the tradition, primarily its intertextuality: the poem responds not only to Horace's ode but also to Lomonosov's translation[6]. As has been pointed out by M. Juvan, '...in the intertextual relations between a classical Latin source and imitations by Russian poets (Derzhavin, Lomonosov and Pushkin) at the transition from Classism to Romanticism the dialogic tension intensified and the sense of historical, linguistic and cultural otherness of the source became sharper' (Juvan 2008, 31).

Intertextuality accounts for the description of Russia through hydronyms, which has been interpreted as a result of contamination with another of Horace's odes (2.20) (Гаспаров, 323-373) or of following Lomonosov's translation (1748)[7]. As was noticed by Lev Pumpyansky (Пумпянский, 76-88), Lomonosov substituted Horace's reference to the Capitol being ascended by a priest and a silent Vestal with an affirmation of the might of Rome ('Я буду возрастать повсюду славой, / Пока великий Рим владеет светом. / Где быстрыми шумит струями Авфид, / Где Давнус царствовал в простом народе'), facilitating the interpretation of the hydronym and the mythological name not as references to the poet's homeland but as the location of his future glory. The single Latin hydronym of Horace's original and of Lomonosov's translation gives way in

6 - It is likely that Derzhavin did not study Latin and was guided in the composition of his Ode by German translations and advice of friends (Пумпянский, 76-88).

7 - The text of M.V.Lomonosov's is quoted from *(Ломоносов,* 1986).

Derzhavin's poem to several Russian toponyms: the names of seas (White Sea and Black Sea), rivers (Volga, Don, Neva, Ural), and a mountain in its ancient classical guise[8].

This attention to geographical detail in Derzhavin's poem can be accounted for by its intertextuality: the influence of other Lomonosov poems, in which similar lists of toponyms can be found ('В полях, исполненных плодами, / Где Волга, Днепр, Нева и Дон...'; 'На север и на юг, на запад и восток, / Где Волга, Днепр, Двина, где чистый Невский ток / Между Петровых стен ликуя протекает' (Ломоносов 1959, 222, 497); the desire to compare the fame of the poet with the extensive fame of a ruling monarch[9]; the tendency to liken Russia to the Roman Empire with respect to the number of toponyms it includes; or the spirit of the age of geographical discoveries[10]. Whichever of these intertextual reasons for the introduction of geographical details prevail, the change in the representation of space relative to Horace's ode is obvious. The expansion of the geographical area, underlined by including the names of rivers situated at a large distance from each other and thus encompassing the whole country, inevitably implies magnification of immortal fame. In Derzhavin's 'Pamyatnik' the poet's immortality is perceived in toponymic and hydronimic, i.e. geographical terms.

As in Horace's ode and Lomonosov's translation, the metaphor of poetic monument in Derzhavin's 'Pamyatnik' is unfolded through the temporal-spatial structure of his text. The temporal perspective in the poem first narrows from the image of the eternal monument ('Я памятник себе воздвиг чудесный, вечный'[11]) which is harder than the material metals and pyramids ('Металлов тверже он и

8 - Riphaei montes, the Riphaean mountains was the name for the Urals or the Caucasus in classical treatises on geography.

9 - V. Zhivov compares the geographical scope of poetic fame with the geographic scope of poetic odes (Живов, 678).

10 - The 18th century was an age of geographical discoveries; the expeditions of the Academy of Sciences showed that Russia, following Spain and Portugal, could contribute to the investigation of the globe (Пумпянский, 76-88).

11 - The text of Derzhavin's 'Monument' is quoted from (Державин, 417).

выше пирамид'), to the fleeting thunderstorm ('Ни вихрь его, ни гром не сломит быстротечный'), and then widens to the abstract flight of time ('И времени полет его не сокрушит'). The temporal perspective, developed in the first stanza of the poem, gives way to the spatial perspective, narrowing from the whole universe ('Доколь славянов род вселенна будет чтить') to a list of concrete hydronyms '(Слух пройдет обо мне от Белых вод до Черных, / Где Волга, Дон, Нева, с Рифея льет Урал') and then to innumerable nations ('Всяк будет помнить то в народах неисчетных').

The expansion of the verbal monument metaphor is developed in Derzhavin's poem by combining linear perspective (narrowing the temporal focus from the eternal to the concrete) and reverse perspective (widening the temporal perspective from the concrete to the Horatian abstract image of 'the flight of time'). The image of space narrows from the reference to the universe to the list of concrete toponyms, given in the order of linear perspective from the seas to the rivers, and finally widening again to the immeasurable and the immortal, thus combining the linear and the reverse perspectives. The combination of the reverse and linear perspectives results in the deepening of perception: the close plane is perceived in reverse perspective and the distant plane is perceived in linear perspective, thus creating the so-called 'perceptive perspective'[12].

This new combined perspective paves the way for the introduction of a personal moral aspect, which is absent in Horace's ode[13]. The poet's personal achievement is cast as a triad combining the functions of poetry as panegyric and entertainment ('Что первый я дерзнул в забавном русском слоге / О добродетелях

12 - The term 'perceptive perspective' ('перцептивная перспектива') was elaborated in: (Раушенбах 1986).

13 - The study of Derzhavin's ode in the light of the historical, cultural and biographical facts has shown that its composition reflects similarities of the poet's fate with Horace's: 'как из безвестности я тем известен стал' (Клейн 2004, 148-169).

Фелицы возгласить')[14]; philosophical and theological ('В сердечной простоте беседовать о Боге', with the reference to his famous Ode 'Бог'); and instructive or illuminative ('И истину царям с улыбкой говорить'). Derzhavin created his own image of the poet, the image of a brave, truthful person, who is not afraid to tell the truth to those in power, who talks with them in a tone of intimate irreverence about everyday 'petty' things, which are of interest to him and which he therefore expects to be equally important to them. Insisting on his right to remain himself, he creates a new role of the poet as a private unofficial person, able to talk about high subjects in an ironic familiarizing style and to introduce low subjects into high poetry (Песков 1984, 17). In comparison with Horace's ode 'egocentricity' in Derzhavin's poem is enhanced: the highly personal terms in which he speaks about his achievements are reflected in the frequent use of the singular personal pronoun, occurring in his text six times. Egocentricity is further developed in the poet's address to the Muse, which incorporates the motif of pride (expressed in Horace in the single word 'superbia', combining the connotations of haughtiness and condescension and brought out in Derzhavin's line, 'возгордись заслугой справедливой, / И презрит кто тебя, сама тех презирай[15]'), and concludes with a request to crown herself not with the Delphic laurel but with no less than the 'dawn of immortality' ('Чело твое зарей бессмертия венчай'). Egocentricity, as well as intertextuality and the 'monument chronotope' in its Horatian form[16], can be said to have become structural features of the tradition of monument poems, which achieves canonisation through Derzhavin's ode.

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14 - Derzhavin's poetic achievement in transforming the Odic genre was a step towards its destruction (Ходасевич 1988, 105).

15 - An important addition to the study of the intertextuality of Derzhavin's poem was made by D. Bethea, interpreting this line as a major deviation from Horace's Ode and as a reference to the possible contempt of those enviers who thought that the poet had achieved his laurels through flattery (Bethea 1991, 232).

16 - In this paper the combined spatial-temporal relationship in poems based on the metaphor of the poetic monument will be referred to as 'chronotopical', following Mikhail Bakhtin's terminology (Бахтин 1975, 234-407).

The temporal-spatial characteristics of the poetic monument metaphor are transformed in Pushkin's 'Я памятник себе воздвиг'[17], whose epigraph 'exegi monumentum'[18] is taken as a quotation from Horace and, through its intertextuality, raises uncertainty as to whether the poem is an imitation of the Roman ode or an answer to it. In using the word 'monumentum' both Horace and Pushkin play on the ambiguity of its meaning, creating a posthumous feel as if their poems were composed on the other side of the grave. Both poets conjure up two possible meanings, an honorary monument such as was erected in Rome for eminent citizens during their lifetime or a funerary monument marking a person's grave (Williams 1979, 150; Сурат 2009, 254-256). Instead of Horace's contrast between the metaphorical 'monumentum' and a material value (indicated by the comparative ending of the adjective in 'aere perennius'), Pushkin creates a paradox (Kahn 2008, 84) between the physical image of a monument[19] and the idea of it being unmade, employing the polysemantic adjective 'нерукотворный'. The adjective meaning 'not made by hands' (нерукотворный)[20] raises an association with the name of an Orthodox icon 'Спас Нерукотворный', in English referred to as Christ *Acheiropoietos* (from Greek Αχειροποίητος, literally meaning 'not made by hands')

17 - Pushkin's poem was composed in the form of a final poetical confession or a will in August 1836, five months prior to his death in January 1837 (Гершензон 1919, 6-7).

18 - The texts of Pushkin's poems are quoted from (Пушкин 1962-1965).

19 - Pyotr Vyazemsky's attempt to challenge Pushkin's authority helps to clarify the distinction of the material versus the immaterial aspect of Pushkin's monument. As pointed out by Vyazemsky, statues are 'made by hand', but 'poetic monuments', having a metaphoric status, are obviously not (Вяземский 1883, 333).

20 - In 1933 I.L. Feinberg suggested a link between Pushkin's poem and the poem composed by V.G. Ruban on the monument to Peter the Great 'К памятнику Петра I' in which the word 'нерукотворный' was used in relation to the rock on which the monument stands (Фейнберг 1985, 577-591). However M.L. Gasparov pointed out that for any Russian reader the obligatory associations will be those with the image not made by hand (i.e. *Acheiropoietos)*, whereas the associations with the mountain not made by hand can only be secondary (Гаспаров, 323-373).

(Непомнящий 1965, 111-145). This image introduces a spiritual idea of the poet's role as similar to Christ's in bearing the word of God (or, possibly, a poet as the Demiurge, Greek δημιουργός). This image is picked up in the words 'не требуя венца', endowed with associations with the Crown of Thorns ('терновый венец').

The beginning of the second stanza of Pushkin's 'Памятник', which predicts the poet's future immortality, 'Нет, весь я не умру' is another direct quotation from Horace's Ode 3.30 'Non omnis moriar', preserving the intertextual connection between the two poems. The continuation of the second stanza: '– душа в заветной лире / мой прах переживет и тленья убежит – ', although deviating from the rest of Ode 3.30, contains an idea similar to that found in Horace's Ode 4.9: 'time hasn't erased what Anacreon once / played: and the love of the Lesbian girl still / breathes, all the passion that Sappho / committed to that Aeolian *lyre*' (Войтехович 2000). In both poems the lyre becomes a metaphor for poetry and for the way in which each poet will be remembered. However, Pushkin's lyre has a meaningful epithet 'заветная' which has connotations of a commandment, a covenant, a testament. In contrast to Horace's ode and Derzhavin's 'Pamyatnik', which developed the temporal and the spatial perspectives in succession, Pushkin deals with both perspectives simultaneously. Although M.L. Gasparov expresses this change in terms of the reduction of both themes of time and space in Pushkin's poem in comparison with Horace and Derzhavin (Гаспаров, 323-373), the difference seems insignificant, which can be shown through the frequency of word-combinations referring to images of time and space: Pushkin uses 3 references to time and 4 to space (as well as 4 ethnonyms); Horace uses 4 denotations of time and 4 of space; Derzhavin uses 4 references to time and 3 to space (as well as 6 hydronyms and one oronym). The temporal scope of the poet's fame is narrowed from 'as long as a single poet is alive' ('доколь в подлунном мире / Жив будет хоть один пиит'), to the adverb 'long' in a reference to the people ('И долго буду тем любезен я народу') and concludes with reference to 'my cruel time' ('мой жестокий век'). Temporal perspective thus develops from the ages of successive generations of

poets (adynaton is used to convey the idea of eternity) to a human life-span and then to the poet's own 'cruel time', thus using linear perspective to narrow the scope of vision.

Whereas the focus of time steadily narrows, the image of space synchronically widens from the reference to the people's path to the metonymic denotation of monarchy ('Александрийского столпа', in which the dialogue with Derzhavin's 'Pamyatnik', with its reference to monarchs, cf. 'истину царям' can be perceived). The Alexandrian column – which was erected in 1834 by order of Nicholas I, in order to commemorate the victory of Alexander I, his elder brother, over Napoleon – with its connotations of dead stone could have been perceived as a symbol of despotic power, a symbol over which the poet raises his mighty rebellious immortal poetic art. A material point of comparison in Pushkin's poem is introduced in the concluding lines of the first stanza, referring to the spatial perspective of the metaphoric monument: 'Вознесся выше он главою непокорной / Александрийского столпа'. The image of height is highlighted by enjambment and by the pronounced alliteration of 'в' in '*В*ознесся *в*ыше он глав*в*ою', which emphasises the crucial comparative 'выше' by the consonants' proximity to each other. Although the actual word denoting freedom ('Свобода') is delayed till stanza four, the idea of rebellion against confinement is expressed in the synecdoche 'главою непокорной'. By this image, which is a marked deviation from Horace, Pushkin is introducing a new and deeper level of meaning to his comparison of the monument and the Alexandrian column with all the spectrum of its polysemantic connotations.

Spatial perspective further widens in the reference to isolated poets existing in the sublunary world[21] ('подлунном мире') and finally concludes with the widest image of the whole of Russia ('по всей Руси великой'). The image of space is developed in the list of ethnonyms (introduced by the initial reference to people in 'народная тропа'), which take on the role played by toponyms in Horace's and Derzhavin's poems. However in the change from

21 - For the explanation of the meaning of the word 'подлунный' see (Kelly 2001, 10).

toponymics to ethnonymics the accent is put not on space as such but on the people with their various languages ('всяк сущий в ней язык'). It is not unlikely that Pushkin's innovation in shifting the emphasis on ethnic groups envisages further acts of translation and extends the transition from the Horatian motif of putting Greek songs to Latin metres to Pushkin's own works being translated into the new languages in his own country. The perspective expands from the reference to the people's path, to monarchy, to the poets of the sublunary world and finally to the whole country and its different nations. The combination of the narrowing perspective of time and the simultaneously widening perspective of space creates a tension which stresses the psychological, spiritual plane, prevailing in the poetic system of the text over its temporal-spatial scheme.

The material imagery ('тропа', 'столп') gives way to the non-material, spiritual concepts which rule out the motif of egocentricity, characteristic of the monument poetry tradition, going back to Horace with his self-centredness (Nisbet, Rudd, 365). Although the concluding lines of both poems are addressed to the Muse and refer to divine inspiration[22], the sentiments expressed in them differ radically. Horace asks his Muse to adhere to the ancient custom of reciprocity by granting him the laurel wreath of a victor; Pushkin, on the other hand, tells his Muse to obey the will of God. Rhymes in the last stanza ('Веленью Божию, о муза, будь послушна') remain as semantically significant as in the rest of the poem: послушна : равнодушно establishes a correlation between being obedient to God's will and being indifferent to everybody else's judgement, be it those who have power or fools unworthy of attention. The rhyme "венца": "глупца" stresses the idea that only fools seek earthly glory, an idea diametrically opposite to the message expressed in Horace's poem.

Contrary to Horace, Pushkin explicitly advises his Muse to refrain from bestowing the laurel wreath ('обиды не страшась, не требуя венца,'), in which he twice ironically depicted himself, as

22 - Address to the Muse is indicated by the vocative case 'Melpomene' in Horace and 'о муза' in Pushkin.

can be seen from his own drawings in two manuscripts (Вацуро 1995, 375-391; Эфрос 1945, 139). The parallels between the ending of Horace's ode and the culminating stanza of 'Памятник' suggest that Pushkin was challenging the tradition of monument poetry and refuting the proud words of Horace and Derzhavin with a warning to remain indifferent to slander and praise: 'Хвалу и клевету приемли равнодушно'[23]. Pushkin is addressing his Muse with an admonition to pay no attention to those who cannot understand the great gift of poetry, with which both Horace and he had been endowed ('и не оспоривай глупца'). A new interpretation of this line has been given by Catriona Kelly: "Pushkin followed Karamzin, too, in his intensive interest in the psychology and language of women: this can be seen not only in the prominence of female protagonists in his work, but also in the fact that some of his 'costumed confessions' were made in female dress (as with the last line of 'Monument', where the advice to avoid demeaning squabbles fits with contemporary expectations that ladies remain calm under all circumstances)" (Kelly, 125).

In the first four stanzas of Pushkin's poem the personal pronoun 'I' and the possessive 'мой' are used ten times; in the last stanza they are not used at all. The difference between the first four stanzas and the fifth is the difference between 'relative and absolute truth' (Непомнящий 1987, 446), which makes Pushkin's poem crucially different from all other verbal monument poems. In Horace's and Derzhavin's odes the poets' merits were viewed as individual, personal, their Muse crowned herself, and therefore the development of imagery was horizontal and historical; in Pushkin's poem not only the question of personal achievement becomes irrelevant, but also the question of personal authorship; the mission of the poet is conceived as social, universal, spiritual, and correspondingly the development of imagery is vertical (Непомнящий 1987, 446). As was aphoristically stated by M.L. Gasparov, "Horace has in his scope of vision the poet and the Muse above him, Derzhavin – just the Muse, Pushkin – the Muse and God above her. Thus the poetics of

23 - Cf. Pushkin's poem addressed not to the Muse but to the Poet himself: 'Поэт! Не дорожи любовию народной'.

'The Monument' is transformed as it transits from ancient literature to the literature of the Modern era." (Гаспаров, 323-373)

* * *

Pushkin's famous poem caused multiple polemic responses, parodies and travesties (by Valeriy Bryusov, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Vladislav Khodasevich, Iosif Brodsky, Boris Zakhoder and Alexey Purin), demonstrating its continuous presence in the collective memory of Russian-speaking nations. The ongoing dialogue with Pushkin can be accounted for by the desire of successive generations of poets to measure themselves against his genius. However the idea of a parodic treatment of the poetic monument tradition belongs to Pushkin himself (cf. a draft of the thirty-ninth stanza of the second chapter of *Evgenii Onegin* 'Быть может, этот стих небрежный / Переживет мой век мятежный. / Могу ль воскликнуть, о друзья: 'Exegi monumentum я' ['Воздвигнул памятник и я']).[24] Pushkin's imitation is certainly the source of the immense popularity of Horace's ode in Russia, which is incomparable with its fate in other literary traditions. Although the canonisation of the verbal monument metaphor was completed in Pushkin's famous poem, it paradoxically contains the first signs of the decanonisation of the tradition. The combination of the narrowing perspective of time and the widening perspective of space creates a tension, which brings into prominence the psychological, spiritual plane overshadowing the expansion of the metaphor. The individual fame of the poet becomes irrelevant, which results in his renunciation of the crown (i.e. the monument) in direct polemics with the tradition.

Pushkin's challenge to the canonical treatment of the metaphor is directed not only at Horace's but also at Derzhavin's poem, with which the canonization of the verbal monument tradition began in Russian literature. In Derzhavin's ode, presenting the biography of the poet in terms of temporal and toponymic characteristics, the location of his verbal monument is defined through expanding

24 - Пушкин А.С. Евгений Онегин (примечания к главе 2). Полн. собр. соч.: В 10 т. М.: Наука, 1964. Т.5. С. 592. For the discussion of Pushkin's draft see: Алексеев 1967, 136-138.

chronotopical coordinates. The expansion of both linear and reverse perspectives creates the 'perceptive perspective', stressing the individual achievement and enhancing the motif of the poet's egocentricity.

The attitude to time and space as challenges to verbal monuments, inherited by Derzhavin from Horace, determines the chronotopical structure of all verbal monument texts. The metaphor of poetic monument in Horace's ode, making a powerful and uncontested claim for poetry as a more enduring monument than anything made of material substance, is perceived in terms of double reverse perspective, widening through the temporal perspective of eternity and the spatial perspective of the entire poetic universe. Its historical distance accounts for the inclusion of Horace's ode into the high canon, though his ode glorifying the poet through his achievement could only have become the subject for parody today.

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Katherine Anna New completed her BA in Classics and Modern Languages (Hons) at Oxford University with a 1st class degree and MSt in Medieval and Modern Languages at Oxford University with a Distinction. She is currently a Graduate Teaching Assistant at New College, Oxford and a DPhil researcher in Medieval and Modern Languages at the same college, working on the reception of Classical mythology in Neo-classical drama. Her publications include articles on the theory of translation and on translations of Homeric Epic; the reception of Latin poetry in Russian literature; women in Roman culture; ancient Historiography; Russian Drama. Her research is funded by the AHRC Doctoral Training Partnership.

Dr. Laura Marzo

The Time of the Civil Wars in the *City of God*: the Narrative of Time as Rupture of the Social Order

Keywords: Time - Civil wars - City of God - Augustine - Theodosius - Sulla

The theme of time in the profound and articulated Christian reflection of Augustine of Hippo has always aroused great interest in the critical debate and the vast bibliography on this theme asserts in an unanimous way that the question of time is crucial in the Augustinian narrative and in his philosophical and theological doctrines. Given this undisputed premise on the theoretical, semantic and ontological centrality of time, plentiful studies have analyzed the famous aporia of time formulated by Augustine in the *Confessions* (book XI) and have minutely examined the complex relationship between time, eternity and soul (Gloy 1988; Flasch 1993; Teske 1996; Bettetini 2001; Pranger 2001; Gander 2002; La Maglia 2016; Karfíková 2020).

The purpose of these numerous researches was to provide interpretations to the enigmatic and aporetic question "*Quid est enim tempus?*" that Augustine has handed down almost as an universal warning that still requires us to ask about the nature and the subjective and collective perception of time. Therefore, the complex Augustinian theme of time was investigated starting from the ontological and exegetical analysis of time formulated in the

Confessions, which, rather than breaking into an insoluble aporia, reveals how human temporal existence can only occur between finitude and mutability (Lettieri 1992, 31): these two characteristics of human time are elevated, in a different literary context - such as that of the *City of God*, to primary characteristics of human nature in relation to its real existence in earthly historical time.

Precisely the *City of God*, with its conception of historical time and its phenomenology embodied in concrete historical events and figures, will be the starting point of my investigation. In this work, in fact, the narrative of time, which draws away from the often recurring psychologism in the critical interpretation of the theme of time within the *Confessions* (Alici 1998), is expressed in a wider framework, which combines the inner and conscience dimension with the external and factual dimension of the contingency of historical time.

This semantic enlargement is originated from Augustine's mature awareness that history is *distensio humanitatis* over and in time (Florez 1954, 181): it follows that, in relation to the unavoidable presence of mankind, the time, in which the transitory existence of man is immersed, is conceived as an order of succession that historicizes the mutability of mankind (Alici 1998, 62). In this way, in the *City of God*, time becomes an integral part of the meshes of human history, which is retraced as a dynamism of relative forces and choices capable of conditioning that limited time in which they are experienced; in this union with history, the time reveals all the tragedy of the human existence, destined to perish together with the time in which, in the historical-existential sense, it was.

Considering, however, the literary context of the *City of God*, its opportunity for composition and, not least, its destination, Augustine must interface with a narrative and speculative problem of no small importance (Brown 2000, 288-90): he intends to make the reader fully aware both of the drama of his existence and the salvific conditions which, achievable only in an otherworldly dimension, allow man to overcome the tragic finiteness of his historical-temporal existence through faith. Then, pursuing such

aim, the narrative of the time of the *City of God* turns to the historical past and its *res gestae*, in order to provide readers with negative and positive examples to be avoided or emulated: the narrative of time thus fits into a superior pedagogical-providential perspective, in which the foreknowledge of God instructs man's reason with examples aimed at avoiding the persistent evil in human temporal existence in view of eternal goods (Amari 1950, 187-8). Through this approach with human history, which goes beyond the merely chronological limits, Augustine intends to propose historical characters who, fulfilling a prototypical function, could show how human choices act over time and characterize it according to the twofold and antithetical attitude of man towards God: either of acceptance and, therefore, of adhesion to God, or of refusal and, therefore, of aversion to God (Amari, 167).

In light of this antithesis that is at the basis of Augustine's entire historical- temporal conception, I have focused on a particular historical episode, namely the civil wars of the first century BC, in their guise of fratricidal conflicts between fellow citizens (Sampson 2013); in such case, I propose to interpret the civil wars as historical occasion that palpably externalizes the consequences of the two opposing inner human attitudes towards God over time. In particular, in some passages of the III and V books of the *City of God*, Augustine illustrates, on the one hand, the historical presence and the cruel development of the civil wars of the late-republican age between Marius and Sulla (III, 27-29), on the other, the absence of civil conflicts under the reign of Theodosius in the fourth century AD (V, 26.1).

Based on the primary Augustinian source, I relate the presence or absence of civil wars in human history to the more articulated and fundamental Augustinian doctrine of the order of love (*ordo amoris*): in this way, the characterization of a peculiar historical time could be deciphered as a reflection of the disorder or order generated by the human will. In fact, the moral intentionality of human wills acts factually in historical time, giving a course which, always responding to the divine providential plan, pours out the choices of man's interiority in the external and finite dimension of

collective secular time. When man has rejected God, he has preferred himself and his temporal needs, subverting the correct order that places God, as the Supreme *Ens*, above all other creatures (which, being created by him, are inferior by ontological nature): the factual and empirical product of this disordered will of man was a historical time characterized by disorder. On the contrary, the truly pious and devoted man who entrusted himself to God has allowed the maintenance, within his limited experienced time, of the correct order that rewards man by making him participate, in the otherworldly dimension, of eternal and immutable time (Bodei 2015).

In light of this dichotomy that manifests the temporal effects of subversion or respect for the order of love, Augustine builds a chiasmus that, dense with literary significance, becomes much more than a rhetorical artifice of an opposing essence: indeed, it is charged with a paradigmatic value that is functional to demonstrate how opposing historical characters have actively acted in history, conditioning their historical time. The Augustinian reflection thus identifies two political authorities, chronologically very distant from each other, who personified contrasting internal forces whose actions have impressed the temporal course of history. In this way the bishop of Hippo contrasts Sulla, protagonist of the civil war, who was guilty of the historical realization of the most "disastrous, hideous, and bitter" time that Rome has ever known (*De civ. Dei*, III, 29), and Theodosius, the pious emperor par excellence, whose government allowed the definitive affirmation of Catholicism and the legal-institutional imposition of the *tempora christiana* (Duval 1966; Brown 1975; Cavalcanti 1994; Kaufman 2017).

The narrative connotation adopted by Augustine to present the peculiarities of these two characters certainly does not represent a literary innovation. As regards the description of Sulla's vices (among which, above all, his cruelty stands out), the African theologian follows a recurring *topos* in classical literature: centuries before, eminent writers of the calibre of Cicero, Sallust and Livy had delineated an execrable moral and political profile of the Roman dictator (Zecchini 1993, 93). Regarding the idealized portrait of Theodosius, the bishop Ambrose had already created a literary

image of the praiseworthy – exquisitely Christian – gifts of the emperor, commending his government (Ernesti 1998; Bonamente 2010). However, if, on the one hand, the Augustinian narrative sensitivity assimilates these consolidated literary *topoi*, on the other it surpasses them, because the bishop of Hippo establishes an innovative parallelism between these two historical figures.

This antithetical construction accentuates not only the moral distance, but above all the distance between the historical-temporal product of their choices. The comparison between Sulla and Theodosius takes place in a precise literary frame: Augustine, praising the Theodosian military victories in the final paragraph of the V book of the *City of God* (26.1), states that the emperor felt pain for the wars he had waged and did not want to harm anyone, unlike the vicious leaders of the civil wars, who however procrastinated the conflicts for their thirst for revenge and their lust for power.

The civil wars, connoted in this passage with a strongly amoral connotation as ignoble conflicts driven by personal interests and greed, play a central role – often omitted by scholars – in the narrative economy, because they shed light on a peculiar Augustinian attitude towards the historical reflection that flows into his narrative of historical time. At first glance, in fact, the mention of civil wars would seem to be a marginal historical epiphenomenon compared to the victorious Theodosian exploits, when, in reality, it constitutes a crucial comparison that assumes a metastorical function. Therefore, it is not surprising if, according to the metastorical purpose underlying this comparison, Augustine shows his disinterest in both historical and historiographic differences between the late-republican age of Sulla and the late-antique age of Theodosius.

In this literary context, the chronological time actually elapsed between Sulla and Theodosius does not count; but, on the contrary, it represents an interpretative level of time, anchored to historiography rather than history, which is excluded from the Augustinian considerations on the interlacement of time and history. Indeed, Augustine depicts the historical presence of civil wars as watershed of two value and time systems that are intrinsically and

extrinsically opposite to each other. There are, on the one hand, Sulla, who, embodying the most wicked and bloodthirsty period that has taken place in the history of Rome, is the archetype of the time that denied God; on the other, Theodosius, who, through the correct exercise of his power, is the advocate of the time that placed God before the limited human ego. Therefore, civil wars become a narrative occasion which, in their concreteness of historical event actually happened, reflecting the deeper conflict between paganism and Christianity and hence between pagan time that refuses God and Christian time that worships God (O' Daly 1999, 87-8).

At this "external" level of time, in which civil wars are to be considered one of the many historical manifestations that oppose pagan groundlessness to Christian truth, Augustine adds a further entirely internal level of interpretation and this is exactly what constitutes the most original aspect of Augustinian reflection on the effects of human will in historical time. In fact, Sulla's fault, which puts him in stark contrast to the virtues of Theodosius, does not lie so much in being lived in the pagan time, who had not yet known the illuminating Revelation of Christ, that is the τέλος that gives meaning to the history of salvation (Cullmann 1975, 171): if so, in fact, Sulla could be considered as a figurant of profane time, whose historical action, even if totally negative, would be completely disempowered. However, the biggest misdeed of Sulla was intimate and immanent and coincided with the factual expression, in the historical time in which he lived, of his corrupted will, which originated and gave free rein to moral evils. It thus emerges as the root of the most nefarious and brutal time in the history of Rome residing in the distorted interior of the dictator, since temporal evils are accidentally achieved by his moral evils (Legras 1994).

In the narration of the peculiarities and consequences of Sulla's moral evils, the Augustinian argument, in fact, follows a linearity of moral cause – temporal effect, which illustrates how civil wars were both mirror and product of the perverse will of Sulla in the historical-temporal reality. Augustine is not stingy with descriptions with particularly dark and bloody hues regarding the historical modalities perpetrated in the civil wars of the late republican age: the public

spaces of Rome were filled with corpses and, once Sulla won, murderous revenges, abhorrent massacres and factious lists of proscriptions against harmless fellow citizens proliferated (*De civ. Dei*, III, 27-28). With a bitter sarcasm the bishop of Hippo asserts that Sulla was suggested to leave someone alive, otherwise his "license to kill" would have spared no victims to subdue. The historical time of the civil wars is thus portrayed as an axe that lacerates the transient existence of the Romans, as a fatal segment of the history of Rome when death hovered and the blood of the unarmed victims gushed flooding that flow of immanent time: so the time of civil wars is an empirical and historical manifestation of the evil that exists and penetrates the meshes of history, slashing the textiles.

However, death and bloodshed are identified by Augustine as temporal evils, namely products of human defectability experienced in a limited historical time: for this reason, their intrinsic origin should not be sought in the historical-temporal dimension, but in the moral one, more precisely in that amoral will that was the efficient cause of those tragic historical consequences. It follows that moral evils, much more deplorable than temporal ones, reside in the will (Sciuto 1999, 102): applying this cogitation to the concrete historical case of the late republican civil wars, it can be deduced that the bishop of Hippo identifies in Sulla, as the instigator and advocate of those nefarious and truculent acts, the moral culprit of the atrocities executed at that time. Therefore, considering that moral evil is a consequence of the dysfunction of the will, which fully qualifies human nature, this malfunction consists in the rupture of the correct moral order: the bad will, in fact, does not recognize the correct hierarchy between beings that places God, as a superior being, above all, preferring an inferior and transient entity instead, which is placed before the perfect superiority of God (Catapano 2006, 104-5).

By virtue of the fundamental hierarchy of the order, it is possible to highlight the moral source of the bloodshed in the heinous slaughters, which Augustine judges more ferocious than those feral against carrion, perpetrated during the civil wars between Marius and Sulla. The inner genesis of so much cruelty, which not surprisingly, in the narrative of the *City of God*, becomes a qualifying

attribute of Sulla, resides in that moral disorder that characterized Sulla's existence: the dictator has broken – and this infringement was entirely voluntary – the order that governs the hierarchy of beings, regardless of his transitory and inferior essence. This inversion of the correct moral order is an attempt at a superb elevation of man, who wants to place himself and his own contingent desires above God: therefore, it coincides with the inversion of love that every being turns towards something (Donovan 1980). By putting himself first and loving himself more than any other being, Sulla is moved only by self-love (*amor sui*): it follows that he also subordinates the common good of the Roman republic to his desire to assert his power. From this point of view, Sulla is a worthy descendant of Romulus, founder of the earthly city and archetypal citizen of that city dominated by immanence and transience and governed by self-love.

Through this primordial and perverse force that guides the will of Sulla, Augustine places the historical character of Sulla within the antinomical logic of the earthly city and the city of God, which, generated by the two opposite forms of love, represent the complete synthesis of the Augustinian historical conception (Sciacca 1954; Wachtel 1960; Markus 1970; Campelo 1976). In addition to his condemnation of Sulla's disordered interior, Augustine also deals with the historical-temporal consequences of the actions produced by such corrupt intentionality: here, then, the civil war between Marius and Sulla and the consequent bloody revenge of Sulla become phenomenological externalization of the logic that sees the historical succession as a mixture of the two opposing loves, showing what the concrete effects of the evils originating from self-love are (Holland 2019, 50-2). Therefore, since civil wars were the product of the wills that loved and acted in a disordered way, then they can only reflect that moral disorder from a temporal point of view.

In the interpretation of the dynamics underlying the civil wars, the genesis of the disorder cannot in fact be separated from its historical-temporal consequences: being pursued as an ultimate purpose, the lust for power and the cruelty of Sulla conditioned the entire course of that historical segment. Accordingly, considering its

origin, the time of the civil wars of Sulla is a pathological time, marked by social disorder and temporal evil, since there has been a rupture of that natural order that governs the right relationship between man and God. This fracture of the correct vertical axiological line between man and God shows all its repercussions in the horizontal axis that regulates relations between men: during the civil wars of Marius and Sulla, the relation between men was thus compromised and disordered because it reflected that vertical disorder between human will and God.

The consequences of that social disorder are palpable in a narrative detail that has hitherto received little attention from critics: indeed, in his grim description of Sulla's revenge, Augustine states that the dictator's brutality exceeded that of the beasts (*De civ. Dei*, III, 28). This form of violence that shows total contempt for the existence of others and goes beyond feral ferocity is symptomatic of the social disorder of that time: in the right natural order, in fact, man loves God above all else, loves other men as himself and loves non-rational beings, such as beasts, less than other men. Waging civil wars and his revenge, Sulla however perpetrated a form of violence which, reserving inhuman treatment for his enemies, was superior to the ferocity of the animals: this implies an inversion of the order which presupposes a total breakdown of the hierarchy of beings, because the relation between man is also subverted both with other men equal to him and with lower beings, such as animals (which, according to Augustine, being devoid of rationality, are by their very nature inferior to men).

The historical instrument that Sulla used in his historical-political reality to seal the lack of existential equality among men were the proscription lists: also in this case, Augustine portrays with a bloody *pathos* the historical effects of the Sullan proscription, which struck against some of his fellow citizens by declaring them public enemies (Canfora 1980; Hinard 1985; Hefter 2006); he also narrates with atrocious details the tortures reserved for those sentenced to death. Precisely in the description of these tortures, such as, for example, the dismemberment of a body with bare hands and the amputation of the limbs to a man still alive, it emerges how

social disorder was dominant and deprived the existences of Sulla's opponents of the order of love that even animals keep for their peers (*De civ. Dei*, III, 28). So, if in that historical time there was so much brutality to invalidate even the correct order of social relations between men, that historical time could only be the expression of the total rupture of the ordered horizontal relations and, consequently, of the dominant presence of social disorder originating from moral disorder.

Augustine, after having portrayed such a negative and bloodthirsty narrative scenario, nevertheless offers an edifying example that reveals how there has been a diametrically opposed time of restoration of the correct natural and social order. The bishop of Hippo, in fact, after having narrated in the III book the atrocities perpetrated by Sulla against his enemies, in the fifth book contrasts the magnanimous attitude assumed by Theodosius: according to what Augustine reports, the Christian emperor loved the children of his enemies, making them convert to Christianity and filling them with honours, and refused, after his victory, to pursue private vengeance (*De civ. Dei*, V, 26, 1).

Through this clear contrast, Augustine proposes a moral model, personified by the emperor Theodosius, which is based on *pietas* and humanity – as peculiar Christian endowments – and on their factual application in historical time: pursuing these virtues, completely opposite to Sulla, Theodosius refuses to fuel revenge and personal lust for power and reserves a benevolent and charitable treatment for his enemies (Eckert 2014, 272). Theodosius thus acts by making choices that, guided by his Christian faith, manifest the correct order of love also for his peers, albeit defeated by him: in this way, his ordered will restores both the proper horizontal relation between men and the correct vertical relation between man and God (it is essential to specify that the horizontal relation is consequent to the vertical one). For this reason, Augustine warmly praises the Theodosian government, as it was the result of a good will that, recognizing the correct hierarchical order of beings, guaranteed in its time the reaffirmation of the natural and social order that repudiates the self-love and the ephemeral temporal goods.

The civil conflicts, framed in a dichotomous relationship of presence/absence in historical time, thus become, in the narrative of the *City of God*, a paradigmatic literary opportunity to show how the forces underlying history, namely the two different moral orders of love, cannot be disjointed from their temporal consequences. From this perspective, the presence of the civil wars and the atrocities that have characterized their historical time stands as a negative paradigm of both the transience of human life and the moral, social and temporal disorder that, totally breaking the scale of beings, makes man regress to a worse and more ferocious condition than that of animals.

However, at the same time, the bishop of Hippo also creates a speculative and literary counterbalance in order to offer a moral example which, in its concrete historical realization, indicates a salvific solution to avoid the recurrence of disorder. As a matter of fact, Theodosius, refusing to start civil conflicts, offers an exemplary model of inner and outer behaviour guided by that ordered love that is peculiar to the true Christian (Dodaro 2007): by loving God more than himself and treating other men, even if defeated by him, with the Christian *pietas* that only a true ordered interiority knows and applies, the emperor rises to an edifying function that restores natural order even over time.

The absence of civil wars, in this light, is a historical condition that illuminates a different moral path for man: by detaching itself from the lust of power and the desire of temporal goods that have originated the worst moral evils occurred in history, the human will can contribute to re-establish in its historical time that order which, often broken in history, will reward man in otherworldly life by making him participate in eternal time and making him overcome the tragic mutability of human time.

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Laura Marzo obtained the PhD in Ancient History at "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iaşi in joint supervision with University of Bari (final grade: magna cum laude). In her doctoral research she investigates the conception of Roman empire according to St. Augustine, focusing in particular on the condemnation of both *libido dominandi* (lust of conquering) and Roman expansionism.

At the University of Bari, Laura Marzo obtained a bachelor's degree in Cultural Heritage and a master's degree in Philology, both with honors (110 *cum laude*), discussing two theses respectively in History of early Christianity and Latin literature. She also held a post-graduated master in Didactics of humanities and integration of students with special educational needs.

Dealing with different research topics related to the Christian Latin historiography of the late antique period, she took part in International conferences in Italy, Spain, England and Romania.

For about three years she has been collaborating with an Italian publishing house (*Nel Diritto Editore*) as authoress and editor: among her works, she has translated some Roman law sources -contained in Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis*- from Latin into Italian.

Miriam Sette

The 'Mediterranean' Natural Garden in William Beckford's *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha*[1]

Keywords: William Beckford; *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha*; 18th Century Travel Literature; Mediterrenean Heritage

William Beckford is one of the main English authors of the period between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He belonged to the English high society and for this he was initially sought after in the most exclusive environments. Son of Alderman William Beckford, a member of the British parliament and former mayor of London, in 1770 he inherited a huge fortune from his father, thanks to which he was able to devote himself to his favourite activities, such as writing, collecting books and works of art, and numerous trips. With his works and his decadent lifestyle characterized by the detachment from society, Beckford conquered,

1 - A version in Italian of this article can be found in: Sette, M. "Il Portogallo mediterraneo di William Beckford: *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha*" in Marchetti L., Martinez C. (eds), *Orizzonti mediterranei e oltre. Prospettive inglesi e americane*, Milan, LED, 2014, pp. 31-42.

at a later stage, the reputation of eccentric, grumpy and "dangerous" spirit (Cf. Boyd 1962). In 1782 he wrote in French the oriental tale for which he is above all known, *Vathek*[2]. The exotic setting, the Gothic atmospheres, the dense plot of political and amorous intrigues characterizing *Vathek* also permeate the travel story *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha*[3].

A fairytale incipit opens the *Recollections*, which cannot fail to recall the style of the *Thousand and One Nights*, known in England since the early eighteenth century[4], whose arabesque structure inspires Beckford's *Recollections*: "THE Prince Regent of Portugal, for reasons with which I was never entirely acquainted, took it into his royal head, one fair morning, to desire I would pay a visit to the monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha" (Beckford 1835, 1). As the brigade proceeds towards the west of Portugal, the reader is gradually plunged into the temporal dimension of the past. The escape from the present reality is reflected in the rapid shift of the

2 - *Vathek: An Arabian Tale* was written in French in 1782 and translated into English in 1786 by Samuel Henley. The novel has over 160 notes by the author, many of which are full-bodied and learned. An important link between Enlightenment literature and pre-romantic experiences, *Vathek* represents a singular mixture of the style of the *Thousand and One Nights*, translated into French by Antoine Galland (1704-08), *Les Mille et une Nuits*. 12 vols. Paris, the mocking humor of Voltaire's *Contes philosophiques* and the black novels of English pre-romanticism. The first English translation of the French orientalist Galland's *Mille et une Nuits* is reproduced in its entirety in the edition edited by Mack 1995.

3 - All references in the text will be made to the original edition: Beckford 1835. Henceforth: Recollections.

4 - Among the subsequent translations of the Arabic nights into English, we should mention: Edward William Lane's (1838-1842), *A New Translation of The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night; Known in England as the Arabian Nights' Entertainment*. London; John Payne (1882-1884), *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*. London; Richard Francis Burton's (1885-1886), *The Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night. A Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights*, I-X vols. Benares: Kamashastra Soc.; Burton, R. F. (1886-1888), *Supplemental Nights to the Thousand Nights and a Night*, XI-XVI vols. Benares: Kamashastra Soc. On the fascination exerted by the East on the English Enlightenment sensitivity, see Ballaster 2005 and Aravamudan 2011.

language from the documentary-descriptive speech, typical of travel narrative, to the imaginary structure of the poetic vision.

The journey into literature is, indeed, a metaphor rather than an actual exploration of unknown worlds that urge the author's curiosity. The dimension of unsatisfied curiosity is particularly evident in *Recollections* where, as in Henry Fielding's *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1755), the path in Portugal is exposed in a non-systematic, but syncretic way. This is the narrative space in which rather than the description of places, events, inspirations, on the contrary, Beckford gives way to his fantasies. He invests Portugal of many indicators, unequivocally recalling the memory of the Mediterranean countries, and not the Atlantic Ocean to which the country of Portugal has on the contrary shown the propensities of its identity and its imperial vocation:

> A sky of intense azure, tempered by fleecy clouds, discovered itself between the tracery of innumerable arches; the summer airs (aure estive) fanned us as we sat; the fountain bubbled on; the perfume of orange and citron flowers was wafted to us from an orchard not far off: but, in spite of all these soft appliances, we remained silent and abstracted [...] We advanced in procession through courts and cloisters and porches, all constructed with admirable skill, of a beautiful grey stone, approaching in fineness of texture and apparent durability to marble [...] We passed the refectory, a plain solid building, with a pierced parapet of the purest Gothic design and most precise execution, and traversing a garden-court divided into compartments, where grew the orange trees whose fragrance we had enjoyed, shading the fountain by whose murmurs we had been lulled, passed through a sculptured gateway into an irregular open space before the grand western façade of the great church – grand indeed – the portal full fifty feet in height, surmounted by a window of perforated marble of nearly the same lofty dimensions, deep as a cavern, and

> enriched with canopies [...] As soon as we drew near, the valves of a huge oaken door were thrown open, and we entered the nave, which reminded me of Winchester in form of arches and mouldings, and of Amiens in loftiness. There is a greater plainness in the walls, less panelling, and fewer intersections in the vaulted roof; but the utmost richness of hue, at this time of day at least, was not wanting. No tapestry, however rich – no painting, however vivid, could equal the gorgeousness of tint, the splendour of the golden and ruby light which streamed forth from the long series of stained windows: it played flickering about in all directions, on pavement and on roof, casting over every object myriads of glowing mellow shadows ever in undulating motion, like the reflection of branches swayed to and fro by the breeze. We all partook of these gorgeous tints – the white monastic garments of my conductors seemed as it were embroidered with the brightest flowers of paradise, and our whole procession kept advancing invested with celestial colours (Beckford 1835, 81-83).

The ancient cloisters, the sumptuous sacristies, the orange and apricot gardens, the effects of light on the windows, the grandiose facades of the churches, as well as the images of the venerable laurels, the sepulchral chapels, the banquet halls, the bells of the convent, the marine views, scattered along the text, are all Mediterranean images and produce bold retrospective thoughts, on the border of the dreamlike vision. The travel report distributed in twelve days (as many as the sections of the writing) gives way to the description of landscape elements, historical and cultural events that have the function of enhancing the search for a cure on behalf of an upset traveller.

The traumatic events of Beckford's life are known: due to the insinuations of a judge, he is assaulted by a violent press campaign that unleashes the infamous stigma of paedophile on him. Thus he escapes from England to the Continent with the final destination of

Portugal for the recovery of solitude, in search of oblivion in order to reconcile with the warm and welcoming intimacy of a country that he himself describes in the outline of the fourth day as "Peaceful State of Portugal compared to other parts of the Continent" (1835, 26). France is indeed struggling with the Revolution; in Italy popular movements are underway in Naples and in general the bourgeois pro-French Revolution movements are in progress; Spain is confronted with the aftermath of the war of succession; Greece is under the Turkish domination and, therefore, at the edges of the ancient Mediterranean identity. Portugal is, instead, the place of peaceful hermitages that endorse a climate of tranquillity and traditional continuity superior to other Mediterranean countries crossed at that time by a turbulent vitality that reminded him of the drama of his anxieties. It is no coincidence that he visits two monasteries, namely quiet places in dim light, ideal ports for his labour, located in the state of Portugal, which is not described as an isolated country on the Atlantic, but as a sunny Mediterranean one:

> How often, contrasting my present situation with the horrid disturbed state of almost every part of the Continent, did I bless the hour when my steps were directed to Portugal! As I sat in the nook of my retired window, I looked with complacency on a roof which sheltered no scheming hypocrites, on tables, on which perhaps no newspaper had ever been thrown, and on neat white pillows, guiltless of propping up the heads of those assassins of real prosperity – political adventurers. The very air which kept playing around my temples seemed to breathe contentment; it was genially warm, not oppressive, and brought with it the intermingled fragrance of mountain herbs and native flowers (*idem*, 30).

The metaphor underlying Beckford's trip to Portugal now appears revealed: the exploration of the country's peaceful lands stands as an inner journey. Beckford is looking for seclusion in the

two Portuguese monasteries pervaded by mysticism and quiet, and immersion into the Mediterranean aura which alleviates his pains and welcomes him whatever he is and despite the discredit largely spread on him by the English press. The hardships suffered by Beckford because of a campaign of intolerant hatred against him, are alleviated by his search for the symbols of a 'Mediterranean' Portugal and by his reconciliation with an all-embracing world.

In Beckford's *Recollections* the Portuguese 'Mediterranean' garden[5] is a refuge, a place dedicated to meditation where he can immerse into naturalness. The Portuguese garden gives him a feeling of peace and well-being. Here nature is pure and untrammelled, set apart from human culture. Beckford's Portuguese natural garden has no geometrical organizations, as well as no overlapping of anthropic technologies, as is the case with the English garden claiming a naturalness which is only illusory[6].

The Portuguese 'Mediterraean' garden described by Beckford is rather the site for an intimate embedment of the cultural dimension in the natural dimension. The garden, which opens to a vast landscape, is a space which strongly recalls the ideal garden described by Bacon in his Essay "Of Gardens". In Bacon's ideal garden there appears a good-sized chunk of wildflower meadow. Beckford's garden, annexed to the Monastery, is described as follows:

> There we found ourselves in a most comfortable antiquated mansion, perfectly cool and clean; the floors neatly matted, the tables covered with the finest white linen, and, in bright clear caraffes of Venetian glass, the

5 - On the garden in the Mediterranean literature and culture, see the introductory essays included in the series edited by Mariani, 2006-14.

6 - Think of eighteenth-century landscape parks and its passage from the rigid and geometric flowerbed of the Italian or French gardens, to the wavy line and the spontaneous scrub composition of landscape gardening. Surely rather more tame than wild the whole point of a garden is that it is unnatural, a space organized and ordered by human will.

> most beautiful carnations I ever met with, even at Genoa in the Durazzo Gardens.
>
> The wide latticed windows of the apartment allotted to me commanded the view of a boundless vineyard in full luxuriant leaf, divided by long broad tracts of thyme and camomile, admirably well kept and nicely weeded. From this immense sea of green leaves rose a number of plum, pear, orange, and apricot trees; the latter procured by the monks directly from Damascus, and bearing, as I can testify, that most delicious fruit of its kind called "eggs of the sun" by the Persians; – even insects and worms seem to respect it, for no trace could I discover of their having preyed on its smooth glowing rind and surrounding foliage.
>
> Beyond these truly Hesperian orchards, very lofty hills swell into the most picturesque forms, varied by ledges of rock, and completely inclose this calm retirement; wild healthful spots of delicate herbage, which the goats and sheep, whose bells I heard tinkling in the distance, are scarcely more partial to than myself (*idem*, 28-29).

A landscape extends away from the anthropocentric view of formal garden styles, which viewed nature as only beautiful when ordered by the hand of man. Beckford's Portuguese garden demonstrates that nature itself can be beautiful, produced by custom with long-lasting memory, in the recognition of original natural forms and centuries-old traditions. We therefore understand all the meaning of the previous quote. The most authentic expression of Beckford's intimate experience emerges in an environment, different from the English one, in which he finds an ancient mansion of welcome and purity, refinement and aesthetic appeal, immersed in an Edenic space of flowers and fruits, of lush vegetation populated by herds, hills and rocks. Nature offers itself in its original, traditional and uncontaminated version with the characteristics of a wonderful Eden, outclassing the most beautiful gardens ever visited and closer to the mythical and dreamed garden of the Hesperides, which

soothes all the pains and renew vital desires. The message which lies behind such an illustration of the garden is a critique of the imposed order, a questioning of the English politics of Beckford's time. Beckford is essentially critical of the world of his time and feels the need to reconnect to 'traditional' ways of doing things. Beckford's Portuguese garden expresses an aesthetic of taste contrasting the triumph of artifice of the English garden. The English garden imposes itself as the culmination of an extenuation of man's manipulative tendency towards nature, which is bent to an *ordo artificialis* in which the negation of nature, the negation of man, takes place. A triumph of artifice is reached, and in this sense the garden is a fake. It is as if the Garden of Eden has turned into anti-world, the English garden gives itself as a mirror and synthesis of the English political system of Beckford's time, which represses private naturalities such as regional autonomies with which it comes into contact, and aims at establishing a logic of great expansion under a single commercial and colonial model (Cf. Leask 2004). Beckford aims to shake up the British political system and its reassuring hypocrisy.

It is no coincidence that on his return to England from Portugal, Beckford felt the anxiety of destroying the ancestral buildings, nor that he rebuilt the paternal mansion in the Gothic style, that is full of drama and tension[7]. It would seem that he wants to deny everything to start again, blaming his family for having generated him deviant. Therefore, his journey is not aimed at satisfying the curiosity of an intellectual who wants to discover new worlds and that is why his illustration of the places visited is neither realistic nor organic, but driven by interior needs. Travelling to Portugal Beckford intended to flee to a place exposed to the ocean's waves worthy of Burke's sublime, but he also wanted to abandon himself to the calm of the abbeys, to the intimacy of the adorned sacristies, to the gardens full of Mediterranean fruits. Beckford's is clearly a consolatory search,

7 - Beckford demolished much of the building his father wanted and used building materials for the new structure of Fonthill Abbey, enclosed by a twelve-foot high wall around which 524 hectares of land extended. He commissioned the reconstruction to James Wyatt in 1796 and the work was completed in 1812**.** Cf. Davis 2000.

as can be seen from his description of Portugal, expressed in the report of the fourth day, as "[a] calm Retirement" (1835, 26). Portugal, indeed, is much more than this. It is not only a psychic reflection of his anguish, but also a mythical space, a new poetic horizon, and the place itself of the revelation of the Divine in all its forms, just as the mysterious Orient of his previous writing had been (Cf. Said 2003). If the underlying imaginative model is represented by the Mediterranean, the diegetic itinerary of *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha* clearly dramatizes the resistance to change on behalf of an extremely aesthetic artistic sensibility not much inclined to recognize in the sudden passages and in the abrupt variations, the signs of some human progress:

> The traces of John the Fifth's munificence were then visible in all their freshness and lustre. Since those golden days of reciprocal good-will and confidence between the landlord and the tenant, the master and the servant, what cruel and arbitrary inroads have been made upon individual happiness! What almost obsolete oppressions have been revived under new-fangled, specious names! What a cold and withering change, in short, has been perpetrated by a well-organized system of spoliation, tricked out in the plausible garb of philosophic improvement and general utility (1835, 227).

The traveller enthusiastically records events, uses, curiosities of the places visited through the literary medium of the travel report. There is no escaping the feeling of being in the presence of a tendentiously conservative temperament, hidden behind Beckford's active participation in the life of the places visited. An investigation aimed at shedding light on the *Recollections* presents problems that are not easy to solve. It requires a particularly careful and disenchanted screening of information. And this is particularly true with regard to the examination of the chronicle commentaries,

where the enthusiastic and apologetic tone often prevails at the expense of the objectivity. Beckford's elaborate descriptions or aesthetic digressions, however detailed, are thus unsuitable for providing a precise historical illustration of the places visited by the author[8]. For example, a historical error can be detected in the report of the twelfth day where Beckford tells of his meeting with Prince John VI of Braganza, future king of Portugal and husband of Carlotta Gioacchina of Bourbon-Spain. Beckford acknowledges the paternity of Maria Anna of Austria[9] to Charles VI and not to Emperor Leopold I[10]: "John the Fifth having married the Archduchess, daughter of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, he had therefore an hereditary claim to those wide-spreading, domineering lips, which so remarkably characterized the House of Austria, before it merged into that of Lorraine" (1835, 211-212). The absence of a rich repertoire of explanatory notes provides very little additional information necessary to fill, or rather, decrease the intrinsic historical and linguistic distance that inevitably and sensibly warns those who undertake any textual analysis. However, it should be highlighted that the material deployed in the *Recollections*, despite the limited historical details, constitutes a useful means to reach a direct knowledge of Beckford.

It is clear that Beckford's *Recollections* do not represent a faithful and objective travel report. To understand the meaning of such a fragmented and contradictory narrative it is therefore

8 - Alongside diligent notes on the cultural heritage and the lifestyle habits of the populations of Portugal, the interest shown by the author is addressed to historical figures, to sovereigns, to the high ecclesiastical hierarchy, to the most significant localities, to geographical names, to artistic aspects, to anthropological and sociological themes. Beckford mentions, among others, John I the Great, John II the perfect, John V the magnanimous, and John IV the Clement, covering a period of time ranging from 1385 to 1826. Cf. D'Elia 1994, p. XII.

9 - Maria Anna of Austria (of Habsburg 1683-1754) was ava for the maternal part (great-grandmother) of John VI of Braganza.

10 - Leopold I (Vienna 1640-1705) archduke of Austria, King of Hungary (1655-1705), of Bohemia (1658-1705) and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1657-1705).

necessary to rely not only on the documentation[11], but also and above all on one's interpretative intuition, up to paradoxically carry out a critical review on the unsaid, with all the risks and difficulties that this type of approach entails. Such is the strategy adopted here, where the process of reconstruction of an image disrupted by the passing of time aims at highlighting how with Beckford the travel report, by connecting with other literary genres such as the so-called memoirs, allows to be subject to intrusion by the autobiographical data while remaining, however, capable of living its own independent life. After all, the greatness of the travel diary genre lies in the extreme plasticity of its structure. It is not just a pure description of the places, but, above all, an attempt to rewrite the experience based on the author's taste and sensitivity.

Beckford does not neglect to report in his *Recollections* those elements that his undisguised aristocratic nature recognises as disturbing. He complains about the lasciviousness and propensity to gluttony widespread in the monastery of Alcobaça, as well as about the ugliness of the Infanta, the Spanish donona Carlota, the future queen: «[I beheld the Alcina of the place] seated in the oriental fashion on a rich velvet carpet spread on the grass [...] surrounded by thirty or forty young women, everyone far superior in loveliness of feature and fascination of smile to their august mistress" (1835, 207). Nevertheless, the attraction for the "sublime sight" (*idem*, 181) of the Portuguese landscape does not undergo any cooling. His annoyance for the more sordid aspects of this reality is mitigated, promptly and unfailingly, by the comfort deriving from the awareness of being in a territory on which the footsteps of illustrious predecessors once impressed. In its fascinating halo, the past releases all its utopian charge, and Beckford, by recalling the past time, alleviates his anxieties. His nostalgia for past times creeps

11 - It is worth remembering that Ehrhart's character is Dr. Projectus Errhardt, namely the doctor who in 1782 accompanied Beckford on his second trip to Italy. The other companions were the painter J. R. Cozens, the reverend John Lettice, his tutor and factotum, the harpsichordist John Burton and a group so numerous that, in Augsburg, Beckford was mistaken for the emperor of Austria. Cf. Pagano de Divitiis 2000, 128.

through smooth scenarios and combines the magic of the memory of the past light with his hopes in a better future. Wherever solitude has the profile of an ancient grace, every journey is an exploration around one's destiny. The large gathered and concluded circle of the Mediterranean, with the countries bordering on it, represents, indeed, the soothing welcome of a saving embrace. Beckford's *Recollections* therefore constitute a selection of elements chosen out of the urgency he felt of inner comfort, reconstructed *a posteriori* by the author's productive imagination, as an authentic expression of a saving metaphor in the consoling visit to the quiet and solemn Portuguese monasteries. In this way, however, the objective elements of Portuguese geography and history are neglected. Obviously, the vastness of the Atlantic and the connected risks of the adventures that the Ocean entails, are far from inspiring intimacy and consolation. The embrace of Portugal is sought because it is isolated and quiet, and consequently retrospectively viewed as a Mediterranean country.

The urgency of his search for a welcoming mother who legitimized him for what he was without having to betray his identity led him to prefer Mediterranean metamorphosis to Puritan England. This is the profound metaphor of Beckford's poetics. Beckford would love that England were not puritanical and uncompromising, but Catholic and tolerant like the Mediterranean countries. In translating all this in his writings, Beckford proceeds to a radical reinvention of his experience. The profound sense of desires, projections, anxieties to overcome leads to a reading *a posteriori* of the journey, with all the charge of meanings with which the author himself endowed it, but which he probably had not realized while carrying it out. This play between metareflexive thoughts that he remembers *a posteriori* and the need, the inner urgency to express a metaphor in the story (something similar to an unspeakable truth) are processes that do not allow the author to reveal explicitly that he has undertaken the journey to escape an infamous accusation and to recover himself. The author aims to express his condemnation of uncompromising England, and his preference for the more tolerant Greco-Roman classical world, the centre of attraction of his journey. The usual

dynamic in the escape from social dramas is the passage from being judged to judge, and this attitude partly solves Beckford's drama. On his return to England, the hard confrontation with that more edgy and bigoted world produces in him the need for a metamorphosis from dream to reality, which imposes a violent rejection of his original culture. He destroys the ancestral palace to rebuild another, which is a very clear metaphor for a *renovatio ab imis* that completes that self-absolution, that cultural self-promotion that he had sought with his trip to Portugal. The metaphor of the discovery of an authentic civilization, on the basis of which he comes to prefer Greco-Roman tolerance to English intolerance, is no longer sufficient; in this direct confrontation Beckford brings into play his identity in order to make another one. This is the parable of a great author who in the apparently imperturbable smoothness of his English self-control dilutes, but cannot extinguish the inner volcano that animates him.

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Miriam Sette is Associate Professor of English Literature at the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures ("G. d'Annunzio" University of Chieti-Pescara). She has given papers in a number of International Conferences. She has published several essays on Daniel Defoe, William Beckford, Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Thomas Hardy, William Butler Yeats, H. G. Wells and Edgar Allan Poe, Jean Rhys, Norman Douglas and Doris Lessing. She has translated and edited a collection of unpublished tales by various authors, from Horace Walpole to Mary Shelley, entitled

Amori e rovine. Racconti gotici dei maestri del genere (Pescara: Tracce, 2000). She is the author of four monographs on English writers of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries: George Eliot, *George Eliot: il corpo della passione. Aspetti della corporeità nella narrativa dell'ultima fase*, Pescara: Campus, 2004; Doris Lessing, *La narrativa di Doris Lessing. Strategie e metafore per un impegno*, Rome: Aracne, 2007; Daniel Defoe, *Il fantastico in Robinson Crusoe. Daniel Defoe e la Ragione trasfiguratrice*, Rome: Carocci, 2010; Kipling, Wells and Garnett, *Trittico sulla metamorfosi: Kipling, Wells, Garnett*, Naples: Liguori, 2015. Most recently she has translated and edited a collection of Kipling's fantastical tales: Rudyard Kipling, *Il marchio della bestia e altri racconti del fantastico*. Introduction, critical edition and translation by Miriam Sette, afterword by Phillip Mallett, Milan, Biblion edizioni (2018). She is member of the Steering Committee of the research project Digitens: Digital Encyclopedia of European Sociability, funded by the European Union (H2020-MSCA-RISE 2018) 823862.

PART TWO

Lucija Periš

Rethinking Space: Third Space and Hybridity in Doris Pilkington's *Follow the Rabbit-proof Fence* and Phillip Noyce's Film Adaptation

Key words: colonialism, Doris Pilkington, hybridity, otherness, Phillip Noyce, third space

Introduction

Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence (1996) is a biography by Australian author Doris Pilkington based on a true story of three mixed-race Aboriginal girls' escape after being involuntarily separated from their parents in Jigalong and placed in the Moore River Native Settlement, the Australian government's establishment formed with the idea of forcibly integrating the indigenous Australian children into the white society and extinguishing the indigenous traits in them. Both the book and the film depict the process of separating indigenous Australian children from their families between 1910-1970, children who are collectively known as "the stolen generation", the name implying their violent removal from their kin and the subsequent process of conditioning the children to adopt the "white" ways of living. The release of Phillip Noyce's film *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002), based on Pilkington's book, increased

the general public's knowledge about the consequences of colonization in Australia, which was motivated by "the pursuit of profit" and "the building of empire", and which eventually produced a country based on "social apartheid" (Said 1993, xv).

Colonialism is usually observed as a policy based on clear-cut division between the powerful colonialist and the powerless colonized. However, Barbara Bush in her book *Imperialism and Postcolonialism* emphasizes that "no simple binary division or blanket generalizations suffice to address the complexities of the colonial legacy" (2006, 42). The colonizer's tendency to superimpose its culture over the one of the colonized native results in the assimilation of the conflicting binary opposites from both cultures. According to Sharp, "the daily reality of colonial practice ensured that the purity of colonial ideas could not exist in actuality", hence the attempt of cultural "whitening" of the black race is shown as unsuccessful on the example of Pilkington's book and Noyce's film (2009, 121). It did not result in the complete alienation of indigenous people from their mother culture and the adoption of the new culture. Instead, it resulted in the "the assimilation of contraries" and the emergence of a place of in-betweenness which Homi K. Bhabha calls "hybridity" (1994, 52). In her book *Imperialism and Postcolonialism*, Barbara Bush refers to Edward W. Said (1987) and claims that resistance to colonialism "created deep antagonism between the colonizer and the colonized, powerful and powerless, but also created '...an overlapping, interdependent relationship' which connected them in often unacknowledged ways" (2006, 37). Hence colonialism should be observed as a two-way process, impacting both the colonizer and the colonized native. The paper explores the issue of hybridity in the book and the film by examining the ways in which the both cultures, the colonial and the colonized, aim to preserve their identities which function on the basis of binary oppositions, which eventually results in the creation of what Bhabha terms "the third space" (1994, 38-39).

Landscape Hybridity

The European settlers had oftentimes thought of the colonized territory as an exotic and mystic land. The notion of Orient, introduced by Edward W. Said in 1978 in his book *Orientalism*, can also be applied to the ways the European settlers imagined the territory of Australia. Said makes a distinction between East and West, that is, the Orient and the Occident, and explains that the Western world often created an unrealistic image of the East. "The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences." (Said 1979, 1). This imaginative idea of the Orient frequently did not coincide with the reality, namely "Europeans projected a single culture into the space of the 'Orient' that was at odds with the diversity of peoples, cultures and environments contained within the space of the Orient" and also "this space was defined by texts and not by people from the Orient itself" (Sharp 2009, 16). Similarly, the novel reveals the stereotypes that the Western world had towards the colonized territory of Australia, and the disappointment that followed after the settlers have set foot on Australian soil: "Where is the Arcadian land that we heard so much about, the land of rustic paradise?" queried Christopher Marsden, a businessman from London. "This certainly isn't the place." (Pilkington 2013, 19)

More precisely, the colonized land is simultaneously "the site of dreams, images, fantasies, myths, obsessions and requirements" and "a topic of learning, discovery, practice" (Bhabha 1994, 71). Pilkington's novel and Noyce's film prove that the Europeans did not find the promised land by invading the territory of indigenous people. The newly-discovered territory thus did not prove to be a fertile ground for European cultural practice due to its own uniqueness. Namely, "the differentiated landscapes upon which colonialism was practised would also ensure that reality would not be the same as theory – for instance, particular physical landscapes would offer different challenges to the projects of building colonial

settlements or plantations, different cultural practices would respond differently to colonial rules and regulations and so on" (Sharp 2009, 121). The novel accordingly demonstrates the discrepancy between expectations and reality that the settlers faced after stepping on the new territory. Pilkington's novel proves that the white settlers "hoped to find good, fertile land and become very wealthy", which eventually turned out to be "a simple miscalculation" (Pilkington 2013, 20). The occupied territory turned out to be completely different than they expected, "the terrain appeared unproductive — thick, tangled creepers grew under foot and when the weather fined up, they were plagued by swarms of mosquitoes and other pests" (Pilkington 2013, 20).

The novel and the film clearly depict the transformation of the Australian landscape that followed colonization. The Westerners adjusted the wilderness to their needs by introducing new means of transport that would allow them to implement colonial ideology more effectively. The territory found by the white settlers was intact, and the novel provides the evidence that roads, highways, and railways were later built on the same territory. "Imperialism thus had an important function in taming and ordering the 'wild' through the introduction of Western science: civilization was the commoditization of nature." (Bush 2006, 84). The landscape described in the novel was the hybrid of indigenous and Western culture. The initially found wilderness was impacted by achievements of Western civilization such as "carts, sulkies and light, early model cars" (Pilkington 2013, 11). Apart from building roads on the newly found territory, the Europeans connected the territory of the Australia with the railways: "When recounting the long walk home, Aunty Daisy mentioned how they chased emu chicks at the Nannine railway siding south of Meekatharra." (Pilkington 2013, 11).

Furthermore, the author's remarks from the novel provide an insight that the vegetation in Australia changed considerably under the influence of the colonizer. "Imperial expansion stimulated science and new botanical finds and facilitated the exploitation of 'exotic' environments, legitimizing colonial conquest." (Bush 2006, 84).

Image 1. *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. (2002). [film] Directed by P. Noyce. Australia: Becker Entertainment.

Pilkington accordingly explains the difficulties she encountered during the writing of her novel, because the landscape she tried to depict in her literary work has completely changed, which meant that partially she had to rely on her imagination:

> "By combining my imagination and the information from records of geographical and botanical explorations undertaken in the area during the early 1900s and later, I was able to build a clearer picture of the vegetation and landscape through which the girls trekked. (...) First, how was I going to reconstruct a landscape which had either changed considerably or disappeared completely. At the time of the event much of the terrain was uncleared virgin bush, a strange, scary wilderness to these three girls who came from the desert regions of Western Australia." (Pilkington 2013, 10)

Racial Hybridity

The relations between the colonizer and the colonized were commonly based on racial prejudice. The colonial policy rested on the black-white binary paradigm of race and the superiority of the white men over the colonized black population, making the indigenous people "a dispossessed and devastated race" in their own native land (Pilkington 2013, 23). The concept of racism nurtured by colonial ideologies emerged in the Age of Enlightenment, which promoted the idea that there were "unbridgeable differences between black and white people" (Jackson and Weidman 2006, 24). Advocation of racial differences was scientifically substantiated by anthropology, the discipline which provided scientific background for racial classification of people into superior and inferior groups. According to Young, "colonial and imperial rule was legitimized by anthropological theories which increasingly portrayed the peoples of the colonized world as inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves . . . and requiring the paternal rule of the west for their own best interests" (2003, 2). The colonial idea of the superiority of the white race and the white ways of living is reflected in the film *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, when A. O. Neville, the Chief Protector of Aborigines, asserts that the white settlers "face an uphill battle with these people – especially the bush natives, who have to be protected against themselves. If they would only understand what we are trying to do for them." (*Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 2002, 01:20:39 – 01:20:58).

Though empires advocated white privilege and aimed at establishing clear race-based segregation to assert its dominance, it simultaneously triggered racial mixing with the aim of extinguishing the racial other. Hybridity in this sense was not a question of inevitable but undesired cross-cultural contact, but a consequence of deliberate colonial strategy "aimed at stabilising the *status quo*" (Bush 2006, 171). In the same vein, Noyce's film addresses the policy of racial whitening targeted at destroying the indigenous heritage, which is implemented by A. O. Neville, who asks the following

rhetorical question: "Are we to allow the creation of an unwanted third race? Should the coloureds be encouraged to go back to the black or should they be advanced to white status and be absorbed in the white population?" (*Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 2002, 00:11:42 – 00:11:56). The eradication of the black race was achieved by depriving the natives of the freedom of choice and denying them the same rights enjoyed by the white population. The film demonstrates this by showing cases of women of mixed descent being denied marriages with indigenous people of full descent to prevent the dissemination of the black race. When talking about the three girls, the Chief Protector claims that "the youngest is of the particular concern" because "she is promised to a full-blood" (*Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 2002, 00:06:21 – 00:06:25). Consequently, the above-mentioned colonial policy aimed at extinguishing the black race in the Western Australia yielded racial hybridity.

The presence of racial hybridity in Pilkington's book becomes apparent through the description of the protagonists' physical appearance. The author emphasizes that the three mixed-race girls inherited both indigenous and Caucasian features: "It was very apparent that the three girls had inherited features from their white fathers. The only obvious Aboriginal characteristics were their dark brown eyes and their ability to control their facial expressions." (Pilkington 2013, 62).

However, Pilkington's biography clearly addresses the social issues that stem from racial hybridity. Multiracialism oftentimes results in identity ambiguity and eventually a perception of the multiracial subject as *the other* due to the fact the mixed-race population is unable to completely identify with neither race. The colonizers call the mixed-race children half-castes and Aborigines call them muda-mudas to indicate their alienation in the community. Hence, the book emphasizes the troublesome position of in-betweenness in the colonial society that stems from having multiracial identity. According to Young, "the individuals in such a society are subject to painfulness of what Fanon recognizes as a hybridized split existence, trying to live as two different, incompatible people at once." (2003, 23). Pilkington's biography demonstrates

Image 2. *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. (2002). [film] Directed by P. Noyce. Australia: Becker Entertainment.

this by describing the children of mixed indigenous descent being rejected by the indigenous community they live in due to their insufficient blackness.

> "As she grew older, Molly often wished that she didn't have light skin so that she didn't have to play by herself. Most of the time she would sit alone, playing in the red dusty flats or in the riverbed depending where her family had set up camp. The dust-covered child stood out amongst her darker playmates. The Mardu children insulted her and said hurtful things about her. Some told her that because she was neither Mardu or wudgebulla she was like a mongrel dog." (Pilkington 2013, 38)

On the other hand, the white colonizers do not see them as white enough because "though you may assimilate white values, you never can become white enough" (Young 2003, 23). Like "the mimic men" (cf. Bhabha, 88) who can never "become white enough" in spite of their assimilation in the dominant culture (Young 2003, 23), the three girls experience a precarious position in-between the two cultures, belonging to neither. As a result, the Superintendent at the Government Depot at Jigalong writes a report that the children are not white enough to be educated at the Moore Native River Settlement: "...these children lean more towards the black than white and ... nothing would be gained in removing them" (Pilkington 2013, 52). The girls' racial hybridity therefore creates a sense of cultural displacement and "otherness" in both the colonial and colonized environment.

Cultural Hybridity

The process of introducing Western culture to indigenous people was observed by the colonizers as a "a mission to spread the 'light of civilization' into the dark and savage parts of the world" (Hall qtd. in Bush 2006, 84). The colonial ideologies which equated the invasion of the white settlers with the salvation of the indigenous inhabitants are satirized by the author: "That night the new arrivals from the desert were introduced to civilisation as they ate the white man's food and wore his hot, uncomfortable clothes." (Pilkington 2013, 33). The same idea is present in the film, where the process of forcibly removing the mixed-race children from their families and introducing them to the white man's culture is described as an act of kindness towards the indigenous people: "Hundreds of half-caste children have been gathered up and brought here to be given the benefit of everything our [the settlers'] culture has to offer." (*Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 2002, 00:13:02 – 00:13:10).

However, the desired effect of cultural "whitening" aimed to be achieved by colonization is shown as impossible due to the fact that

Image 3. *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. (2002). [film] Directed by P. Noyce. Australia: Becker Entertainment.

no culture can operate in isolation. Homi K. Bhabha argues that hybridity lies at the core of every culture and emphasizes that "the borderline work of culture demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not part of the continuum of past and present" (1994, 7). Both the book and the film confirm Bhabha's statement, demonstrating that the Aboriginal people did not adapt to the colonial way of living in its entirety, but only chose to accept certain elements which ensured them an easier lifestyle. Fernando Ortiz coined the term "transculturation" to describe "the way in which marginal groups selectively appropriate materials transmitted to them by a dominant culture" (qtd. in Bush 2006, 80-81). Bush claims that initially "modern technology, railways, the telegraph and weapons were used to control and order colonial societies", however members of the colonized society likewise started benefiting from the technology introduced to them by the colonizers (2006, 84). Whilst the indigenous people were used to getting to their destination by foot prior to colonial invasion, the book indicates that they started using

new means of transport introduced to them by the Caucasians, such as the car and the train: "Travelling by train was much better than by car but Molly, Gracie and Daisy were growing weary." (Pilkington 2013, 84) The phenomenon of only selectively adopting the elements of colonial culture is also evident in the indigenous people's decision to switch to the white man's way of consuming the tobacco. "In the old days, the people would collect and chew the leaves of wild or bush tobacco that grew on the cliffs or on rock ledges. The Mardus preferred the white man's tobacco, plug tobacco, because it was easily available and also it was stronger and lasted longer." (Pilkington 2013, 40) The concept of transculturation is also present in other examples of the biography, such as in the case of the indigenous people's encounter with the new food brought to their land by the colonists: "This small band of desert dwellers was immediately introduced and instructed on the preparation of white man's food. (...) There was nothing in the desert to compare with this kind of food." (Pilkington 2013, 29) The example of the Aboriginal people accepting the colonial cuisine demonstrates that Ortiz's concept of transculturation expands from the appropriation of the dominant culture to hybridity. In other words, the acceptance of only particular and suitable elements of a dominant culture and the simultaneous continuation of nurturing one's own culture results in the creation of a hybrid culture. In like manner, the Aboriginal lifestyle changed from nomadic to semi-nomadic after being introduced to the Western culture: "They remained where the food supply was plentiful and continuous and when they wanted to supplement this regular diet of government rations they went out hunting and gathering the traditional foods." (Pilkington 2013, 36).

Linguistic Hybridity

Language was used as an instrument of colonizing the native due to its role as the holder of the culture. As Kenyan author Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (2006) explains, "language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body

of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world." (267). Colonial culture, on the other hand, implied a hierarchization of languages and "linguistic dualism", namely it saw the language of the Empire as superior and aimed at extinguishing the language of the Aborigines called Mardu wangka (cf. Bush 2006, 126).

Image 4. *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. (2002). [film] Directed by P. Noyce. Australia: Becker Entertainment.

Pilkington's depiction of the initial contact between the first white settlers and the indigenous Australians in 1826 confirms that the language was used as a means of colonial invasion. Namely, after deciding to give the indigenous men's country an English name, Captain Fremantle does not manage to get the natives' consent due to their mutual inability to understand each other's language. "Dayup only wished he knew what this stranger was talking about. When Captain Fremantle realised that his words were not being understood he decided to try sign language. This language barrier prevented a formal discussion; how could a stranger indicate in sign language that he was giving a foreign name to their traditional land?" (2013, 18) However, the language barrier was not intended to be overcome

by the colonizers; on the contrary, it was meant to serve as a means of establishing the colonial power, which is evident in the following statement made by Captain Fremantle: "I take it that we are all agreed and that I have your consent," .... nodding to the Nyungar men who stood motionless, staring blankly at him." (2013, 19)

Furthermore, Pilkington shows that since linguistic duality nurtured by the colonizer began completely disappearing with the emergence of the third race, linguistic hybridity surfaced as a consequence of racial hybridity. Depicting the language of the mixed-descent children points at the creation of a hybrid variety of English that appeared in the colonized Western Australia. Whilst the colonizers use the English language and the Aborigines only use their native language Mardu wangka, the mixed-race children use hybrid English, "expressing their own sense of identity by refashioning English in order to enable it to accommodate their experiences." (McLeod 2000, 28) The protagonists create a hybrid language by abrogating the English language used by the colonists. According to Ashcroft et al., "the abrogation or denial of the privilege of 'English' involves a rejection of the metropolitan power over the means of communication." (2002, 37) In like manner, the three girls use the English language but mixed with culturally specific Mardu wangka words. Upon seeing a Caucasian man, Daisy asks Molly: "That was a marbu, indi Dgudu?" (Pilkington 2013, 67) Marbu means flesh-eating spirit, indi means isn't it, and dgudu means older sister. In other words, they simultaneously use both languages to indicate their split affiliation to Western and native culture. This is further evidenced in the when Daisy "still smarting from the knee injury .... [lets] out a string of abuse, swearing in both English and Mardu wangka, telling him [a young white man] exactly what to do with himself." (Pilkington 2013, 85). Daisy's language thus demonstrates Bhabha's claim that "the word of divine authority is deeply flawed by the assertion of the indigenous sign, and in the very practice of domination the language of the master becomes hybrid – neither the one thing nor the other." (1994, 33) The mixed-descent children purposefully choose to use terminology from both language and thereby preserve their heritage, which eventually creates a third

language. The acceptance of one and the rejection of the other language would imply the disavowal of their heritage because the girls have been influenced by both cultures.

Linguistic hybridity also emerges by means of appropriation of the English language, "the process of capturing and remoulding the language to new usages, [which] marks a separation from the site of colonial privilege." (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 37) The process of appropriation of the colonial language, which implies "a refusal of its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage" (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 37), is visible in the names given to the children of mixed descent: Daisy, Molly and Gracie. In the book it is stated that Gracie's father "was so proud of his beautiful black-haired daughter whom he had named after his idol, English singer Gracie Fields." (Pilkington 2013, 44) Though the girls were given traditional English names by their Caucasian fathers, their Aboriginal kin pronounced their names with indigenous accent, which proves not only the linguistic hybridity but also the hybridity of the girls' identities.

Even though, in order to establish their power, the colonizers insisted on the hierarchization of language and the replacement of the indigenous language with their own language, the book and the film prove the infeasibility of these ideas as in the territories where two cultures, and by extension, the two languages meet, the creation of a third language that is a mixture of the two languages takes place. Though in the Moore River Native Settlement, they are taught to exclusively use the English language, the children of mixed descent predominantly use hybrid English mixed with Mardu wangka words. That can be ascribed to sociolinguistic factors and the incongruity of a particular language and geographical area. In other words, the language of the Empire does not reflect the reality of the indigenous semi-nomadic people and specific phenomena in indigenous culture, as well as the other way around.

Educational Hybridity

Educational hybridity becomes apparent in the author's venture to write the book. Unlike her Aboriginal kin, who, as she indicates in the book, were illiterate, the author was exposed to colonial education due to being partially white. She thus uses her "skills as a writer to describe the scenery and how it looked through their eyes", which she acquired by being exposed to colonial education. (Pilkington 2013, 10) The right "to be educated in European ways" was not provided to every Aboriginal child, but it was preserved for the fair-skinned indigenous children of mixed descent due to the fact that the lightness of their skin was treated as an equivalent to smartness. (Pilkington 2013, 52) In her book, Pilkington emphasizes that "the common belief at the time was that part-Aboriginal children were more intelligent than their darker relations" (2013, 39), and accordingly "policies were introduced by the government in an effort to improve the welfare and educational needs of these children" (2013, 39).

Image 5. *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. (2002). [film] Directed by P. Noyce. Australia: Becker Entertainment.

Pilkington indicates that prior to colonial invasion of Western Australia, the indigenous people were not acquainted with skills such as reading, writing, and mathematical skills. The author accordingly recalls difficulties encountered during the writing of her book related to the absence of Western education in Aboriginal culture: "Another fact I completely overlooked until the interviews began was their illiteracy. This, combined with their lack of numeracy skills, made it impossible to establish measurements accurately." (Pilkington 2013, 10) Yet, at the same time the introduction of the Western skills to Aboriginal people generated hybridity because it enabled the colonial knowledge to "be reinscribed and given new, unexpected, and oppositional meanings, as a way of "restaging the past" (Phillips 2014, 153).

The author's educational hybridity is furthermore reflected in her decision to modify the knowledge brought to the mixed indigenous people by Western education, so that it reflects the indigenous experience. Although "the language and literary traditions transmitted by a colonial education were British", the Aboriginal people incorporated their own culture into the Western literary forms by narrating the story of colonialism from their point of view. (Boehmer 2005, 110) Namely, author retells the experience by means of colonial tools, meaning that the Western mode of education enabled the mixed-race Aborigines the means to perpetuate their experience of colonial oppression.

> "In short, colonial writers, positioned between diametrically different cultural worlds, were able to borrow from several traditions, yet belonged to no one. In the face of their uneasy marginality or supplementarity, they would turn in time to what might be called their own––their own experience of environment, migration, or invasion, as the case might be––to find a position for self-reconstruction. It can be said that the instruments used in recalling the story is colonial (literary tradition and language), but the core of the story is indigenous and does not bow down to colonial tendencies." (Boehmer 2005, 111).

Paradoxically, the oppressed group managed to perpetuate their experience by using a powerful tool of colonization – the English language, the tool that was initially used by the colonizers in the process McLeod calls the "colonizing of mind". (2000, 18) Likewise, Pilkington utilizes the English language as a weapon in the process of decolonizing the mind because she turns it into a benefit provided to the people of partial indigenous ancestry in order to articulate their side of the story of colonialism. In other words, in Bhabha's terms, her biography presupposes the existence of "the third space", the space which implies "the 'assimilation of contraries' and creating that occult instability which presages powerful cultural changes". (Bhabha 1994, 38) As a result, *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* is a blend of apparently contradictory elements; it is an Australian indigenous biography based on the British literary tradition which enabled the marginal and silent voices to be heard.

Religious Hybridity

Religion and colonialism are closely related because religion was used as a tool for controlling the colonized native. The colonizers aimed to hierarchically superimpose their religion to the religious customs of the Aboriginal people who were considered to be pagan. As Berndt confirms, "for a long time, Australian Aboriginal religion was not widely acknowledged as religion", and it was only with the work of Emile Durkheim that the Australian Aboriginal rituals started being considered as religious acts (1974, 1). In the colonized territory, the relationship of religions was based on the principle of binary oppositions, so that "civilization/superior religion was pitted against barbarism/paganism" (Bush 2006, 24). The policy of separating indigenous Australian children from their families between 1910 and 1970 thus implied raising them in the context of Christianity, the process which sought to extinguish the indigenous religious beliefs and impose Christianity as supreme arbitrator: "Depending on the age and complexion, the children would end up in Catholic orphanages where they were raised in the spirit of

Christianity." (Polak 2011, 249, translation mine). This fact is also demonstrated in Noyce's film, which shows the children of mixed descent being forcibly taken to the Moore River Native Settlement, compelled to accept Christianity and perform religious practices they are not acquainted with. The children are obliged to pray and go to a Christian church every day and prohibited to perform their religious ceremonies (*Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 2002, 00:18:00 – 00:18:20). Pointing at the colonizers' awareness that the process of the conversion of the children of mixed descent to Christianity could only be achieved by obstructing the freedom of the Aboriginals to exercise their religious ceremonies, Pilkington addresses the issue by describing the Nyungar people's inability to perform their rituals after the colonialist's arrival: "The Nyungar people were hurt and confused when they were punished for carrying out their own traditional laws, handed down to them by the Dreamtime spirit beings." (2013, 23).

Image 6. *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. (2002). [film] Directed by P. Noyce. Australia: Becker Entertainment.

Religious hybridity emerges as a consequence of the encounter of multiple religions in the contact zone. The imposition of a new religion to the indigenous community leads to religious blending, though the initial idea of the colonizer is to eradicate the native cults and establish Christianity as a supreme religion. Barbara Bush claims that often, as a result of colonization, the "suppression of native cults and the establishment of a state-supported Christian monopoly …. resulted in interesting syncretic blends where elements of indigenous religions lived on in Catholic practices" (2006, 127). Likewise, the religion of the Aboriginal people was hybridized with the introduction of Christianity. Pilkington refers to this process of syncretism by depicting the Aborigines who adapt the elements of Christianity into their everyday lives. At the beginning of the book a clear division is made between the Western and the indigenous Australian culture and religion. The author thus emphasizes the differences in the way the indigenous people and the Westerners recount their experiences, with respect to religious context: "Their stories, whether they be oral history or anecdotes, do not begin in the same way as Western stories: "I remember clearly it was during *the Christmas holidays* in 1968 when …." (2013, 11). Rather the narrator reminds the listener that, "It was galyu time. Galyu everywhere, all the roads were cut off …." (2013, 11). The introduction of the colonial religion to the children of mixed descent resulted in their alienation from the Aboriginal religion and adoption of Christianity. Hence the author describes an event important for the indigenous community, such as leaving the camps, but describes it with regard to Christian holidays: "During *the Christmas holidays* almost everyone left their usual camps and moved closer to where the "big meetings" were held." (Pilkington 2013, 34) Furthermore, the assimilation of the new religion into the indigenous community becomes apparent in the fact that the author incorporates the elements of Christianity into her discourse. She uses the term *Christmas tree* instead of a more neutral term *pine tree*: "It started to sprinkle again; the girls looked up to the sky and saw that there were only scattered clouds, so they trudged on unperturbed through the open forest of banksia, prickly bark and *Christmas trees*."

(Pilkington 2013, 66) Accordingly, Pilkington's biography evidences religious blending which occurs in the contact zone, and emphasizes "the collaboration and co-operation that transcend perceived boundaries of religions" (Bush 2006, 42).

Conclusion

To conclude, the analysis of Doris Pilkington's book and Philip Noyce's film proves that hybridity is an inevitable consequence of colonialism due to the fact that the colonial and the colonized cultures, when in touch, cannot operate in isolation. The Empire's tendency to superimpose its culture over the one of the colonized native results in the creation of "the third space" which is different from both cultures in contact. Accordingly, the process of "stealing generations" in Western Australia, depicted in Pilkington's book and Noyce's film, which was aimed at complete alienation of indigenous children from their mother culture and the adoption of a new culture, proved infeasible. The cross-cultural contact inevitably leads to the creation of syncretic blends, namely landscape, racial, language, cultural, educational, and religious hybrids. The imposition of colonial power yielded hybridity and impacted both the oppressor and the oppressed. It generated a new race called muda-mudas or half-castes, who were unable to identify with the colonizer or the colonized, but who created a community of their own by appropriating elements from both cultures in their everyday lives. The language they spoke, the culture they belonged to, the education they were exposed to, and the religion they practised could be defined as neither colonial nor colonized, but as ambivalent. In Bhabha's terms, it is the very place of in-betweenness and instability that generated cultural changes, meaning that hybridity diminished the colonial power and paved the ways for the colonized subject to be heard, with racial hybrids – half-castes – being the initiators of powerful cultural changes.

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Lucija Periš graduated English Language and Literature and Croatian Language and Literature from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek, Croatia. She is employed at the Academy of Arts and Culture in Osijek as a Teaching Assistant and participates in teaching courses in the history of world drama and theatre. In 2019, she enrolled in the Postgraduate Study Programme in Literature and Cultural Identity at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek and she is currently writing a PhD thesis in contemporary American drama. In addition to American drama, her research interests include British drama and adaptation studies. She attended numerous scientific conferences in Croatia and abroad, where she had the chance to present her research work.

Ronja Waldherr

Reclaiming TINA Neoliberalism's Precarious Futures: Utopia and Narrative Democracy in Postmillennial Afterlife Fictions

'There is no alternative': Margaret Thatcher's infamous slogan to justify the wholescale demolition of Britain's social and economic landscape through her neoliberal politics has since become a watchword with its own Wikipedia entry and acronym, TINA, to capture what the neoliberal project continues to do to democracy (Brown 2015; 2019). With an interdisciplinary interest in both neoliberalism and contemporary literature, I want to pursue two questions in this chapter: how has TINA, this exceptionally powerful attempt at closing down imaginaries that are other to neoliberalism, reconfigured social space and time? And, secondly, how does the postmillennial novel (re)imagine this TINA spatio-temporality of the social?

Mathias Nilges' (2015, 371) suggestion that neoliberalism's reliance on temporal immediacy 'makes the novel's [historical] engagement with time and the logic of immediacy important like never before' is a useful starting point, because it draws attention to literary fiction's possibilities of moving beyond the spatio-temporal parameters of given socio-economic reality. Alice Bennett, in turn, indicates why recently hugely popular 'afterlife narratives' (Norman 2013, 1) may challenge these realist temporalities and spaces in a particularly intriguing manner. Bennett (2012, 168) finds that 'the mimetic relations [between the text and the world] established by

the realist tradition are disturbed by fictional afterlives' reference worlds, which are at once familiar and fantastic'. In other words, because the post-mortal liminal space in which (un)dead narrative agents operate is *both* mimetically impossible (fantastic) *and* referentially intelligible (familiar), it is ideally suited for radically 'conceiving another world' *within* the real.

In the sense that TINA is not just a bleak spatio-temporal imaginary but one that has functioned to protect harsh socio-economic neoliberal policies from radical democratic contestation, the social space it helped to remake is saturated with (symbolic) violence. Bridging the issues of grief – in a sense, the earthly afterlife of a dead person – and the violence of the social, Judith Butler (2006, xii) asks how the shared human vulnerability to loss might furnish an occasion to 'start to imagine a world in which violence might be minimized, in which an inevitable interdependency becomes acknowledged as the basis for a […] political community'. I want to suggest that her triangulation of grief over lives lost to (state) violence, the utopian imagination and democratic community transformation offers itself as a lens on afterlife fictions' reimagination of futurity beyond TINA. Mapping such an approach constitutes my aim in this paper. This requires a broader theoretical reformulation of Butler's powerful appeal for a more ethical political community as a heuristics for a literary criticism attuned to neoliberal rationalities.

I set out by proposing to understand the neoliberal, and especially postmillennial, (re)configuration of an inherently violent social timescape through the concept of precarity. I will then bring together precarity and Butler's (2016, xvi) related notion of precariousness, 'the principle of equal vulnerability governing all living beings', which she suggests as the basis of democratic community transformation, for a timely articulation of literary utopianism. This theoretical outlook informs my reading of two recent afterlife fictions, Ali Smith's *Hotel World* (2001) and Elif Shafak's *10 Minutes 38 Seconds in This Strange World* (2019), as critical '*fictions of the not yet*' (Edwards 2019, 30; original emphasis) that network a *socially* precarious female life and death into a

narrative vision of egalitarian community. Specifically, I will argue that both protagonists' deaths occur in spaces of classed and gendered precarity that the novels rearticulate into shared narrative spaces of democratic transformation through distinct modes of multiple narration.

Violent Displacements: Neoliberal Precarity and the Unmaking of a Shared Social Timescape

Since the millennial turn, the concept of precarity has become increasingly prominent in a variety of academic fields as a critical analytics of life under the conditions of neoliberalism. Springveld (2017, 27) makes a helpful distinction between a 'socio-economic' and 'socio-ontological' understanding of the term: precarity denotes such systemic economic transformations as the flexibilisation of the labour market, the dismantling of welfare state provisions and the curtailment of labour rights. In a broader yet related sense, the term also captures the 'deepest socio-psychological impact of flexibility' (*ibid*) that creates, according to Bauman (1999, 29), a condition 'of endemic and permanent uncertainty'.

While Bourdieu's (1998) influential account of a 'flexploited' precariat as a historically novel form of domination seems to foreground the socio-economic structures of casualised labour, it also provides a theorisation of precarious subjectivity in spatio-temporal terms. The temporality of the precarious is an eternal present, a bleak perpetual sameness inasmuch as precarity throws the subject back on mere survival and therefore denies her any rational anticipation of the future – and especially that modicum of hope which alone could spark collective resistance against the cruelty of neoliberal realism. No future: this is how precarity severs the relation between subjectivity and temporality. Apart from that, precarity fundamentally changes the spatial dimensions of the social by virtue of its constitution as an exception, as exterior to a supposedly normal, legitimate space of work-based civic status.

From this perspective, living precariously as a neoliberal subject means being banned from a civic timescape of productivity, regularity and optimism as somehow irresponsible and incapable.

Approaching precarity from a different angle, critical resilience research has been a burgeoning field since the Great Financial Crisis of 2007/08 (Crouch 2011; Joseph 2013; Mckeown and Glenn 2017). It argues that under the conditions of crisis neoliberalism, the future is envisaged as a string of inescapable catastrophes and consequently rendered unnegotiable: '[a]ccepting the imperative to become resilient means sacrificing any political vision of a world in which we might be able to live better lives freer from dangers' (Evans and Reid 2013, 95). To the extent that resilience paradigms naturalise crises as prima facie givens for governmental practices, neoliberal futurity becomes a narrow managerial space of coping best with – or even thriving on – cycles of disaster rather than an open space of political contestation over securing the 'good life' for all beyond crisis.

Whether the temporal emphasis is on (entrapment in) perpetual immediacy or a 'dystopian discourse of futurity' (Schott 2013, 13), these critics understand neoliberal precarity as a differential process of displacement from a meaningful social timescape to one of insecurity, fragmentation and immobility that seems, crucially, beyond political change.

Extending her interest in the social (re)production of marginality beyond exclusions based on normative gender and sexuality, Judith Butler (2000; 2006; 2015; 2016) develops her own theory of the precarious in her writings of the 2000s. As she responds not to neoliberalism but to the US-led 'war on terror', her key question is how we can succeed in building a more ethical global community based on our shared experience of grief and mourning over a lost life, particularly over lives lost to (state) violence. According to her (2006, 22), grief and mourning are moments of 'dispossession', in which 'I think I have lost "you" only to discover that "I" have gone missing as well'. Such moments of dispossession are indicative of our shared existential condition of precariousness, a fundamental though often disavowed vulnerability that is rooted

in each body's dependence on sustenance in networks of support and care: the allegedly sovereign body can in fact only find 'its survivability in social space and time'. Hence relationality, 'the forming and un-forming of bonds […] is prior to any question of the subject and is, in fact, the social and affective condition of subjectivity' (2016, 182-3). *Precariousness*, thus understood, is a positive principle from which an egalitarian political community might be reimagined. Butler defines *precarity*, on the other hand, as 'the politically induced condition that would deny equal exposure through the radically unequal distribution of wealth and the differential ways of exposing certain populations, racially and nationally conceptualized, to greater violence' (2016, 28). Precarity (re)produces social hierarchies not only through differential exposure to vulnerability as well as through differential distribution of the resources to immunise oneself against the associated risks. Even more basically, as Butler notes in consideration of the predominantly Muslim victims of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, these more endangered, marginalised lives are framed (by the media, for instance) as less or not grievable at all. She therefore argues (2016, 32) that a postmillennial progressive politics should focus on 'those legalized forms of [state] violence', namely 'precarity and its differential distributions, in the hope that new coalitions might be formed'.

Proceeding from Butler's conceptualisation of precarity, Lorey (2015) relocates 'precarisation' as a neoliberal strategy of government that induces pandemic fear of slipping below 'the threshold of a social vulnerability that is still just tolerable' (*idem*, 66) and that consequently orients subjects' entire conduct towards ensuring their own existence and that of their closest – and only the closest – social circle. This kind of competitive self-preservation threatens to render social practices directed towards communal life and joint political action for the sake of a *collectively* liveable futurity ever more futile and unimaginable. However, similar to Butler, Lorey (2015, 29) grounds the possibility for resistance in turning a precarious governmentality that is based on 'possessive-individualist self-relations' against itself. This would entail an affirmation of the

relational ties connecting equally vulnerable 'bodies in alliance' (Butler 2015) and the promotion of conducts that focus on care (Lorey 2015).

This conception of intersubjectivity offers itself to rethink the literary utopianism of female-centred afterlife narratives for our postmillennial age of precarity.

Reimagining Precarious Presents and Futures: Female Afterlife Fictions and the Politics of Utopia

Evans and Reid (2013, 96) conclude their account of precarity by claiming that 'a notable casualty of [our capitalist present] is the utopian ideal' and stress the renewed political urgency of its resurrection. Indeed there is virtually no scholarly consideration of (neoliberal) precarity from Bourdieu to Butler that does not emphasise the necessity to imagine otherwise, beyond the political apathy of individual adaptation, and this lands us in the time-honoured terrain of cultural utopias. Yet the potency of utopias as critical interventions in social and economic realities has been a hotly contested issue at least since Marx and Engels's intellectual battles with the utopian socialists (Storey 2019, 106). Consequently, I find it necessary to briefly delineate a timely, politically potent conception of utopia. It draws on the crucial distinction that Levitas (2000, 38) and Edwards (2019, 20), in their respective discussions of late twentieth and twenty-first-century utopian literary texts, make between utopia as a literary and cultural *genre* and literary utopianism as a *method* or heuristic of literary analysis. Both follow Ernst Bloch (1986) in the notion that

> utopia is the expression of the desire for a better way of being. Such a definition is analytic rather than descriptive, that is, it enables one to look at the utopian aspects of cultural forms rather than classify them into utopian or not utopian. (Levitas 2000, 27)

The first, traditional understanding in terms of genre tends to conceive of utopianism as providing systemic, teleological blueprints of (more) perfect societies, whereas literary critics such as Jameson (1994; 2005), Moylan (1986) and Levitas (1990; 2000) have pioneered a post-traditional, procedural approach that John Storey (2019, 1) terms 'radical utopianism'. It works through

> estrangement and defamiliarisation, rendering the taken-for-granted world problematic, and calling into question the actually existing state of affairs, [without imposing] a model for the future. Again, what is most important about utopia is less what is imagined than the act of imagination itself, *a process which disrupts the closure of the present*. (Levitas 2000, 39; my emphasis)

Likewise, Storey (2019, 1-2) describes the function of 'radical utopianism' as 'confront[ing] "realism" with possibility. It gives us the resources to imagine the future in a different way.' In a 'double articulation, radical utopianism may begin by looking somewhere else, but it is at its most powerful when it turns its critical gaze on the world from which it emerged'. From the neo-Marxian perspective of Gramsci's hegemony theory, defining reality and the possible – what Levitas calls the 'closure of the present' – is fundamental to the survival of regimes of (capitalist, classed) power. As Mannheim (1997) observes,

> [dominant groups] have always aimed to control those situationally transcendent ideas and interests which are not realizable within the bounds of the present order, and thereby to render them socially impotent, so that such ideas would be confined to a world beyond history and society, where they could not affect the status quo. (cited in Storey 2019, 6)

On this reading, the utopian imaginary is the unruly antagonism which throws into doubt – that is, repoliticises, to paraphrase Chantal Mouffe's (1992) theory of radical democracy – those discursive closures which protect the highly unequal social structures of precarity as familiar, 'natural' or 'without alternative'. It is at this point, at the disruption of the *hegemonic closure of the present*, that I want to situate radical literary utopianism's potential to make democratic transformation conceivable.

How does this ideological theory of utopia tie in with the specific literary qualities and possibilities of the afterlife narratives I discuss? Firstly, unfolding a story from the end of lives onwards creates a liminal narrative situation – fittingly termed 'unnatural' by narratologist Brian Richardson (2006) – that stretches readers' imaginative sense beyond the familiar spatio-temporal coordinates of realism. In so doing, it potentially challenges the violent social timescape of 'naturalised' precarity in which both protagonists' deaths occur. Secondly, the physical end of precarious (female) lives opens up a shared space of grief, the 'void' that lies 'at the heart of the affirmative community, which accepts its "fundamental dependency" and takes on the "ethical responsibility"' (Watson 2012, n.p.) of foregrounding the relational ties that (un)make each subjectivity. In both novels, female-centred multiple narration – a narrative situation that feminist narratologists have discussed with a view to its emancipatory, democratising potential (Allrath 2000; Lanser 1986; 1992; Surkamp 2002) – lends distinctive shape to a reimagination of futurity in terms of the more ethical political community that resists the hegemonic practices of differential precarity. However, it is important to note that political community for poststructuralist critics and activists like Butler and Mouffe does not imply an idealisation of consensus and the erasure of difference; on the contrary, 'antagonism among its participants, valuing such persistent and animating differences [is] the sign and substance of a radical democratic politics' (Butler 2016, 32).

The Liminal Spatial Politics of the Afterlife: Non-Places as Literary Sites of Precarity *and* Utopian Transformation

Shafak and Smith's female protagonists, the middle-aged sex worker Leila and the adolescent chambermaid Sara Wilby, both die premature deaths: Leila is murdered by a religious fanatic as she returns from a job at an Istanbul hotel and is dumped in a waste bin on the city's outskirts; Sara, new to her job as a chambermaid at the Global Hotel chain in an unnamed English town, plunges accidentally to her death in a dumb waiter. Both characters' minds are still active in that transitory state between physical death and irrevocable vanishing when the narratives set in. Sara's ghost, slowly fading out from her own narrative, restlessly clings to this world for the time it will take her sister Clare to find out how fast she fell, a tragicomic play with the fact that Sara used to be a swimming champion. We meet Leila, on the other hand, immediately after her death, with her brain about to remain alive for ten minutes and thirty-eight seconds more.

Within these unfolding mind-spaces, the protagonists revisit the physical places associated with their violent deaths: the brothel and the hotel. On her arrival in Istanbul, Leila first works at an unlicensed brothel where her services are sold to ten to fifteen customers a day; and

> even after she arrived in Bitter Ma's house, which was a slightly safer place, she did not think she could carry on. The stench from the toilets, the mouse droppings in the kitchen ..., the sores in the mouth of a client, the warts on the hands of one of the other prostitutes, ... - everything made her itch uncontrollably. (Shafak 2019, 52-53)

Leila's Istanbul, 'not a city of opportunities, but a city of scars' (*idem*, 113) – the Street of Brothels, 'the low-ceilinged taverns of

Galata and Kurtulush, and the small, stuffy dens of Tophane, none of which ever appeared in travel guides or on tourist maps' (*idem*, 2) – is an invisible map of non-places. Sex workers are regularly and randomly rounded up by the police, arrested overnight and sometimes mistreated at police stations, from where they are submitted to forcible health checks in hospitals – '"hooker's ping-pong", the prostitutes called it' (*idem*, 115).

Sara's death, too, occurs within a space that is inscribed with the history of exploited female labour. She plummets to death from the 'top floor, the third; it used to be the servants' quarters two hundred years ago when the house had servants in it, and after that the house was a brothel and up there was where the cheap girls, the more diseased or aging girls, were put to sell their wares' (A. Smith 2001, 6). In uncanny continuity with this history, Sara's death does not make any difference to the smooth running of an economy in which any (female) worker is instantly replaceable. The chambermaid's death only 'escalated demand for rooms on the hotel's reopening, [...] with locals and members of the general public all keen to see the location of the death' (*idem*, 108).

Significantly, both hotels and brothels can be read (Auge 1995) as transit or 'non-places': Sharma (2009, 130) reconceptualises non-places as spaces in which 'the logic of the camp and the spectacle collide. One outcome of this collision is the emergence of a differential biopolitics [...] comprised of both bare life and the cultivation of what I term "bare lifestyle"'. On this view, non-places 'invest' in (middle- to upper-class, male) customers by providing them with transitory luxury and the carefree satisfaction of wants whilst 'reducing' (working-class or poor, female, non-white) labourers to highly vulnerable, often legally unprotected and poorly paid 'bare life'.

Both novels demonstrate that such non-spaces structurally function to devalue any individual female, working-class life and death implicated within them; yet they also make them, as we shall see, the narrative centres of emancipatory utopian transformation.

Idealised Community and the Consolations of Closure: Utopian Imaginaries in Elif Shafak's *10 Minutes 38 Seconds in This Strange World* (2019)

The urban non-places of Leila's Istanbul – the brothels, the bars, the crowded flats, the police stations, even the 'segregated' hospitals – are the dismal destinations of routes of female trafficking zig-zagging the Middle East and North Africa. Yet they are the same spaces in which Leila meets most of her closest circle of female friends and in which her post-mortal memories intersect with their stories. Leila's initial encounters with each of them are framed as moments of genuine human kindness and connection that suspend the 'bare life' status assigned to the women in and by the non-place. Leila meets Jameelah, a Somalian victim of sex trafficking, at a hospital where the sex workers are shuttled for forcible health checks after police round-ups and segregated from the 'regular' patients:

> Then, one afternoon, ... Jameelah reached out from the opposite bench, crossing an invisible wall, and dropped something light inside Leila's palm. It was a braided bracelet in periwinkle and heather and dark cherry – shades of purple. 'For me?' Leila asked softly. A nod. 'Yes, your colours.' Jameelah, the woman who looked into people's souls and, only when she saw what she needed to see, decided whether to open up her heart to them. Jameelah, one of the five. (Shafak 2019, 117)

After each initial moment of friendship, Leila's life story gives way to short subchapters that summarise, in traditional omniscient narration, the life paths of her five friends up to the point where they reach Istanbul. The novel's first long part thus gradually weaves a narrative web between female pariahs of the metropole's non-places and humanises them by placing them in the kind of caring alternative kinship relations (material as well as emotional) that Butler sees as

constitutive of ethical community transformation. As Leila's mind eventually closes down, 'the very last thing she saw […] was the bright pink birthday cake' (*idem*, 183) that her friends had given her for her last birthday. The friends' ritual of self-indulgent birthday celebrations is emblematic of their mutual appreciation and care:

> On nights when she was mistreated by a client, she would still find the strength to hold herself up, knowing that her friends, with their very presence, would come with ointment for her scrapes and bruises; and on days when she wallowed in self-pity, her chest cracking open they would gently pull her up and breathe life into her lungs. (*idem*, 183)

In the short second section, 'The Body', these profoundly humanising insights into Leila's not-yet-dead mind are replaced by oscillating and often competing focalisation between Leila's ostracised friends on the one hand, who are desperate to express their love with a solemn burial, and 'members of the general public', to whom Leila is but another insignificant, immoral 'streetwalker', on the other. Interestingly, all representatives of this wider public are educated, middle- to upper-class males: against the friends' protests, the medical examiner coolly defends the official regulation that any body unclaimed by family is to be buried in an anonymous grave on the (actually existing) Cemetery of the Companionless – 'He had little interests in [Leila's friends]. The friends of a streetwalker could only be other streetwalkers, people he would probably see here one day, lying on the same steel table' (*idem*, 192); the street vendor who serves Leila's murderers on the night of her death spots evidence of the crime in their car yet has 'a business to protect' and therefore does not want police around (*idem*, 223); Leila's last customer, a closeted gay man who rightly suspects one of his father's employees to be responsible for her death, is simply too afraid to confront his imposing father with his complicity, however unwitting (*idem*, 227).

This battle between various focalising agents over the value of a disenfranchised female life – over whose life counts as grievable, to use again Judith Butler's terms – culminates in a wild finale that has the friends exhume Leila's body from her unmarked grave and drop it off Bosphorus Bridge into the ocean beneath. This unfolding of the plot therefore triumphantly affirms their socially marginalised perspective on Leila's life and person as worthwhile grieving against the dehumanising (male) public's norms that deem her instantly forgettable and thus disposable.

At the same time, however, the narrative transmits its utopian vision via distancing temporal modes of closure that insulate it from, in the words of Ernst Bloch (1986), the 'anticipatory consciousness' or concrete hope for democratic transformations of precarity in the present. Two examples shall serve to illustrate this point. Predominantly in the novel's first long part, an explicitly authorial narrative voice *describes* the life-stories of Leila's friends in retrospective global summation rather than to *transcribe* their own consciousness and speech. Margolin (1999, 160) writes that 'the privileging of retronarration […] especially of the omniscient variety […] is motivated by a basic readerly desire for both closure and full disclosure, for certainty, totalizing significance, and global coherence'. This heavily mediating voice homogenises the narrative agents' multiple possible worlds to an extent that the formal potential of multiperspective narration to stage democratic communities characterised by difference, plurality and antagonism remains untapped.

Even more striking is the type of narrative closure accomplished in the novel's third part, 'The Soul', which blends its double vision of perfect harmony in the (meta-)physical worlds on a cosmic temporal scale. Leila's entry into an underwater world where she is 'free at last' and 'happy to be part of this vibrant realm, this comforting harmony that she had never thought possible', with 'dolphins escort[ing] her, flipping and splashing above the waves' (*idem*, 304), resonates with 'nineteenth-century representations […] [that] fashion not images of *hope*, but utopian visions of *consolation* in which individual deaths are poeticised into a "general elevation"'

(Edwards 2019, 83; original emphasis). In this world, the traditional epilogue of the multiply narrated novel reports that Leila's five friends have moved into her flat to share the costs and shield themselves from the enmity of 'normal' society. In the very last scene that sees Nalan, Leila's closest friend, stand on the flat's balcony above the city, character focalisation gives way to a universal vision that seems to alleviate human suffering from precarity in a time and place beyond the Anthropocene:

> When the floods arrived, they burst in from all sides, drowning everything in their path – animals, plants, humans. In this way the Black Sea was formed, and the Golden Horn, and the Bosphorus, and the Sea of Marmara. As the waters flowed all around, together they created a patch of dry land, on which someday a mighty metropolis was built. It still had not solidified, this motherland of theirs. When she closed her eyes, Nalan could hear the water roiling under their feet. Shifting, whirling, searching. Still in flux. (*idem*, 306)

Democratic Narrative Transformations of Social Precarity and Privilege: Utopian Imaginaries in Ali Smith's *Hotel World* (2001)

The eponymous hotel functions as the centre of a narrative discourse that fleetingly connects five female characters of starkly disparate social status. As such, it stands metonymically for the crass social inequality characterising not only the hotel non-place but New Labour's neoliberal Britain of the millennial turn.

One night around six months after Sara's freak accident, the women's (narrative) trajectories converge at the hotel: the receptionist Lise, a colleague of Sara's, admits Else, a homeless woman sitting opposite the hotel entrance, to one of the best rooms

for free. This rebellious act is sparked by genuine empathy with Else's situation as much as by Lise's anger at the haughty journalist Penny's privilege of business travel, allowing her a free stay at the luxurious Global Hotel. Eventually, they all, if partly unwittingly, collaborate to help Sara's grieving sister Clare establish the duration of Sara's fall, thus freeing Sara's ghost to leave the physical world and close Clare's cycle of grief.

Significantly, the main narrative's first chapter is devoted to the homeless Else, the character most disempowered in the social hierarchy. Her insightful if eccentrically disjointed observations, reflections and recollections that range from her own traumatic past to the early history of the British Isles are represented in free indirect discourse, an 'essentially evanescent form, dependent on the narrative voice that mediates and surrounds it, and [which] is therefore peculiarly dependent on tone and context' (Cohn 1978, 116). In Else's case, narratorial mediation is almost imperceptible, allowing her story to remain firmly within her own context and filtered through her own consciousness as she delivers her account of life on the streets that leaves her unprotected from verbal and physical abuse perpetrated by 'members of the general public' as well as police officers. Her own voice, restricted to the minimal interaction with the external world of formulaic pleas for spare change, is always allowed to momentarily interrupt, and hence take precedence over, the mediating narration:

> She is
>
> (Spr sm chn?)
>
> sitting near a grating through which some warmth rises.
> (A. Smith 2001, 53)

From both her own and the speech and writing in the external world that she reports – that is, from all potential communication with the 'general public' – Else additionally drops all vowels. Due to

her jumbled memory pathways, we do not learn when or why her aspirational working-class life, captured in the recollection of herself as a girl admiring an advertisement for a secretarial course on the train, went off the rails. Yet her loss of whole words seems to be related somehow to the thwarted hope of succeeding in a neoliberal service economy:

> She thinks of them, all the gd jb secretaries over time, row after row of [...] shorthanders, 100-word-per-minuters. Think of them neatly filleting the words, and their wastepaper baskets overflowing with the thrown-away i's and o's and u's and e's and a's. But they're all redundant now, she thinks, all those scrtries. [...] They've all been made redundant by crisp shiny new girls with dictaphone machines and computers which print up what you say at the same time as you're saying it. They're probably all on the street now, the scs, doing the same day's work Else does. She doesn't need vowels either. (*idem*, 46-47)

Else's chapter is entitled 'present historic' and this temporality captures the essence of her story: lacking the interpretive privilege of hindsight, the concurrent mode of narration is necessarily restricted to 'reporting of moments, instants, or immediate scenes [...] [that] cannot yet be defined in terms of typification, motivation, [...] contextual significance [...] and relative importance in a pattern of earlier and later actions and events' (Margolin 1999, 152). It therefore places the character in an open-ended, chaotic and undefined relation to her own story. This is evocative of the way in which homelessness strips Else of the agency to change her life by entrapping her in a perpetual present that absorbs the past tense of her history and renders the future tense obsolete. On the other hand, I agree with Emma Smith (2010, 183; original emphasis) that the temporal 'form also challenges [social hierarchies]. [...] by making her story more "vivid", it subverts the idea of her invisibility, of the societal absence of the homeless body' – and mind, I would add – 'by

emphatically *presencing* Else in her own story' as a person with a past that has made her – like all of 'us' – what she is.

The next section takes us from somebody at the bottom of the social hierarchy and excluded from the 'hotel world' to a former receptionist; somebody who is admitted inside, but only to serve and to maintain the place. Suffering from an undiagnosed illness one year after Sara's death, Lise finds herself confined to bed, within the empty temporality of 'no apparent narrative' (A. Smith 2001, 84) that is fundamentally at odds with that of the 'normal' outside world: 'Everything – cars, buses, work, shops, people, everything – other than this bed she was lying in was into a different tense now. Now: I am a sick person. I don't do anything'. The eponymous tense of her narrative segment, 'future conditional', lends apt narrative form to the temporal suspension that relegates even a minimum of personal agency to an uncertain future: 'It was some time in the future. Lise was lying in bed. That was practically all the story there was. In a minute she would sit up. […] That's what she would do. She would do it. In a minute' (*idem*, 81). Narration of her experience focuses on her increasingly exhausted attempts to fill out an extensive government benefits agency form requiring her, for example, to specify how many minutes she can sit comfortably in a chair:

> *About you – continued.* […] *Tell us about yourself.* Well. I am a nice person. […] Lise was lying in bed. […] How small this world has become. How huge that world is. I saw Paris on television. To see a city full of people walking, smoke rising, cars roaring, days happening, was terrifying. […] I have since stopped watching television. My heart hurts. Light hurts. […] I sleep badly. I lie awake waiting till I sleep badly again. I do not know when, or if, I will be able to do, well, anything, again. Lise was lying in bed. She was wondering how to say all of this on the form. (*idem*, 88; original emphasis)

Confronted with ostentatiously 'customer-oriented' welfare services that in fact itemise personhood into productive functions, Lise's inability to make herself understood to (representatives of) the 'general public' echoes Else's catatonic entrapment in precarity – an inarticulacy that starkly contrasts in both cases, however, with a tumbling vivacity of mind.

Although only temporarily and for a different reason, Lise's acute sense of displacement from 'ordinary' people and reality turns, as for Else, on her lack of 'employability' and on the expectation of economic productivity as the foundation for all social interaction. Mirroring the fact that the assertion of identity, of a secure sense of self in (normative) time and space, is tied to such productivity and therefore unavailable to Lise, the narratorial presence in her free indirect discourse uncertainly oscillates between the first- and third-person pronouns. Like the character's wobbly temporal location between immobility in the present and an uncertain future trajectory within the fast-spinning world of consumer capitalism, the indeterminacy of her perspectival positioning speaks to Lise's profound displacement from the 'normal' social timescape.

With Penny, as an obviously successful, affluent yellow press journalist and hotel critic, the most socially privileged agent by far in the hotel world hierarchy, the narrative power dynamics of free indirect discourse shift to form a persistent ironic undercurrent. Suggestively, her chapter's temporality – 'perfect' – not only nods to the realist narrative's most conventional tense, but also indicates the image that the character likes to project of herself, 'of control and togetherness; the "perfection" of a whole, coherent narrative reflects that of her successful, well-dressed life' (E. Smith 2010, 186). Indeed, Penny's is an excessively auto-storied self: despite, or perhaps because of her habit to mentally transform all her experiences and acquaintances into sensational stories, she absurdly misreads what is really going on around her. Since her narrative imaginary is both self-referential (featuring herself as heroine) and instrumental (to amuse her affluent social circle or to sell to the yellow press), besides being marked as conventional by 'her' grammatical tense, it never transcends the social structures of the hotel world but is firmly

anchored in them. That is why Penny mistakes the homeless Else, when she meets her there, 'because of the long, rather musky, fashionable old overcoat she was wearing, to be some kind of druggy eccentric guest or maybe even a minor ex-rock star' (A. Smith 2001, 138). When Else counts the change she has collected during the day, 'and began emptying handfuls of money out of her coat on to the carpet' and 'one hand and then the other came up and out, full of change […] it was astounding, Penny thought, to see so much loose change in the one place at the same time' (*idem*, 141). The inquit statement 'Penny thought' clearly marks the distance between narrator and complicit reader knowledge about Else on the one hand and the Penny's absurd social blindness on the other, thus unfolding narrative irony in the wide gulf of understanding between Else and Penny. When eventually recognition dawns, she writes Else a generous cheque – only to cancel it later, erasing a rare moment of genuine kindness as 'something inside her which had been forced open had sealed up again' (*idem*, 178). In a swift reversal to type, she mentally transforms her encounter with Else into a sensational story pitch featuring 'Blair's Britain at the Dawn of New Millennium kind of thing. […] Thought-provoking, kitsch value, old-fashioned class value as well as social value' (*idem*, 177).

Distancing, ironic narrative mediation of Penny's consciousness and her inauthentic double-speak expose the most socially empowered agent's intellectual and moral grasp of the hotel world as highly questionable. Her positioning in narrative space, then, is as precarious as her social position is privileged.

Conclusion

Shafak's *10 Minutes 38 Seconds in This Strange World* transcends the bleak non-places of gendered, classed and racialised precarity that the female protagonists inhabit by forging their perspectives into the ethical community that Butler calls affirmative; affirmative, because around the void that is grievable loss, the

narrative powerfully "affirms subjects' fundamental ontological dependency on the other" (Watson 2012, n.p.). That the women succeed in making the loss of a dead prostitute grievable against the exclusionary norms of an aggressively self-righteous, male-dominated public depends, in narrative terms, on the novel's highly integrated perspective structure. Such a closed perspective arrangement with a joint vanishing point speaks to a novel's unified ideological position (Surkamp 2002) – in this case, its fierce revaluation of marginalised female lives. At the same time, the narrative's heavy reliance on temporal modes of closure displaces utopian transformation into metaphysical spaces of cosmic harmony beyond human negotiation and conflict; on a consolatory rather than anticipatory note, Shafak's novel eventually provides glimpses of a world without pain rather than of democratic renewal.

Smith's novel, on the other hand, refrains from any substantial or systemic utopian imaginary. Its innovative *narrative* structures of perspective arrangement and representation of social temporalities produce a radical democratic vision that lays open as well as rearticulates the power relations that distribute privilege and precarity within the *social* hotel world: the textual empowerment of the female protagonists in terms of credibility, authority and narratorial sympathy is in inverse proportion to their social empowerment. Yet this democratic project of redistributing access to articulations of social reality is not harmonised into a strongly intersubjective perspective structure. Sara's death in the 'spine' of the hotel world – or rather Clare's attempt to clarify its exact circumstances – might create a momentary conjecture of narrative and social paths that would never have crossed otherwise, but these 'dynamics of connection' remain 'transitory, shifting' (E. Smith 2010, 87). In line with Mouffe and Butler's notions of radical democracy, *Hotel World*'s intersubjective structure does not idealise unity and consensus but shows social relations to be antagonistic as well as mutually constitutive.

Notes

I. The focus on race and nationality reflects Butler's concern in Frames of War with the (predominantly Muslim) Iraqi and Afghani civilian victims of the US-led wars post-9/11. Her earlier work (2000; 2006) primarily considers precarity in relation to the ungrievability of queer lives, which testifies to the fact that precarity cuts across multiple identity markers. The one social determinant that Butler is curiously blind to is class (Springveld 2017).

II. In contrast to the dominance of science fiction in utopian scholarship, Edwards (2019) discusses narratives broadly written within the tradition of literary realism. In a way that is instructive for my own discussion, she reads the utopian imaginary in the postmillennial British novel as a crucial political intervention, fuelled by 'a reconceived sense of social engagement in the twenty-first century' (Edwards, 3), in pressing contemporary discourses about the social and political sustainability of postmillennial, openly anti-democratic neoliberal capitalism.

III. Ali Smith's comment that the writing of Hotel World has its origins in 'the notion of transience that hotels are all about, and at the same time the notion of tiered social hierarchies' ('Ali Smith's Split World,' 2001) reads like a conscious enactment of the theory of the non-place. Emma Smith (2010, 82) elaborates, 'in that [the experience of it is] available only to those with the disposable income, time, and liberty to travel, the hotel world is an exclusive one, and Smith's novel works to examine the relations of social privilege dividing the well-to-do guest from the receptionist or the chambermaid, and from the homeless woman outside'.

IV. Narrative ironisation of all male perspectives corrects their stance towards Leila's loss as ungrievable and further affirms her friends' ethical claim to grief. The medical

examiner's self-important scientific investigation of the 'persistent brain activity in people who had just died' is savagely mocked because the body that he is cutting up while idly wondering, '[w]hat happened during that [ten minutes and thirty-eight seconds]? Did the dead remember the past, and, if so, which parts of it, and in what order?' (Shafak 2019, 190), actually holds all the answers, in the form of narrative truths in which the reader is complicit but which are not accessible to him.

V. Feminist narratologists (Lanser 1992; Surkamp 2002) have pointed out that the credibility of this authorial voice and its leeway to assign object status to (female) narrative agents is culturally coded as male. So not only from a temporal perspective of closure but also from a gendered perspective that foregrounds questions of power and authority does this narrative design to some degree counteract the emancipatory tendencies ascribed to female-centred multiple narration.

VI. Since the main narrative, featuring the three focalising agents Else, Lise and Penny, is more pertinent to the novel's transformation of social precarity into a narrative democracy, I will focus on their sections and leave the frame narrative – the teenage sisters' moving first-person 'dialogue' about the circumstances of Sara's haunting death – unconsidered.

VII. Emma Smith (2010, 90) notes that OED (2003) 'defines the present historic as a feature of "vivid narrative."'

VIII. For an insightful report on New Labour's restructuring of welfare that combined effective cuts in provisions for most claimant groups and punitive 'service user' involvement with self-marketing as 'customer-oriented', see Beresford 2001.

IX. At first glance, the sheer amount of Penny's speech as well as its level of articulacy seem to strengthen her presence in

the story as compared to Else (who rarely speaks aloud and if so, without vowels) and Lise's (who never does). However, the veneer of eloquently empty advertising language that she publicly uses in her review of the Global Hotel thinly veils her frequent private lapsing into strings of coarse expletives once perfection eludes her: 'But she'd lost the words she'd been typing. She hadn't saved anything. They were completely gone. Damn. She would have to start again. Fucking damning buggering shagging fuck. She hit the [computer] with her hand, as if the machine had been insolent to her' (A. Smith 2001, 134).

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Ronja Waldherr, MA, is a second-year PhD student and research associate at RWTH Aachen University, Germany. Her research interests include contemporary women's literature, gender studies and postfeminism, cultural and literary studies of neoliberalism, recession and austerity.

Takeshi Suzuki

A Cultural Studies Analysis of *Shoplifters*: Is it a Japanese Dickensian tale or a Survivalist Movie?

KEYWORDS: cinema criticism, cultural studies, survivalist, contextualism, cognitive mapping

INTRODUCTION

Quite often cinema is viewed as a mere entertainment, and it has not been treated as one of the important fields of study in the past. Or even worse, cinema was sometimes seen as a new social and political problem, "a threat to traditional conceptions of class, gender, and race" (Furstenau 2010, 3). As a matter of fact, there are a number of reasons why we study cinema criticism in the sense that "criticism is the attempt to discover and interpret the meaning and intentions of the film or filmmaker that extend beyond a film's surface features" (Prince 2010, 387). For instance, we can examine the means of production, representation, *ad hoc* groups who assemble practice, ideological values that are promoted, and how narratives involve social groups and reflect on style.

Consequently, cinema criticism can be an attractive tool for the student of communication to learn about such contemporary issues as race, class and gender. In what follows, this chapter will explore

the rhetorical dimension of cinema: namely, the art of rhetoric as *techné* — or the craft of transforming thoughts into expression, *praxis* — a communication habit or skill that people acquire through imitation, and a search for *kairos*, or timing, how the right words get noticed. There are three general steps to follow for writing a piece of cinema criticism: namely, establishing a critical methodology or interpretative framework, applying the methodology, and drawing interpretative conclusions.

Specifically, in what follows, I will first of all analyse the context within which this film is produced and evaluated, the form of emancipation that the characters are forced to choose, and the reaction by the film's audience and cinema critics. Then, how Cultural Studies analysis can provide critical insights and interpretations of particular films will be discussed. For example, this form of art provides a space for seeing ourselves and puts into stylish perspective who we-are-not but who we-may-yet-become; it is both safe and provocative. Fiction carries with it a distinction from reality; and it creates an alternative world where our thinking can be dramatized as a time outside of ourselves. Finally, let me present conclusions drawn from the critical discussion. I hope to illustrate how the analysis of *Shoplifters* reveals the social reality of modern Japan's dysfunctionality and complexity.

A FUNDAMENTAL DEBATE IN CINEMA STUDIES

Cinema's capacity to reveal truths about reality invisible to human sight has been viewed as the source of its power to escape the limits of human knowledge and access to reality. For instance, Stanley Cavell takes a modernist position by arguing that "film is a moving image of skepticism" (1979, 188). What is meant by skepticism, is that the ability of human beings to know the world around us is limited. Hence, we are unable to perceive reality as it really is. Further, as Malcolm Turvey (2010) notes, such scepticism gives rise to: "the wish to escape the limits of human knowledge and

access reality as it really is" (Turvey 2010, 80). Indeed, such cinema's capability brings about the evolution of new perceptual and cognitive abilities in human beings.

The natural question to ask is: what sorts of limitations does normal human vision suffer from? It is important to note that limitation can in itself be considered a place we wish to escape. At this point, Béla Balázs (1972) presents two limitations. First, normal human vision suffers from a historical limitation specific to the "world culture" of modernity (Balázs 1972, 84). What he calls the "modern consciousness" theory argues that various forces in modernity — principally science, technology, and the putative penetration of "instrumental reason" into all spheres of human existence — have had a profound effect on human beings. Rudolf Arnheim (1954) summarizes:

> We have neglected the gift of comprehending things through our senses. Concept is divorced from precept, and thought moves among abstractions. Our eyes have been reduced to instruments with which to identify and to measure; hence we suffer a paucity of ideas that can be expressed in images and an incapacity to discover meaning in what we see. Naturally we feel lost in the presence of objects that make sense only to undiluted vision, and we seek refuge in the more familiar medium of words. (Arnheim 1954, 1)

Thus, there is an intermediate stage — the use of language in place of the face and body to express the inner self — in between the tendency to "seek refuge in the more familiar medium of words" and the failure to attend to what the sense has to teach of an independency of language. In addition, Balázs (1972) argues that normal human vision suffers from its failure to see details:

> By means of the close-up the camera in the days of the silent film revealed also the hidden mainsprings of a life that we had thought we already knew so well. Blurred outlines are mostly the result of our insensitive short-sightedness and superficiality. We skim over the teeming substance of life. The camera has uncovered that cell life of the vital issues in which all great events are ultimately conceived; for the greatest landslide is only the aggregate of the movements of single particles. A multitude of close-ups can show us the very instant in which the general is transformed into the particular. The close-up has not only widened our vision of life, it has also deepened it. In the days of the silent film it not only revealed new things, but showed us the meaning of the old. (1972, 55)

Thus, human beings have a tendency to "skim over the teeming substance of life."

Against these limitations, there are several different answers to the question of what is, or can be, cinema. Each answer attempts to consider cinema's capacity to reveal truths about reality invisible to the naked human eye differently. First, the modernists believed that the cinema's most significant property, at least for the purpose of creating art, is "its capacity to manipulate reality, that is, to rearrange and thereby reconstitute the profilmic event" (Turvey, 86). A filmmaker wishes to create a work of art, s/he cannot simply reproduce what is in front of the camera. Rather, s/he must express something about what is in front of the camera using uniquely cinematic techniques.

The second historically dominant answer comes from the realists, when s/he states that the cinema's most significant property is its capacity to reproduce, rather than manipulate, reality. André Bazin (1967) believes that human beings have "a basic psychological need [...] to have the last word in the argument with death by means of the form that endures" (Bazin 1967, 9-10), and because photography and cinema offer an unprecedented way of satisfying

this need by re-presenting reality, the cinema, with the advent of synchronized sound, is capable of reproducing reality.

The final answer comes from the revelationists in that the cinema's most significant feature is its capacity to reveal truths about reality invisible to the naked eye. While, like the realists, it views cinema's ability to reproduce reality as a valuable one, these theorists are influenced by a scepticism that takes the form of doubts about normal human vision. These theorists view stylistic techniques, such as slow, fast and reverse motion, extreme close-ups or long shots, editing and so on, that depart from everyday sight as most likely to reveal reality as it is.

I argue, however, that we need to revise the revelationist position in the sense that what can be revealed is not only outer reality but also inner reality of human beings. Namely, the critical analysis of cinema should look at both conscious and unconscious realms of the human psyche. Walter Benjamin (2005) explains:

> By close-ups of the things around us, by focusing on hidden details of familiar objects, by exploring common place milieus under the ingenious guidance of the camera, the film, on the one hand, extends our comprehension of the necessities which rule our lives; on the other hand, it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action. [...] Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling. With the close-up, space expands; with slow motion, movement is extended. The enlargement of a snapshot does not simply render more precise what in any case was visible, though unclear: it reveals entirely new structural formation of the subject. (Benjamin 2005, 14)

Hence, Benjamin (2005) concludes that, "The camera introduces us to unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses" (*idem*, 14). As a result, critical insights may be gained when we employ psychoanalysis as the critical methodology of cinema. In the next section, let me turn to a critical analysis of *Shoplifters* (2018) directed by Hirokazu Kore-eda. In addition to the ordinary description of its basic plot, cultural studies analysis will be made through the framework of radical contextualism and conjuncture analysis.

THE BASIC PLOT OF *SHOPLIFTERS*

In the movie *Shoplifters*, Osamu, played by Lily Frankly, is a man with shifty, wheedling grin, and the Fagin-like head of an extended family of roguish people, all nursing secrets and lies. The household appears to be a middle-aged husband and wife, a teen daughter, a young son and a grandma. They are living in a cramped apartment rented from a suspect landlord who has to keep changing the names on his properties' title deeds as part of his tax dodge of "flipping" national ownership. Peter Bradshaw (2018) explains a basic plot of the story:

> ...Osamu actually makes his money selling the things he steals on daily shoplifting expeditions with his boy, Shota (Kairi Jyo). His wife, Nobuyo (Sakura Andô), works in a hotel laundry and she, too, steals things left in clothes' pockets all the time. The younger woman is Aki (Mayu Matsuoka) who brings in her share of the family finances by taking part in a soft-porn peep show in town. Hatsue is the grandma, who supports this family with her pension and who also guilt-trips the grownup children of her late husband's second wife into giving her money, which she mostly pours into pachinko slot machines.

Thus, this is a sort of family they choose is not connected by a biological bond, but by the convenience and interests that they can share. Bradshaw (2018) goes on to say:

> One day, coming home on a freezing night after a hard day steaming from supermarkets, Osamu and Shota come across a little girl of perhaps six or seven shivering in the cold. Impulsively, Osamu decides to take the poor homeless little waif in for a few days. She appears to have marks on her body consistent with abuse and she wets the bed; another classic sign. Osamu's wicked old heart is evidently melted, and he says that they will keep this little girl, Juri (Miyu Sasaki), and train her up in the way of shoplifting, which include making odd little hand gestures to your thief-partner to indicate when and what you intend to steal.

In essence, as Bradshaw concludes, *Shopkeepers* "is the story of a group of frightened, damaged people who have made common cause with each other, banded together under the convenience flag of family, under the radar of the law, making the best of things from day to day, until they realize they have been making the worst of things." This explanation is an example of the plot-centred rhetorical analysis of *Shoplifters*, a narrative that is thoroughly Dickensian in nature.

Before proceeding into a cultural studies analysis, it is important to point out one aspect of temporality in the narrative of *Shoplifters*. That is to say, this movie adopts strategically what Kenneth Burke called "repetitive form" (1968). Burke explains that repetitive form is the consistent maintaining of a principle under new guises. It is a restatement of the same thing in different ways. In fact, there are five scenes of shoplifting in the movie. The first act of shoplifting is carried out by Osamu and Shota at a supermarket to steal food items. Hence, this functions as an introduction to illustrate that the family steal even cheap essential goods for life. The second

act of shoplifting is to steal a pack of snacks and a bottle of shampoo by Shota and Juri at a grocery store run by an old man. Thus, this scene explains that even children have no choice but to shoplift in this family.

Then the third act of shoplifting takes place, which is qualitatively different from the first and second ones. It is done to steal luxurious fishing tackle through the team play of Osamu, Shota, and Juri. Thus, they no longer steal things for everyday life but they do it professionally. In the fourth act of shoplifting, Shota and Juri come back to the same grocery story run by the old man. After Juri steals a toy, the old man asks Shota to stop her shoplifting and gives her a snack: "Do not let your sister shoplift." This scene functions to tell the audience that shoplifting is not only a criminal act but also a sad act for a helpless girl to do.

In the final and fifth act of shoplifting, Juri attempts to steal food items but Shota realizes it not right for her to do so. Instead, he tries to divert the shop assistant's attention by running away with some oranges. This is the beginning of an end in the sense that their way of life is to be revealed and all the family members are to be investigated by the police. This kind of repetitive form, Burke (1968) argues, creates a special effect:

> A succession of images, each of them receiving the same lyric mood; a character repeating his[/her] identity, his[/her] "number," under changing situations; the sustaining of an attitude, as in satire; the rhythmic singularity of blank verse; the rhythm scheme of *terza rima* — these are all aspects of repetitive form. By a varying number of details, the reader is led to feel more or less consciously the principle underlying them — he[/she] then requires that this principle be observed in the giving of further details. (Burke 1968, 125)

Thus, when the repetitive form of *Shoplifters* is analysed, the temporal dimension of this movie can be inspected to show how each shoplifting setting is presented as a progression toward a tragic ending.

In the next section, let me turn to a more contextual-oriented and cultural studies analysis of the film. The reason why I dare employ such a critical method is that whereas the plot-centred analysis has a textual-focus, the cultural studies analysis has a context-focus so that it may reveal social conditions described in the film. I hope that in providing this analysis executed on the grounds of culture studies, we may discover how a diverse set of approaches may reveal what cannot be seen through the text-focus of cinema.

A CULTURAL STUDIES ANALYSIS OF *SHOPLIFTERS*

To begin with, what is a cultural studies approach to cinema? In other words, how is it different from a rhetorical approach to cinema, which is more concerned with the textual interpretation of the text? David Forgacs (2013) argues:

> It is one that is concerned with the ideological meanings of film texts. It tends to deal with the ways films "encode" ideological or covertly political messages and with how audiences may actively "decode" and respond to these. It is often concerned with the way in which contemporary films connect, overtly or not, with collective anxieties and preoccupations: about gender relations and roles, "normal" and "deviant" sexualities, demarcations of racial difference, technological change, fears of war and terrorism, of death, destruction or ecological disaster. (Forgacs 2013, 4)

As Forgacs (2013) explains, "The interest in ideology and in making explicit the covert meanings in films is a recurrent feature, as is the conception of the activity or the agency of the audience as co-producer and negotiator of meaning of the film text, together with its writers, director and producers" (*idem*, 4). In summary, cultural studies cannot be viewed as a single approach to cinema, or a stable set of methods or event of objects of study.

Based on the above recognition of the methodological importance, let me apply three frameworks of a cultural studies approach to *Shoplifters*: namely, radical contextualism, conjuncture analysis and cognitive mapping. They are not mutually exclusive concepts: rather, they are interrelated, which allow us to see and analyse the complex nature of social problems when we look at cultural texts.

First of all, cultural studies understand contexts as relational. Context refers to "a historically-specific organization of social relations as an expression of power. A context does not, however, exist independently of the process of analysis; it is instead the analytical construction of an assemblage through the practice of articulation" (Davis 2019, 49). Radical contextualism, hence, is an analytical commitment to mapping the force relations that produce certain conditions of power within a closure of social reality. Lawrence Grossberg (2006), a strong believer in radical contextualism, argues:

> ...its contextualism aims to understand any event relationally, as a condensation of multiple determinations and effects (Frow and Morris, 1993) and embodies the commitment to the openness and contingency of social reality where change is the given or norm. Its sense of context is always a complex, overdetermined and contingent unity. Contextualism in cultural studies is often defined by and as a theory of articulation, which understand history as the ongoing effect (or process) to make, unmake and remake relations, structures and

> unity (on top of differences). If reality is relational and articulated, such relations are both contingent (i.e., not necessary) and real, and thus, never finished or closed for all times. (Grossberg, 4)

Then, what are relational contexts which make this movie's plot influence our social reality in a significant way? There is no question that *Shoplifters* is a film about the dysfunctionality and hypocrisies of modern Japan. Although Japan enjoys the status of the third largest economy of the world (BBC 2019), as far as the child poverty index is concerned, for instance, the same country is ranked as one of the poorest advanced countries (e.g., "Japan ranked" 2016). It is pointed out that Japan's safety net fails to save the poorest class of people (e.g., "In Japan" 2009), hence, sometimes forcing them to survive by resorting to any means necessary. These are the social contexts that *Shoplifters* articulates and reveal to the audience. Actually, there is one scene directly reflecting this problem. After Osamu got injured at a construction site, he was told that no worker's accident compensation money would be provided. As a consequence, he had no choice but to resort to any means necessary for securing his and his family's survival.

Second, the practice of contextualism in cultural studies often involves a location within and an effort at the diagnosis of a conjuncture, or "a description of a social formation as fractured and conflictual, along multiple axes, plans and scales, constantly in search of temporary balances or structural stabilities through a variety of practices and processes of struggle and negotiation" (Grossberg 2009, 4). Grossberg (2009) explains that conjunctural analysis as analytic practice poses two interrelated problems:

> The first is a task of "judging when and how we are/are not moving from one conjuncture to another." [...] The second, closely related, demands that every analysis must try to get the balance right — between the old and the new

> [...], between what is similar and what is different, between the organic and the conjunctural (and the accidental). (Grossberg, 5)

For instance, at the first level of conjuncture analysis, *Shoplifters*' main characters are moving from a conjuncture of the struggling family to that of a survivalist family. At the second level of conjuncture analysis, they decided to make the family they choose. In the old tradition, as far as social bond is concerned, they cannot choose family members since they are biologically determined. They are supposed to accept them regardless of their liking or disliking. Nonetheless, in the conjuncture where the *Shoplifters* are living, they form a family out of necessary and keep it for economic interests. They realize that the family they choose gives them a sense of unity more strongly than the biological family, albeit it is an unstable social bond based on their agreement. There is one scene in the film, in which, after watching TV news to report Juri's disappearance, Osamu asks Juri, if she wants to return to her real home, but she decides to stay with the family of her choice. On the next day Nobuyo and Hatsue had the following conversation:

> Hatsue: "I thought [Juri] would say she wanted to come back home."
>
> Nobuyo: "We are chosen (by her), I guess."
>
> Hatsue: "Ordinarily we cannot choose parents, right?"
>
> Nobuyo: "But... chosen parents are stronger, aren't they?"
>
> Hatsue: "What do you mean?"
>
> Nobuyo: "You know, ...bond, social bond."
>
> Natsue: "Me, too. I chose you."

Although they are smiling at each other, they pretend not to realize that people sometimes make a choice based on compromise (e.g., there is no other option) or out of necessity (e.g., they do not

want to go back to undesirable situations). The fragile nature of the family they choose is exposed at the end of this movie. Through a catastrophic ending all fragility of the chosen family is revealed, although there is a glimpse of hope for the future.

The final point that I want to make about cultural studies is that it provides us with the perspective of *cognitive mapping*, or a process by which the individual subjects situate themselves within a vaster, unrepresentable totality, a process that corresponds to the workings of ideology (Jameson 1990). Fredrick Jameson (1990) argues that what is needed is a "cognitive mapping" of the present, one that reinjects an understanding of the real historicity of the present, since such a notion enables "a situational representation on the part of the individual subject to that vaster and properly unrepresentable totality which is the ensemble of society's structures as a whole" (Jameson 1990, 51). Indeed, it is in the climax of this movie – the police investigation of the shoplifters' family – that the sense of Osamu's cognitive mapping becomes clear. Osamu is interrogated by a detective: "Don't you feel uneasy about letting your children steal?" Osamu replied: "I, ...sorry, but that is all I could teach." This short conversation is a vivid illustration of how the weakest have no choice but to resort to any means necessary for survival. As Jameson (1990) explains, ideology has "the function of somehow inventing a way of articulating those two distinct dimensions with each other" (Jameson, 52). Thus, this new class consciousness gives us a way to look at our own and others' social positions within ever changing metropolitan landscapes of capitalism. Through cognitive mapping we can consequently analyze a space for seeing ourselves and put into stylish perspective who we-are-not but who we-may-yet-become; it is both safe and provocative.

CONCLUSION

I have so far analysed *Shoplifters* using the critical frameworks of cultural studies. There are three benefits in applying methodologies deriving from cultural studies to the analysis of cinematic texts. First of all, with cultural studies as a critical method, we can analyse

contexts of movies whose theme is concerned with complexity of social conditions more insightfully. As Andrew Davis (2019) contends, radical contextualism is not just an analytical practice; it is an ethical commitment that 'reveals our relationship [to the world] as a genuine moral dilemma, that cannot be answered a priori (Davis 2019, 52). Specifically, in this analysis of *Shoplifters* the very dilemma arises when we need to cope with desperately poor social conditions and the violation of law as a viable choice. How can we apply here the social norm of "thou shalt not steal"?

The second benefit is that with conjuncture analysis we can better execute a complex analysis of the way different social realities are played out in movies dealing with contemporary issues. Here, a conjuncture is "a description of a social formation as fractured and conflictual, along axes, places and scales, constantly in search of temporary balances or structural stabilities through a variety of practices and processes of struggle and negotiation" (Grossberg 2006, 4). Hence, as Grossberg argues, a conjuncture "is always a social formation understood as more than a mere context — but as an articulation, accumulation, or condensation of contradictions" (Grossberg, 5). For instance, there is a scene in *Shoplifters* in which Hatsue visits her ex-husband's son and his wife routinely so that she may receive money from him. The ex-husband's son has no legal responsibility to do so, but he does it since he feels guilty in that their happiness was built on the fact that his father left Hatsue. After pretending to be reluctant, she always receives it, regarding it as palimony. They are in a different crisis: Hatsue is in a financial crisis being forced to make a living, and the ex-husband's son undergoes a psychological crisis being forced to remove his guilt. The nature of the money exchanged between them, however, is never explicitly mentioned.

Finally, applying cultural studies analysis to movies reveals that we can read not only movies but also their social contexts as cultural texts. In so doing, we can expand our traditional notion of text. Grossberg explains:

> On the one hand, cultural studies could read everything and anything as a text, leading its practitioners to constitute all sorts of new things to be interpreted — ideologically or discursively, as if their politics were subsumable within culture itself. On the other hand, cultural studies was initiated into a constant search for the ethnographic reality — what the audience does with the texts — that would anchor the effects of the texts outside of its own readings. This ethnographic reality was almost always understood in terms of the relation of subjectivity and identity [...]. (Grossberg, 9)

In sum, cultural studies analysis provides the critical apparatus with a more comprehensive method of analysis of contemporary society when it is applied to cinema criticism. For example, by exploring the social strata of the main characters, the critic can analyse in what urban spaces they inhabit, which "working area" they select, and how the landscapes accentuate the characters' social background. An analysis of *Shoplifters* presents a showcase of what the poorest class of Japanese people are forced to choose. Therefore, I hope to see more case studies employing cinema criticism that utilize cultural studies analysis in the future.

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Takeshi Suzuki is a professor in the School of Information and Communication, Meiji University. Suzuki is a former president of the Japan Debate Association (JDA), and a former vice-president of the Japan Association of Media English Studies (JAMES). He has published in the area of media criticism and political communication. He is the author of several books including two published in English: *The Rhetoric of Emperor Hirohito: Continuity and Rupture in Japan's Dramas of Modernity* (2017) and *The Age of Emperor Akihito: Historical Controversies over the Past and the Future* (2019). He was a Fulbright visiting professor at the University of Southern California Annenberg School for Communication in 2007, and a visiting scholar at the Centre for Film and Screen, University of Cambridge in 2017, and also at the Buffett Institute for Global Affairs at Northwestern University in 2018.

Laurence Wensel

El Grito en La Frontera/The Howl Along the Border: Spaces/Places and a Search for Identity in the Chicano Border Plays of *Teatro Chicano de Laredo*

We live in a world where categorization takes place in all facets of life. This 'boxing in' of people exists as a hierarchical tool that shapes pre-, during, and post-colonial times. However, when we move beyond that placement, we arrive at a nexus where identity questions form. When one finds where they belong, they face discrimination and encounter ethnocentrism as they search for positive distinctiveness. In Derrida's *Metaphysics of Presence*, in regards to identity as logocentrism, we learn that "This interplay between proximity and remoteness is also an interplay between presence and absence, and between interiority and exteriority" (Prasad 2010). This yearning for presence amongst existence and non-attendance is an aspect that rings true with Americans with Latin heritage and who identify differently even though belonging to the same group. In this chapter, I aim to define what it means to be Chicano/Latino/Latinx, to identify the spaces created by these identifiers, and how they intersect with the works of *Teatro Chicano de Laredo* (TCDL). As Yi-Fu Tuan states, "Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other" (2014). By incorporating theories of space and place and utilizing three plays from TCDL, I investigate how the intersection of systems formulate answers and questions concerning identity that arise for this group of Chicano writers.

Chicano is defined as a person of Mexican origin or descendant. The word 'Chicano' has an illusory origin. Various individuals claim that 'Chicano' derives from the word 'Mexican' and that the neologism stems from "Meshicano" or from the shortened form "Xicano" within its own spelling. Historically, the term was used by the bourgeoisie against those who were deemed as lower. The pejorative name derives from the animus of racism. As stated in the article by Roque Planas, "The outbreak of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the term "Chicano" became popular. Students walked out in protest at public schools from Crystal City, Texas, to East Los Angeles. The United Farm Workers under the leadership of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta held marches and led the Delano grape strike" (2012). Regardless of the origins of the word Chicano, the community it built brought about a powerful public and racial response in the face of oppression and bigotry from a predominantly white society.

While the term 'Chicano' arises from a need to restore rights, Latino is a word utilized primarily in the US that identifies Americans with ties or origins to Latin America. The nomenclature utilized is a controversial term (like the word Hispanic), mainly when US agencies or governments create a hierarchy for data purposes. The word Latino delegates to those in North, Central, and South America, but not Spain. Oddly enough, once outside the US, the name Latino is a demonym for people from the United States. According to the US Census Bureau, "Defines "Hispanic or Latino" as a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (2018). This name is a racialized category to unify this grouping in the United States. As defined by Tenorio-Trillo, "Latin America, from its origins as a concept to this day, has fundamentally been a changing version of a single enduring, old, and seemingly insurmountable concept: race" (2020).

If race is a tool for separation, then Latinx (from 2004) is a neologism that serves as a connective for advocates along the lines of race and gender. The word takes Latin-o/a, which refers to males and females and removes the vowel and replaces it with the consonant-x to be inclusive and gender-neutral. Torres states, "Currently most people who use "Latinx" indicate that they do

so in the spirit of gender inclusivity, to represent the variety of possible genders as well as those who may identify as non-gender, binary, or transgender" (2018). The flexibility with the word Latin-o/a taking on the -x consonant cultivates discussion about the vernacular, the power of names, and inclusiveness in the realm of a two-gender dominant culture. The term "Latinx" began in social media, academic publications, and popular online newspapers in the mid-2010s. The word has circulated across queer, transgender, and non-binary communities to offer a gender-neutral term for Latin American people. As Andrea Pitts notes, "While a number of people advocating for the term see the shift away from binary-gendered terms like "Latina" or "Latino" as a positive step toward recognizing and affirming the identities of transgender, non-binary, and genderqueer Latinxs, critics of the term consider its use an imposition and a problematic shift away from common orthographic features of the Castilian Spanish language" (2019).

The playwrights of Teatro Chicano de Laredo belong to two different landmasses - the US and Mexico. Whether they identify as Chicano-a, Latino/a, or Latinx, they all share a space as a descendant or origin from Latin America. As they struggle for positive self-identification, each group strives for equality, visibility, and inclusivity. Moreover, the exchanges between the sister cities of Laredo, TX, and Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas/Mexico impacts, challenges, and shapes the writers and their experiences. The playwrights of TCDL, just like Chicano/Latino-a/Latinx individuals, are striving for inclusion, equality, and freedom from oppression. This search for an identity in various spaces is at the core of TCDL. Moreover, the tutelage of the group by Carlos Nicolas Flores, a Chicano author, brought his expertise of Western story structure to their writing. As Carlos Flores informs us, "The overriding objective of *Teatro Chicano de Laredo* is to develop and produce original plays about the Mexican-American experience and to promote a dialogue that leads to social change in a culturally deprived population such as ours" (Laredo College 2013). In 2009, a collaboration with Laredo Little Theatre emerged and the writer's works took the next leap - production. If the act of crossing is a part of identity, then the

traversing of such thresholds for authors Margie Cortez, Oscar Peña, and Tricia Cortez adds to the search for the identity of the Chicano playwrights as border residents.

In Margie Cortez's play "Abduction," we are presented with selflessness in the spaces of the body, bounded by territory, and subject to an alien invasion. The play concerns itself with a cross-dresser (Pinky) and a straight guy (Pinto) who take peyote:

> PINTO (Puts his hand on his moustache and strokes it downward) Take a look.
>
> LA PINKY (Takes the bag and opens it like a treasure chest. Her eyes glitter with greed and anticipation) Is this what I think it is, *ese?*[1]
>
> PINTO (Laughs) It is.
>
> LA PINKY How old is it and where did you get it?
>
> PINTO (Gets up) It was a five finger discount, but don't let your blonde wig worry about it. It's still illegal for us, but gooood. (Looks at her intently) Is we ready?
>
> LA PINKY (Looks at him adoringly) I'm ready, Freddy. (Grabs him by the shirt) Let's go for it, Pinto. Let us trip and travel juntitos. Just you and me, *papito*.[2] Just you and me.
>
> PINTO (Pushes her aside) That's what I'm afraid of. Your excessive vices, and loving arms. I just don't know why I put up with you.
>
> LA PINKY *Ay, Pintito, no te hagas ojete*. You put up with me *porque... porque me Quieres*.[3] Right, Pinto Z.? The "Z" (Makes the "Z" sign in the air with finger snaps) is for my

1 - Dude, bro, or homie.

2 - Daddy.

3 - Oh, Pinto, don't be stingy. Because... because you want me.

> *Zorrito*.[4] Pinto, can... can I ask you a question?
>
> PINTO What?
>
> LA PINKY Is it another girl?
>
> PINTO And if there is?
>
> LA PINKY (Screams, eyes glitter with jealousy) Oh, hell no. There better not be, P. Zavala, because if there is, I'll kill you and her. Well, maybe just her. You belong to me. *Nomás a mí, papito. Nomás a mí.*[5]
>
> PINTO (Looks at her, almost laughing) Yeah... Right.
> (M. Cortez 2009)

They trip, and as they go from scene to scene, Pinky becomes a hero amidst an alien abduction. Yi-Fu Tuan expounds, "Experience thus implies the ability to learn from what one has undergone. To experience is to learn" (2014). Pinky learns that she will go to any length to protect her man, and in turn that Pinto loves her. Here in an underpass in San Antonio, TX, the space of friendship becomes one of relationship. As Cecilia Rosales states, "'Chueco' [transvestite] as the ultimate border identity, defining it as that which is not straight or aligned; that is anything bent, curved, angular twisted or distorted. It also refers to the practice of a transvestite passing as a woman." (1999). The play is brutal, and there is no filter amongst the two, and amidst the peyote trip, Pinky traverses the spaces of realities and becomes Pinto's saviour. The casual observer notes that this frees up their identity within the realm of changing one's clothing and genders. However, the couple meets at a crossroads - they are limited by the same borders they inhabit.

With love and identity crossing boundaries in "Abduction," Oscar Peña's play "Manila Folder" focuses on architectural places and the duality of spaces. His play is not only about the

4 - My little fox.

5 - Only to me, daddy. Only to me.

intersection of people, but places. Specifically, it centres on Jarvis Plaza in Laredo, TX, which becomes vital as a commercial centre and ultimately transfigures the surrounding areas as they expand economic prospects for its inhabitants. According to Alicia Dewey's book, *Pesos and Dollars*, plazas were "Built on a standard Anglo-American grid pattern designed to maximize space for businesses along straight and wide streets, their appearance contrasted with that of the Spanish colonial towns, centred around plazas where people often came together to engage in communal, religious, and civic, as well as commercial activities" (2014). In the play, Prosecutor Arnie Balas is in a prison cell for picking up a prostitute. He finds himself in a jail surrounded by two other prisoners and the streetwalker he picked up, Manuela, whom he discovers is also a man. Manuela is the hero of the story and saves Arnie from being raped.

> MARIO LANDAS *Hijo de tu chingada madre*![6] I'm going to make *you* my prostitute.
>
> (*MARIO LANDAS physically attacks ARNIE.*)
>
> ARNIE Please stop! Please! No!
>
> MARIO LANDAS *Andale putito!*[7] I'm going to make you a woman now.
>
> (*MARIO LANDAS and ARNIE tussle and MARIO LANDAS turns ARNIE around and struggles to pull down ARNIE'S pants.*)
>
> MANUELA Stop it! Stop it please!
>
> (*MANUELA pulls them apart. She gets between MARIO LANDAS and ARNIE. ARNIE crawls away and cowers in a corner.*)

6 - Son of a fucking bitch!

7 - Come on you little gigolo!

MARIO LANDAS *Quitate mujer!*[8]

MANUELA No. I don't want you to do anything to him.

MARIO LANDAS Why do you protect him?

MANUELA I'm not protecting him. I'm punishing him. I'm doing it my way.

(*MANUELA turns to ARNIE and stands over him.*)

ARNIE Thank you. Thank you.

MANUELA Don't thank me. Don't you dare thank me. I'm not doing you a favor. I want you to know. I want you to live with it. I saved you! I kept you from knowing what it's like. I want you to remember that. When you see me on the street, and you will see me… Laredo is too small for you not to see me… I want you to remember that I'm the one that saved you from being his bitch. Look at my face. I saved you. I saved you. That'll be your secret. Carry that around in your briefcase Mr. Lawyer.

(MANUELA throws her wig in ARNIE'S face.)

MARIO LANDAS Por favor. *Dejame mujer!*[9]

MANUELA No. I'm going to punish him… not you. Let me be the man for a change.
(Peña 2010)

Just like Pinky in 'Abduction,' Manuela is the hero of the story by saving Arnie from being raped. However, she admits:

MANUELA I've been called worse. It doesn't bother me. You see these teeth… (MANUELA points at her bared teeth.) …they're fake. I watched the real ones go down the drain in front of Jarvis Plaza. (Peña 2010)

8 - Get away woman!

9 - Please. Let me be, woman!

Jarvis Plaza is a place in Laredo, TX, named for one of its former mayors. The location is where everyone visits by day, and no one dares to walk at night alone. The plaza is surrounded by a Post office to the north, the local bus and Greyhound system to the south, old folks home to the West, and businesses on the East. The centre is integral to the life of the city and even has a monthly Farmer's Market. As presented by Longoria and Fox, "Laredo spatially preserves the imprint of Spanish colonial urbanism. From a late 20th century perspective, it offers valuable object lessons on the organization of urban space. It demonstrates the value of the plaza as an outdoor civic room, and how a sequence of plazas connected by 18th-century-scaled streets shape urban space that is dense, varied, and eventful" (85th ACSA Annual Meeting and Technology Conference, n.d.). Their article does a great job of explaining the history and architecture that defines the city. Indeed, the plaza has been and becomes a suburban space where people intersect and cross during the day. However, at night, this plaza becomes something different. The area morphs into a place for prostitutes, addicts, and transients. The same suburban pattern that by day builds a sense of community - at night becomes a dissimilar place that challenges, commands, and breaks people - just like Manuela's orthodontics.

While Oscar Peña's work looks at the reshaping of people through places within the city, Tricia Cortez's play highlights the struggles of a class that exists in organizations that promote culture as a guise to enact hegemony. In Cortez's play "Corn Nuts," Patsy Mae heads a foundation that fosters bourgeoisie sons and daughters' debut. By working in a capacity that accepts third party funding from the city, the interaction between the group and the city comes with some caveats, one being a new male intern from a low poverty charter school (Viva La Raza):

> PATSY MAE *Viva la Raza*!?[10] (*Becoming more and more frantic.*) Don't they all have family in jail?

10 - Long live the race!?

> MR. ROSAS Patsy Mae, that's not fair. Let's not blow this out of proportion. Edgar will fit in just fine. Please try to be a little mature and more open-minded.
>
> PATSY MAE (*Ignores him.*) He probably has cousins that he'll want to bring here to the office, and they'll want to steal all of our copier paper! (*Picks teeth furiously.*) Mr. Rosas, you cannot send me an intern from *Viva la Raza* Charter School. **THIS** is Las Belles of the Border Association. What would this do to our reputation? Our 127-year history, and everything we've done for this city of San Cuernos? Forget NAFTA! What about our image? (*Pauses and turns)* What about my image?! (*Looks at her teeth in the mirror.*)
>
> MR. ROSAS I'm afraid you don't have a choice. You have to accept this intern, or you won't receive the city's third party funding, or the Texas Historical Society grant. That's part of the new rules our legislators passed this session.
>
> PATSY MAE (*Mouth drops*). But that's $400,000!
>
> MR ROSAS Don't blame me, Patsy Mae. It's not personal. The new law states that you have to partner with us, a state agency, in order to get the grant money. Here's how it works. We get students, like Edgar, from a charter school, who can't find work, and then place them in an internship like this one at no cost to you. It's a win-win situation. (*he says with a big smile).*
>
> PATSY MAE A win-win?! What? I'm going to lose $400,000! (T. Cortez 2009)

The discussion of monies tied to funding between local governments and agencies is undoubtedly a space to be studied. However, this play bases itself on the George and Martha Society, who help run the George Washington Birthday Celebration (GWBC) in Laredo, TX. Our research utilizes the acronym GWBC, as WBCA is trademarked, and it also appears as WBC from Elaine Peña's article on the next page. Whichever incarnation arises - it denotes

the George Washington Celebration. This space is an event that is based on a lie as Laredo is a town which George Washington never visited. According to Joseph Netzer, "It was our idea that we should inculcate in the minds of the Laredo people the importance of observing American holidays and arouse a patriotic feeling to America and American institutions" (Tyx 2019). To acquire state funding, the town creates this opening celebration of 1850 to gain notice and acceptance. According to the Washington Birthday Celebration website:

> The Washington's Birthday Celebration Association of Laredo, Inc. (WBCA) received its state charter. In 1939… Charged with the overseeing of the annual celebration, the WBCA™ has continued its role as developer and leader ever since. The International Bridge Ceremony, one of the major events, serves as the "welcoming ceremony" between officials and dignitaries from Mexico and the United States by exchanging "abrazos," symbolizing the amity and understanding between the two neighboring nations. (2019)

For all its good intentions, the 'Abrazos' ceremony refuses to respond to the crisis of missing children and adults that disappear in the two cities. While the ceremony convenes, the space of the protesters goes unheard as the festival focuses on three primary activities:

Activity	**Space**
Abrazo Reception (Bridge Ceremony)	Community between sister cities
George Washington Ball (Las Marthas)	Presentation of local debutantes
Princess Pocahontas Pageant	Homage to Native American Culture

A New York Times piece notes that the documentary "Las Marthas," is primarily a chronicle of ordinary teenage girls leading ordinary lives — albeit while wearing dresses that can weigh up to 100 pounds and can cost from $15,000 to $30,000" (Kelly 2014). None of the money goes back to the community or to help those in need; they justify the activity by asking why America does not give Latin American girls a similar chance. In regards to the Princess Pocahontas Pageant, "The festival lies deeply rooted in its first dignitary, the Native American Princess Pocahontas… it is homage to the Native American culture… [and] presents the Native Americans in a setting that is both mystical and natural." (Washington's Birthday Celebration 2019). Whatever the celebration and message from the GWBC society may be, it is based purely on maintaining a hegemony by parading their sons and daughters, participating in 'Brown' face, and displaying harmony in the 'abrazos' ceremony. In an article by Elaine Peña, we learn that:

> The production and maintenance of this symbolic border performance create regenerative effects that are more insidious than any physical wall. Among multiple tangible and intangible products, the WBC didactically teaches spectators and participants what it means to possess United States citizenship, the specific geographic space in which they may exercise this national identity, and how to perform American values, American history, and American ethos. Further, the celebration impels xenophobic attitudes within the Mexican-American community in Laredo by setting the boundaries of self-identification: I am American, not Mexican. (2020)

The spaces that are created by the GWBC society overlook real problems in their community. Like the protagonist, Patsy Mae in "Corn Nuts" a high society woman strives to go beyond her culture, race, and reality - a celebration of self-identification who turns a blind eye to the real needs of Laredo, her community, and her people.

To be sure, the identities of anyone of Latin descent and origin are shaped, challenged, and reformed through the spaces and places they experience. This situation is no less true on the border as it is a chiasm of places and spaces, including gender, architecture, and identity. In attempting to answer how we define Chicano/Latino-a/Latinx individuals regarding the border plays of TCDL, the response is complex, elusive, and evolving. Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo provides us with a definition that is rather befitting. The author presents that "Latino/a is assumed to be a cultural, pan-ethnic, historical, political, and linguistic category all at once. And yet, it exists and survives because of its undeniable racial denotations within a particular racial order and a peculiar fear of disorder—that of the United States" (2020). Survival in the region of the border of Texas/Mexico is similar to the Apollonian and Dionysian aspects in Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*. Dennis Schmidt asserts, "Because they [works of art] lead us to speak with ourselves precisely at this ongoing struggle of drives. Art accomplishes this… by opening a space in which a self-conversation can take place, and this space is the space of struggle, the Apollonian and Dionysian" (2001). What is inspiring of the works from TCDL is that in acknowledging that the experience is particular to the border, once we discuss and share it with the broader community - it becomes universal. To write, to struggle, to share, this is necessary in a world of invisibility, border walls, and inequality. In regards to the future, may this trio of works, along with its struggle for identity and discourse, inspire others to share tales, make music/art, and create new places and spaces. The place they long for is here within the plays; the struggle is real, and now comes the most crucial step. As José Rodo affirms, "We Latin Americans have a heritage of race, a great ethnic tradition to maintain, a sacred place in the pages of history that depends on us for its continuation" (2008).

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Laurence Wensel is a 2nd year PhD. student at the Department of Arts and Humanities at the University of Texas-Dallas. He is pursuing a degree in Visual and Performing Arts with a concentration in Latin American Studies and a Certificate in Holocaust Studies. He has an MFA in Creative Writing from Goddard College, and an MA and BFA in Theatre with a major in Directing from Texas State University. His interests include digital drawing, reading, and photography.

PART THREE

Ashni Jain
Amrita Madan

Temporality from Transience: the Urbanscape of Paharganj

Key Words: Spatiality, Temporality, Memory, Culture, Identity, Urban Realm, Urban Actors.

Introduction

A city can be deemed as a dynamic organism, which constantly changes. (Park, Burgess and Sampson 1925) The development in an urban environment can take a variety of forms, and the resultant change in the environment may be gradual or abrupt, but inevitable. This change materialises in the form of modulation in civic amenities, land usage, economic and demographic patterns, and result in the generation of an identity. Various urban geographers such as Thrift and May, Taylor and Parkes, etc. have studied this temporal nature of the city. They have argued the need to study urban spaces in an ephemeral manner, repudiating the static image of the city. This temporality is ubiquitous and the principle character of an urban space. (Raza and Silva 2019) Although the concept of temporal interventions may have been recognised recently, it has been a part of our urban environments in multiple ways, primarily understood in their immediacies as well as their structural natures. The term

'tactical urbanism' coined in 2010 is a relatively newer one; its antecedent lies in the early 70s as expressed in Bogotá, Colombia. Here, every Sunday and every public holiday, the predominantly vehicular streets changed into the *Ciclovia*, an alternative of open streets that allowed people to use them for pedestrian activities, performances and cycling, albeit temporarily.

Temporality then comes across as a key principle in the functioning of an urban realm and its actors. These urban actors act based on what they take from their environment and every reaction is a response to particular stimuli in the environment. This is a result of multiple considerations such as the time and the duration of the activity, the immediate and larger experiences belonging and identity, etc. Time encompasses the possibility to define experience in terms of safety, purpose and activity. For example, Seattle's Nord Alley hosts many different events including art installations, film screenings, dances and musical performances during different times of the day. While the alley is used as a parking space during the inactive hours, it is transformed into a colourful space during the peak hours. Night time safety is ensured by the introduction of activities such as a night theatre. A variety of programming helps create a vibrant public space throughout the day and year. (Lewis and Schwindeller 2014)

Experiences in an urban environment, though personal, can be made objective in a larger sense. An experience is a result of a person's intentions, expectations and exchange with the physical environment. It is the reason of visiting a space along with the expectations that ultimately defines one's response, leading to a psychological impact - the 'feel good' factor. Along with the physical environment, past experiences of here and elsewhere, and social groups also play a dominant role in the type of reaction generated. These three factors - environment, social group and memories - serve as the primary vessels for the genesis of well-being in urban space. Although the factors cannot be controlled, one's environment can be designed taking its spatiality into consideration. Danish architect's, Jan Gehl's work reflects the importance of public life as the driver to city design. Gehl's philosophy of placing life first, then

spaces followed by building, further draws attention not only to the importance of user experience in an urban space, but also to the well-being that can be generated by the inclusion of activities and opportunities for diverse stakeholders within it.

As defined by the Oxford dictionary, well-being is the state of being comfortable, healthy or happy. Well-being consists of any positive or reinforcing psychological reaction. The well-being impact of a space is the enhancement of well-being of a user of a space through the generation of a positive reaction as one experiences a space. A space along with its design spatial qualities can heal, motivate, increase awareness and even enhance safety for its users. Spatiality, defined as the quality of any space, is an output of its experientiality, its practicality, its directionality, the events and objects that occur in it, and the actions and reactions that it engenders, in turn impacting its well-being effect. (Ching 1979)

In this chapter, through the case example of Paharganj, a large urban precinct in Delhi, we try to delve into the role of temporality in the psychological and emotional welfare of a user within an urban setting. The research takes into consideration various aspects of existing urban settings, writings on urbanity and supporting theories. It emphasises the importance of deciphering the methods and tools that can be used to bring forth the well-being of humans in their urban habitats and generate safety throughout the city. Intensive activity mapping at various times, studying land use patterns, demography, building age etc., were key ingredients of the analysis. Studies of existing urban areas in India and other contexts, along with the interventions made in them, have been empirically discussed in order to derive correlational checkpoints within the analysis.

Paharganj: A timeline of transience

Paharganj, a district in central Delhi, India, is one the most transient urban precincts of the national capital, with the New Delhi railway station and multiple metro stations situated within its

vicinity. Starting from the 1700s, the physical as well as the socio-cultural fabric of the precinct are critically reflected upon to understand the spatial quality of present day Paharganj. The aim here is to unravel the impact of temporality on an urban precinct.

- Pre-Partition Period (1700-1950): In the early 1700s, Paharganj served as a granary, being a part of the Mughal Empire. Its proximity to the river Yamuna and the resultant ease of transportation allowed it to become one the five primary marketplaces. In the 1800s, at the brink of British India, Paharganj grew in size as a result of consolidation of smaller neighbourhoods. Along with this consolidation came an integration of multiple communities. In the 1900s Paharganj was at its prime but due to high land costs, it wasn't chosen as the British capital. However, the New Delhi Railway station and the iconic Imperial Theatre were built here. Its transient nature of a transportation hub got concretised.
- Post Partition Period (1950 onwards): Post partition Paharganj saw was large influx of refugees from Pakistan and Bengal. Paharganj started shaping up and became a hotspot for bag packers due to the induction of the Hippie movement and cheap accommodation. Businesses grew and it became a market area supporting hotels and trade at its crux. Along with this movement came a new layer of transience in Paharganj. Apart from the migrants, there was a new layer of floating population – the tourists.
- 21st Century Paharganj: In the early 2000s Paharganj became a New Delhi Lok Sabha constituency. Today, it amalgamates multiple land uses and houses a range of communities that are fundamentally diverse. The stakeholders of Paharganj can be segregated into permanent and floating populations. According to the 2011 census, though the residential population has a high literacy rate, it is afflicted by extremely low employment rates, this imbalance very often generates misdemeanour.

> The true essence of Paharganj lies with its floating population, comprised of Indian as well as International traders and tourists. This atypical stakeholder population is always on the move, constantly evolving, and hence suggests the need of temporal interventions in the precinct, very much in line with the ideas of Tactical Urbanism Strategies. Overall, Paharganj is a dense zone of diverse demographies that is fast paced, dynamic in nature, transformative and one of its kind.

Paharganj reflects temporality in its spatial layers as well as in the composition of the population since its existence. From being the transportation hub for grains in the Mughal period, to being the selected site for the Railway Station during the British era, to eventually becoming a multi-nodal trading and tourist hub in Delhi, Paharganj has always carried with it a sense of transience. Paharganj is a space of multiple temporalities, and the locus of a convergence of time and space in an ensemble of relations, both global and local, recalling Harvey's concept of time-space compression as a feature of postmodernity (Harvey 1990).

Mapping of Paharganj - Pursuits and Predicaments

John and Vaid suitably describe the spatial quality or spatiality of Paharganj as "...the stench of boiling oil, burning diesel from mini power generators and myriad varieties of sweetmeats encrusted with flies on the street side assail the senses. Welcome to Paharganj, a place which Delhiites love to hate. Here there is a constant cavalcade of life in various stages of evolution—from dismembered beggars to millionaire traders in their Opel Astras. In Paharganj can be seen a microcosm of subcontinental life." (John & Vaid 1999)

First-hand mapping of this very interesting urbanscape - of people carrying out a variety of activities in cohesion and

disassociation, of coexistence of rich and the poor, of the privileged and the unfortunate - from early morning till late hours, led to a series of revelations pertaining to its inner nature. The salient points of this mapping are charted as follows:

- Activity Mapping 8am: During the morning hours Paharganj presents a picture of quiet and serenity. One sees children walking to school and hawkers setting up a shop near the Main Bazaar road and the Railway Station. The occasional tea seller will be found near the commercial areas on primary as well as secondary roads bartering delicacies with another vendor selling street food. One might also observe local visitors cycling in or coming on their rented e-bikes for breakfast at the famous Sitaram restaurant. Transporters can be seen moving their cars, which were parked overnight, from the areas that will become busy as the day progresses.
- Activity Mapping 2pm: Lunchtime brings in a lot of footfall. It is at this time that Paharganj is in full swing. Streets are lined with hawkers, shops have their shutters up and the roads present a sea of people, of cattle, of motorised and of non-motorised vehicles. The inner *gullies* are activated with cultural activities, due to the large presence of cultural buildings such as temples, etc. in the residential blocks. Moving towards the New Delhi Railway Station, one comes across immense vehicular congestion due to the constant taxi drop-off and pick-up of passengers. There is a presence of both regulated and unregulated parking zones here. One might be randomly stopped and asked to take a booking in a certain hotel or eat at a certain restaurant here in Paharganj.
- Activity Mapping 6pm: Gradually the activity keeps increasing as evening approaches and then starts diminishing as dusk approaches (8pm onwards). Paharganj is bustling in the evening (around 6pm) and truly

epitomises its nature and existence. One observes intense vehicular movement intersecting with all the hawkers who have occupied the various zones in almost all the areas. There is excessive pedestrian movement amongst all the stakeholders - children come out to play, tourists are seen on the *Aarakashan* and *Main Bazaar* road.

- Activity Mapping 8pm onwards: As one approaches the night, this activity takes a steep turn as the residents start heading home, hawkers pack up and tourists head back into the hotels or move towards the Connaught Place area of Lutyens Delhi. Paharganj is known through its illustrious depictions with bright, lit-up hotel signs in media as well as Bollywood movies like *Dev D*. But is it really like that? Although some streets are lit up because of the hotels, Paharganj turns into an extremely unsafe and inactive space during the night hours. What is bustling during the day, is now used as car and *autorickshaw* parking space. During the nights there is an extreme contrast in the very basic nature of Paharganj in terms of social spaces, activities and demography as compared to daytime. The only activated spaces are the Railway Station and a few government offices in its proximity. One might observe the occasional *Chaiwallah* (tea-seller) surrounded by group of a few men in the inner streets.

Fig: 1 Tooti Chowk, Paharganj (Tripathy J., 2020)

From this activity mapping, it is evident that there are various degrees of compromised urban environments present in Paharganj which further sunder into two categories - structural and immediate. Structural compromises can be observed as large issues prevalent in a society or an urban setting which is resultant of the cultural as well as multiple smaller issues. Immediate compromises refer to minor yet poignant issues that lead to larger issues upon consolidation. In effect, these compromises cannot be segregated but need to be addressed as parts of a larger whole.

Informal Activities and Ownership – A structural and immediate compromise

Every space in Paharganj, be it public or private, outdoor or indoors, grand or humble is associated with a predefined function allotted to it. This in turn creates an undeniable connect between humans and their physical environment, which inevitably becomes a part of their existence. Upon such fixated allotment, the element of transience dematerialises, making the space stagnate as well as the user experience, and resulting in a structural compromise. It bounds a space to a certain type of user and activity, making the space exclusive and not inclusive. Upon detailed studies of Paharganj through the lens of temporality, it was derived that Paharganj comprised within itself immense existing informality in terms of hawkers and tourists, activities and events, time-based functions and ownership. While there was transience, there was no temporality. The paraphernalia of Paharganj is built of multiple temporal activities repeating in the same pattern in an endless loop. It is this stagnant nature and lack of temporality within this transience and informal nature that leads to a number of immediate issues such as underconsumption, vehicular congestion, hygiene, communal segregation and overcrowding.

Crime and safety – A structural compromise

Amongst all these issues, the problem of crime and lack of safety stands out as an important structural compromise. Statistics, pop-culture, global forums and news articles often depict Paharganj as an '*unsafe*' place. According to Monika Vij's report titled, Geographical Perspective of Crime in Delhi, 2014, Paharganj lies in the 'high' intensity crime zone. (Vij 2017) The report further elaborates the consideration of crime as an urban phenomenon - whose nature and composition are an outcome of complex interplay of various environmental, demographic, social, economic and political processes. 'Mapping Urban Poverty for Local Governance in an Indian Mega-City: The Case of Delhi' discusses that crime problems are driven by a series of factors, including poverty, inequality, the rate of urbanisation, political transitions, urban density, population growth and poor urban planning; design and management. (Baud, Sridharan and Pfeffer 2008) Unemployment and underemployment may also contribute to violence and other crime problems. An analysis of the activity mapping shows that factors such as employability, unstructured interaction of diverse groups, spatial structure and permanence in the informal programs result in Paharganj becoming an unsafe environment.

Belonging and Identity – A structural compromise

Despite the immense potential of catering to the tourist population, many heritage buildings have been abandoned, becoming in turn hubs for illegal activities. The public paths in Paharganj are undistinguished and have a lack of formalisation making them susceptible to crime. Lack of control along with shady, inward looking spaces encourage undesirable activities hidden from the public eye. The historically relevant built structures lie in a dilapidated and neglected condition. The spatiality of Paharganj is of an unorganised, unsupportive and chaotic nature with prominent

undefined social congregation spaces. The un-patterned narrow tertiary streets are claustrophobic in nature and generate undistinguishable routes. Most activities and spaces in Paharganj are of an informal nature, yet the spatial voids suffer from formlessness and lack of collaborative belonging. Upon interviews, it was realised that many buildings have multiple owners, each using already built structures for their distinct, predetermined activities. Due to this disjunction there is a lack in the collaborative effort and hence almost no maintenance.

According to a news article in "Times of India" in 2019, an IIT[1] professor visiting Delhi for a meeting was robbed at knifepoint outside a hotel, when he was stepping out to buy some essentials. (The Times of India, 2019) Such episodes bring in a new layer of clash of identities between the resident and the transient population. Although the floating population is a source of income for the resident population, it is seen in the light of invaders due to lack of spatial identifiers for private areas. This phenomenon alters the experience for both the typologies of stakeholders, creating a conflict in the identity of the urban fabric.

What kind of urban strategies would allow us to address these questions of safety, underconsumption, belonging or unstructured informality?

Paharganj: Nature of Experience and the Role of Memory

The experience in an urban precinct such as Paharganj is not always personal. Depending upon the function or orientation of the space, the experience becomes a multi layered collective experience. How one comes across a particular urban precinct alone versus how they live through it in a group can have a varied impact. Collective experience and personal encounters are closely interrelated, because experience depends upon both the material and immaterial reality

1 - Indian Institute of Technology.

- what they are confronted with, and what quality of space they are exposed to. This nature of experience can further be related to the larger memory a society shares - collective and cultural. Collective memory is a more immediate form of memory, passed on between two or three generations. It encompasses a shared pool of knowledge and information of a social group that is associated with their identity. On the other hand, cultural memory is the memory of heritage, that which is in-built within oneself and is embodied through rituals, texts, monuments and so on. It helps to affirm oneself as a part of a larger social group. (Meckien 2013) Cultural memory, hence, is *'the faculty that allows us to build a narrative picture of the past, and through this process, develop an image and an identity for ourselves'*. (Assmann and Assmann 2019)

Kevin Lynch, in his book '*What time is this place*?' makes a case for temporality in urban settings as a way to '*increase choice and diversity and thus to allow individuals to package their days in ways better suited to their constitutions or their situations'*. (Lynch 1972) Adding the layer of human sense of time to that of experience enables the use of memory as a tool to slow down time and hence elongate the experience by making the image of a city more vivid or memorable for a dweller. (Lynch 2014) This particular value resonates with the substance of identity of an urban precinct along with its socio-cultural context, necessitating the layer of memory in urban planning and design. Within the discourse of the larger urban environment, and particularly in the case of Paharganj, temporality – time and place via memory – immediate and cultural, have the potential of bridging the gap between its varied urban rhythms positively impacting its compromised state.

The building of such an identity or multiple identities is imperative for a successful place-making of compromised urbanscapes such as Paharganj. According the latest Census survey conducted in 2011, Paharganj comprises of over four religious groups and has visitors of over ten nationalities. (Government of India 2011) Paharganj exhibits its temporal nature through the presence of it's varied culture as well. Culture can mean multiple things to different people at multiple levels, encompassing numerous

layers. It can be the way of living; the ideals and beliefs; or even the way people conduct themselves. Culture can be of a person, a family, a society, a city, or even a country. Paharganj may have a culture of street food, which might be a subset of a larger tourism culture. These cultures together might further be subsets of a larger historical culture that binds it with another trading culture prevalent in Paharganj. This culture relates directly to memory, which in turn is a response to one's identity.

Architectural landmarks such as Memorials, Icons, Heritage buildings, etc. have a special ability to create a bond with a certain place - architectural as well as urban. The bond is created with not just a certain urban fabric, but between the various people who experience that fabric. Very often such architectural artefacts hold within themselves the power to unite people of diverse backgrounds and cultures, therefore creating an uplifting impact by triggering collective memory. The Pompidou Centre by Richard Rogers is a case in point of temporality and memory being used as a tool to stimulate an urban fabric. The centre is located at the intersection of Les Halles and Le Marais, within one of the most economically and socially deprived areas of Paris. Entrenched in the historic city fabric, the Pompidou Centre stands out, unique, uplifting, articulate, welcoming for all yet disrupting the neutrality of the surroundings. The piazza of the centre is designed in a manner that it links with the compromised urban realm, raising the social value of its inhabitants. (The Building – Centre Pompidou 2020). Following one of the key principles of city design and its social value, it is inclusive in nature and encourages the walkability of the area with easy access to the functions and amenities. By increasing the walkability and creating a public space (The Piazza) on front end of the building, a connection has been created between the old and the new, generating a social value in the city.

Paharganj is a part of an important historic city fabric, a compromised urbanscape with myriad transient and permanent stakeholders. Emphasis must be put on the requirement of multiple layers of decision-making in the building process encompassing the urban tissue, the land and the built itself. (Habraken 1961) The tool

of memory is therefore essential in supporting the temporality since it generates identity, which further harnesses dignity of individuals as well as their respective communities. Paharganj has the scope to achieve high levels immediate as well as structural change by applying the planning principles as followed by the Pompidou Centre. Upon the introduction of these layers of temporality and memory, if provided within a certain framework, Paharganj has in its capacity to enable pedestrians entering through the New Delhi Railway Station as well as the metro station. It can then function as model walkable, safe pedestrian zone, reducing vehicular congestion, building an identity and create safer public spaces.

Possibilities in Paharganj: Generic and Specific

As is evident from section above, to tackle the accumulative problems of the urban precinct, a layer of temporality and identification needs to be introduced in Paharganj. For this purpose, the possible interpretations are understood to impact all stakeholders with programmes that have immediate and structural impacts.

Stakeholders – Transient and Local

In her book 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities', Jane Jacobs makes a case for inclusivity in public realms. She states, *"Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody."* (Jacobs and Rawlins, 2011) This emphasises the need of public participation at the grass root level of planning as well it lays the ground for tactical urbanism as a tool for participation. The streets could be designed to cater all the stakeholders and not just the local residents or the floating population of Paharganj.

As per Gehl, by pairing people's needs, principles and values with beautiful, useful, intelligent spaces, one can generate and create the lives that people aspire to live, which directly aligns with the idea

of well-being in a compromised urban environment as observed in Paharganj. Based on the need to plan for the human scale, the need for constant evaluation of the city, creation of a public realm, rethinking density, policy and zoning and building of a quality life through the city are stressed upon. (Gehl Architects and CSTC 2016). These parameters are showcased alongside ideas such as shared spaces, mixed use, sense of security, usability and levels of pedestrian comfort, making spaces 'alive' through documentation, demonstration, tools and methods. (Gehl and Koch 2011) Thus, these ever-changing, dynamic urban environments, such as neighbourhoods, localities and even cities, require a dynamic approach to study and understand them holistically.

Programmes – Short-Term and Long-Term

In the Indian context, traditional practices, disagreement amongst stakeholders and high cost of urban interventions are an obstacle to the quality of life in the city. Despite these impediments, the principle of 'long term change through short term action' can be achieved and create a symbiosis between various social groups whilst being economically feasible due to its transitioning nature. Such a proposition revolves around citizen interaction and involvement - not only at the end stage of trial, but during the design and planning stage. The approach is incremental in nature with rigorous involvement from citizens as well as the government. An existing tool to harness such an approach is that of Tactical Urbanism. As defined in the 'The Planner's Guide to Tactical Urbanism', Tactical urbanism includes low-cost, temporary changes to the built environment, usually in cities, intended to improve local neighbourhoods and city gathering places. (Lydon and Garcia 2015) Tools within this approach that could benefit Paharganj include - open streets, 'pavement to plaza' ideation and pop-up cafes and shops. Our cities are the laboratories of trial-error in planning. (Jacobs 1961) Tactical urbanism materialises this idea by allowing small-scale, low-cost interventions through citizen-led movements.

Apart from being 'open-sourced' and temporal in nature, these interventions have the capacity to relate to the historical and cultural context of an urban precinct like Paharganj, generating a positive memory response.

Although the nature of such interventions is temporal, the impact caused by them is abiding. At an immediate level, the nature of the intervention enhances the urban environment in both tangible and intangible aspects. At the structural or urban level, this impact is mostly understood as being intangible. For example, the change on an immediate level would materialise in the form of well organised spaces, lesser conflict amongst stakeholders, and communal integration. Whereas, on an urban level, one may have a reformed sensorial experience due to the resultant reforms such as lesser vehicular congestion, cleaner streets, signages etc. An association with one's senses is formed, which leaves an imprint on one's mind, creating an everlasting memory.

Conclusion

Significance of time/ temporality in an urban realm

Urban spaces assimilate and concretise time. They take different forms according to different cultures, in different parts of the world. This diversification becomes a vital tool in the genesis of well-being and generates a non-discriminatory experience, even in a compromised urban environment. It can be employed in numerous ways and lead to a secular and gender-inclusive space, which highlights the significance of integrated culture in an urban environment.

Certain elements of architectural spaces are known to bring out various characteristics in its user. A space along with its spatiality might be able to make a person feel loss, pride, security, stress or even elation. Temporality plays a crucial role in doing so by enhancing experience and reinforcing identity through the principle of temporality. It dematerialises transience, which is the key factor that stagnates the space as well as the user experience.

In the Indian context, this was recently seen during the pedestrianisation of *Chandni Chowk* that accommodates the pedestrian stakeholder while providing safe spaces for the hawkers and cyclists. It captures the Indian nostalgia by placing Indo-Saracenic boulders to create a purely pedestrian pathway, not only enhancing the user experience, but also implementing urban change. Here, memory plays a crucial role, as it is the memory that stimulates and situates, triggering emotions in users in a personal as well as collective manner.

Urban fabrics employing temporality as a tool do not necessarily need to be designed by trained architects or planners. Rather, it is the simplicity of a space that can change the way a person feels. Being able to generate well-being through simpler spaces is what place-making strives to be about. Everybody requires a certain space that evokes their emotions - be it a monument or their own study room. In either kind of spaces, with the power of transience and memory, one is able to channel one's emotions and emerge feeling content.

Role of identity in supporting temporality

Besides temporality as a tool to enhance experience and identity, the research highlights its importance in activating public participation. It encourages an urban realm to house a shared experience for diverse urban actors. Zerubavel emphasises the role of temporality in generating security and relaxedness as well as familiarity and comfort in a space. (Zerubavel 1985) To employ this, a tactical approach in the Indian context would allow the required flexibility in function as well, in conjunction with the involvement of stakeholders from multiple walks of life, formulating a healing experience. It will allow policy makers and urban planners to experimentally implement their larger schemes on the ground. It will introduce creative and communal spaces, which will allow the city to absorb a paced change. This mechanism will allow for a place-making exercise on a city scale. Such interventions will also amplify the local

economy and help users look at the public realm through different lens as well as increasing ownership and responsibility. On a structural scale, temporality enhances the static environment created by the buildings in the city. Whereas, on a humanistic scale, it delves into the perception of space by individuals as well as communities.

Taking the case of Paharganj, and by analysing the correlation of multiple entities, a theoretical premise is developed; one that allows us to understand the role of temporality in enhancing the well-being of permanent as well as floating population in an urban setting. On the face of it, these factors - spatiality, temporality and memory - correlate, but upon closer inspection, it can be established that they are actually subsets of one another, wherein the spatiality is built using the principles of temporality, which in turn bring out nostalgia by reviving identity. The relationship between these entities is found to be cyclical and interdependent in nature. The true essence of an urban space is of a dynamic nature moulded by the people, temporality, memory and spatiality.

Time-based activation principle of temporality through the analysis of how spaces function past their business hours, as well as how spaces adapt to diversified functions based on user needs is of essence here. This would help in the establishment of a theory to derive temporality from transience to stimulate compromised urban environments such as Paharganj. The role of principles and theories such as tactical urbanism, night activation, *play streets* and time-based voids need to be studied through a temporal stakeholder such as street hawkers, design elements such as parklets and follies, together with the activation of public spaces through plazas and street culture. Taking the particular case point of Paharganj, a theoretical premise is established, which also further elaborates on the role of memory of the users by prompting the values of history, attachment, culture, identity, safety and ownership. The correspondence of all these factors, theories, principles and values, when taken together, allows one to realise how temporal architectural solutions have the potential to enhance spatiality.

Academically, this study can be used as a tool for students to employ the principle of temporality as well as their personal memories and cultures, being able to design public spaces that reflect a universal experience, as this study underlines precisely such intangible meaning behind physical elements of architecture. Even though the intangible factors cannot be quantified, this study attempts to establish a correlation between the two. This would further enhance the students' creativity by allowing them to think beyond predefined norms and established architectonics. The chapter furthers urban design to be specific to urban spaces and support its true characteristics.

This spatial quality of a well designed urban realm can further be employed in an array of fields such as landscape architecture, design of public spaces and even exhibitions. Professionals can engage with these means, to cause a healing effect through public spaces of everyday use, as well as transitory paths such as roads and alleys. This will help the current and future generations to reconnect with themselves by the constant undeniable presence of sensitised architecture to generate a wholesome, daily experience. Therefore, a positive, temporal urban space should include within it the capacity to inspire its users - providing a platform for reflection, inspiration, and introspection.

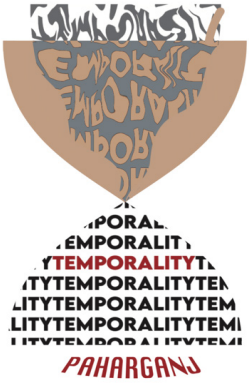

Fig 2: Continuum of Spatiality and Temporality (Jain A., 2020)

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Ashni Jain

Ashni Jain has completed her B.Arch undergraduate degree from Sushant School of Art and Architecture and will be pursuing her MSc City Design and Social Science from London School of Economics in 2021-2022. She recently secured second position in an International Essay writing competition organised by the Indian Council of Architecture. Ashni strongly believes that architecture has an incalculable effect on one's cognitive and creative skills, analytical and intuitive abilities and emotional welfare as highlighted in her architectural dissertation - 'Genesis of Well-Being through Architectural Experience' (2019). Her architectural thesis, 'Architecture for Upliftment: Facilitating the slum-dwelling community through Urban Renewal' aims at materialising and advancing the priorities of architecture from aesthetic value to a constructive and inclusive problem-solving tool. Ashni has always attempted to create designs that can create social parity through inclusive spaces.

Prof. Amrita Madan

Prof Amrita Madan is a practicing architect (since 1997), an educator and researcher having a Master's in Landscape Planning (2001) and an M.Phil. (Urban Theories) (2002), from France. She

has a keen interest in the cross-over between fields of creative thinking in the making of space, experientiality and narrative-based design methodologies. Prof Madan teaches Architectural Design since 2002, conducting undergraduate and postgraduate studios at Sushant School of Art and Architecture, India and elsewhere, including invited Professorships at the ENSP, Versailles and ENSAP, Lille, France. Other than developing studio pedagogic programs, Amrita has also structured course curricula, mentored faculty teams and fine-tuned innovative Design Studio teaching techniques. The SSAA FacTOR, SSAA's unique Faculty Training, Orientation and Research programme has been conceptualised and designed by her. In her practice of over 15 years, at Atelier Anonyme Design, a multidisciplinary design firm, Amrita has worked as the creator, thinker, designer, the conduit and the 'wrangler of space' for varied experiential design projects.

Milen Jissov

Prison Time: Subjectivity, Temporality, and Trauma in the Eastern Europe of Czesław Miłosz

Evoking the futility of human life in his famous *Myth of Sisyphus*, Albert Camus summons temporality. He creates a chilling image of a man of thirty. "…[A] time comes," he writes,

> when a man notices or says that he is thirty. Thus … he situates himself in relation to time. … He admits that he stands at a certain point on a curve that he acknowledges having to travel to its end. He belongs to time and, by the horror that seizes him, he recognizes his worst enemy[:] Tomorrow[!] (2013, 12)

For Camus, time is a terrifying foe. It means mortality. Embracing death, the crystallization of our temporal identity, at thirty, is a hellish experience. Camus calls it a "horror."

For Camus, then, temporality traumatizes subjectivity. It means trauma. A bleak nexus between temporality, subjectivity, and trauma appears in another cultural monument of the twentieth century—*The Captive Mind*, by Czesław Miłosz. Published in 1953, the book examines human subjectivity in Eastern Europe during the Cold War. Miłosz represents that interiority—what he calls Eastern Europe's "captive mind"—as incarcerated and abused—as deeply traumatized—by an aggressive, ideologically driven Soviet empire. Significantly, his representation of this victimized subjectivity shows an explicit temporal dimension. This chapter examines this

subjectivity, this trauma, and this temporality. I argue that, as Miłosz sees it, the traumatization of Eastern European subjectivity involves a radical manipulation of time. Miłosz also intimates hopes for transcending Eastern Europe's incarcerated mind. They too are cast in temporal terms, and involve re-working of time. This essay explores these hopeful escapes and temporalities as well. Ultimately, it reflects on their meaning.

Subjectivity Incarcerated

A native of Eastern Europe and a diplomat of Poland after World War II, Miłosz defected to the West in 1951, choosing the fate of political exile. After a decade spent in France, he moved to the United States, where he became professor of Slavic languages and literatures at UC Berkeley. In 1980, he won the Nobel Prize in Literature, becoming recognized as a leading intellectual of our times.

As such, Miłosz has attracted ample scholarly attention. More particularly, scholars have identified temporality (Bedient, 1985-1986), as well as history (Fiut 1990, 63-88), as important intellectual concerns in his work. They have also explored how, reflecting Miłosz's choice of exile, the theme of a return to a lost home—a real, imagined, yearned for, spiritually resurrective journey in space and back in time—is a vital inspiration and defining aspect of his oeuvre (Airaudi 1988; Frajlich 1999; Iribarne 1999; Anders 2009, 67-82). That oeuvre, critics have argued further, contains an artistic quest to glimpse and evoke eternity (Gömöri 1978; Iribarne 1999). At the same time, interpreters have seen and praised *The Captive Mind*, a work of non-fiction, as a keen and truthful historical and cultural analysis of post-World War II Eastern Europe (Jaspers 1953; Judt 2010). More generally, they have read the book as a critique of modernity, especially of the modern danger of political domination over the individual (Contoski 1973). Yet, despite this academic interest, scholars have not really scrutinized what is, indeed, a central problematic in *The Captive Mind*: subjectivity, temporality,

and trauma in Miłosz's representation of his native region. This scrutiny is the purpose of this essay.

In terms of genre, *The Captive Mind* is a cultural critique. Its preface states its objectives clearly. "I try to explain," writes Miłosz, "how the human mind functions in the people's democracies"—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (2001, xv). The book is, thus, an analysis of the subjectivity of Eastern Europe, the region of Miłosz's origin, at the time of its publication. As this subjectivity is situated solidly in a specific historical context, Miłosz's analysis of it is, perhaps necessarily, also historical. Miłosz dissects Eastern Europe's mentality through a historical lens. And that lens, as he openly admits, is not a coldly scientific magnifying glass. It is highly critical. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, he declares, have evolved their own culture, a whole "new civilization." And that civilization is a "stupefying and loathsome phenomenon" (*idem*, xv).

So what is the image of Eastern Europe in Miłosz's lens? For him, history, in general, is a Heraclitean river. "Fluidity and constant change," he asserts, "are the characteristics of phenomena" (*idem*, 29). The history of his native region is also a process of ceaseless motion; yet, it shows a distinctive general shape: centuries of gradual, monotonous, even if also turbulent, evolution, followed by two radical ruptures. A river flowing for centuries through hills and plains that then plunged into two abysmal waterfalls.

The waterfalls were World War II and the early years of the Cold War. Before them, Eastern Europe's history, while often troubled, was uniform and slow. This notion of sluggishness appears in two brief sketches of Poland's and Lithuania's past. "For centuries," writes Miłosz:

> Poland had been in a state of permanent war with Russia. There was a time when Polish kings had led their troops to the very gates of the "Rome of the East." Then the scale tipped in favor of Moscow until at last, throughout the

> whole nineteenth century, the greater part of Poland was under Tsarist rule. (*idem*, 147)

This is how Miłosz sums up centuries of Polish history: a past dominated by "old conflicts" that remained rather constant over a *longue durée* (*idem*, 147). Sluggishness marked the history of Lithuania even more. Miłosz describes in warm detail its capital, Vilnius, which was the city of his youth. He remembers the Vilnius of that time, the 1920s and early 1930s, as a rich multi-cultural mosaic, boasting Italian architecture, several languages, a vibrant Jewish community (*idem*, 135-137). But this diversity is embedded in a past of sameness. "Throughout the many centuries of its existence," observes Miłosz:

> Viln[ius] never ceased to be a city of the forests. All about it lay an abandoned province of Europe whose people spoke Polish, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, or a mixture of the three, and retained many customs and habits long since forgotten elsewhere. (*idem*, 136)

Permanence is the overarching trait of Vilnius and its region. In sum, regularity and slowness define the history of Poland and Lithuania.

After these slow ages, catastrophe struck. World War II demolished Eastern Europe. Indeed, Miłosz claims, the War victimized Eastern Europe far more lethally than Western Europe. It ruined the region—economically, culturally, spiritually (*idem*, 25). It obliterated "a great many values which had seemed till then unshakeable" (*idem*). Eastern Europe was turned into "a jungle;" "the fate" of its people became "identical with that of a cave man living in the midst of powerful monsters" (*idem*, 28). Thus, as Miłosz sees it, World War II wrought a rupture in Eastern Europe's history and civilization. That rupture, however, is also a historical regression: the clock of history was turned back—all the way back to the dawn of human civilization.

Significantly, that rupture-and-return had a special driving force. On the very first page of his book, Miłosz observes a remarkable

historical phenomenon: that, in the twentieth century, philosophy came to determine the lives and destinies of Europeans. "Their bread, their work, their private lives," he says, "began to depend on" "books of philosophy" (*idem*, 3). Ideas, in other words, started dominating history. This was what befell Eastern Europe during World War II. "German rule in Europe was ruthless," laments Miłosz, "but nowhere so ruthless as in the East, for the East was populated by races which, according to the doctrines of National Socialism, were either to be utterly eradicated or else used for heavy physical labor." The brutalities of Nazi Germany in Eastern Europe "resulted from the effort to put these doctrines into practice" (*idem*, 88). What ravaged Eastern Europe, rupturing and regressing its history, was the mind of Western Europe. Behind the hell that Nazism unleashed there stood pathologies of Western European subjectivity.

Similar dynamics of rupture define Miłosz's present—the early years of the Cold War. For Miłosz, that age, too, is an abyss in Eastern Europe's history. The region's hateful "civilization" is a novel—a "new"—historical phenomenon. It is premised on a sharp break with its antecedent history; as Miłosz puts it: "it scraps all vestiges of the past" (*idem*, 8). The launch of this civilization resembles an explosion in the continuity of Eastern Europe's history. Miłosz uses the image of a volcanic eruption to describe the fate of his dear Vilnius after World War II. "Today," he writes, "this city of my childhood is as lava-inundated as was Pompeii." Many of its people have been "deported to Siberia," "re-settled" elsewhere, and replaced by "other people, born thousands of miles away"— "for [whom], its churches, founded by Lithuanian princes and Polish kings, are useless" (*idem*, 136). Conversely, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are geared resolutely toward the future. They aim at a tempting "tomorrow" (*idem*, 18), a "hypothetic future" (*idem*, vii). This is the imagined Paradise-on-Earth of a socialist society.

But, as with Nazism and World War II, the ruptured history of Cold-War Eastern Europe, as Miłosz sees it, also shows traits of return. As a whole, the Baltic countries, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, suffered a makeover similar to that of Vilnius. Forcible

collectivization, brutal persecutions of opponents of the Soviet regime, deportations, resettlement with non-natives from other parts of the Soviet Union, Russification of culture, a government bureaucracy staffed by Russians: this was what, Miłosz claims, the Soviet Union inflicted on the Baltic countries after it annexed them in 1944 (*idem*, 229-231). Miłosz describes this transformation in significant historical terms. The Soviet take-over of the three countries, he writes, is "an act analogous only to some of the misdeeds of colonial politics" (*idem*, 246). For Miłosz, the fate of the Baltic countries is a species of colonialism. Like a volcanic eruption, their conquest by the Soviet Union exploded their history; simultaneously, it also resembles a return to the past of Western colonialism.

Overall, however, historical novelty, rather than historical atavism, is what defines Eastern Europe in the early Cold War. Indeed, the supreme guiding force of that civilization is historical novelty itself! This is what Miłosz refers to as "Diamat"—an abbreviation for Karl Marx's "dialectical materialism." For Miłosz, Diamat is not classical Marxism; it is a mutation thereof. He notes that Marxism was a creation of the West, which was "imported" to Russia and then the Cold-War Soviet Bloc (*idem*, 43). But "Diamat" is something else: it is "dialectical materialism as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin" (xii-xiii). Miłosz also calls it "the New Faith" (*idem*, xiii). Importantly, this Faith is "New"—a historical novelty, a whole new religion, in itself constituting a sharp break from the past. And once again, this Faith is a product of human subjectivity—an amalgam of the Western and the Russian-Soviet mind.

For Miłosz, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe of the 1950s epitomize a tyrannical order. Its vital pillar is the domination of human subjectivity (*idem*, 161, 197-202). The tyranny, Miłosz claims, rests on "mastery over the mind" (*idem*, 197). And this incarceration of subjectivity is effected through Diamat.

Diamat, as Miłosz represents it, is wildly predatory. It includes two moments: captivity and reconstitution. It is a hubristic project that imprisons into itself the whole of reality, as well as human

beings. But the imprisonment is also a re-making—wherein the New Faith seeks to re-create reality and humans in its own image.

The New Faith, writes Miłosz, is "a system of symbols"—a mental construct, formulated by human thought (*idem*, 220). But it is saturated with hubris. It "claims to be unerring:" seeing itself as godlike, it pretends to infallibility (*idem*, 215). Armed with this attitude, it launches a conquest of "reality" (*idem*, 219). In itself, Diamat is a hyper-rational system of ideas. Its "consistent reasoning," writes Miłosz "…orders one to by-pass a fact when a concept comes into conflict with reality" (*idem*, 48). Concepts trump facts, as Diamat configures factual reality into its own vision of the world. Indeed, that endeavour is maniacal: Diamat goes so far as to attempt "to eliminate accident" from our world (*idem*, 220). Our world must fit *perfectly* into it. Nothing less would do. The result is that the New Faith establishes a "total rationalism" on the societies it conquers (*idem*, 215).

Diamat victimizes "science and art" in a similar way. Losing their freedom to seek "objective truth and beauty," they are commanded to "conform to" the New Faith (*idem*, 49). Further, the Faith expropriates history and memory. "Centuries of human history," writes Miłosz, "with their thousands upon thousands of intricate affairs, are reduced to" "a few formulas" (*idem*, 201). The past is thus formatted into Diamat's conceptual schema. Diamat, in the words of Victor Contoski, "abolishes" "the ambiguities and contradictions of history …; … like a fundamentalist religion, [it] explain[s] everything in an oversimplified scheme" (1973, 39). All in all, Diamat poses, hubristically, as a godlike mind that endeavours to re-create reality—the totality of past, present, and future—in its own image.[1]

1 - Miłosz's characterization of Diamat resembles Hannah Arendt's well-known theorization of totalitarian ideologies in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Ideologies, argued Arendt, provide total explanations of history: they "explain all historical happenings, the total explanation of the past, the total knowledge of the present, and the reliable prediction of the future" (1994, 470).

This predatory project concentrates on human beings as well. In a sacrilegious move, Diamat re-enacts the Biblical story of creation; it reconstitutes humans according to its own canons. Thus, it seeks to remodel the human personality: to create a model subject, a subject of a distinctive moral character. It tries, says Miłosz, to "breed a new man, one for whom work will be a joy and a pride, instead of the curse of Adam" (2001, 239). This "new and radiant" Adam (*idem*, 250) must

> acknowledge the good of the whole as the sole norm of his behavior. He thinks and reacts like others; is modest, industrious, satisfied with what the state gives him; limits his private life to nights spent at home, and passes all the rest of his time amidst his companions at work or at play, observing them carefully and reporting their actions and opinions to the authorities. (*idem*, 75-76)

The New Faith has no Eve. Its Adam is an Adam subdued. He is subjected to the needs of the collective; effaced, enslaved by his rulers—and expected to delight in his slavery.

To portray the new Adam, Miłosz uses a significant simile. Eastern Europe's rulers, he observes, "have set out to carve a new man much as a sculptor carves his statue out of a block of stone, by chipping away what is unwanted" (*idem*, 249). Diamat's Adam resembles a statue. He is a human being frozen, petrified. A creature removed from time. Thus, the making of Diamat's desired subjectivity requires, Miłosz implies, the petrifaction—the abolition—of time.

Besides the human personality, Diamat also re-engineers the human mind. Eastern Europeans, argues Miłosz, are brainwashed into Diamat. Their minds are formatted in the New Faith. This is their "captivity." Miłosz compares Eastern Europeans' imprisonment in Diamat to a shot of mental "venom." "Dialectical materialism," he says, "is injected into the mind of a man in the people's democracies." The result is that "his brain is duly paralyzed" (*idem*, 220). Diamat arrests human thinking. It immobilizes the mind, stymieing the mind's temporality into stasis.

Implying a stoppage of mind, the metaphor of narcosis plays a central role in *The Captive Mind*. It is the theme of the book's opening chapter, and its name is "Murti-Bing" (*idem*, 3). To develop it, Miłosz refers to the 1930 novel *Insatiability*, by the Polish writer Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz.

Insatiability is a portrait of the Poland of its time. And that picture is apocalyptic. Ruled by a military dictator, the country is in a state of decomposition and doom. Rampant drug abuse and sexual license corrupt its society. Wild experimentation has made its art incomprehensible. Its people have turned Kafkaesque. The main character, a fresh high-school graduate, has an affair of sexual debauchery with an older married woman, and then marries a saintly girl whom he kills on their wedding night. Meanwhile, a mighty Chinese army is looming from the East, gobbling up Russia and threatening to conquer Poland, as well as Western Europe. It is armed with a potent ideological weapon: a new religion founded by a Malayan by the name of Murti Bing. The religion spreads a drug that opens the mind to its doctrines. Significantly, that drug softens the mind, making it receptive to political tyranny as well. Aided by it, the Chinese army conquers Poland. Its next goal is its conquest of Western Europe (Witkiewicz 1996).

Developing his narcosis metaphor, Miłosz claims that Diamat is Witkiewicz's Asian religion (2001, 5-7). Embracing the New Faith, he writes, resembles "the taking of Murti-Bing pills" (*idem*, 6). The effect of the narcosis is similar to what Witkiewicz describes: a profound "apathy" and "internal paralysis." This torpor poisons severely Eastern Europe's spiritual and cultural life (*idem*, 23-24). Miłosz calls that life a spiritual "Hell" (*idem*, 24).

Though highly toxic, the narcosis of Diamat is not complete. Swallowing its pill re-formats the human mind, but traces of one's former self remain. Ideas that a new convert has held before the pill, such as Catholicism, survive the drugging (*idem*, 21-22). This incomplete erasure of mind creates "a split within the individual"—a "schizophrenic" subjectivity (*idem*, 22). Indeed, for Miłosz, this pathology of subjectivity is well-nigh inevitable in a Diamatized

society. The reason, he claims, is the "complexity" of human nature (*idem*, 213). For Miłosz, humans are not solely rational creatures; we have an irrational, emotional, and spiritual, dimension (*idem*, 22, 40, 205-207, 213). We have, for instance, an irrational "instinct" that clashes with—that "revolt[s] against"—Diamat's radical rationalism (*idem*, 206). That rationalism suppresses the non-rational side of human nature, and sinks it, defeated, into the subliminal regions of the human mind (*idem*, 201). The fabrication of a ruptured subjectivity is, thus, built into the *modus operandi* of the New Faith.

All in all, this is how Miłosz represents Eastern Europe's "captive" subjectivity. It is a personality enslaved, into exploited obedience to its rulers. It is a mind immobilized, its thinking formatted into Diamat. In both cases, human subjectivity is extracted from historical temporality; the latter is extinguished. This manipulation of subjectivity, Miłosz suggests, reveals a deep irony. Diamat is a human creation: a (tyrannical) system of ideas formulated by human thought (*idem*, 220-221). Thus, Diamatized Eastern Europeans are taken captive by "their own thought" (*idem*, 221). The mind has imprisoned itself.

And yet, despite its dreadfulness, this imprisonment is not a Last Judgment. Though formidable, the walls of the mental Bastille are not impregnable. Indeed, the very debility of Eastern Europe's mind is a prison break. As Miłosz sees it, the schizophrenic split of subjectivity induced by Diamat is used by Eastern Europeans as a defence mechanism against tyranny. To depict this process, Miłosz refers to the writings of Arthur de Gobineau, the prophet of European racism. He employs a concept that Gobineau formulated in his 1865 work *Religions and Philosophies of Central Asia*. That concept is "Ketman."

Gobineau formulated the concept to describe what he thought was a Muslim cultural practice in the Middle East. As he understands it, Ketman means wearing a mask. It consists of hiding totally one's true, sincerely held, Islamic religious beliefs. This pretence is performed both before non-Muslims and, if one happens to hold

non-orthodox Muslim religious views, before Muslims—in order not to expose oneself and one's religious beliefs to attack. If necessary to prevent their exposure, Ketman justifies denial of one's true beliefs, and even outright lying. One must keep one's true faith secret, at any cost, including duplicity. Ketman is, thus, deceptive, duplicitous, pretence. According to Gobineau, Ketman was ubiquitous in the Islamic Middle East of his time (2009, 113-122).

Using Gobineau's concept, Miłosz argues that Ketman has also become ubiquitous in his Eastern Europe. Eastern Europe's Ketman consists of hiding one's heterodox political views, sealing them off totally inside oneself, and pretending to everyone that one is a devoted believer in the New Faith. On the surface, Eastern Europeans appear to be faithful followers of Diamat; inside, they harbour political dissidence; their society has become a stage whereon they perform a spectacle of mass deception (2001, 54-61). In Eastern Europe, claims Miłosz, Ketman has become "a social institution" (*idem*, 79). Eastern Europeans have "becom[e] actors;" "everyone plays to everyone else;" and the result is "a constant and universal masquerade" (*idem*, 54-56). Eastern European subjectivity is deeply split; its exponents hide this rupture through brazen lying. This ruptured subjectivity offers an escape, a freedom, from Diamat's mental prison. This escape is a schizophrenic one—the freedom of a madness.

Possible Escapes from Diamat's Prison

For Eastern Europeans, schizophrenic pretence is a false salvation. But besides it, Miłosz implies other, successful escapes from their mental prison. He intimates three such roads to redemption.

The first one is linked to an agonizing experience of his during World War II. Miłosz witnessed the obliteration of the Warsaw Jewish ghetto by the Nazis, in the spring of 1943, after the ghetto rose in revolt against the Holocaust, in the most significant act of

Jewish resistance against Nazism. A Jewish woman, young, beautiful, full of life, was shot before Miłosz's eyes, as she was trying to run away from the ghetto. The image of her death has been haunting Miłosz ever since (*idem*, 184).

The memory of the dying woman appears vividly in Miłosz's mind at certain powerful moments, after the War. At times, in his everyday life, he looks at beautiful young women around him; he starts contemplating them, falling into a reverie of erotic admiration. Right then, the image of the Jewish woman rises up in his mind. Tragic, beautiful, attractive, full of life, she blends into the real women that he is contemplating. All of the women, seen and remembered, fuse into a single vision. That vision radiates beauty and fullness of life. And that radiance enchants Miłosz erotically (*idem*, 184-185).

Miłosz ventures an explanation of the psychology of his uncanny vision. "This is perhaps a matter," he writes,

> that belongs to the same sphere as do the collective sex orgies of some primitive tribes. At such times, this or another object of desire are the same, all women and men are fused by a great feeling of communion through which everyone belongs to all. (*idem*, 184)

Miłosz's vision is born of an erotic desire, for an erotic union with one's fellow human beings. Significantly, that impulse, he claims, "is a profound basis of love of mankind" (*idem*, 185).

This claim is momentous. It is an expression of hope—a hope for a new kind of altruism. For Miłosz, Diamat was originally also driven by an altruism, in fact, by a valiant altruism. Marxism, he notes, dreamed about "the brotherhood of mankind"—a dream about achieving a universal camaraderie of humankind (*idem*, 19). But, as Miłosz sees it, the Cold War's Diamatized Eastern Bloc has perverted this vision. Abandoning the idea of universal unity, Diamat has become a project of domination—and a weaponized one at that. As we saw, Miłosz thinks that Diamat attempts to taxidermize humans in its own image. No less radically, he claims, it seeks "to

conquer the world by the might of armies" (*idem*, 134). As we also saw, Miłosz rejects this "loathsome" nightmare (*idem*, xv). In its place, he offers his own vision of a new altruism. This is an altruism inspired by a human, all too human, erotic love, of all of humankind—a pan-human erotic love. Significantly, imagining and realizing this vision involves a manipulation of historical temporality. As with Eastern Europe's regression during World War II, it, too, means a return. But it is an antipodal return: a pilgrimage to an ancient human past of sexual freedom. This life-affirming return involves opening individual subjectivity up, and immersing it into the pan-human inter-subjectivity of human beings.

Miłosz's second escape from Diamat is linked to another wartime experience of his. It happened early in World War II, in a big Ukrainian train station. The building was brimming with people, a multitude on the move, caught in the maelstrom of history. Political propaganda, pouring out of loudspeakers, was deluging the station. Observing this scene, Miłosz suddenly noticed a family of Polish peasants, sitting together on the building's floor. They were having a snack, talking to each other quietly, anxiously. The sight of the family overwhelmed Miłosz, in a kind of epiphany (*idem*, 248-249). "I gazed at them," he writes,

> until I felt moved to the point of tears. What … touched me so profoundly was their *difference*. This was a human group, an island in a crowd that lacked something proper to humble, ordinary human life. (*idem*, 249)

Subliminally, Miłosz sensed "precious seeds of humanity" in these simple people—which the multitude around them, focused on its move and incited by propaganda, woefully lacked (*idem*, 248-249). This humanity is in their "gestures," in their "worried words," in their "isolation" and "privacy." It is their "difference." For Miłosz, it is ineffable; it is "a mystery" (*idem*, 249).

By Miłosz's own admission, this experience symbolizes his repudiation of Diamatized Eastern Europe as a hateful civilization: for him, Diamat's attempt to re-make humans in its own image is unforgivable (*idem*, 223, 246-251). For him, we, humans, are, indeed,

"a mystery." And the project to re-engineer human subjectivity into a Diamatized clockwork is simply—radically—"wrong" (*idem*, 249).

In this self-reflection, Miłosz implies that thinking of humans as "a mystery" offers an escape from Diamat's prison. This salvation shows a particular temporality and relationship to human subjectivity. It entails rejecting the petrified subjectivity envisioned and grafted onto humans by the New Faith, as well as the dogmatic—formulaic—temporality of history that the New Faith preaches. And it also entails embracing the temporality of humans as a "mystery." This mystery is ahistorical—external to historical time. It is equivalent to eternity. Thus, for Miłosz, breaking out of Eastern Europe's mental prison requires transcending time, and recognizing and embracing eternity—what he conceives as the eternity of human subjectivity.

A transcendent temporality appears also in Miłosz's final escape from Diamat. That salvation is linked to his vocation: poetry. Miłosz identifies himself emphatically as a poet in his book (*idem*, 251). Thus, besides his analysis of Eastern Europe, he reflects on literature, and art in general. In one of his reflections, he discusses artistic creation. "The creative man," he writes,

> has no choice but to trust his inner command and place everything at stake in order to express what seems to him to be true. This inner command is absurd if it is not supported by a belief in an order of values that exists beyond the changeability of human affairs. (*idem*, 217)

For Miłosz, the creator—poet, writer—is a devout seeker and speaker of truth. More importantly, and very much in the spirit of Plato and his eternal Forms (Plato 2008), the creator is inspired by a faith in values outside of historical temporality—in timeless, eternal, values. Art, as Miłosz sees it, constitutes a subjective transcendence of historical time—through the creator's faith in eternal values. Written by a poet, his words imply that, by intimating those values, art can lead the way out of the prison of Miłosz's dark present. That way out consists of embracing art and eternity—the eternity of timeless values.

Miłosz's second and third escapes from Diamat show a certain irony. As with Diamat's imprisonment of the mind, they involve a nihility of time. Conversely, and in utter contrast to Diamat's mental tyranny, their nihility of time is a resurrection. It leads to eternity—the full being of time.

Questioning Miłosz's Hopeful Escapes

Exploring the subjectivity of Eastern Europe during the Cold War, *The Captive Mind* reveals a gloomy picture. It shows a subjectivity deeply damaged: incarcerated, desiccated, arrested in time, split into madness by Diamat. Indeed, Miłosz does not quite paint a picture: he writes a diagnosis, embedded in a specific historical time, of a profound inner trauma.

In *The Myth of Sisyphus*, Camus reflects on how to overcome the trauma of subjectivity inflicted by time. "There is no fate," he affirms, "that cannot be surmounted by scorn" (2013, 88). He thus calls for a detachment of subjectivity from time, and for an attitude of resolute disregard of the tragedy of a human life hopelessly subjected to temporality. He calls for an emancipation of subjectivity from time.

Like Camus, Miłosz also suggests a treatment for his diagnosis. He, too, calls for an emancipation from time. His is a severance from his historical present. It is to be followed by an escape into an alternative temporality—which could lead to a healthy human subjectivity. He envisions a restorative return to an ancient past of human pan-sexuality, a state where, driven by erotic desire, individual subjectivity is opened up and merged into pan-human inter-subjectivity. That return could bring forth a new form of altruism. Miłosz also intimates two visions of a contemplative subjectivity. As he sees it, the contemplation of humans as bearers of a timeless "mystery," and the contemplation of timeless values through art, promise redemption from Diamat's mental prison. In these visions, the salvation of human subjectivity lies in its

emancipation from Miłosz's own historical present, and in its contemplation of eternity.

Though filled with hope, Miłosz's visions of a restored subjectivity show signs of illusion. Thus, his historical account of his own times belies his altruistic vision of an erotic inter-subjectivity. In a dramatic portrayal of Eastern Europe during World War II, he claims that the War regressed his native region to a kind of wild, elemental state of nature. "The nearness of death," he writes,

> destroys shame. Men and women ... copulate in public, on the small bit of ground surrounded by barbed wire—their last home on earth. Boys and girls in their teens, about to go off to the barricades to fight against tanks with pistols and bottles of gasoline, want to enjoy their youth and lose their respect for standards of decency. (2001, 28)

In this description, open sexual communion is not a sign of altruism, but of ultimate despair. Thus, Miłosz himself casts doubt on his vision of that altruism and its redeemed subjectivity.

Miłosz's faith in the contemplation of eternity also betrays illusion. Its view of humans as a timeless "mystery" implies a veneration of humanity. But it also puts forth a concept of human subjectivity as fundamentally unknowable, as an inscrutable abyss of a radical uncertainty. This concept reminds one of Sigmund Freud's concept of the Unconscious (2005). The Unconscious, as Freud conceives it, is an active, volatile, well of blind desires; these desires are "timeless"—they "are not altered by the passage of time" and cannot be defined in terms of time; and they are impossible to know "in themselves" (*idem*, 160). Freud's Unconscious is, thus, also a radically indeterminate "abyss" (*idem*, 162). Resembling it, Miłosz's concept implicitly rejects the possibility of forging a healthy human subjectivity, coherent and stable in historical time. An escape from Diamat into it could mean salvation; but it could equally mean damnation.

Finally, and as we noted, Miłosz's postulation of an eternity of values echoes Plato. And Plato's vision of his Forms is intertwined

with a vision of an authoritarian politics—ruled by his philosopher-kings (Plato 2008; Popper 2006). Miłosz calls the tyranny over Eastern Europe "the rule of philosophers"—prophet-tyrants inspired, driven, by Diamat (2001, 202). But his own vision of eternal values could be seen as a call for another reign of savants. Rather than a promise of escape from a tragic time and a traumatized subjectivity, it could be seen as a road to their fateful return.

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Milen Jissov is an Associate Professor at the BNU-HKBU United International College, in Zhuhai, China. He specializes in modern European intellectual and cultural history. His work has appeared previously in *Left History*, the *Canadian Journal of History/Annales cannadiennes d'histoire*, the *Asian Journal of German and European Studies*, and *The European Legacy*.

Marta Helena Nowak

The Role of Time and Space in Counterfactual Thinking. Cognitive Perspective on Historical Studies

The reference to time and space is an essential part of any historical narrative. It is difficult to imagine a credible historical study which does not somehow relate to either of these two dimensions. However, every historical narrative, since it relates to the past and therefore to a non-existent reality, forces historians to create interpretations of facts that are often neither empirically nor experimentally verifiable. Since historiography is about the past, the question arises as to how can historical analysis have any place at all? What kind of mental process enables thinking about past time and space?

In response to these questions, the aim of this work is to revise the phenomenon of counterfactual thinking in historical studies. This concept developed mostly in the methodology of social sciences is explained usually as a process that: "refers to thoughts about what might have been, of how the past might have been different" (Roese and Epstude 2017, 3) and so far was primary developed within the norm theory (Kahnemman and Miller 1986), or in terms of mental causation (Kroedel 2020). According to the above definition, counterfactual thinking is therefore the one that enables the design of possible past and future scenarios, which in language are often expressed as conditional sentences (Goodman 1947).

Perhaps following the social sciences, historians have so far understood the counterfactuals almost exclusively in a similar sense - as the ability to design the alternative scenarios of the past. It

seems customary in historical research to treat the counterfactuals as probable versions of the past, in which the change of a selected element affects the causal sequence and the present. In this sense, counterfactual thinking in the historical sciences has so far came down to sketching probable scenarios propelling the vision of a world in which there had been no American Revolution, Germany invaded Britain in May 1940 or communism had not collapsed (see Ferguson 1997). Posing 'what if?' question dominated the reflection on counterfactual thinking in history (Gallagher 2018; Cowley 2003 and 2005; Black 2008).

Such an understanding of counterfactuals and the way of thinking about probable models of the past raises reasonable doubts (Tucker 1999), and despite its supporters, emphasizing the intellectual challenge of designing a possible past, arouses controversy. Finally, counterfactual narratives do not provide sufficient tools for analysing how thinking about the past and making judgments is even possible.

Meanwhile, relatively recent research in the field of cognitive linguistics has brought a new understanding of the phenomenon of counterfactual thinking that seems to be an interesting alternative to the comprehension of the concept in the historical sciences. In Gilles Fauconnier's and Mark Turner's (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) theory of conceptual blending, this concept is understood not as the creation of alternative stories or creating models of a possible past in a conscious manner, but rather as an example of a mental process that enables people to understand the world. In the light of blending theory, human cognition is based on conceptual integration that consists of selecting and integrating elements of different mental spaces which are the foundation of a new meaning.

The theory of creating conceptual blends provides interesting explanations of the processes underlying the creation of any kind of historical narrative. According to the above theory I understand counterfactual thinking as a primary and fundamental ability of human perception that is necessary to reflect on reality. Guided by the theory of conceptual integration, treating counterfactuals as a

specific kind of blends, I propose the following assumption in this chapter: historical thinking (thinking about the past) and the design of a historic narrative is always the result of counterfactual thinking, the subject of which consists of a great deal of different aspects of reasoning, judging and decision making. Since in historical studies, counterfactual thinking is always anchored in the past reality and usually concerns a specific historical space (period or event), the aim of this chapter will be therefore to show how these two aspects are subjected to the blending process in the creation of historical narrative.

Counterfactuals in conceptual integration theory

According to the theory discussed in this article, the phenomenon of the counterfactual thinking is a specific example of a complex network of conceptual integration; hence it is necessary to briefly discuss its theoretical foundations.

The concept developed by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner assumes that all mental operations, which have been carried out by people since the Paleolithic era, are based on the process of conceptual blending that enables us to create new understanding and new linguistic quality (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, V). This cognitive process allows people to create abstract neural connections that result in the formation of new senses.

The blending is based on mixing elements of different mental spaces that are defined as "a small conceptual packets, constructed as we think, and talk for purposes of local understanding and actions" so that we can understand a specific situation and act in it. **(**Faucounnier and Turner 2002, 40). The process of amalgamation (creating new senses) requires the appearance of at least four different mental spaces. The process begins with two defined input spaces which contain elements combined in the amalgamation process. Another has been defined as a generic space where shared structures of the input spaces are 'reflected' and designed from it.

These structures are considered to be a certain general category or a framework (provided by both culture and human biology, see: DesCamp 2007), which remains identical for both input spaces (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 47). The last one is the proper space, i.e. amalgam, a 'place' where selected elements of the space, designed and mixed together, create a new sense.

In the process of conceptual integration, it is also essential to consider the role of selective projection and relationships between the spaces of the blend. Conceptual integration takes place on the basis of selective projecting - in the process of creating a new meaning, only the elements that are needed to create a situation understandable by the mind are selected to the blend (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 47).

Also, particular spaces in a blend respond differently to each other. The connections between mental spaces reveal a set of activated neurons called 'vital relations" and occur regularly in most blends. These are the kinds of interpretation frames that we use in the process of perceiving the world. The mechanism that enables the process of amalgamation is the compression and decompression of these vital relations such as time, space, or cause and effect phenomenon (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 92).

There are several types of conceptual integration networks, which differ in terms of their organizing frameworks. The most complex type of network is the so-called double-scope blend, of which counterfactual situations become the best example. This means that in such a blend, at least two input spaces that are significantly different from each other are juxtaposed. Counterfactual is therefore understood as a special double-scope blend in which there is a forced incompatibility of one space with another, often reduced to considering one space as 'real' and the second input as fictitious (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 230).

It is easy to see this is a typical example of "classic" counterfactuals, which manifests itself in the creation of conditional sentences, posing 'what if' questions and using terms as 'if only', 'almost', and more recently, 'even if' (Mandel 2005, 12). Limiting the

counterfactual phenomenon to such examples seems to be characteristic of the social sciences. According to the integration theory, counterfactual thinking is a special kind of blend that remains evident only in those cases where we create alternative scenarios and conditional sentences on purpose, but most often we use it in an unconscious way. As the authors of the theory indicate, some counterfactual situations are very difficult to notice, we construct them effortlessly, and they are part of the process of cognition (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 229).

Another determinant that differs the theory of integration from the social science approach to counterfactuals is causality. Strong relations between counterfactual reasoning and the causal sequence underlined especially in psychological studies **(**Kroedel 2020; Mandel 2005; Roese and Olson 1995) have resulted in the special attention given by the researchers to the role of causal antecedents and consequents of a given situation. As Neal Roese and James Olson conclude, "counterfactuals are intimately related to causal inference" (1995, 15). Social sciences therefore assume that any reasoning about causes is done by counterfactual thinking.

However, if we treat counterfactuals as a kind of complex network of conceptual integration then following its authors, we should note that the above approach leads to "spotlight[ing] an input rather than to build[ing] a full and detailed simulation of a possible situation" (Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 8)**.** The theory of conceptual blending assumes that the counterfactual is not entirely dependent on causality but rather concerns aspects of understanding, reasoning, judgment and decision making (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 219). Therefore counterfactual thinking is not about creating probable scenarios on the basis of a conscious change of the selected elements of reality. Rather than focusing on causality, which exists as one of the vital relation in the blend (such as time, space or identity), attention should rather be paid to the phenomena of meaning compression and decompressions as fundamental aspects of the counterfactual networks.

The outline of the theory of conceptual integration presented above therefore understands counterfactuals more broadly than is the case with the theory of the social sciences. As we will see in this chapter, its application is particularly relevant to the analysis of the counterfactual phenomenon in the historical sciences.

Altered pasts and possible futures

As noted in the introduction, the relevance of counterfactuals in the historical sciences was also usually reduced to reflection on possible scenarios of the past and how it could affect the present or future. Since Niall Ferguson published the classic book *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals* in the end of 1990s, this view has almost entirely dominated the thinking about counterfactuals. Even the very titles of books on the discussed subject, such as Robert Cowley's *What If? The World's Foremost Military Historians Imagine What Might Have Been* (1999), and *More What If? Eminent Historians Imagine What Might Have Been* (2001), or Jeremy Blacks' *What If? Counterfactualism and the Problem of History* (2008) indicate in which the direction these analyses were going. Even in one of the latest publications on the subject we can find the following definitions: "By counterfactuals, I mean alternative versions of the past in which one alteration in the timeline leads to a different outcome from the one we know actually occurred" (Evans 2013, xv); "Across disciplines, in legal and policy debates, as well as in popular forms of entertainment, Americans seized on past moments of historical indeterminacy and imagined possible but unrealized alternative consequences that might have resulted. We give the general name "counterfactual history" to such thought experiments"(Gallagher 2018, i).

Such considerations were, however, subject to criticism of the scientific community, which was reluctant to look at dilemmas that were not based on facts. The most severe criticism of the counterfactuals in history studies was contained in Aviezer Tucker's

book *Our Knowledge of the Past A Philosophy of Historiography* (Tucker 2004), where he is referring to this phenomenon in the context of historical continuity and its understanding. In his conceptual deliberations, Tucker criticized the main purpose of such studies which he defined as emphasizing the importance of the necessary cause, assuming that if it did not occur, there would be no visible effects (Tucker 2004, 226).

However, as Jeremy Black points out (quote after Evans 2013, 32), the purpose of counterfactual history is to rather to "emphasize the contingent, undetermined character of historical change and to undermine any sense of the inevitability of the actual historical outcome" (Black 2008, 6-7). The supporters of counterfactuals in history also indicate its heuristic function in science (Woolf 2016) as well as its possibility of creating "causal explanations, as they illustrate the relative importance of causal antecedents" (Maar 2014, 109).

Although there is quite a fierce dispute between supporters and opponents of the counterfactual thinking in history, this problem remains easily resolved through the theory of conceptual integration. On the basis of the already presented theoretical concepts, I propose to treat it as follows: any analysis of abstract space and time, referring to past events, is always based on designing blends in which we juxtapose different facts and models of the past in order to achieve the most satisfactory solution. Counterfactual thinking is therefore constantly present in the course of historical analysis, and does not only occur at the moment of consciously shaping the probable past. Judgments and opinions on any subject concerning a bygone reality are based on the processes of compression and compression of important relationships, which are the basis of any historical analysis. Therefore, let us consider this process in the context of two basic categories of historical narration: space and time.

Time and space as a 'vital relations' in historical narratives

Counterfactuals are the example of a blend with forced incompatibility between the spaces of in the process of meaning creation (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 230). Therefore, it is a construction created for the purpose of conceptualizing another space. In the historical sciences, this is particularly applicable due to the fact that any analysis of the past is in fact a study of a reality that no longer exists and must be conceptualized from scratch in the mind of the researcher. For this reason, the key aspect of any historical narrative remains the essential relationship between time and space.

In the theory of conceptual integration, these two aspects of reality remain common vital relations. Their compression and decompression enables imagining given persons, things, events in other historical spaces and time. The compression of time and space for historical analysis is crucial, for without it the process of imagining the past cannot work. It would therefore be impossible to produce opinions, judgments and interpretations of what has already passed. Finally, it would become unthinkable to conclude on what might and might not have happened, based on available historical sources. Both time and space therefore remain fundamental aspects of the creation of a historical narrative which, since it must be based on conceptual integration (we are struggling with non-existent reality), is always a form of counterfactual thinking.

The concept of space in history can be variously defined, but for the purposes of these considerations it refers primarily to the culture, language, customs and geographical location of the defined sphere. In the historical analysis this concept is often the most fundamental one, which manifests itself most clearly in the process of making judgments and conclusions about the life and habits in the different cultures in the past.

Suppose that as historians dealing with ancient Greece we would like to emphasize the differences in the model of education of Sparta and Athens in the classical period, using the statement: If

Socrates lived in Sparta, he would probably not be a philosopher. According to the theory of conceptual integration, in order to be able to express such a sentence at all, our mind must design at least two situations corresponding to mental spaces.

In the input spaces of such a blend there will probably be categories related to the realities of life in both polis, with an emphasis on education. Thus, in one input space we will place Athenian democracy, the type of education and the notion of the philosopher in Athenian culture as well as the figure of Socrates, while in the other one we will place the elements related to Sparta that suit them properly: the monarchic system, Spartan upbringing and the significance of the army in Lacedaemonian society. The framework for this blend will therefore be the political system and the system of education (both a culturally produced concepts). The blend would therefore include terms designed from the space of inputs and generic space, which would point to conclusions about the differences between Athens and Sparta and their influence on the formation of citizens.

In the network of conceptual integration (let us call it 'Socrates in Sparta') there will also be numerous connections between the input spaces. One of the most important will be the connection between the different models of upbringing in the two poleis, and between their political systems. Also, the juxtaposition of the philosophy and the military, understood in this example as the main ideological concepts on which the culture of a given city was based, remains a discrepancy. In this blend we encounter an example of space compression, which here comes down to the spaces of two cities: Athens and Sparta. However, there is no compression of time. In this blend, we do not move Socrates in time, but set him in another space.

This is an example of counterfactuals, the point of which is to show that living in the Spartan system, Socrates would not have had a chance to become a philosopher because he would most probably had to become a soldier. Apart from the truthfulness of the above statement, its content shows how complicated is the mechanism

that underlies the design of both counterfactual thinking and the interpretation of reality, in the centre of which stands the process of compression and decompression of space.

Time is an equally important category in the process of producing counterfactual blends in history. In historical analysis, time is an absolute foundation of the narrative. Chronology in the historical sciences plays a significant role, especially for it allows us to structure the past in a simple way. Time compressions in counterfactual mixtures are therefore equally frequent. Each conditional sentence that juxtaposes events from two periods of time will be an example of counterfactual operation with time compression. We can say that: 'If Socrates had been born in Augustan Rome, he would probably have done the same anyway", but in order to understand and properly decode the statement, we must imagine the Athenian philosopher from the 5th century B.C. in the cultural environment of Rome in the 1st century A.D. The comparison is possible thanks to the compression and decompression of important relationships of time and space.

The above can be seen as an example of a 'classic' counterfactual situation, presenting the possible scenarios with the use of conditional mode. In this kind of considerations, there is always one space of input that remains true with the second one that we marked as 'unreal'. Often, however, the counterfactual is hidden under the various form of sentences such as statements, judgments, comparisons or even historical designations. When we pass a judgment about the past, what happens is that we often say sentences that blend different cultural spaces or different timelines. For example, for a science historian, the following statement will not come as a surprise: in discovering the heliocentric model, Aristarchus of Samos outran Copernicus. However, in order for it to be understood, it must take place with the mechanism of time compression between two different periods of time. The above comparison shows the following relation: Aristarchus lived at the turn of the 3rd and 2nd century B.C., Christopher Copernicus on the edge of the 14th and 15th centuries. However, in order to use the framework of the race on which this statement is based, we must

imagine a counterfactual situation in which Aristarchus and Copernicus live in parallel time (and space) and thus decide that Aristarchus overtook Copernicus. The phenomenon of time is compressed and decompressed back into the blend, which allows us to understand the meaning of the above statement - Aristarchus discovered a heliocentric model earlier than Copernicus.

Compression of time and space is one of the most common mechanisms to facilitate evaluation and interpretation in historical analysis. It could be said that Virgil was for Rome who Homer was for Greece, but to do that, it is necessary to create a blend in which time (8th c. B.C. versus 1st c. A.C.) and space (Greece versus Rome) will be compressed. Neither causality nor even a conditional sentence is involved here. However, the statement above requires from us the juxtaposition of two different spaces, times and people in order to understand that the meaning of this sentence implies that Virgil was the father of the Roman epic literature.

Counterfactual thinking also occurs when we say a statement without using conditionals. Yet, in a sentence: Mark Aurelius lacked a fleet to defeat Octavian under Actium, the situation is indirectly conditional. In order to resolve that example we have to rephrase it: If Aurelius had have a bigger fleet, he probably would have defeated Octavian. Nevertheless, to be able to interpret it, we have to imagine two situations in which first Aurelius and then Octavian have larger fleets than their opponent and create the blend.

Comparative sentences are also an example of counterfactual thinking. Consider the following example: Just like Napoleon in 1812, during the Moscow Campaign, Hitler was stopped by the weather in 1941 while trying to conquer the Soviet Union. In order to understand this analogy it is necessary to create a blend containing the compression from both time and space. It will be necessary to juxtapose the figures of Hitler and Napoleon marching to conquer Russia during the winter, and so juxtapose the political situation during the Napoleonic campaigns with the circumstances of Operation Barbarossa and its effects. Another example of such counterfactual could be finding in modern historical myth rooted in

the Russian philosopher Philotteus of Pskov statement that Moscow is a 'the third Rome' (Ostrowski 2006). This sentence suggests that the Russian capital has become the successor of the Roman Empire. It is a blend in which the modern space of Moscow and the cultural space of ancient Rome have been combined and compressed, thus anguishing the continuity of the ancient empire.

Finally, counterfactual thinking can manifest itself in historical names. Carolingian Renaissance, a term coined in the modern times, is a blend that we used to express a particular period in the early medieval Frank Empire in which we associate the turn of the state towards schooling and the symbolic 'rebirth' of classical education.

There is much more to be found in the above examples, which shows how often counterfactuals are used explicitly in the creation of historical narratives, which require the compression and decompression of time and space. Although this process is incredibly frequent in historical analyses, it usually remains unconscious. The examples mentioned in this chapter, however, show that without counterfactual thinking, it would probably not be possible to reflect on the past.

Conclusions

Although until now counterfactuals have been associated mainly with the phenomenon of causality in both history and the social sciences, the notions of time and space remain equally important elements of any projection of the past. The process of compression and decompression of time and space remains a fundamental function of the mind, which allows us to draw conclusions and conduct analyses about the past, to juxtapose different epochs and make judgments over them.

This chapter was intended to show how the redefinition of the concept of counterfactuals understood through the conceptual integration theory can be effective for the historical sciences. In light

of the reflections that have been made, it seems reasonable to state that treating counterfactuals as complex blends allows us to look at the very process of producing the historical narrative.

Although counterfactuals are more often visible in comparative, conditional or consequential sentences, their presence is essential to visualize the past at every stage. Each time we evaluate a given fact in a historical analysis, we face a counterfactual situation as we are trying to reconstruct a bygone reality. Each story about the past, whether we consider it fictitious or not, can be treated as a product of counterfactual thinking. I believe that the above-presented approach will allow for further analysis and reformulation of the problem of counterfactuals in history, directing the reflection towards the mental processes underlying historical writing.

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Marta Helena Nowak – Ph.D. student in the History Institute at the Maria Curie-Skodowska University of Lublin and a B.A. of Classical Philology at the Catholic University of Lublin. Her research interests focus on the narrative structures of medieval hagiography texts, social history of late antiquity and early Middle Ages and theory of history.

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