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Intertextuality in Drama: Strategic Remodelling of Motifs and Character Figurations in Synge and O'Casey by Irish Women Playwrights

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In his essay on Irish theatre in the 1990s Christopher Murray discusses intertextuality as a persistent thematic characteristic of modern Irish drama, manifesting itself in the fact that playwrights tend to rewrite their predecessors' work and "favour[s] the process of composition known as palimpsest" (20). The range of examples following this proposition involves male playwrights from Sean O'Casey (who wrote *The Shadow of a Gunman* after J. M. Synge's *The Playboy*) to Tom McIntyre's "recycling of Irish classics" in his major works through Samuel Beckett, who "absorbed Yeats and O'Casey" (Murray 21-22). Notably, no female playwright is mentioned as employing this tendency. True, an investigation of the gendered aspects of the process raises further questions and issues of a wider scope. On the one hand, it is to be remembered that a female tradition in Irish drama established itself only after 1980. Antoinette Quinn's claim that early twentieth-century Irish woman writers "constituted a continuing and esteemed female presence in nationalist literature rather than a tradition" (900) applies to playwrights as well, for reasons which I could hardly analyse within the confines of this short essay. It seems that the intertextual challenge for woman dramatists is provided by the male tradition. On the other hand, in an inter-gender context, the procedure of borrowing and rewriting tends to involve a thorough interrogation or even reversal of selected aspects of a canonical dramatic text. In her theoretical approach, Julie Sanders distinguishes appropriation as a kind of creative borrowing from and remodelling of an informing source (26) enhanced by a strategic recontextualisation which facilitates writing back to the original in a way to "giv[e] voice to those subject positions they perceive to have been oppressed or repressed in the original" (97-98). Irish woman playwrights' reworking of elements from canonical male texts which date back to the Revival period often participate in this kind of project, regendering issues and foregrounding gender-related difference from the perspective of their marginalised female characters.

The present paper, focusing primarily on one drama by Teresa Deevy and Anne Devlin respectively, intends to discuss some of the ways in which these authors appropriate and rewrite certain themes and motifs as they are treated in a

couple of Synge's and O'Casey's major works. Their intertextual strategy will be seen as contributing to the re-negotiation of female subjectivity in environments which were heavily dominated by patriarchal values and norms. The two plays under further scrutiny here, *"The Disciple"* (1931) by Deevy and *Ourselves Alone* (1985) by Devlin were written half a century apart from each other, whereas set in politically and culturally different parts of Ireland according to the North/South divide. Nevertheless, the background to the action of the plays is a postcolonial society in each case bearing some notable affinities with the other. Both societies are portrayed in the plays as claustrophobic for women, confronting them with the perpetuation of gendered constraints and gender inequity which seriously affect the young female protagonists' day-to-day life and the prospect of how to shape their future.

Women lived in post-independence Ireland with the main goal of the early twentieth-century suffrage movement having been achieved, because all citizens over twenty-one years were enfranchised under the provisions of the Irish Free State Constitution of 1922. However, contrary to expectations, women's public visibility started to diminish soon afterwards due to the freshly introduced restrictions on their role in the post-revolutionary Irish society, the process being "strengthened by the deepening Catholic ethos and conservative values of the Irish Free State" (Owens 322). For women this meant internal colonisation; now they suffered discrimination and oppression by the Irish male, who, liberated from his former subordinate position, re-constructed Woman as his new-old Other. A significant aspect of the patriarchal discourse on postcolonial identity politics, Gerardine Meaney argues, was the "imposition of a very definite feminine identity as guarantor to the precarious masculinity of the new state" ("Race, Sex and Nation" 51). In the Northern Ireland of the Troubles (1969-1994) sectarian tensions and the organisation of actual paramilitary activities with men in charge resulted in the reinforcement of traditional patriarchal norms and the deepening of the gap between genders as well as generations. To quote from Imelda Foley, the Free State's "dictate of the place of women in the home is replicated by the espousal of loyalty to the men of Ulster" and "[t]he traditional role of women has been perceived as mothers and carers, as unseen supporters of fathers and husbands, keepers of hearth and altar" (24-25).

Conceived in the above outlined respective contexts, the works of Deevy and Devlin demonstrate interesting affinities regarding their investments in recycling certain motifs and restructuring selected character figurations taken from the male tradition of modern Irish drama which they found anticipating their own concerns, albeit in a different way. For Deevy, Synge could be a predecessor because of his obsession with the issue of seeking individual autonomy against communal limits, while for Devlin O'Casey provided a textual source which scrutinised the implications of the tension inherent in the gender divide as exacerbated by the circumstances of political pressure.

Instances of Deevy rewriting Synge have been noted by several critics recently. In his essay comparing Synge's *The Shadow of the Glen* and Deevy's

Katie Roche Anthony Roche contends that Deevy "follows up on Synge's play in two important ways: by reproducing and extending the dramatic situation of an older man married to a younger woman and by introducing the figure of the Tramp at a key moment in each of *Katie Roche*'s three acts." At the same time, Roche continues, in both Synge and Deevy the heroine is positioned "within a peasant cottage setting. The house is what she has married into" ("Woman on the Threshold" 19). Investigating the plays further one finds other ideologically grounded differences. Unlike in *Shadow* the Tramp in *Katie Roche* is no romantic saviour of the woman but identifies himself as Katie's father and asserts his patriarchal rights to discipline her. Finally Katie is taken away by her husband, another replacement for the Syngean Tramp by a patriarchal figure, which indicates that the woman's fate in the 1930s loses even the last vestige of utopian romanticism Synge's female character still seems to enjoy, although not entirely freely since there is no real alternative to the bonds of patriarchy. Synge's Revivalist plays were imbued with the myth of freedom, sustained as part of the decolonising counter discourse which opened a limited vista of resistance even for the female characters but not without showing its dubious nature and fragility. To quote the words of Gerardine Meaney, Annie's character in *The King of Spain's Daughter* bears parodic affinities with Christy Mahon in *The Playboy*, because of her "flights into fantasy" and employment of "linguistic embroidery" ("The Sons of Cuchullain" 253) against her limited circumstances and the familial violence she faces. However, Meaney concludes, she has "no place [to go] beyond the historical particularity of the factory and the forced marriage" ("The Sons of Cuchullain" 255) waiting for her, lacking the mythical potential Christy's new path offers him, which he steps on in control of his miraculously tamed father. Although Deevy's heroines do not escape becoming bound to a conventional mode of life, we must notice that the heroines' reaction to entrapment is not at all conventional, and their consciousness of it is not a sign of passivity or acceptance. Katie Roche realises that her only choice is to be brave and develop at least a vocal strength to cope with the romance-free marriage she encounters her new, cold, and unwelcoming 'home'.

   Traditionally, critical analyses of *The Playboy* tend to focus on the self-fashioning of Christy Mahon through inventive fiction and story-telling. A feminist reading of the play, however, like an essay by Gail Finney underscores that Pegeen's encounter with Christy results in her identification with him, "who in killing his father has accomplished what she too wants metaphorically to do," and "projects onto Christy […] the kinds of characteristics that she would like to possess herself" (89). My argument is that the character closest to Pegeen in the work of Deevy is Ellie Irwin, the protagonist of the early play *"A Disciple."* Like her Syngean counterpart, Ellie is a young girl in want of personal freedom as she is a domestic servant working in dismal circumstances and under the vigilant eyes of a middle-aged adult, Mrs Maher, whose piety coupled with hypocrisy parallels the neglectful and self-centered behaviour of Pegeen's father. Similarly to Pegeen's complaints about the lack of heroes in her world, Ellie

shows profound dissatisfaction with the dullness of life she witnesses around her, and longs to be lifted out of it. This, however, can happen only through her imagination: "she immerses herself in a series of pleasing fantasies which enable her to survive from day to day. She builds a world of glory around scraps of scandal concerning the flamboyant actress, Charlotte Burke, [and] the wealthy English socialite couple, the Glittertons [because they] resemble her hero, Coriolanus" in Ellie's estimation (O'Doherty 105).

Ellie is further disappointed by seeing that the Glittertons are no gold even though their name glitters: they are just as vulgar and ordinary as the rest of the people the girl is acquainted with. In these circumstances the arrival of Jack the Scalp is announced quite like Christy Mahon's in *The Playboy*. Mrs. Maher says: "Holy Angels save us this night! They're saying Jack the Scalp is tearing mad—like a man out of his mind with the whole of the police pressing him on—" (32). After entering he threatens the company with his gun but only Ellie receives him fearlessly, taking him for the courageous man she has been waiting for all along, and starts calling him by the name of her chosen, ideal hero, Marcius Coriolanus. Like Pegeen, driven by her own needs she tries to make a hero of the man and liberate herself through him, overdoing even Pegeen's confession of love: "Wherever you'll be I'll be there: I'll cook your food and mend for you … Wherever you'll lie will be a good bed for me if I can lie beside you—" (45). However, Jack the Scalp rejects the girl's emotional openness out of fear that he would lose his respectability if he succumbed to female advances, evoking the spineless behaviour of Shawn Keogh in *The Playboy*. The fact that the figures of Christy and Shawn become "combined in the person of Jack the Scalp" (Leeney 153), renders his individualised masculinity an illusion. Ellie's final words echo Pegeen's lament at the end of *The Playboy*, yet they express more than sorrow over the loss of "the only playboy," that is an ideal Pegeen was in love with. What Ellie misses from the contemporary world is real manhood: "There is no MAN living now. Small wonder any woman takes poison" (47) she concludes, giving vent not only to personal feelings but also articulating profound disillusionment with the lack of balanced and healthier gender norms. As Cathy Leeney argues, "[a] remarkable aspect of the play is that the myths of sophistication and heroism are demolished, but the heroine stands firm, and asserts not grief but fury and frustration" (154). Viewed in this light, Ellie surpasses Pegeen in *The Playboy* by implying the realisation that narrow-minded hypocrisy works as a damaging factor of social relations in the world of the 1930s, which can also seriously impede female self-development.

O'Casey's *Dublin Trilogy* pieces have inspired those Irish woman playwrights in the first place whose work is concerned with the marginalised and often fatally engendered situation of women in Troubles-ridden Northern Ireland, a place bearing similarities to Dublin during the 1916 Rising and the Civil War of 1922–1923. In the three O'Casey plays the woman characters serve mostly the revisionist project of the author to debunk male claims to nationalist heroism and patriotic glory as well as to having control over situations which

call for political action in their estimation. Minnie Powell, the young but prematurely aging tenement dweller in *The Shadow of a Gunman* (1923) has to look after herself without the guidance of a family therefore she invests in building up male heroism not unlike Pegeen in *The Playboy* and Ellie in *"A Disciple."* Given that Davoren, her ideal man and his superstitious roommate have only words, Minnie is the one to undertake a fatal deed and pay with her life although the men do not deserve her sacrifice (see Murray 100), which seems to be O'Casey's primary agenda. *Joyriders* by Christina Reid (1986) begins with young, lower class characters' watching the last bits of a theatre production of *Gunman* in Belfast. Among them, Maureen breaks in tears at the sight of Minnie being shot dead, while by the end of Reid's play she herself falls victim of a conflict between men, her brother and the army, when she tries to interfere. The cause of her unexpected and unmotivated death is evidently related to the Troubles and men's dominant involvement in it, which repeats O'Casey's episode. Foregrounding the figure of the innocent female victim as a shocking motif is present in both the older and the recent wartime plays used to expose the characteristic falsities of male heroism. Like *Gunman* for O'Casey, *Joyriders* for Reid does not remain the last word on the subject of gendered victimhood. A sequel to *Joyriders*, *Clowns* (1996) is consciously set in the year of the 1994 ceasefire according to Reid, who explains that "[t]he play is very much about the difficulty of coming to terms with peace, rather than war, and how hard the peace process is. And Sandra, who left Belfast after Maureen's death, filled with rage and despair, can't make her own personal peace process until she stops looking back and seeking revenge" (Kurdi 210).

    Ourselves Alone by Devlin borrows, assimilates and transforms motifs from O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* (1924) and *The Plough and the Stars* (1926) in more subtle ways. Here the central theme is women's re-appropriation of their voice and the control over their body as crucial indicators of the assertion of their subjectivity against male domination in the context of Republican militarism. Devlin constructs a collective of women characters: Frieda and Josie are sisters while Donna is their friend and their brother's partner at the same time. They are sharing the female protagonist's part as they are close to each other, complementary but not oppositional, which results in a "dramatic decentering of emphasis" with hierarchy present only when the men intrude on the scene (Roche, *Contemporary* 176). In the beginning the women appear to be locked in roles defined by the prevailing stereotypes about women in the nationalist community, and function largely as adjuncts "waiting on men" (16), that is serving masculinist goals with their bodies in predetermined ways. Both the father of Frieda and Josie and their brother, Liam treat the women from the position of authority, whose bodies and work they are entitled to exploit while supervising and controlling their movements, relationships and even opinions. Yet, unlike in O'Casey's *The Plough*, Devlin's is not just a compassionate and basically static portrayal of the female predicament in sectarian Belfast during the rather bleak period of the early 1980s following the hunger strikes. The

Devlin play presents dynamic shifts between images of gendered oppression and signs of the strengthening reclamation of the female voice not only to articulate experience but also to question and contest it. For the attempts to reinscribe personal narratives Donna's sexual awakening is a good example. Her affair with a young musician who does not serve the nationalist cause narrow-mindedly makes her "feel innocent" (83) and reborn, as well as proves enabling so that she can overcome the confusion, neglect and unfounded jealousy that she has been exposed to as a consequence of Liam's paramilitary involvement and long-term internment.

Conspicuously, both O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars* and Devlin's *Ourselves Alone* use a title associated with Irish Republicanism, the history of which trails through most of the twentieth century. The former title refers to the flag of the Irish Citizen Army therefore is quite transparent in evoking the spirit of the male-centered mobilising force behind the Easter Rising. *Ourselves Alone*, on the other hand, introduces a counterhegemonic discourse by the very title to signal the woman characters' perception of themselves in the nationalist economy. Ann Rea writes about this title that it "translates into English 'Sinn Fein', the name of the political front of the IRA, […] but Devlin uses the English translation ironically to draw our attention to the women in the Republican movement, depicting them as 'alone', or isolated, but also as 'selves' who may dissent from the movement's ideology" (208). The name of Gaelic roots is associated with masculine politics, while its iconoclastic appropriation and transformation works subversively: the English words direct attention to problems of the present and not what is already the past and gone, in accordance with Frieda's desperate claim: "We are the dying. Why are we mourning them? (*She points at the portraits of the dead hunger strikers …*)" (39-40). Similarly to *The Plough*, the domestic milieu to which Devlin's women are relegated and where they try to have the values of privacy respected is constantly violated by activities linked to the conflict outside along with its ideological constraints. It is a highly ambiguous situation: the women find themselves alone as Devlin's title suggests, deprived of political agency while also unprotected in the home by the men who abandon them in the name of higher causes, so their only option is to stand up for themselves. *Ourselves Alone*, to quote Anthony Roche's cogent observation, "dramatises in a predominantly feminist key the resistance to political sloganeering" (*Contemporary* 175): the female characters cannot but learn to strive to assert the importance of emotions and personal ambitions versus the destructive power of abstractions perpetuating the Yeatsean "too long a sacrifice."

The part of the Devlin plot which focuses on Josie offers a revised version of the story line depicting the sexual betrayal and bodily humiliation of Mary Boyle in *Juno*. At first Mary seems to be heading for a better future as one taking an enthusiastic part in the trade union movement, while in Josie's situation gendered marginalisation is accentuated but without such comforting illusions. Josie has been involved in nationalist paramilitary activities since her

childhood, sent out on dangerous errands mostly at night: she took up the inferior job of a courier for her father and his comrades out of duty to her family as well as to the larger Catholic community. "More scared" by the job (31) as she becomes increasingly aware of the consequences, she tries to counterbalance the inevitable intrusion of the political into even her private life, the sacred clandestine moments of her intimate liaison with Cathal, a married republican leader. Escaping into fantasy, Josie invents alternative identities to liberate herself from her inferior position and put on the mask of a mysterious other to counter the thought of always being taken for granted by men: "Sometimes when we make love I pretend I'm somebody else … Sometimes I'm not even a woman" (17). Neglected by Cathal without explanation, Josie enters into a new relationship with Joe Conran, a young intellectual from England who joined the nationalist activists after a thorough vetting. The parallel with Bentham in *Juno* is complicated strategically: Joe is drawn in much greater detail than his counterpart in O'Casey's work. Joe operates on political as well as personal levels, indicating an even more thorough interconnectedness of these in the 1980s than what appears in the world of the earlier play. Masked as a "political advisor" (50) Devlin's traitor character, Joe Conran manages to infiltrate the Provos, befriend and then impregnate Josie during his manipulative work in Northern Ireland, only to abandon both the nationalists and the woman quickly once his pro-British political mission has been fulfilled.

Devlin's Josie suffers abandonment twice, comparably to Mary in *Juno*, yet the differences between the respective fates of the girls are notable, especially with regard to their effects, adding new layers of meaning. Mary, left pregnant by Bentham meets her former boyfriend at her mother's persuasion, and would be willing to marry him without love as a conventional solution to her shame. Getting a hint of her pregnancy the man, however, rejects Mary out of moral hypocrisy. Devlin sets up a parallel scene in her play: Josie, made pregnant by Joe Conran, has a meeting with Cathal, who now wants to renew their relationship. His unspoken motives are twofold: because of the advanced pregnancy of his wife he needs another woman as lover and, not unlike male warriors in mythology whom the republicans were eager to emulate, he is jealous of the foreigner's success in conquering the "national" territory of the Irish woman's body. Importantly, in Devlin's play it is Josie who rejects the man, moreover, she is proud of being pregnant and draws empowerment from feeling "two hearts" in her body that she can control now through her personal choice (79), since her condition obviously terminates her burdensome political errands.

Both Mary Boyle and Josie have to confront the fact that their child will be fatherless, but under significantly different conditions. In Mary's case the damaging effect of her desperate situation on her subjectivity is manifest by the loss of her voice; except for a few vague words of fright and lament she has nothing to say let alone do to find a solution. It is the protective Juno who takes the floor, reassuring her daughter that, with herself in charge, the two of them

"will work together for the sake of the baby [and] It'll have what is far better—it'll have two mothers" (71). With this coda-like ending O'Casey's mother-daughter relationship seems to come close to the intra-gender polarisation of women characters in pieces of Revivalist drama like *Cathleen ní Houlihan* (1902). Juno, perhaps not accidentally called after a goddess, displays features of the idealised Mother Ireland figure, though reformed to an extent because she has grown to question, even refuse the dubious values of patriarchy. Nonetheless, the symbolic power enshrined in her famous speech also called Juno's "prayer" overshadows the situation of the daughter who has to cope with the earthly realities of being an abandoned mother-to-be. In Juno's speech the spirit of faith is highlighted as triumphant while the violated and degraded female body of Mary is given no real attention.

The image of Josie feeling two hearts in her body overtly echoes and recontextualises Juno's words about the unborn baby of her daughter to be raised by two mothers. Josie's newly-found empowerment is emphasised by her uniting the separate roles of the two women in O'Casey play, those of humiliated victim and symbolic Mother Ireland as inspired carer and guardian, in one self-assured female subject reclaiming agency. At the same time the hierarchy within the mother-daughter dyad as it appears at the end of *Juno* is replaced by the more equal, sisterly relationship of Josie, Donna and Frieda in *Ourselves*. Complete freedom, however, would be illusory for Josie in the circumstances as she is taken home by her father, which contrasts Captain Boyle's moralistic indignation at his daughter's fate, while counteracting Liam's order that the baby should be killed. The intra-gender split between the women in O'Casey is paralleled by another kind of intra-gender while also intra-sectarian split in Devlin's play between the men. Josie's father and Liam see "the fetus as an issue of patriarchal authority" (Rea 214) and engage in a verbal battle over ideas while disregarding the corpo-reality of mother and child. The female body pregnant with a hybrid life is present in O'Casey too, but with Devlin it becomes invested with the direct role of providing another kind of means to undermine and potentially erode the unity of paramilitary activism. Juno argues for peace largely as an abstraction but Josie, by carrying a new life with unflinching courage, contributes to the disruption of the seemingly homogeneous nationalist narrative. While the conclusion of *Ourselves* does raise the question of the renewal of patriarchal rule over Josie, her father now at least treats her as a daughter and not just a "mate" to work with serving paramilitary goals, which marks a shift towards introducing private values into their relationship and, thus, suggests hope for future change.

To sum up, the Deevy and Devlin plays reconfigure Synge's and O'Casey's female characters by endowing them with ambition to search for autonomy and venture resistance or even realising their own aims in contrast with their relatively subdued counterparts in the respective pieces by the two male authors. Showing the potential for female self-assertion, the women writers create "a new or revised political and cultural position" from which, to use Julie Sanders'

words again, they "highlight troubling gaps, absences, and silences within the canonical texts to which they refer" (97). By comparison, the female-authored plays reveal that Pegeen in Synge and Mary in O'Casey were formed still bearing traces of the stereotypes of women constructed in early twentieth-century society and literature, presented as helpless victims or lamenting losers in the shadow of male claims to heroism, however false, or as representatives of spiritualised, abstract femininity. In his above cited article Murray implies a further crucial function of intertextuality beside the thematic as it works in the genre of drama. Updating the predecessors, he says, "is not just another way of defining tradition but is also a useful way of describing the procedures of Irish writing in a post-colonial world" (Murray 21). Taking up this cue, I conclude from my investigation that the fantastic/mythical and the naturalistic mode that Synge and O'Casey chose to deploy are complicated by Deevy and Devlin to achieve different effects in plays that recycle similar themes to those of their male predecessors.

In the context of early twentieth-century Irish decolonisation involving hope for national renewal, the use of the fantastic/mythical mode proved to be an authentic form of representation enabling potential renewal for the individual male (if not the female) as the case of Christy Mahon exemplifies. With national freedom regained this mode had lost its artistic viability since amid the grim social realities of the post-independence period it might have suggested cheap escapism if not worse than that. Portraying the 1930s, Deevy demythologised the possibility of individual freedom in the sense of being free not only regarding motility and authority but also from preconceptions and hypocrisy, for both women and men. The naturalistic mode deployed by O'Casey is not totally missing from but becomes stylistically varied in Devlin's *Ourselves*, which introduces more irony and ambiguity in the language as well as visions and hallucinations to articulate the woman characters' psychic landscape. Brian Singleton has noticed a trend in the 1990s Irish theatre world undertaking "the examination of the early revival" (260), the essence of which is to revise themes and techniques of the past in light of the altered representational needs and shifts characteristic of the present. I think that by its politics of intertextuality, women's drama can be seen as contributing to this revisionist project in a singular way. Concerning Garry Hynes's 1991 production of *The Plough and the Stars*, Singleton writes that it "stripped the play of its comic accretions, and questioned the legacy and injustices of post-independence politics. […] O'Casey's women became bonded by their labour and their struggle to keep family intact" (260-61)—not unlike Devlin's. Therefore, women playwrights' reshaping the work of their male predecessors can be seen as a significant aspect of today's wider cultural scene involving efforts to reinterpret the values of the past for an ever-changing present.

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When West Meets East – Seamus Heaney's Eastward Glance

Péter Dolmányos

Seamus Heaney hardly needs introduction: as perhaps the best known of poets writing in the English language his poetry as well as his critical stance possess substantial authority. Whatever Heaney has to say about anything will be listened to, and as there is always the conviction that a poet's criticism throws light on his own poetics, his essays are as widely read as his poetry. This authority is all the more significant if Heaney's origins are considered – a poet coming from a Catholic farming family in an obscure corner of Northern Ireland would hardly classify as the mainstream representative of the tradition of poetry in English. The centre of gravity has shifted to a former periphery, the Irish tradition has carved out its place in the English-speaking universe and one of the contemporary agents of this process is Heaney himself.

Seamus Heaney's prose works include a number of papers on poets from countries located behind the former Iron Curtain – notably pieces on Zbigniew Herbert, Czeslaw Milosz, Miroslav Holub, and Osip Mandelstam. That a leading English-speaking poet should turn to such 'exotic' figures is an act interesting in itself, but given Heaney's authority, the choice has an added emphasis as he can be certain of an audience which listens to what he says, thus, the poets he chooses to comment on will be discovered by many new readers exactly because Seamus Heaney has something to say about them. This is the consequence of what Peter McDonald observes as Heaney's tendency in his criticism to "put emphasis on the personal validation of the elements of a poetic tradition or canon" (McDonald 176) – his own personal validation, in fact, based on his own poetic authority.

Not counting Iceland, Ireland is the westernmost country of Europe, and it is also an island. This specific location at the western periphery of Europe means, beyond isolation, that in the context of the continent everything lies east of Ireland, and any glance at the continent involves a one-way possibility, that of the eastward direction. That such a situation may pose a number of problems in terms of orientation is a fact, and it is not much of a help that the nearest point of reference, the only neighbour, is Britain, a political formation with a long history of power, political as well as cultural, over a large part of the world and also over Ireland in particular. The glance beyond Britain thus involves an effort, a necessary change of perspective in which the problem of distance will inevitably

face the challenger. Distance limits the resolution of the picture yet at the same time it provides an overall view, which is some sort of compensation for the lack of minute detail. The figure of Stephen Dedalus already laid down the foundation of a similar belief when he suggested that the Irish experience was best assessed from abroad (Heaney, 1990, 40).

The concept of the East, however, is far from being a simple matter in the context of Europe. As part of an old bipolar division, West and East refer to worlds apart – the West has long been a synonym of modernity and progress, of economic and political superiority, whereas the East has been seen as the backward part of the continent, the backyard which lags behind and is locked irredeemably in an earlier period. The political division of Europe in the wake of the Second World War solidified and perpetuated this picture, and even created the absurd distortion of Europe in terms of geographical categories – Greece was suddenly a western country though the borders of the continent were located at the borders of the Soviet Union. Geography was thus overwritten by politics and the Iron Curtain became a stronghold of ignorance from either direction.

What often passed in western discourse for the 'East' is more precisely described as Central and Eastern Europe. Taking the Ural Mountains as the eastern border of Europe, it is immediately visible that much of the oversized 'East' would qualify as Central Europe, a category which often requires further refinement due to its inherent diversity. The use of such a term as Central Europe, however, has gained currency only recently, and it would have found no space in the heavily politicised language of earlier decades, as it involves the idea of gradation and the potential of similarities and common features, and none of these fit the world of binary oppositions.

Heaney's attention is directed beyond the Iron Curtain and comes to rest exclusively on Slavic-speaking poets. The choice of two Polish, one Czech and one Russian poet is certainly interesting, and the apropos of his choice is the publication of English translations of works by these poets. The time dimension is also important: the essays, with the exception of a Mandelstam review from 1974, date from the 1980s. That decade involved a number of new points of departures in Heaney's own poetry and it was a watershed period for the Eastern countries as well – by that time the Eastern bloc already had a history: the periods of unrest in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the early 1980s in Poland all indicated certain rifts in the system and even the Soviet Union embarked on a course of profound changes. Few could have foretold, however, that by the end of the decade the Eastern bloc would fall apart, bringing down the Iron Curtain (and its more than symbolic constituent, the Berlin Wall) in the process.

Heaney's choice possesses dangerous dimensions as it could easily be trapped by stereotypes, political discourse and certain commitments and allegiances. Heaney's origins and background, however, offer a way out of these traps: the all-but-simple Northern situation enables Heaney to shape a more evenly balanced response from a more enlightened approach than would be

expected from a Western perspective. The general political atmosphere of the North demands a familiarity with official and non-official versions of reality, with propaganda and repressions, all of which provide a basis for a possible understanding of, even if perhaps not identification with, the situation from which these poets write.

Apart from the physical distance between the far West and the region in question there is another type of distance to be handled, that of language. Heaney's experience of the examined poets comes from translated works, thus, it is not first-hand experience but mediated, as if to provide a corresponding literary element to the Iron Curtain. Heaney repeatedly mentions this fact (cf. Heaney 1990, 38-39, 54-55) and its immediate consequence as well, namely, he cannot offer a commentary on the patterns and linguistic intricacies of the original. In addition, translation imposes further limits on the material as the translated poetic text emerges from contexts not fully known or not familiar at all, thus, there is a demand for exegesis, for extra-poetic material for a full(er) understanding of these works. Despite all these Heaney does not refrain from addressing the chosen poets and what they have to say, as if he were haunted by what could be referred to in a brutally simplified way as the 'content' of the poems. Even the title of the first essay devoted to the topic suggests this power: the impact of translation outlined in the essay of the same title proves a deep one as Heaney sets out to devote substantial space to these Eastern poets.

Critical writings by a poet are often regarded as enlightening from the point of view of his own poetry. In accordance with this stance Heaney's own anxieties, interests and dilemmas come to be reflected in these pieces. Among these the most pressing is perhaps that of confronting political situations which involve repression, apropos of the Northern conflict. The Northern situation provides such pressures for the poet, involving the dilemma of taking sides, of complying with expectations or insisting on the notion of artistic freedom, which in turn can be seen by some as betrayal. Heaney's own poetic and private responses to the Troubles and the different interpretations of these by others all indicate the weight of the question, consequently the act of reading other poets driven by similar concerns, and thus finding examples and parallels, helps to objectify Heaney's own considerations. The influence of these Eastern poets is most apparent in the explicitly allegorical poems of the volume *The Haw Lantern*; there, however, Heaney manages to outdo the Eastern poets in the degree of explicitness in his allegories.

Though these considerations have their importance, in "The impact of translation" Heaney provides a different explanation for his interest in the Eastern poets. He regards this turn to the East as a necessary act for "poets in English" (Heaney 1990, 38) as part of the process of recognition that "the locus of greatness is shifting away from their language" (ibid). "Contemporary English poetry has become aware of the insular and eccentric nature of English experience in all the literal and extended meanings of those adjectives" (Heaney 1990, 41), and there comes the corresponding recognition that these Eastern

poets represent something that is missing from the tradition of poetry in English, a complement to it; thus, poetry regains its universal dimension as Heaney broadens his horizons. There is something more than intriguing in this act, given Heaney's place in the English-speaking world: he is a universally acclaimed Irish poet and his refusal of being regarded British is a well-known moment of his career, though the Irish tradition cannot fully escape implications of insularity and eccentricity either.

This "road not taken in poetry in English" (Heaney 1990, 44) is seen as a "road not open to us" (ibid) in the conclusion to the essay. This is seen in a positive light, however, as the conditions which lead to the kind of poetry Heaney reads in translation would involve repressive political and social structures. This is again an interesting point since Heaney's own Northern Catholic background is embedded in a one-sided, if not one-party, system which included such ingredients as curtailed civil rights for the minority, gerrymandering, internment without trial and numerous other practices which stand in open conflict with democracy. For Heaney thus the proposed road was at least visible and observable, though he justly admits that the publishing industry of the West "is indifferent to the moral and ethical force of the poetry being distributed" (Heaney 1990, 40). Though explicit didacticism does not do too much good to poetry, seemingly innocent yet fully allegorical patterns are not the only means for getting access to an audience, at least in the Western world.

The first poet Heaney examines is Czeslaw Milosz, it is his poem in translation which provides the impulse for a closer consideration of Eastern poetry. Milosz is a long-time presence on Heaney's literary horizon as a Polish-American poet whom he admires for his "closeness" (cf. Heaney quoted in Corcoran 39). In the essay entitled "The impact of translation" (Heaney 1990, 36 - 44) Milosz's poem "Incantation" serves to awaken Heaney to an understanding of an alternative way of poetry, one which defies the nearly sacrosanct tenets of Modernism based in the English language. Milosz's poem is openly didactic, it employs abstractions and insists on the importance of its author – these would sufficiently classify the poem as one not worthy of attention in the system of Modernist poetic values. Heaney, however, finds it fascinating exactly for this radical difference, and magnifies the poem to a universal representative of poetry in translation – a different world altogether for a poet educated within the traditions of poetry in English.

While Czeslaw Milosz is admired for his bravery in openly opposing canonical Modernist tenets about poetry, Miroslav Holub receives praise for his daring employment of intelligence and irony. Both poets direct attention to the limitations of the tradition of poetry in English, a tradition which is still under the spell of Romantic precedents. While not forsaking the lyric dimension, Holub adds his approach of a scientist to the poetry he writes and the final combination is one that can sit comfortably with a wide audience which is not necessarily literary-minded. Holub becomes the par excellence representative of the poet in the Eastern bloc through his creation of the figure of Zito, a

combination of the artist and the scientist, with a corresponding combination of internal freedom and external constraints. The coexistence of these contraries provides Heaney's conclusion: "annihilation is certain and therefore all human endeavour is futile – annihilation is certain and therefore all human endeavour is victorious" (Heaney 1990, 53). This in turn is a verdict on the political conditions from which Holub's poetry emerges – either way the actualities are transcended, and a universal human dimension is intimated.

Zbigniew Herbert is another Polish poet who Heaney focuses on. Though he is seen as a "kindred spirit" (Heaney 1990, 56) of Milosz, the direction is somewhat different as Herbert comes to be celebrated for his universal appeal and is seen increasingly independent of his Polish background. Heaney sees Herbert as someone who comes close to producing, within the confines of Yeatsean choices, "an ideal poetry of reality" (Heaney 1990, 54) and who at the same time creates what "resemble[s] what a twentieth-century poetic version of the examined life might be" (ibid). This is all the more flattering if one considers Herbert's position as a poet from the 'Eastern bloc'. In addition, another Yeatsean dimension is suggested in relation to Herbert, that of simultaneously existing contraries: on occasion his response is humane and tender as well as he is capable of contemplating experience with "the conscious avoidance of anything 'tender-minded'" (Heaney 1990, 64), a feature that at the same time links him to his fellow poet Milosz.

The last essay dealing with Eastern poets in the volume *The Government of the Tongue* is simply entitled "Osip and Nadezhda Mandelstam." The title suggests a different approach from those of the previous pieces –it is made up of only two names, and there are no metaphors or descriptive phrases employed. Heaney's subject is broader this time as the essay is written in response to a fairly large number of publications, and there is more space devoted to the introduction of the circumstances in which those pieces, poems as well as prose works, were conceived. The foundations were already laid down in a 1974 review of the translation of Mandelstam's *Selected Poems* – there Heaney establishes Mandelstam as the example of the poet in resistance to oppressive forces of any kind. On revisiting the topic Heaney provides abundant detail on the hardships of the Russian poet and thus uncovers the horrors of totalitarian systems for the (supposedly) Western audience, while the commentary on Mandelstam's poetry is observably less both in terms of volume and depth. What Heaney seeks to trace is Mandelstam's progress during which he awakens to the realities of the totalitarian machinery and his inner freedom leads him to confront external constraints embodied by that machinery. The outcome of the clash is necessarily tragic, and thus elevating and exemplary, and the latter concept has a long history of significance in Heaney's artistic stance.

Mandelstam had earned proper respect by the time Heaney wrote his essay on the Russian poet (1981, cf. Corcoran 183). As a result Mandelstam is part of the highly prestigious group of exemplary figures for Heaney, with Dante and Yeats for his companions. Dante is the undisputed point of reference when it

comes to political pressures and exile, and the exemplary handling of these by the Italian poet also makes him a guiding figure. Strong external pressures and the need for an adequately strong power to respond to them, either by exile or by open resistance, bring Mandelstam and Milosz into a relation with Dante, and they may accordingly be considered the recent representatives of the tradition of the poet in historic conflict with his circumstances.

The possible parallels between their own fate and that of Dante are also articulated by these poets themselves. Heaney mentions Mandelstam's radical revision of Dante's art in relation to earlier beliefs, and in his reading Mandelstam comes to regard Dante as "an exemplar of the purely creative, intimate, experimental act of poetry itself" (Heaney 1990, 96). This recognition encourages Mandelstam to live his role as a poet, and in turn he gains (or perhaps more precisely, recovers) his freedom though only at the fatal cost of falling out with the political system. Milosz's choice of exile from Poland also evokes parallels with Dante, but there is a rather explicit recognition of common experience when Milosz himself refers to his memories of twentieth-century Poland in the matrix of Dante's *Inferno* (quoted in O'Brien 242). Milosz's destination in exile (France at first, the United States later, with subsequent American citizenship) would perhaps raise doubts as to the nature of his parallel experience with Dante, yet a life among more comfortable circumstances does not automatically equal a more comfortable life altogether – this is partly proven by Milosz's return to Poland in his later years, after the collapse of the one-party system.

In a much later piece Heaney returns to Czeslaw Milosz, yet the occasion, and accordingly the tone, is altogether very different. The piece is an article written on the death of the poet, remembering Milosz rather than introducing him. The assessment of the deceased poet is done with profound respect and Heaney has a full and finished oeuvre to contemplate. Praise is generously provided for a wide range of Milosz's achievements: the poet's faith in the power of his art, his credibility in this belief, and the simultaneous presence of contrary convictions in relation to the position of poetry as well as the ability to be able to be simultaneously tender and resolute towards reality – all these turn Milosz into an exemplary figure, taking his place next to Yeats, Dante and Mandelstam.

When Heaney introduces his enterprise in the volume *The Government of the Tongue*, he provides a number of clues for the reader as to the nature of his interest in the Eastern poets:

> In the course of this book, Mandelstam and other poets from Eastern
> bloc countries are often invoked. I keep returning to them because
> there is something in their situation that makes them attractive to a
> reader whose formative experience has been largely Irish. There is an
> unsettled aspect to the different worlds they inhabit, and one of the
> challenges they face is to survive amphibiously, in the realm of 'the

times' and the realm of their moral and artistic self-respect, a challenge immediately recognisable to anyone who has lived with the awful and demeaning facts of Northern Ireland's history over the last couple of decades. (Heaney 1990, xx.)

Paradoxically there are, side by side, the dimensions of familiarity and difference, of similar conditions and totally different ones, and the friction of these irreconcilable parties generates a profound response. The suggested autobiographical parallels in relation to politics may indeed be problematic (cf. McDonald 186, referring also to Edna Longley's argument), but Heaney's stance is artistically oriented rather than politically directed, though the latter cannot fully be neglected either.

However distant these Eastern poets may seem, there is a claiming of kinship with their experience. The recognition of the unsatisfactory nature of poetry in English in relation to facing complex and challenging situations forces Heaney to take up something of a partisan stance towards that tradition – Heaney's origins and background compel him to forge his way of response to a situation which the English tradition is unable to handle, and it is a moment of relief and confirmation to discover exemplary figures in this respect. Heaney has repeatedly reflected in his poems on what he considers the source and nature of his poetry, and the early programmatic pieces ("Digging", "Personal Helicon") suggest the inward direction and the need for reflexive agents for self-examination. By the act of reading these Eastern poets Heaney broadens the circle of the possible reflexive agents and finds valuable points of reference in their examples and exemplary stance.

Heaney's eastward glance brings into focus poets who function as guides, and the glance becomes a gaze, fixed steadily upon these figures. From the perspective of Ireland they form a coherent group of poets in the distance, and they embody a possible other beyond the tradition of poetry in English. With this shift from the insular English tradition to the universal dimension of poetry the political element becomes only a circumstance: it is an important, though in the final analysis, not a decisive one – the chosen poets prove that intelligence and ingenuity overcome censorship and repression, and the inner freedom of the artist is preserved or regained along the way. The imaginative bridging of the two parts of the divided continent is thus made well before the fall of the Iron Curtain, and this is paradoxically achieved by an act that emphasises the essential singularity of the human being, an act that is essentially directed at the discovery and exploration of the self – always individual, always free and untouchable for repressive external machineries (cf. Heaney 1990, 143).

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The Plight of the Gothic Heroine: Female Development and Relationships in Eighteenth Century Female Gothic Fiction

Réka Tóth

The Gothic novel was a peculiar and typically feminine genre of the second half of the eighteenth century. Peculiar in many respects since Horace Walpole claimed his story – *The Castle of Otranto*, the very first specimen of a long-lasting tradition – to be a blend of the ancient romance and the modern novel, the sentimental and the realistic tradition. Peculiar also because it anticipated a psychological interest in characters then unprecedented in literature with regards to psychological motives lurking behind human actions. It placed much stress on human fears and desires, their causes and consequences. Similarly, the genre's femininity springs from more than one root: although the writer of the first Gothic novel was a man, and many others of his sex followed his example (for instance, Matthew Lewis, Charles Maturin, William Beckford), the number of female gothic writers far exceeds that of male gothic writers; in addition, the reading audience to which these novels found their way and later became addressed were also women. Feminine also because it engendered the emergence of the 'female Quixote' in the form of the gothic heroine who had the opportunity to engage in 'unwomanly' exercises while still maintaining her femininity and almost never violating female propriety.

Nevertheless, the genre bifurcated not much later than it appeared: male and female gothic novels started to be differentiated, where female gothic did not only mean that its authors were women, but also that it "constructed spaces […] defined, codified and institutionalized as masculine which [female gothic novelists] then attempted to rewrite into literature more benignly as feminine"[1]. Hence, Diane Long Hoeveler states that "the female gothic novel should be seen as functioning as a coded and veiled critique of all those public institutions that have been erected to displace, contain or commodify women" (xii-xiii). The institutions Hoeveler refers to – family, marriage, church – are given much space in female gothic texts, which obviously necessitates the presence of a female protagonist who stands in the midst of abuses and dangers posed by the said institutions. Rachel M. Brownstein argues that the female protagonist searches

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[1] Diane Long Hoeveler, *Gothic Feminism* (The Pennsylvania University Press, 1998), xii.

for an "achieved, finished identity, realized in conclusive union with herself – as – heroine"[2], which means that the female gothic novel is typically the genre that facilitates the voicing of female experience and female identity as seen in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The present study aims at focusing on the unique figure of the gothic heroine: to what extent she conforms to eighteenth century conceptions of femininity compared to seminal female representations of the century like Pope's "softer man", Richardson's sentimental heroine or Blake's liberated woman. Texts from these writers may help us define in what the unique position of the gothic heroine stands and how gender distinctions are represented in the gothic novel. We shall focus on gothic novels written by female writers towards the end of the century: Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron*, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman* and Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest*, each of which gives us different insights into the character of the gothic heroine, but there shall be also occasional references to other narratives written under the aegis of eighteenth century gothic fiction. Clara Reeve claims in the preface to *The Old English Baron*[3] that her 1778 text is the "literary offspring" of that prototype of Gothic stories, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, only it is devoid of its deficiencies that endanger its credibility with the readers. Interestingly, while Walpole introduced two female characters who represent the 'damsel in distress' – a stock feature of all Gothic novels to come – Reeve has no principal female character.

Why then should we include her in a study concerned with the development of the gothic heroine? As we shall see, her 'hero', Edmund Twyford can be read as a curious mixture of Walpole's Theodore of unknown origin and his Matilda or Isabella, the helpless victims of tyrannical abuse. Hence, though Reeve seems to have omitted a female protagonist, her principal male character does fit the role of the victimised heroine central to Radcliffe. *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), albeit an oft-overlooked text living in the shadow of Radcliffe's often-studied and quoted novels, *The Italian* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, is an early precedent of many fine female gothic novels. Besides the presence of all the characteristic features of the genre – the tyrannical villain, the castle, the labyrinth, the usurped property, the first concealed but then gradually disclosed identity of the heroine – the novel displays the development of the gothic heroine. Despite the fact that Radcliffe owes much to Reeve; for instance, Radcliffe's 'explained supernatural' might be traced back to Reeve's critique of Walpole and her conscious attempt to make her fiction as realistic as possible, *The Romance of the Forest* must be regarded as a huge step forward in the treatment of the heroine, since Radcliffe's heroine is no longer male.

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[2] Cited in Deborah Kaplan, "Proper Ladies and Heroines" (*NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, Vol. 17, NO.1, 1983), 83.

[3] The text of the novel is in HTML-format. Source:
<http://www.litgothic.com/Texts/old_english_baron.html>

   Wollstonecraft's attempt at defining femininity in a quasi-gothic world is a further improvement of the genre. Though Mary Poovey apostrophises *Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman* (1798) a sentimental novel[4] and the text is traditionally not labeled as 'gothic', characteristics of the gothic novel as established by Walpole, Reeve and Radcliffe proliferate in Wollstonecraft's writing. Wollstonecraft, however, seems to be removed from the individual plight of the distressed female, and through incorporating legal discourse into an originally fantastic genre she elevates the text to a social if not political level. Though the three woman-writers' treatment of the genre seems extremely diverse, we shall attempt to adumbrate how these women interpreted female experience in the last decades of the eighteenth century through their depictions of the gothic heroine's quest.

From Innocence to Experience: the Development of the Gothic Heroine

Janice Radway asserts that "each romance is, in fact, a mythic account of how women must achieve fulfillment in a patriarchal society"[5] where fulfillment is engendered by transformation, metamorphosis. Since the gothic novel, as Walpole also claims, relies heavily on the romance tradition, Radway's assertion is a case in point: the gothic heroine must inevitably go through transformations of personality in order to formulate a separate and independent identity. In Radcliffe, transformation and development find their objective correlative in physical spaces; in the polarisation of the safe, harmonious pastoral world as opposed to a frightening, urban gothic world. The tender, delicate pastoral world is not only associated with the past, but also with the female sphere, whereas the modern gothic world with its castles and ruins exists in the present and demonstrates restricting male power[6]. The complexity of this pattern is made even more complicated by the introduction of the aesthetic principles of the sublime and the beautiful: as in Burke, these two principles have clear-cut gender associations; the sublime with the male, the beautiful with the female (Kilgour 116). Adeline's past, that is her childhood, cannot be related to her biological parents, as she is taken away as an infant from her real father through the machinations of gothic villainy, and deposited into the hands of one Jean d'Aunoy who, together with his wife, actually raises the infant Adeline, which he confesses only at the present Marquis' trial:

> When the murder [of the then Marquis de Montalt] was perpetuated, d'Aunoy had returned to his employer [the present Marquis], who gave him the reward agreed upon, and in a few months after delivered into

[4] Mary Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer* (University of Chicago Press, 1984), 95.

[5] Cited in Mary Anne Schofield, *Masking and unmasking the female mind: disguising romances in feminine fiction, 1713-1799* (University of Delaware Press, 1990), 18.

[6] Maggie Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (Routledge, 1995), 115.

his hands the infant daughter of the late Marquis, whom he conveyed
to a distant part of the kingdom where assuming the name of St.Pierre,
he brought her up as his own child, receiving from the present Marquis
a considerable annuity for his secrecy.[7]

In spite of the fact that we know very little of the conditions in which Adeline
was brought up, we may assume that she spent her childhood in a rural world
isolated from the corrupt influences of urban life and characterised by the safety
and protection of parental love – it is d'Aunoy's wife who gives the little infant
the name Adeline. Rousseauian ideology plays an essential role in Radcliffe's
fiction, which counsels that the child be brought up in isolation, "away from the
corruption of society, to become secure in [her]self, so that when [s]he enters the
public sphere [s]he will be able to withstand its evil influences" (Kilgour 115).
As such, Adeline's childhood appears to resemble William Blake's world of
innocence characterised by parental care. After her mother's death, Adeline is
forced to enter the convent, then to adapt to a commercial, mechanical gothic
present governed by individualistic feudal tyranny; she is torn out of her
familiar/familial world of innocence to be thrown into the dungeon of experience
(in Blakean terms) without any parental care to protect her. According to Maggie
Kilgour:

> This is the opposition between the natural, simple, happy and loving
> country, a private realm of the family governed by sentiment and
> sympathy, and the artificial, cruel, mercenary, and hypocritical city
> (especially Paris, seen as the centre of decadence), inhabited by
> isolated individuals who are ruled by self-interest. [The heroine's]
> movement from an isolated world into a social one, from a situation of
> detachment from social relations to an involvement in them, is a gothic
> process of education Rousseau imagines in Émile (117).

As we see, Radcliffe's adumbration of the "gothic process of education"
interestingly corresponds to certain states of Blake's fourfold vision. In Susan
Fox's interpretation, in Beulah (the vales of Har, idyllic, pastoral realm of
innocence) females are both powerful and constructive: they are mothers or
nurses who find, comfort and love children[8]. However, the female state is a
limited one here; Beulahic valleys are inhabited by females unable to transform:
Thel flees at the sight of the grave, incapable of enduring changes brought about
by experience which is inevitable in the formulation of a mature personality.
Generation, as Fox states, is the realm where females are either passive or
pernicious (508); a dichotomy clearly discernible in some gothic novels: Lewis's

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[7] Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest* (Raduga Publishers, 1983), 245.

[8] Susan Fox, "The Female as Metaphor in William Blake's Poetry" (*Critical Enquiry*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1977), 508.

Antonia-Matilda (ravished and murdered innocence versus demonic female villain) in the *Monk* or Eliza Parsons' dyad of Matilda Weimar and Mademoiselle de Fontelle (the conventional virtuous young lady in distress versus the evil gossip and conspirator) in *The Castle of Wolfenbach* display the psychological motif of the virgin-whore syndrome.

Radcliffe resides with a relative passivity in female attitude – relative because her heroines unlike those of Walpole, for instance, do take the initiative in certain instances; a notion we shall come back to later. She does not employ an evil woman to confront her heroine, but places her in a gothic present dominated by an individualistic and anti-social if not misanthropic villain, which is juxtaposed to her childhood pastoral, one inhabited by caring and loving adults. Radcliffe's representation of past and present as a continuation from innocence to experience is closely related to female development in *The Romance of the Forest*. In the state of experience, Adeline has to withstand the evil influences of a gothic present, "a bourgeois marketplace of adult individuality" (Kilgour 117) which lacks the protection of a familiar community, where Adeline finds herself the archetypal gothic heroine: helpless and hopeless amongst the labyrinthine pursuits of tyrannical male power. Released from the severe and hypocritical world of the convent and the captivity of banditti, Adeline is placed under the care of Monsieur and Madame La Motte to whom she is devoted with tender filial affections. Her new abode in the forest, though first reminds her of "the late terrific circumstances", soon gains her admiration; furthermore, by establishing a tender parent-child relationship with the La Mottes, Adeline manages to create another seemingly idyllic private world. However, at the appearance of the usurper Marquis, harmony shrinks as Adeline is exposed to the absolute authority of a despotic lord who first only plans to violate the virtue of the innocent maid, then he orders La Motte to assassinate her. The Marquis de Montalt, the archetypal gothic villain, therefore, hinders Adeline in a number of ways from returning to a state of paradise; in addition, he is enabled to transform or rather distort the idyllic world Adeline is striving to create. By holding La Motte in his power, who on account of his past misdeed committed against the Marquis' person and property dares not oppose his will, the Marquis spoils the vulnerable parent-child relation and intends to transform the tender father-figure into a self-concerned, mechanical individual. Nevertheless, the narrative ends with the eradication of evil and the rightful distribution of property: Adeline is returned her father's usurped heritage and is married to Theodore, who fills the conventional role of the inefficient hero of female gothic fiction. Radcliffe describes the couple's habitation as follows:

> At the distance of a few leagues, on the beautiful banks of the lake of Geneva, where the waters retire into a small bay, he purchased a villa. The chateau was characterized by an air of simplicity and taste; rather than of magnificence, which however was the chief trait in the surrounding scene. The chateau was almost encircled with woods

> which forming a grand amphitheatre, swept down to the water's edge, and abounded with wild and romantic walks. […] In front of the chateau the woods opened to a lawn, and the eye was suffered to wander over the lake, whose bosom presented an ever-moving picture, while its varied margin sprinkled with villas, woods, and towns, and crowned beyond with the snowy and sublime Alps, rising point behind point in awful confusion, exhibited a scenery of almost unequalled magnificence. (263)

Simplicity and magnificence, beautiful and sublime are unified where male and female spheres do not contradict but live together in peaceful harmony. By marrying Theodore, Adeline has reached the higher state of innocence – to continue using Blakean terminology – and its corresponding space, Eden where the female merged with its male counterpart has no dependence (Fox 508); in which innocence and experience equally contribute to the birth of a mature female identity or as Jane Spencer calls it "a pastoral world where female virtue and patriarchal authority [that of the husband] are not in conflict"[9].

    Clara Reeve does not employ veiled spatial imagery in the hero-ine's identity-building as Radcliffe does; *The Old English Baron* seems to make use of a Walpolean construction: the step-by-step re-membering of the past and the hero's identity. First, it is crucial to understand our interpreting Edmund as the 'melting pot' of masculine and feminine attributes. His androgyny lies in his state of dependency: he is mistaken to be a peasant but because of his virtuous and sentimental character he lives in Lord Fitz-Owen's castle. His virtue and the baron's filial affections towards him breed envy in Lord Fitz-Owen's other relations, which leads to his being shut up in a chamber of the castle, which is believed to be haunted by the ghosts of the former inhabitants who eventually turn out to be Edmund's real parents. Spatial confinement, though mostly affecting women in the gothic novel, cannot be restricted to female confinement only, since the trope can also be found in Walpole.

    In *The Castle of Otranto* Theodore also suffers from entrapment: first under a huge helmet that dashes Manfred's son into pieces at the very beginning of the narrative, then in a turret-chamber from where he is liberated by a female character. In spite of his confinement, however, Theodore is ready to defend female virtue – he escorts Isabella from the underground labyrinth and protects her in the cave, as well – and does not rely on the help of wealthy male companions. Whereas Edmund, in fact, has no efficient, individual action with regards to his own safety: in his search for a legitimate identity, he is aided by a priest, when he is shut up in the haunted apartment two faithful companions stay with him and when it comes down to upholding his rights against the usurper, it

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[9] Jane Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist: from Aphra Behn to Jane Austen*. (Basil Blackwell, 1986) 207.

is Sir Philip, an old friend of Edmund's real father, who challenges and fights the wicked Lord Lovel.

Edmund's curiosity – a characteristic feature of the gothic heroine – however, leads him to explore the haunted apartment, which paves the way toward discovering and recovering his true identity. As was indicated above, Walpole employed the device of a step-by-step re-membering of the past: the recovery of the past runs in parallel with the re-membering of the statue of the poisoned father; as soon as Alphonso's statue is constructed, the illegitimate line becomes fragmented and the legitimate line with its true heir, Theodore is recovered. Reeve begins the process of recovery and the confirmation of Edmund's true identity similarly with the bloody armour of Edmund's father he finds in a secret chamber, which is followed by the gradual discovery of fragmented clues such as his father's seal in the possession of Edmund's foster-parents, the testimony of his foster-mother, the accounts of the servants, the confession of the usurper and finally the corpse of the murdered Lord Lovel under the floor-planks of the secret chamber. In Radcliffe, we may witness an identical pattern of identity-building: Adeline finds a manuscript that holds the record of her father's sufferings when he was imprisoned by the Marquis de Montalt. Her reading of the manuscript is constantly interrupted; therefore, her and the reader's acquisition of knowledge together with the recovery of truth and the past appears in a fragmentary form.

Wollstonecraft's gothic narrative is a completely different matter. In comparison with Radcliffe or Reeve, where the heroine's development leads from unknown childhood origin to the establishment of a mature personality that culminates in marriage, Wollstonecraft's *Maria* takes the end of earlier female gothic narratives as a starting point. As such, she deconstructs the achievement of the gothic heroine and continues her quest implying that marriage is far from being a satisfactory termination in women's lives in the eighteenth century. Female development, however, remains an issue in Wollstonecraft. As she claims in her famous political treatise, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*: "If women are kept in a state of ignorance or perpetual childhood, they are no different in character or nature from a dependent slave"[10]. She counsels women to base their marriages on rational love, mutual affection and also propagates curbing sexual desire in women. These adult qualities stand in direct juxtaposition to Maria's passion and idle romantic imagination on the basis of which she chooses not one but two partners. Her first mistaken choice is George Venables:

> [George] continued to single me out at the dance, press my hand at parting, and utter expressions of unmeaning passion, to which I gave a meaning naturally suggested by the romantic turn of my thoughts. [...] When he left us, the colouring of my picture became more vivid—

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[10] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), 9.

> Whither did not my imagination lead me? In short, I fancied myself in love—in love with the disinterestedness, fortitude, generosity, dignity, and humanity, with which I had invested the hero I dubbed.[11]

It is the choice, suggested by "the romantic turn" of her thoughts that leads to her being shuts up in a lunatic asylum deprived of property and her child alike. Her second choice amounts to no better than her first: Maria singles out Darnford as the embodiment of the romantic hero she has been craving after; an affection simply based on some marginal notes Darnford scribbled into the books lent to Maria, and it is his form she spies from the window of her prison. Although the end of the narrative is fragmented, in one conclusion Darnford takes a mistress and abandons Maria who loses Darnford's child – whether of miscarriage or abortion it is not clear. Although some claim (Johnson, Poovey) that the novel is a celebration of female sexual desire, the outcome of both her passionate relationships tells us otherwise: romantic imagination and passionate love are associated with ignorance and childhood, which, if cherished, have disastrous consequences. Hence, Wollstonecraft seems to highlight the importance of a proper education for daughters, as well; a notion that receives special emphasis in female gothic narratives.

The Responsibility of Parents: the Missing Gothic Family

Wollstonecraft in her 1788 essay *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* addresses parents who provide their daughters with "fashionable education": "If what I have written should be read by parents, who are now going on in thoughtless extravagance, and anxious only that their daughters may be *genteelly educated*, let them consider to what sorrows they expose them"[12]. She was not the only woman of the century concerned with the responsibility of parents in their daughters' education and what it may amount to: Mary Ann Radcliffe, author of *Manfroné, or the One-Handed Monk*, a well-known gothic story of the period published a quasi-feminist manifesto in 1799 entitled *The Female Advocate; or an Attempt to Recover the Rights of Women from Male Usurpation*. Though she apologises for "throwing off the gentle garb of a female" and applying the "Amazonian spirit of Wollstonecraft"[13], she vindicates her cause which is necessitated by "unremitting oppression" (Radcliffe, *The Female Advocate* xi). Her chief concern is the educated upper-class woman left without property and she criticises parents who "merit fineness over trade" (Radcliffe, *The Female Advocate* 89). A much earlier example, albeit not to be overlooked,

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[11] Mary Wollstonecraft, *Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman* (W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), 64.

[12] Cited in Vivien Jones (ed.), *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of femininity* (Routledge, 1990), 113.

[13] Mary Anne Radcliffe, *The Female Advocate; or an Attempt to Recover the Rights of Women from Male Usurpation* (Vernon and Hood, 1799), xi.

is Samuel Richardson's Pamela, who is supposed to be the antecedent of the gothic heroine[14], also lays stress on the deficiencies of her education, that she has been taught to sing, dance and play the piano but could not do the work of a kitchen-maid. Cynthia Griffin Wolff asserts that though Radcliffe's heroines are not without talent – they play musical instrument, compose poetry, and draw – these talents do not have the slightest practical use[15]. Interestingly, the gothic heroine is forced to face her disabilities when she encounters the threats posed by the villain, when she finds herself in a situation in which she must admit her helplessness and as a result, endure her inevitable victimisation.

It seems, then, that we have to redefine our conception of the threats that endanger the life and virtue of the gothic heroine: her victimisation is engendered by the improper education her parents provide her with; more often than not, it is the values of the patriarchal family that constitute her confinement and not the labyrinthine machinations of the villain. Katherine Ellis sees the gothic novel as an attack on the bourgeois family's patriarchal values[16]; the family that forces daughters into unwanted marriages and keeps them in a "state of perpetual childhood" through leaving them in ignorance. The gothic novel criticises the bourgeois family and gives expression to this criticism in two ways: either by disposing of the family altogether; thus abandoning children to their own devices or justifying the actions of children when they oppose the will of parents; in other words, "right is always on the side of the children" (Ellis 52). To substantiate this hypothesis, Ellis cites Ann Radcliffe in her *A Sicilian Romance*: "a choice which involves the happiness or misery of your whole life, ought to be decided only by yourself" (qtd. in Ellis 52).

Those heroines who do not revolt against patriarchal will have no possibility to achieve fulfillment: in Walpole's novel Mathilda, submissive daughter of Manfred chooses to obey her father, even though she can see the irrationality of his actions, and she dies by the hand of her own father. Those who refuse to subordinate themselves, eventually gain their reward: Edmund abandons his captivity despite the will of his adopted father in order to find out the truth about his identity, Adeline refuses to be 'buried alive' in a convent, Maria flees from her unloving parents who only care for her despotic brother. As we see, gothic fiction reverses conduct book tradition which prescribes children to obey parents, be they either benevolent or wicked:

> […] of all the acts of disobedience, that of marrying against the
> consent of the parent is one of the highest. Children are so much the
> goods, the possessions of their parents, that they cannot, without a kind

of theft, give away themselves without the allowance of those that have the right in them… it belongs to children to perform duty, not only to the kind and virtuous, but even to the harshest and wickedest of parents.[17]

It is clear from Richard Allestree's 1751 *The Whole Duty of Man* (from which the above passage has been taken) that children, especially female ones, were viewed as a property of their parents up until marriage when the owner became the husband. As Hickok asserts "women were seen as existing – legally, economically, and socially – chiefly in relationship to others, specifically their families"[18], which implies that family posits a hindrance to the formulation of an independent female identity. Gothic fiction solves the problem via removing the heroine from under the patriarchal rule of the family and most significantly the will of the father[19].

If then the family is perceived as a hindrance and threat to the identity and integrity of the heroine, the principal figure of the gothic villain should be conceived as the purveyor of the much-desired transformation. We may agree with Leslie Fiedler who suggests that "the villain makes available to [women] the dark, asocial world of fantasy, dream and the unconscious; a subversive attack on the bourgeois values embodied in the heroine"[20]. Without the intervention of the villain, the gothic heroine would have no possibility for development – she would relapse into familial idyll where she is regarded as property and dependent. Hence, the existence of a seemingly negative force becomes crucial in the psychological development of the female. Ellen Moers in her *Literary Women* draws our attention to the same idea in Radcliffe's novels, that is her heroine's representation as the 'travelling woman': "the woman who moves, who acts, who copes with vicissitude and adventure"[21]. She argues that the opportunity for women to travel around and encounter various adventures is allowed for them by the villains who force these maidens to do what they could never do alone (Moers 191).

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[17] Cited in Rita Goldberg, *Sex and Enlightenment. Women in Richardson and Diderot* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 31.

[18] Cited in Lucy Morrison, "Conduct (Un)Becoming to Ladies of Literature: How-to-Guides for Romantic Women Writers" (*Studies in Philology*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2002), 210.

[19] The father as a sublime and supervising figure is scattered around the pages of conduct books. Richardson's Pamela writes her letters to her father who immediately warns her of the impending danger threatening his daughter's virtue when he hears about Mr. B-'s advances. In addition, the huge body of seventeenth-eighteenth century conduct literature is mostly made up of advice written by fathers addressed to their daughters. See Vivien Jones: *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity* (London: Routledge, 1990)

[20] Cited in Norman N. Holland and Leona F. Sherman, "Gothic Possibilities" (*New Literary History*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1977), 285.

[21] Ellen Moers, *Literary Women: The Great Writers* (OUP, 1985), 191.

Radcliffe, Reeve and Wollstonecraft seem to follow diverse paths in their representations of female development: Radcliffe creates spaces that correspond to various stages of the heroine's maturity; Reeve concentrates on the recovery of the fragmented individual, whereas Wollstonecraft highlights the dangers of an improper education, which cause women to suffer in immature marriages. Family has negative implications in the gothic novel as an obstacle that hinders young females from constructing a separate identity until the ambiguous figure of the gothic villain emerges to remove the heroine out of her familial circumstances. The pattern delineated in gothic fiction seems to mirror Ivanov's notion of ecstatic experiences which involves the separation of the sexes: he claims that the female search for happiness is facilitated by the woman's removal from male guidance[22]. The relationship between feminine and masculine principles, male and female characters shall be the subject of the following chapter.

Penetrating the Female Body: Male-Female Relationships in the Gothic Novel

Female body and property became strongly intertwined and associated with one another in eighteenth century literature. As April London asserts:

> Eighteenth century novels consistently locate female characters within plots that allow them to exercise reformative agency by drawing on their properties of industriousness and by realizing selfhood through active relationship with the things of this world. The agency is then relocated within male characters [to assert] the primacy of the real property and hence women's subordination to the men who control it.[23]

In Richardson's *Pamela* Mr. B intends to sexualise the female body to make it his property. His constant attempts to take hold of Pamela, to kiss her, to touch her breasts – emblems of female sexuality and femininity[24] – where her private property, the letters written to her parents are concealed, are directed to assume his power over the female body as property. The letters – literary fruits of female creation – must be possessed by the man: "As I have furnished you with the subject, I have a title to see the fruits of your pen"[25], so that he could subordinate both the body of the woman and her only private property. Assuming male 'title' over female property is relatively easier in the gothic novel, since here the

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[22] Cited in Szilárd Léna, *A karnevál-elmélet (V. Ivanovtól M. Bahtyinig)* (Tankönyvkiadó, 1989), 42.

[23] April London, *Women and Property in the Eighteenth Century English Novel.* (CUP, 1999) 7.

[24] Ruth Perry, "Colonizing the Breast: Sexuality and Maternity in Eighteenth Century England." (*Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1991) 228.

[25] Samuel Richardson, *Pamela: or, virtue rewarded.* (Penguin Books Ltd., 1985) 242.

property of the heroine amounts to castles and lands, the penetration of which more often than not results in the growth of male desire to penetrate the female body, as well. Fred Botting argues that the castle of gothic fiction is a "figure of power, tyranny and malevolence" (133), although the original owner of it is almost always female. The castle is governed by a male owner who actually usurped a female property, since Theodore claims the ownership of Otranto through his mother, the Marquis usurps the inherited property of Adeline, and we learn that the usurper Lord Lovel can get hold of Edmund's rightful property if he marries Edmund's mother, who refuses him but dies in childbirth when she escapes her confinement. In other words, the property that the villains usurp does not actually belong to men but women; thus, male usurpation upon women is double-layered: it implies the violation of property and the female body.

Wollstonecraft relies on property-laws of the eighteenth century to define the exploitation of women – Maria's marriage-bond deprives her of property and even the custody of her child. According to April London, "characteristic fates of eighteenth century heroines – marriage or death – render them women without property" (London 8), a tendency relevant to female gothic fiction where the female has to be sexualised or murdered – in short eradicated, disposed of, suppressed – so that men could define themselves in a patriarchal world where identity is linked to possession.

The problem of defining an identity arises as crucial in romances. Schofield claims that in romances women are defined by men (18), a notion that echoes some seventeenth-eighteenth century opinions. William Blake, for instance, wrote in the margin of his 1789 edition of Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man* that "the female life lives from the light of the male" (qtd. in Fox 507 – 508) and Mary Poovey cites a certain Dorsetshire clergyman from the period, who said that: "A good wife should be like a Mirrour which hath no image of its own but receives its stamp from the face that looks into it" (qtd. in Poovey 3) Interestingly, gothic fiction once again reverses romance tradition: although women need the intervention of the gothic villain to be able to define themselves, the relation is mutual; the villain desperately needs the female to define himself, more specifically, he needs the negation, the eradication of the female, the feminine principle, in particular, so that he can formulate an independent identity in an individualistic, competitive world.

Elisabeth Bronfen in her extensive study of nineteenth century aestheticism sketches the reason why men seem to be obsessed with representations of dead women: she understands the "equation of corpse with artwork" as a "translation or exchange that erases rather than preserves the body"[26], thus portraits of male artists negate the female body by subjecting it to a symbolic relation between matter and representation. Bronfen goes even further when saying that "a rhetorical privileging of symbolicity over iconicity (e.g. embalming corpses) can

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[26] Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic*. (Manchester UP, 1992) 110-111.

serve to articulate a tendency to prefer […] signs that represent fatherhood as opposed to a form of semiosis that is analogous to the bodily contact of maternity" (111). In other words, the portrait is a lack rather than a presence; by negating the female body it serves as a shield between artist and model, the former remains untouched by the triad of "matter-materiality-maternity which indexically figures death" (Bronfen 111). On the basis of this argument we may assume that in the gothic novel male tendency to suppress or annihilate the female body serves to protect him from death – the ultimate annihilation of identity. In this context the woman is nothing but an empty space, an "immobile obstacle" in Jurij Lotman's character-typology, which the mobile character, the one who "enjoys freedom" is enabled to penetrate, to cross.[27] Theresa de Lauretis goes on to say that this mobile hero, who might be regarded as identical with the gothic villain, uses his capacity to penetrate the other space, the heroine and her feminine sphere, to become the "active principle of culture, the establisher of distinction, the creator of differences" (qtd. in Armstrong 251).

We must admit that the idea of the woman giving character to man is not the invention of gothic writers. Alexander Pope in his "Epistle to a Lady" interprets the female as characterless character-giver; and Samuel Richardson's Mr. B claims that Pamela "has given [him] a character" (219). However, the significance of the gothic novel, especially the female gothic novel, lies in the fact that it allows the gothic heroine to step out of the role of the objectified, victimised woman. As Nóra Séllei describes the differences between male and female writers of gothic fiction:

> The conventional plot of gothic fiction tends to digress at a crucial point depending on whether it was written by a male or a female writer: male gothic fiction, which can also be read as a tale of seduction, concludes either with the death of the victimized heroine [Matilda in Otranto] or with the hero's rescuing her at the last moment [Isabella]. On the other hand, in female gothic fiction, the heroine appears to be much more independent and active: she herself plays a significant role in releasing herself from a situation in which she may become inevitably victimized.[28]

In the first chapter we have already indicated that Radcliffe's heroines cannot be regarded as entirely passive: Adeline continuously attempts to escape confinement imposed on her by the Marquis; and it is also crucial to see the relative inefficiency of (the 'hero') Theodore's guidance he offers in these attempts. Although he removes Adeline from the enclosed garden – the space of

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[27] Cited in Nancy Armstrong, *The violence of representation: literature and the history of violence* (Routledge, 1989), 250-251.

[28] Séllei Nóra, *Lánnyá válik, s írni kezd: 19. századi angol írónők* (Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1999), 71. The Hungarian text has been translated into English by the author of this article.

the Marquis – they are tracked down by the Marquis's footmen, and he is imprisoned. His passivity in prison is contrasted to Adeline's freedom and the safety she enjoys in the company of La Luc; furthermore, Adeline's evidence in the trial also contributes to the villain's fall and Theodore's release. Wollstonecraft's text offers a parallel here: it is Jemima who releases Maria from the asylum, whereas Darnford must passively endure captivity.

Women's survival in the gothic world of male oppression necessitates female acquisition of some masculine attributes, to throw off "the gentle garb of a female" – to use Mary Ann Radcliffe's expression. Women must resolve to cunning, like Pamela, to eloquence, like Maria at court, to aggression and toughness, like Jemima, or to wandering and detecting, like Adeline or Edmund, the feminine hero. They have to go against patriarchal ideals of feminine perfection so that they could release themselves from the passive role of the victimised woman. Female companionship is crucial in this world; however, it tends to dissolve in the suffocating presence of the villain.

Jealousy or Companionship: Women's Relationship in the Gothic Novel

Pauline Nestor tells us that in the nineteenth century there was much public debate on women's capacities for friendship.[29] She refers to articles in the *Saturday Review* from 1870 according to which "women could only form true friendship if this friendship conformed to conventional heterosexual roles" and women "are possessive, competitive, untrusting" (qtd. in Nestor 12). These arguments can be applied to eighteenth century gothic fiction, as well. If we have a closer look at female relationships in the analysed novels, we shall recognise the truth of the above statements.

In Walpole's novel Manfred's wife Hippolita never questions her husband's actions and would accept a divorce from him and Manfred's marriage with her daughter's friend, Isabella, although she is well-aware that this marriage would be against Isabella's will. Adeline shows filial affection toward Madame La Motte from the hour they first met, yet the older women suspects that the girl's lingering in the forest might be connected to her husband's absences. Mathilda is the monk's demonic support in his ravishment of Antonia. Jemima confesses to Maria that once she contributed to the miserable state of another woman when she took that other woman's place in a household. Jemima, however, gains salvation by being able to correct her past misdeed when she releases Maria from captivity, finds Maria's child and revives the woman after a suicidal attempt. Once again, Wollstonecraft is very critical about female behavior: she alone points to female companionship as inevitable to achieve happiness and withstand the abuse of men. One of her solutions for Maria is a quasi-lesbian relationship between Maria and Jemima, living in a family without men.

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[29] Pauline Nestor, *Female Friendships and Communities: Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell*. (Clarendon Press, 1985) 7.

It is also deliberate on Wollstonecraft's part that she does not narrow down her observations to the individual plight of one woman. As she claims in the preface to her novel: "…the history ought rather to be considered, as of woman, than of an individual. [Her intention is] to show the wrongs of different classes of women, equally oppressive, though, from the difference of education, necessarily various" (Wollstonecraft, *Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman* 5 – 6). A similar pattern is discernible in Eliza Parsons' *The Castle of Wolfenbach* in which the parallel stories of Matilda Weimar and the Countess of Wolfenbach display the quintessence of narratives concerned with the sufferings of women, that is, oppression of women characterises eighteenth century British society in general and at the same time these narratives endeavor to offer women possible ways to cope with their hardships.

On reading these eighteenth century narratives grouped under the omnibus-term 'female gothic', we can recognise the diversity of the genre and the differences between individual authors. This study addresses one perspective in these novels; that of the gothic heroine, whose representation offers the best insight into eighteenth century female experience and individual women authors' conception of femininity and oppression impending over their sex. Their concern with the development of the female mind and the relationship between sexes and that of members within one sex show the significance of the genre. Hence, female gothic fiction cannot be dismissed as an irrelevant picture bred by idle female fantasy with no other aim but to entertain the reader. In spite of its often fantastic covering, the genre provides a credible record of female plight, establishing a tradition that continued well into twentieth century British and American literature.

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Orwell and Women's Issues – a Shadow over the Champion of Decency

Ivett Császár

For reasons, which, in a sense, can be traced back to his childhood through autobiographical works like "Such, Such Were the Joys", but which ultimately remain obscure, George Orwell developed into a man much at odds with the world at large. Discontent launched him on the path of "democratic socialism" and he became a spokesman for the underdog and those living under political oppression. The abuse of capitalism oriented him towards working men and the fear of totalitarianism made him speak out for intellectual liberty and this fight ensured him the way to the pedestal. However, he did not realise that beside political tyranny there are much more subtle and pervasive ways of manipulating our consciousness, the rigid delimitation of gender roles being such a social construct. His ambivalent attitude towards women and feminism, his homophobia, glorification of war and an eagerness to take part in it as a requirement of a man's man, his public-minded oeuvre and his intense patriotism evoked by the Second World War all fall into the pattern of a traditional concept of masculinity, not tolerating behaviour trespassing on its well-established borderlines. A close reading of some relevant pieces of his otherwise huge corpus of journalism will show that in spite of some attempts to acquit him of feminist charges and provide evidence of an evolution of his attitude, his essentially male-centred and patriarchal outlook remained unchanged, displaying a grasp of human relations along gender lines that leaves much to be desired.

The Icon of Masculine Behaviour

Orwell's attitude to women and feminism is intertwined with his emphatic virility. His prejudice against women and his stance against feminism on the one hand, and his homophobia, mixed with hints of repressed homoeroticism and a repulsion from effeminate and soft men on the other hand may as well be the two sides of the same coin, an "unmitigated masculinity" in Woolfian terms. A strong will, courage, heroism, commitment, self-sacrifice and self-restraint are all virtues associated with masculinity of which Orwell set an outstandingly good example. They ensured him a safe niche in society and literary reputation and they in his lifetime gave him reassurance that he was not a failure, a sense of

which had stalked him from childhood. Through action, being the opposite of feminine passivity, he projected a virile image of himself in service of the common good and common man with much moral sermonising supporting his quest. The snivelling boy of "Such, Such Were the Joys" who had neither guts nor character and who was doomed to be a failure became a writer much obsessed with manliness and toughness, who made a habit of lashing out at fellow intellectuals reluctant to act and who went out of his way to prove to himself that he had the guts. He had the guts to descend among the outcasts, he had the guts to fight and get wounded in Spain, he always had the guts to disclose brutal truths regardless of the side on which he stood, and in Cunningham's words "the criticism of Orwell, veteran of the notoriously ferocious Eton College wall game, had nothing if not the guts" (66). In his eyes, Auden was "a sort of gutless Kipling" (*CW* 5, 170) and the intelligentsia did not really understand that "to survive you often have to fight and to fight you often have to dirty yourself" (*CEJL* 2, 250) and that however demanding it may be, "life has got to be lived largely in terms of effort" (*CW* 5, 183-184). Thus, it is no wonder that insulted, not surprisingly often pacifist, intellectuals came to regard Orwell as "the preacher of Physical Courage as an Asset to the left-wing intellectual" (*CEJL* 2, 225).

He spoke to a male audience and his world was not one in which women could be ascribed a stance equal to that of men. Virginia Woolf's judgement on Kipling's writings seems to be applicable to Orwell: "they celebrate male virtues, enforce male values and describe the world of men" (92). This is especially true with respect to his non-fiction, where he wrote about male (primarily male because public) concerns for male readers. In his favourite phrase, "common man", man was not a substitute for people but really excluded the common woman. In his vocabulary masculine and feminine bore value judgements, associating the former with strength, courage and action and the latter with passivity and softness. The ideal colloquial language of the ordinary man for which a writer according to him had to strive was not only clear, visual and concrete, but, quite importantly, though somewhat less directly alluded to, vigorous and masculine. His writing unquestionably implies that in his outlook the human norm was masculine, using the word 'feminine' mostly with a pejorative connotation.

The posthumous cult of Orwell as an ideal of proper masculine behaviour emerged primarily on the basis of obituaries and studies by male friends and critics. In compliance with Orwell's emphatic masculinity, as John Rodden observes, the Orwell cult is in part a cult of masculinity. It is worth quoting him at some length:

> The masculine voice of Orwell's prose, his association of moral courage with physical courage, his own 'manly' example that socialism is something to fight and die for, his railing against the 'softness' of a machine civilisation, his emphasis on 'hard' experience

> rather than theory and jargon, his conviction that one could be a socialist and yet be an 'ordinary' man, his Quixotic capacity to *act*: Orwell the man and writer projected a virile image, especially attractive to radical male intellectuals of a generation naively worshipful of 'common' men of action. Indeed part of his appeal has always been his capacity to make intellectual life seem manly, not effeminate, a calling of unusual adventure, larger than life. Male intellectuals have therefore projected their own dreams onto him, romanticizing his life as the saga of a world-historical individual somehow managing to touch all the major currents of his age, from poverty to imperialism to fascism. In all this Orwell has seemed the quintessential public writer – and the public sphere is the one to which men have traditionally felt called and compelled (225. Italics in the original).

Orwell's markedly masculine stance has been rewarded by male readers. As Rodden notes, the critics, who played the largest role in his reputation building and, more importantly, for whom Orwell stood as an intellectual model, have been men. For them Orwell was not just a "political or generational exemplar", a figure whose ethos guided them in all urgent public issues of their day, but an "inspirational gender model" to which they might as well have been blind: "male critics have been peculiarly silent as to the significance of Orwell's reputation among male intellectuals and his special masculine appeal" (Rodden 212). Their silence might have been due to their being unaware of this factor in Orwell's appeal, just as Orwell was probably unconscious of his own emphatic masculinity. The recognition of masculinity on the part of some critics was not coupled with a critical stance either.

Quite to the contrary, Paul Potts, for instance, in his "Quixote on a Bicycle" assures his one-time friend of unconditional praise for everything he was, including his unquestionable masculinity. "He was very masculine; not necessarily a bad thing in a man, but in the sense that he was every inch a man, and not in the sense that he was a penny-halfpenny trying to be tuppence" (Potts 250). However, the exaltation of masculinity gains an unpleasant taste when it becomes the ideal in opposition to femininity, as when Potts goes on to applaud Orwell's kindness: "He was kind looking but it was a masculine kindness – most kindness isn't" (Potts 250). Christopher Hitchens, intent on saving Orwell from feminist claws, argues that if "viewed with discrimination", Orwell's prejudice turns out to be against "the sexless woman, or the woman who has lost her sex and become shrivelled and/or mannish" (150). Without supporting his view from Orwell's text, he comments on the phenomenon as being an "old male trope" and adds that it conforms to Orwell's wider dislike of anything 'unnatural'. The quotation marks of the latter word reflects an awareness of the distinction between biological and acquired social attributes but one wonders whether his suspicion of Orwell's being a captive of the 'old male trope' is not a revelation

of his own preferences. Self-revealing passages are to be found not only in Orwell's critical statements but also in the commentary of Orwell's observers. According to Rodden, "[j]ust as some of Orwell's critical statements on Dickens, Swift, Tolstoy, and Kipling tell us more about him than about them, observers' comments on Orwell not infrequently amount less to literary criticism than to self- and group-analysis" (9). Instead of sex – Orwell showed an interest in both boyish as well as womanly women – it would have been cleverer of Hitchens to argue in terms of gender: Orwell's prejudice was more probably rooted in a fear of the mix of social roles, as his hatred of feminists attests. His denouncement of women taking up traditionally masculine roles like, as we will see, Lady Rhondda and Lady Astor, as well as his criticism of men retreating into traditionally female passivity or even softness is obviously linked to the perception of gender roles rather than to preference for sexuality.

Dethronement by Feminism

The dragging of Orwell down from his pedestal was likely to happen after the peak of the Orwell cult in the 1980s and that it was accomplished by feminist criticism is – with some hindsight – reasonable. After all, Orwell's views on women seriously contradict his claim for the stature of a champion of decency and moral fairness. The force of the beat of feminist criticism might be explained by the fact that the hagiography which drew mainly on a selective reading of his corpus concealed the quite fallible human being with his quite contradictory and therefore overlooked statements in the background. His shortcomings remained unchallenged for a long time: thus, the blow was all the more forceful. Daphne Patai's *The Orwell Mystique* of 1980, the first and only book-long feminist critique of Orwell's oeuvre, traced all of his shortcomings back to his hypertrophied masculinity. Androcentrism, writes Patai, "unifies Orwell's diverse pet peeves, his fear of socialism and the machine, his nostalgia for the past, his misogyny, his attraction to the experience of war, and the conservatism apparent in his carefully circumscribed challenge to hierarchy and inequality" (14). Beatrix Campbell in *Wigan Pier Revisited*, written in 1984, also pointed out Orwell's masculine concern, his focus on unemployment and deprivation as phenomena concerning primarily the male members of the population. She observed that the poor conditions of the industrial north fascinated Orwell only in respect of male miners and the equally arduous female labour deployed in the cotton industry avoided his attention.

John Rodden argues that beside the feminist inclination to ignore the necessary priority of the issues of fascism, communism and economic depression over the issues of gender in Orwell's time, his exceptionally unfortunate case with feminist critics could be due to his exalted status as a champion of justice and decency. "How can one be a truly 'popular' hero," asks Rodden, "and not stand as the champion of half of humanity? Feminists across the political spectrum ask, justly, about Orwell. [...] Fairly, or not, feminists have

expected more of Orwell than of his contemporaries, they have wanted him to be Trilling's and Spender's 'extraordinary ordinary man' on women's issues too" (224). And realising that he did not meet their expectations, their disappointment has been strong. Heightened expectations, as always, have led to a more intense feeling of resentment, giving way to absolute rejection: the feminist revision has been the strongest challenge to Orwell's reputation. The issues he was so concerned with – politics, economy, poverty, class-distinctions – were ones belonging to the public realm traditionally assigned to be dealt with and solved by men and he displayed no sensitivity to the "petty disasters" of women, as he termed women's concerns in a review of a female author in 1946 (*CW* 18, 175).

The exclusion of 'common woman' from his notion of 'common man' was not only a linguistic carelessness to which he was otherwise especially alert. Consequently, "many women," says Rodden, "cannot 'read themselves into' Orwell very easily. They come to him with the expectation that he speaks to 'the common reader', only to find the dialogue virtually closed. His reader seems to be the common *male* reader, and the disappointment is keen" (225). In the eyes of feminists, Orwell's blindness to women's issues and his own emphatic masculinity calls into question, perhaps even invalidates, his commitment to social justice. Unfortunately, his exploration of racial and economic oppression was never coupled with a revelation of gender polarisation, the values dictated by his 'democratic socialism' failed to question the notion of male superiority. It is this weakness which, feminists contend, invalidates his concern for social justice. As Patai complains, his gender ideology "conflicts with his attacks on hierarchy and injustice, which remain woefully incomplete, even hypocritical" ("Despair" 88).

A Phobia of Feminism

There is no way of denying that Orwell did much to let feminists down. That he was "not sensitive" to women's rights, as Rodden puts it, is euphemistic for the intolerance he displayed towards feminists and birth control supporters in his time. In *The Road to Wigan Pier* he included feminists and "birth-control fanatics" in his (in)famous list of "cranks" – fruit-juice drinkers, nudists, sandal-wearers, sex-maniacs, Quakers, 'Nature Cure' quacks and pacifists – all these are assumed to be attracted with "magnetic force" to socialism, thereby threatening its renown (*CW* 5, 161). No wonder that he invited the label "anti-crank crank". Roger Fowler points out that lists, or in Hakan Ringbom's study of Orwell's language "series", are highly typical of Orwell when passionate and damning. The syntax of listing has a levelling effect, it implies that the items in the list are much the same and using the plural forms of the items suggests a highly stereotypical thinking. Fowler is very much critical on Orwell's use of lists:

> The use of list structures [...] is an extreme and absurd technique of criticism. Lists lack logic and discrimination. They reduce everything to the same level, and therefore are offensive to some of things listed, which quite obviously have merit outside of this context: Quakers and tinned food, for instance. If Orwell is not making clear discriminations in this list, it is because he is proceeding in a tone of raucous mockery; it is, however, close to intemperance and intolerance (59).

Other disdainful remarks on feminists suggest that the inclusion of feminists in the list was not only for the purpose of "raucous mockery." In the dark vision of the future he depicted in a letter to Brenda Salkeld in 1933 Orwell considered a "fearful tribe" of feminists to be one of the threats to civilisation. He reflected on two directions toward which the world could move: a complete overthrow of the present order by means of a revolution or the continuing and consummate hegemony of business accompanied by the feminists' coming into power:

> A few years ago I thought it rather fun to reflect that our civilisation is doomed, but now it fills me above all else with boredom to think of the horrors that will be happening within ten years – either some appalling calamity, with revolution and famine, or else all-round trustification and Fordification, with the entire population reduced to docile wage-slaves, our lives utterly in the hands of the bankers, and a fearful tribe of Lady Astors and Lady Rhonddas et hoc genus riding us like succubi in the name of Progress (*CW* 10, 317).

It is worth giving the two ladies mentioned in this apocalyptic vision a more objective assessment. Nancy Astor, the first woman to enter the House of Commons, was a member of parliament throughout almost all of Orwell's career, from 1919 until 1945. She was an advocate of temperance and women's rights. She campaigned to lower the age for women's suffrage to twenty one, for equal rights in the Civil Service and was a supporter of the nursery schools of Margaret McMillan. In the year when Nancy Astor took her seat in the House of Commons, there was another woman candidate for a seat, even more scandalous, in the august body of the House of Lords, Lady Rhondda, born Margaret Haig Thomas. Having joined the Pankhursts' organisation, the Women's Social and Political Union, and having carried out small acts of militancy in the fight for women's vote in the early 1900s, it was matter-of-course that Margaret Rhondda should attempt to take the seat of her deceased father – with whom she was on good terms and worked closely during the First World War – in the House of Lords in 1919. The lords were, of course, terrified and quickly set up committees to reject her claim. The House of Lords admitted women into its body only in 1958. In a debate between Lady Rhondda and G.K. Chesterton over the question of the (un)desirability of leisured women in society, Bernard Shaw, the chair, introduced Lady Rhondda as the terror of the House of Lords. "She is a peeress

in her own right. She is also an extremely capable woman of business, and the House of Lords has risen up and said, 'If Lady Rhondda comes in here, we go away!' They feel there would be such a show-up of the general business ignorance and imbecility of the male sex as never was before" (Quoted by Eastman, *Christian Science Monitor*, 8 March 1920)

Viscount Rhondda had left to his daughter not only his title, but full possession and control of his properties. She inherited an active place in the financial world and she kept her feet. She was considered a talented and successful businesswoman (*CW* 10, 317). In 1920 she founded an independent weekly, *Time and Tide*, whose editing she took over from the initial editor in 1926. A large number of the contributors to the magazine were women: Vera Brittain, Winifred Holtby, Virginia Woolf, Crystal Eastman, Nancy Astor, Emmeline Pankhurst, Olive Schreiner, Rebecca West, Rose Macaulay, Naomi Mitchison, and Elisabeth Robins. As Margaret Rhondda put it in its first issue, *Time and Tide* came into being in order to fill a gap in the press. The idea behind it was to create "a paper which is in fact concerned neither specially with men nor specially with women, but with human beings. [...] the press of today, although with self-conscious, painstaking care it now inserts 'and women' every time it chances to use the word 'men' scarcely succeeds in attaining to such an ideal!" (*Time and Tide*, 14 May 1920) Though the magazine must have lost some of its early feminist zeal as the Second World War loomed, there is some irony in the fact that Orwell found his first war-time job in 1940 as a regular movie and theatre reviewer for this, in its hay-day, feminist periodical.

Not belying the link between patriotism and a profound interest in population policy, his increasing patriotism during the Second World War made Orwell all the more adamant on birth control, a main issue of feminism. As a mitigating circumstance Rodden emphasises the importance of evaluating Orwell's stance against contraception within the larger context of raging eugenics in the first decades of the century. The eugenic propagation for selective breeding and the sterilisation of the C3 population promoted by such controversial figures as Marie Stopes and Margaret Sanger definitely brought discredit on the contraception campaign, but it does not justify Orwell's understanding of procreation as a public issue to be handled on the basis of the needs of the nation. Such a point of view emerges from assessing the population as a source of power, which beside Malthusianism and Eugenics, has been one of the main anti-individual discourses trespassing on women's reproductive rights (Yuval-Davis 34).

Furthermore, it cannot at all be claimed with certainty that Orwell was more than superficially familiar with the movement. His disparagement of "birth-control fanatics" *might* refer to Marie Stopes but that he "evidently equated the movement with Marie Stopes and Margaret Sanger" as Rodden claims, is only a conjecture, with no evidence in Orwell's texts. He never put the names of these two women or the word 'eugenics' down on paper. The awareness of his lifelong preoccupation with people of disadvantageous background invites one to

surmise that familiarity with slogans promoting the curtailment of unwanted population would have set his hypersensitivity to abuse in action. Stopes was shining in Britain in the 1910s and 20s, by the 30s she was fading as opposition to her extreme position hardened. By the time Orwell pronounced his anti-contraception stance, her activities – though not their effects – were a thing of the past. The only vague reference by Orwell to eugenics justifies it: "Thirty years ago, even ten or fifteen years ago, to advocate smaller families was a mark of enlightenment. The key phrases were 'surplus population' and 'the multiplication of the unfit'" (*CW* 19, 82).

Orwell's anti-contraception stance was not so much a demonstration against "birth-control fanatics" as a result of an essentially public-minded and conservative way of thinking, looking upon child-bearing mainly as a source of national vitality. In "The English People" he expressed anxiety about the dwindling English birth-rate – in times of war a logical and expected reaction for a public-minded patriot. He proposed the classical remedy: encouraging child bearing through favourable economic policies, including lightened taxation:

> The philoprogenitive instinct will probably return when fairly large families are already the rule, but the first steps towards this must be economic ones. [...] Any government, by a few strokes of the pen, could make childlessness as unbearable an economic burden as a big family is now: but no government has chosen to do so, because of the ignorant idea that a bigger population means more unemployed. Far more drastically than anyone has proposed hitherto, taxation will have to be graded so as to encourage child-bearing and to save women with young children from being obliged to work outside the home (*CW* 16, 223).

His proposal for child-friendly measures (kindergartens, play-grounds, bigger and more convenient flats, free education) was unfortunately coupled with the idea of keeping women beside the stove, harsher penalties for abortion and a disapproval of the tendency to avoid the drudgery a large family imposes on women. Orwell's concern was demographically adequate breeding and lacked any consideration of procreation as a private matter of individuals. Being anxious for his country in the shadow of the threateningly increasing population of Nazi Germany, he regarded birth-control and abortion as impediments to the growth of the English population. The thought that these means are devices for women to control their own bodies and lives apparently never occurred to him. Orwell's proposals in "The English People" are, according to Woodcock, "probably the most truly reactionary he ever made, including such familiar devices as the crushing penal taxation of childless people and a more rigorous repression of abortion. It shows Orwell at his most authoritarian, but it also shows an aspect of his thought which cannot be ignored" (261).

But What is the Matter with Women?

Feminism aside, having an aversion for the movement, its concerns and for some of its members does not explain away Orwell's often expressly contemptuous attitude towards women. Rodden is incorrect when he criticises feminists on the grounds that their charges of Orwell's misogyny and contempt for women "equate his scattered comments dismissive of feminism with woman-hatred in general" (213). It should not be blurred that Orwell belittled women. That his condescension to women can be deduced from scattered remarks only, does not invalidate the criticism; just as the irregularity of his dismissive remarks about 'Jews' does not exempt him from the charge of his having an anti-Semitic attitude in spite of his declared stance against anti-Semitism. While he knew better than to consciously differentiate based on race or religion, nevertheless, his irritation at Jewish habits justifies his friend Malcolm Muggeridge's conjecture that he was "inclined at times to be vaguely anti-Semitic" (Muggeridge 172).

What shall we think of 'scattered' remarks like "[o]ne of the surest signs of his [Joseph Conrad's] genius is that women dislike his books" (*CEJL* 1, 227), or "[d]oubtless Gissing is right in implying all through his books that intelligent women are very rare animals, and if one wants to marry a woman who is intelligent *and* pretty, then the choice is still further restricted, according to a well-known arithmetical rule. It is like being allowed to choose only among albinos, and left-handed albinos at that" (*CEJL* 4, 431). In our day, when the historical situation allows us to deal with luxuries like the position of women in society, such statements do sound grievous, and there is something to be said against them even if we take the different historical context into consideration. Though feminist criticism has often run to extremes on Orwell's misogyny, it was undeniably Orwell who occasioned the charge.

Facing the charge of misogyny, Rodden warns the reader not to overlook Orwell's respectful comments about feminism and women's issues, which, drawing on Arthur Eckstein's observation, were on the rise from the mid-1940s, while, at the same time, his condescending remarks about feminism and women's capacities diminished greatly (436, n97). Rodden points out that Orwell reviewed Hilda Martindale's *From One Generation to Another* in 1944 and Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* in 1945 favourably. His praise of Martindale's book is indeed unrestrained but is mainly directed at Martindale's efforts as a factory inspector to expose the atrocious working conditions into which employers forced their female and child labourers until almost the beginning of the Great War. The blunt truth-teller about the working conditions of male labourers in Wigan could not but welcome Martindale, who gave attention to female employees as well, all the more so since she had "none of the bitter anti-masculine feeling that feminist writers used to have." He solemnly concluded that Martindale's "own career, and the self-confidence and independent outlook that she evidently showed from the very start, bear out the

claim that women are the equals of men in everything except physical strength" (*CW* 17, 271). Unfortunately, the declaration of such a statement ironically bespeaks of a need to be reminded of or convinced by it.

Orwell lavished much less praise on Woolf's book, which has, of course, become a substantive text of feminist criticism. Noting the central argument of Woolf's book, the need for women to have financial independence, Orwell cuts his review short and disregards the myriad implications of Woolf's refined text. He concludes that "[a]t times this book rather overstates the drawbacks from which women suffer, but almost anyone of the male sex could read it with advantage" (*CW* 17, 288). Patai draws attention to the "uncharacteristically circumspect and wary tone" of the review, "he neither engages the book nor strongly contradicts its premises. He is clearly on his guard" (20). Rodden notes that Orwell's positive statements – including these reviews – are from the mid-1940s, supporting the impression that Orwell's views on women's issues, "though they hardly became progressive, were not static throughout his life" (437, n112). Rodden ascribes the "evolution of his attitudes" possibly to his marriage to Eileen O'Shaughnessy and the adoption of their son. Taking a few positive comments to be an evolution of attitudes, however, disregards the ongoing undercurrent of Orwell's negative attitude towards women and feminism, which came to the surface from time to time even after he had made concessions. Just after he had been convinced by Martindale's book and personality that women were not inferior to men, he began shilly-shallying again when he found in a privately conducted sociological 'survey' that women could not pass the intelligence test:

> Here is a little problem sometimes used as an intelligence test.
> A man walked four miles due south from his house and shot a bear. He then walked two miles due west, then walked another four miles due north and was back at his home again. What was the colour of the bear?
> The interesting point is that – so far as my own observations go – men usually see the answer to this problem and women do not (*CW* 16, 277).

In the spring of 1945 as a war correspondent he had the opportunity to observe the municipal elections in France, in which women voted for the first time in French history. Though the caption of his article for the *Manchester Evening News* promises some discussion of this historic event, it cannot be argued that Orwell attributes too much significance to it. Indeed, rather to the contrary, his speculations imply an anxiety at the forthcoming results of women's "venture into public life." "By far the most important unknown factor is the attitude of the women," he writes. Drawing a mysterious connection between the Church and women, he worries that "[i]t is possible that the Church may as in the past, make an authoritative pronouncement against certain political doctrines, especially

Communism: in which case the large female vote might be a very serious handicap for the parties of the Left" (*CW* 17, 126). Three weeks later he covered the elections for the *Observer*, informing the British that the results showed a general leftward slide. His anxieties and predictions were not justified – he was silent about these just as about women's participation in the vote at all.

In a review of D.H. Lawrence's *The Prussian Officer* he deduces from one of the stories, "The White Stocking", the simple moral that "women behave better if they get a sock on the jaw occasionally" (*CW* 17, 386). Apropos of Orwell's "Books v. Cigarettes", which appeared in *Tribune* in February 1946, a correspondent justly suspects him of an exclusively male perspective. Intending to examine the question whether low book-consumption is due to the high price of books, Orwell compares reading habits mainly to traditionally male spare-time activities: drinking, smoking, going to the dogs, and the pub. Joyce Sharpey-Shafer wonders whether since women and children "don't appear to need beer and cigarettes as much as men" did that mean he implied they did not need books either (*CW* 18, 97)? In describing his ideal pub, the Moon Under Water, Orwell displays a similarly male-centric, somewhat paternalistic attitude. The Moon Under Water is an unmistakably nineteenth-century public house in appearance: "its whole architecture and fittings are uncompromisingly Victorian" with grained woodwork, open fires burning in the bars (a separate one for women) – its atmosphere and mentality are similarly Victorian. The motherly barmaids are middle-aged women, who call everyone dear, irrespective of age and sex. The greatest asset of the pub is its garden, where the family members can entertain themselves while Dad is having his fun. The garden "allows whole families to go there instead of Mum having to stay at home and mind the baby while Dad goes out alone." Believing this to be progressive-minded ("It is the puritanical nonsense of excluding children – and therefore, to some extent, women – from pubs that has turned these places into mere boozing shops instead of the family gathering places that they ought to be" [*CW* 18, 100]), he only fits the need of the family to that of the husband.

An assumption of male superiority is inherent in his citation of Babylonian marriage customs in the columns of *Tribune* (June 1944). He quotes a passage from the Penguin version of *Herodotus*, which gives an account of the system the Babylonians designed to portion out maidens of marriageable age:

> Once a year in each village the maidens of an age to marry were collected altogether into one place, while the men stood round them in a circle. Then the herald called up the damsels one by one and offered them for sale. He began with the most beautiful. When she was sold for no small sum of money, he offered for sale the one who came next to her in beauty […] The custom was that when the herald had gone through the whole number of the beautiful damsels, he should then call up the ugliest and offer her to the men, asking who would agree to take her with the smallest marriage portion. And the man who offered to

take the smallest sum had her assigned to him. The marriage portions
were furnished by the money paid for the beautiful damsels, and thus
the fairer maidens portioned out the uglier (*CW* 16, 246).

Unfortunately, Orwell does not elucidate his standpoint on the issue or what his
point is at all in setting forth this old patriarchal custom, which flies in the face
of the concept of the emancipation of women in the 19th and 20th centuries. The
two sentences he adds as a kind of comment and conclusion are ambiguous and
uninformative on his assessment of the custom: "This custom seems to have
worked very well and Herodotus is full of enthusiasm for it. He adds, however,
that, like other good customs, it was already going out round about 450 B.C."
(*CW* 16, 247). Does he approve of the positive discrimination with which the
design helped to even out the inequalities of nature and portioned out the ugly
maidens with money received for the beautiful ones? Even if he can be credited
with such an egalitarian spirit, the question remains whether he noticed the
subordinate relation of human beings inherent in the custom at all. In a letter to
David Astor in 1948 he again gave evidence of his doubtful concept of human
relations along gender lines. Drawing a comparison between horses and humans,
he wrote to Astor: "Bobbie [Astor's horse] is here & in good form. He is bigger
than the other horse, Bill's mare, & oppresses her a great deal, but she likes
being with him, which I suppose shows that women like that kind of thing
really" (*CW* 19, 485).

Significantly, all the examples, mentioned above, of Orwell's inherent
assumption of male superiority are from the mid-1940s, which does not lend
support to Rodden's claims about an evolution in his attitude. Though Orwell
summed up his time spent at the BBC during the war as two wasted years (from
August 1941 to November 1943) and he came to be very critical of the BBC's
influence on young artists (describing the organisation as "a mixture of
whoreshop and lunatic asylum"), it brought him into contact with a wide range
of his literary contemporaries, as well as scientists, historians, and politicians.
The programmes he had to produce included talks on science, art, politics, and
religion, such as discussions of *The Social Contract, The Koran, Das Kapital*,
social problems including minority issues, issues of colour, and the status of
women – and because of these he was probably forced to think over some of his
ideas. He was alerted, for example, to the delicate issue of the naming of
nationalities by the Eurasian writer Cedric Dover. Whereas earlier he admittedly
found pleasure in annoying the Scottish by referring to them as "Scotchmen",
during and after his employment at the BBC he emphasised the importance of
avoiding insulting nicknames on several occasions and went through *Burmese
Days* to change troublesome nationality designations to politically correct ones
before the reprinting of his book. However, the impetus was not an internal
incentive but an adjustment to external expectations, therefore, a relapse into an
old habit was to be expected. In "Revenge is Sour", written for *Tribune* in
November 1945, he dwelt on the absurdity of revengeful emotions occasioned

by the sight of a Jewish Viennese officer getting his own revenge for his people on the Nazis by kicking a captured SS-officer. Criticising the little attention Orwell ever paid to the holocaust and its aftermath, Tosco Fyvel did not conceal his indignation at Orwell's designation of the Viennese officer as "the Jew" and "the little Jew" right through the article (180).

The BBC might have exerted some influence on his views on women's issues as well. Contemplating the possible relation of Yeats' political conservatism and his leaning towards occultism, Orwell claims that "[t]hose who dread the prospect of universal suffrage, popular education, freedom of thought, emancipation of women, will start off with a predilection towards secret cults" (*CW* 14, 282). Universal suffrage and emancipation of women are very unorwellian concerns, what's more, the terms are rarely if ever used in his writings. By the time Orwell wrote the review on Yeats, he had been working for a year and a half at the BBC, where – among others – he was responsible for organising the talks of "The Cradle and the Desk", a series discussing the emancipation of women. In describing the programme to Ethel Mannin in a 1942 invitation to her, however, he included his personal reservations about the need for and (male) desirability of women's emancipation: "This, of course, is a subject of great interest in India, and roughly what we want discussed is how far women benefit by escaping from home and whether in the long run it is desirable for them to undertake the same work as men" (*CW* 13, 474). Just as the BBC – through the people he met there and worked with – might have prompted him to think twice about nationalities, he might have been impelled to conform to progressive views on issues of gender. However, beside the quite few positive statements, denigrating phrases kept popping up from time to time just as in the 1930s, which suggests that, running counter to the assumption of a developing attitude, his ideas basically remained unchanged. Negative statements, unfortunately, weigh more heavily than positive ones, they even tend to invalidate or considerably decrease the honesty of the latter. What is more, the upheaval of patriotic feeling triggered by the Second World War involved, as the final part of this paper will show, acceptance of the regressive gender policy of mainstream society and a confirmation of traditional gender roles.

National Loyalty, Popular Culture and All That Follow

Orwell's patriotic transformation at the outbreak of the Second World War precipitated a commitment to majority society and his writings on English popular culture can be seen as the by-product of his new ideological identity as a socialist patriot (Rai 101). After a tradition of elitist assumptions about the rigid categories of high and low culture, Orwell's initiative to study popular art seriously, and thereby bridge the gulf between the intellectual and the common man, is now seen as a radical change in outlook. An important legacy of Orwell for popular culture criticism, says Rodden, was to demonstrate how popular art offered insight into the public mind and to alert readers to ideologies underlying

such works of art (233). Whereas having a sharp eye, as always, for political tendencies, Orwell pointed out the conservative outlook inherent in popular culture, for example, in popular boys' weeklies (*The Gem* and *The Magnet*); his reception of music hall comedies and seaside postcards suggests that he was blind to the equally conservative and regressive gender policy underlying much of the humour of popular culture. In the review of *Applesauce* for *Time and Tide* in 1940, he insists on the importance of the continued existence of the Max Miller-type English comedian, who specialises in "utter baseness": "They express something which is valuable in our civilisation and which might drop out of it in certain circumstances" (*CW* 12, 253). Beside lowness and vulgarity, their great virtue is that "their genius is entirely masculine" and "they are intensely national". Vulgarity is an exclusively masculine (perhaps even virile) virtue – "a woman cannot be low without being disgusting" (*CW* 12, 253). Something similar is suggested by Orwell's lament that "English humour was being 'purified' for the benefit of a new, largely feminine, public" in his 1949 review of *The English Comic Album* (*CW* 20, 12).

An analysis of the comic seaside postcards of Donald McGill, which appeared in *Horizon* in 1941 and was reprinted in *Critical Essays* in 1946, gave Orwell an opportunity to relegate men and women to their appropriate tasks and roles in life. The examination of the postcards is launched by calling for the cooperation of the imaginary reader: "Get hold of a dozen of these things," "spread them out on a table," What do you see?" "What do these things remind you of?" "What are they so like?" are the imperatives and interrogatives marking the dialogic stance – of course answers are provided to the questions to guide the reader to the preferred point of view: "Your first impression is of overpowering vulgarity. […] Your second impression, however, is of indefinable familiarity" (*CW* 13, 24). Roger Fowler notes that the orders and schoolmasterly questions suggest an "energetic interrogator who is putting great pressure on the reader to agree with Orwell's interpretation of this cultural phenomenon" (45).

After a neutral, even critical, analysis of outlook, content, typical subject matter, language and target audience of comic postcards, the essay in the second half develops into a highly subjective assessment of the virtues the postcards are intended to represent – indeed the last passages constitute an ode to, and defence of, their "overpowering vulgarity", their "ever-present obscenity" and their "utter lowness of mental atmosphere." The woman with the stuck-out behind, the voluptuous figure with the body-hugging dress and with breasts and buttocks grossly over-emphasised is a dominant, recurrent motif of the postcards even when the joke has nothing to do with sex. "There can be no doubt," concludes Orwell, "that these pictures lift the lid off a very widespread repression, natural enough in a country whose women when young tend to be slim to the point of skimpishness" (*CW* 13, 27). But here Orwell makes a distinction between the McGill postcards and papers like *The Esquire* and *La Vie Parisienne*. Whereas the humour of McGill's postcards only gains meaning with a strict moral code in the background, the imaginary background of the jokes in *The Esquire* and *La*

Vie Parisienne is promiscuity, "the utter breakdown of all standards" (*CW* 13, 27). Bound up with this, says Orwell, is the tendency of the well-to-do, *Esquire*-type women to prolong their youth and preserve their sexual attraction with cosmetics and the avoidance of child-bearing. As opposed to this, "youth's a stuff will not endure" is the normal attitude, the "ancient wisdom" that McGill reflects by allowing no transition figures between the honeymoon couple and the glamourless Mum and Dad. Expecting a drop in the standard of living (in 1941 with due reason) and a rise in the birth-rate, Orwell is looking forward to the retreat of young-at-forty, face-lifted ladies and the reappearance of drudges exhausted by housework and a succession of child-beds. "When it comes to the pinch," writes Orwell, "human beings are heroic. Women face childbed and the scrubbing brush, revolutionaries keep their mouths shut in the torture chamber, battleships go down with their guns still firing when their decks are awash" (*CW* 13, 30). The McGill postcards, concludes Orwell, are a sort of rebellion against virtue and the seriousness of life. The Sancho Panza element in man, "the lazy, cowardly, debt-bilking adulterer" cannot entirely be suppressed and will find an outlet from time to time: "On the whole, human beings want to be good, but not too good, and not quite all the time" (*CW* 13, 30).

The world Orwell envisages with overly good human beings is a sharply divided world with heroic men acting, fighting and dying glorified in the public realm and equally heroic women accomplishing their less noble task of bearing children, scrubbing with their brushes (implying the assumption that the two necessarily go hand in hand) and ending their lives quietly, deprived of any exploit deserving the attention of posterity. The McGill postcards invert this order for a moment, but, quite significantly, only with respect to men. The jokes reveal the unofficial self, whose "tastes lie towards safety, soft beds, no work, pots of beer and women with 'voluptuous' figures. He it is who punctures your fine attitudes and urges you to look after Number One, to be unfaithful to your wife, to bilk your debts, and so on and so forth" (*CW* 13, 29). Apart from being self-contradictory by acknowledging a wish for promiscuity condemned in the world of *The Esquire* and *La Vie Parisienne*, rebellion is only seen from a male perspective. In the nature of the momentary wish of women facing "childbed and the scrubbing brush" Orwell was not interested, or perhaps it did not occur to him, that they could have such momentary wishes at all. If McGill's postcards primarily addressed men, Orwell surely did not question or even find it peculiar enough to mention. He accepted uncritically the sexual stereotypes and gender ideology underlying the majority of such post cards.

George Woodcock in *The Crystal Spirit* shrewdly establishes a link between the McGill postcard image of worn-out housewives and the prole woman hanging out her washing in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Winston Smith feels a "mystical reverence" for the woman tormented but not crushed down by her share of life.

> The woman down there has no mind, she had only strong arms, a warm heart, and a fertile belly. He wondered how many children she had given birth to. It might easily be fifteen. She had had her momentary flowering, a year, perhaps, of wildrose beauty, and then she had suddenly swollen like a fertilized fruit and grown hard and red and coarse, and then her life had been laundering, scrubbing, darning, cooking, sweeping, polishing, mending, scrubbing, laundering, first for children, then for grandchildren, over thirty unbroken years. At the end of it she was still singing (*CW* 9, 229).

The idealisation of the self-sacrificing maternal woman affirms Orwell's adherence to a society based on sexual polarisation. As long as the woman bears and rears children, there is no risk of her interfering with the man's world and thereby threatening his privileges. Patai is right in observing that Orwell "lives in a mental space peopled largely by men, with women providing the domestic background for the activities of men, breeding and rearing the next generation, and of course valorizing the masculine role by embodying a contrasting and inferiorized feminity" (249).

Conclusion

Far from precipitating an evolution of his attitude to women and feminism, Orwell's turn towards the nation, held together by essentially conserving forces, like tradition, national customs, culture, the family, and virtues like commitment, self-sacrifice, courage; this volte-face deepened his adherence to a normative society that assigns well-defined roles to men and women and shows intolerance towards phenomena and people not fitting its requirements. George L. Mosse points out that the stepping over of the boundaries of roles poses a hazard to a society whose functioning depends on the acceptance and prevalence of a traditional value system in which masculine values like honour, loyalty and the submission of the individual to higher goals are a main force (12). In this sense masculinity and the adherence to traditional masculine values, according to Mosse, is a conservative phenomenon and restricts individual freedom. Smelling abnormal or unconventional manners and behaviour, like those involved in feminism or homosexuality, manliness "pulls in the reins", strengthens the conventional, the years between the two world wars being an especially regressive period from such an aspect (Mosse 168). Orwell was unfortunately no exception to the period that Cunningham describes as being well immersed in misogyny. Though keen on collecting grievances and hypersensitive to abuse wherever he found it, be it imperial oppression in India or political terror in Spain, he was not perceptive to the much subtler abuses involved in gender polarisation. The curve from a terror of a "fearful tribe" of feminists to the uncritical acceptance of the male perspective of popular culture is not much of

an evolution of attitude deserving defence, not even if the recognition of this aspect of Orwell's ethos involves our being deprived of an intellectual hero.

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The Subjunctive in Old English and Middle English

Éva Kovács

1 Introduction

The subjunctive in English is a fairly marginal and rather controversial topic of grammar. In fact, it is usually described as moribund, fossilized and almost extinct in Present-Day English. Although it was very common in Old English and in Middle English, it started to lose ground already in the Middle English period. In recent years, some grammarians, however, refer to the revival of the subjunctive, especially in AmE. Analysing the subjunctive, Quirk et al. (1985:155-158) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002:993-1003) also refer to the more frequent use of the subjunctive in American English.

This seems to have been justified by Johansson and Norheim (1988), who in their study on the subjunctive compared its usage in the American Brown Corpus (cf. Francis and Kučera 1979) and the British LOB Corpus (cf. Johansson et al. 1978). The commonest type of the subjunctive, the mandative subjunctive, which is used in *that* clauses after expressions of demand, order, suggestion, etc., was found to be the normal choice in the Brown Corpus whereas it had a very low occurrence in the LOB Corpus. When it occured in the latter, the verb was *be*, mainly used in the passive, which illustrates the formal nature of the subjunctive in British English. The formulaic subjunctive, which is used in some fossilized phrases expressing hope, or wish, turned out to be rare in both corpora. Similarly, the base-form subjunctive in adverbial clauses, mainly conditional clauses seemed to be infrequent with only a few examples in fairly formal texts with the verb *be* in both corpora. The only exception was the subjunctive in clauses of negative purpose introduced by the formal and archaic sounding *lest*, which tends to be more typical of American English. As for the *were* subjunctive, which is the dominant choice in hypothetical conditional clauses and in clauses introduced by *as if* and *as though,* both corpora showed the same tendencies with the *were* subjunctive being more frequent than indicative *was*.

It is also noteworthy that the American Charles Finney (1999-2000) clearly argues in defence of the subjunctive saying that "the subjunctive mood is a beautiful and valuable component of the English language, and instead of dying out, it actually is enjoying a subtle revival." It is supported by his corpus of about 160 examples taken from different types of registers, movies, radio and television programmes, newspapers and even conversations that he overheard or

participated in between 1996 and 2004. As an illustration let us consider some of his examples:

Conversations:

(1) It's not really <u>vital</u> he *be involved* in this call. Conversation (2001-04-03)

I was going to <u>request</u> that they [television sets] *be turned down*. Conversation with Allison Miller (1999-12-01)

It is <u>important</u> that he *tell* the truth now, <u>lest</u> he *be doubted* later. Conversation (1999-10-19)

Televison, radio:

(2) The ultimate <u>goal</u> of the Arabs is that the distinction *be made* ... News, National

Public Radio (USA) (2001-01-19)

Harris was <u>determined</u> that the film *be* authentic. CBS Sunday Morning (US television) (2001-02-11)

Growing up, my mother was so <u>concerned</u> that we *not be brought up* as "cheap" Irish. It was so <u>important</u> to my mother that we *be thought* of as classic, "lace-curtain" Irish. Conan O'Brien, *Tonight Show with Jay Leno* (2001-01-23)

It is <u>imperative</u> that everyone *play* pianissimo during the spoken monologue. From the series "Frasier" (US television) (2000-04-13)

Movies:

(3) <u>If</u> it *were not* for the pleadings of my granddaughter, you would be dead already. <u>If</u> you *weren't* a Doone, I could almost like you. From the movie, *Lorna Doone* (2000) (A&E, US television) (2001-03-11)

There was a man in there who knew exactly what he wanted, and I found myself <u>wishing</u> I *were* as lucky as he. From the movie, *You've Got Mail* (1998)

It is <u>critical</u> that I *see* them. From the movie, *Sphere* (1998)

Both bones were porous, <u>as if</u> the virus or causative organism *were consuming* them. From the movie, *X-Files* (1998)

Newspapers:

(4) She said company lawyers also have <u>demanded</u> the Web site *be transferred* to their authority. Associated Press, printed in *The News-Sentinel* (Knoxville, Tennessee), p. D4 (1999-11-21)

I took all of the necessary information, but because of her attitude I did not <u>insist</u> that we *call* for a police officer. Letter to the syndicated column *Smart Money*, printed in *The News-Sentinel* (Knoxville, Tennessee), p. D2 (1999-11-21)

> A group of Albanians <u>demanded</u> that the U.N. Mission in Kosovo *put* its mascot stray dog, Unmik, to sleep because he is "Serbian". Chuck Shepherd, "News of the weird" (weekly syndicated column), *Metro Pulse* (Knoxville, Tennessee), p. 35 (2000-01-06)

In contrast, Jack English (2009) pointed out that Finney was wrong as "you can't show a revival by looking at a single point in time". To prove this, he examined the occurrence of the subjunctive in COCA (*The Corpus of Contemporary American English*). It is the corpus of contemporary American English, which contains more than 385 million words of text, including 20 million words each year from 1990-2008, and it is equally divided among spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts. As this corpus (The most recent texts are from late 2008) is updated every six to nine months, it serves as a unique record of linguistic changes in American English, and is supposed to give reliable data for the usage of the subjunctive as well. The author gives evidence for the clear drop in the usage of the subjunctive from 5.5/million words (1990-1994) to 3.6/million words (2005-2008).

Another interesting finding of English is that spoken English appears to be the biggest user of the subjunctive (5.8/million words), though academic English (5.3/million words) isn't far behind, which challenges the common view that the subjunctive is characteristic of mainly formal style. According to his results, the subjunctive occurs less frequently in newspapers (4.4/million words), magazines (3.8/million words) and fiction (3.1/million words). On the basis of the evidence above it appears that the use of the subjunctive is declining in American English not just in British English.

In spite of the alleged revival of the subjunctive, especially in American English, it is generally agreed that the inflectional subjunctive experienced a steady decline in the history of English. In fact, the most radical changes in the subjunctive took place in the Old English and the Middle English period, and it has not changed significantly since the beginning of the Early Modern English period (cf. Kovács 2009). The primary aim of this paper is to explore how this rather controversial aspect of the English language was used in Old English and Middle English, and to reveal what factors played a role in its process of dying.

2 The subjunctive in Old English (from the beginnings to 1066)

Being extremely common in Old English, the subjunctive mood had special formal, syntactic, and semantic characteristics. Basically it was used to express various modal meanings and was the mood selected by certain conjunctions.

In Old English, which had a rich inflectional system, verbs were inflected for person, number, tense and mood. As in all Germanic languages, there were only two tenses, present and past, and there were also three moods: indicative, subjunctive and imperative.

A regular strong verb such as *stelan* 'steal' had the following paradigm in classical Old English (Hogg 1992:150):

	Present		
	Indicative	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
1Sg	iċ stele	iċ stele	
2Sg	þu stelst	þu stele	stel!
3Sg	he stelð	he stele	
Plural	hī stelað	hī stelen	stelað!

	Past		
	Indicative	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
1Sg	iċ stæl	iċ stǣle	
2Sg	þu stǣle	þu stǣle	
3Sg	he stæl	he stǣle	
Plural	hī stǣlon	hī stǣlon	

Infinitive	stelan
Present Participle	stelend
Past Participle	ġestolen

As is clear from this example, the verb inflections of the subjunctive were less differentiated than those of the indicative, never distinguishing first, second and third person.

As for its functions, in OE the subjunctive was used to cast some doubt on the truth of the proposition or to express unreality, potentiality, exhortation, wishes, desires, requests, commands, prohibitions, obligation, hypotheses and conjectures (Traugott 1992:184, 239-240). Consider the following cases where the subjunctive was used in Old English:

- with mental verbs, such as *þencan* and *þyncan*
- with verbs of ordering and requesting, such as *bebeodan, batan* 'order, bid'
- verbs and adjective of being appropriate, such as *gedafenian* 'be fitting', *gebyrian* 'behoove', *selost beon* 'be best' and other predicate adjectives with BE, such as '*dyslic beon*' 'be foolish':

(5) Hit **gedafenað** þæt alleluia sy gesungen.
     It is-fitting that Alleluiah be sung.
     It is fitting that Alleluiah should be sung.

(6) dyslic bið þæt hwa woruldlice speda forhogie for
     foolish is that someone worldly goods despise for
     manna herunge of-men praise
     It is foolish to despise wordly goods in order to win the praise of men.

- with expressions of desire, such as *willan* 'will'

(7) Forðy ic wolde ðætte hie ealneg æt ðære stowe wæren (SUBJ).
     Therefore I wanted that they always at that place were.
     Therefore I wanted them always to be there.

The subjunctive is also widely used in reported speech, as is typical in the early Germanic languages. Originally this use may have been of the 'hear-say' type in which the reporter wishes to avoid commitment to the truth of what was reported, or wished to cast doubt on it:

(8) **Wulfstan** sæde þæt he gefore (SUBJ) of Hæðum, þæt
     Wulfstan said that he went from Hedeby that
     he wære (SUNJ) on Truso on syfan dagum & nihtum, ðæt þæt
     he was in Druzno in seven days and nights, that that
     scip wæs (INDIC) ealne weg yrnende under segle
     ship was all way running under sail.
     Wulstan said that he left from Hedeby, that reached Druzno in seven days and nights, and that the ship was running under full sail all the way.

As also noted by Fischer (1992:314), the subjunctive occured regularly in reported speech without any implication of uncertainty on the part of the speaker. In Old English the subjunctive could still be used in its original function of syntactic marker of subordination.

The hortative subjunctive was used in all persons except the first person singular (Traugott 1992:185):

(9) Ne **yldan** we na from dæge to dæge.
     Not let-us-delay we not from day to day.
     Let us not delay from day to day.
     God us gerihtlæce.
     God us correct.
     May God correct us.

Command or wish was expressed not only by the imperative, but by *uton (we)* + infinitive 'let us', which is, however, restricted to first-person plural (Fischer 1992:248):

(10) Ac uton we beon carfulle.
          But let us be careful.
          But let us be careful.

As far as dependent clauses are concerned, in Old English the subjunctive was used in concessive clauses and in clauses of comparison. Clauses of comparisons had the subjunctive mood when they were followed by an affirmative main clause, otherwise they were indicative. In conditional clauses the indicative mood was usual unless the main clause was non-indicative whereas in concessive clauses the subjunctive was the regular mood even when the main clause expressed something factual (Fischer 1992:349-356).

In terms of register the subjunctive in OE was especially preferred in monastic and legal regulations; charms, medical prescriptions, and similar generalized instructions were also normally in the subjunctive (Traugott 1992:185).

3 The subjunctive in Middle English (1066-1476)

The Middle English period was marked by numerous changes in English grammar, which may be described as a general reduction of inflections. As noted by Baugh and Cable (1978:159), this levelling of inflectional endings was partly due to phonetic changes, partly to the operation of analogy. In terms of their morphology, the verb suffered serious losses as well.

Although the three types of mood, i.e. the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative remained, the decay of inflections brought about a simplification of forms in the verb paradigm (Olga Fischer 1992:246-248). Formally the imperative singular and the subjunctive present of weak verbs could no longer be differentiated. The inflectional differences between indicative and subjunctive were also considerably reduced. In the present tense indicative only the second and the third-person singular were distinctive, while in the past tense of strong verbs only the first and third person were distinctive, and of the weak verbs only the second-person singular. In the present subjunctive both weak and strong verbs had only two inflections, *-e* in the singular and *-en* in the plural, just like in the subjunctive past where strong verbs had the *-en* inflections in all the persons singular and plural and weak verbs had the *e*-inflection in the singular and *-en* in the plural in both the present and the past tense. As an illustration consider the following table (Lass 1992:134):

Present								
		Strong				**Weak**		
		Ind.	**Subj.**	**Imp.**		**Ind.**	**Subj.**	**Imp.**
Sg.	1	-e	-e	-Ø	1	-e	-e	-e
	2	-(e)st			2	-(e)st		
	3	-eþ			3	-eþ		
Pl.		-aþ	-en	-aþ		-aþ	-en	-aþ
Past								
		Strong				**Weak**		
		Ind.	**Subj.**			**Ind.**	**Subj.**	
Sg.	1	-Ø	-en		1	-e	-e	
	2	-e			2	-(e)st		
	3	-Ø			3	-e		
Pl.		-on	-en			-on	-en	

Be, which was not really a verb in Old English, but a collection of semantically related paradigms of various historical origins with three major stems, had the following paradigm by the late fourteenth century (Lass 1992:141):

Present				
		Ind.	**Subj.**	**Imp.**
Sg.	1	am	be	be
	2	art		
	3	is		
Pl.		be(n)/are(n)	be(n)	be(th)
Past				
		Ind.	**Subj.**	
Sg.	1	was	were	
	2	were		
	3	was		
Pl.		were(n)	were(n)	

As is evident from the table above, *be* was the only form in the present and *were* the only form in the past subjunctive. It is not surprising that the periphrastic constructions gained ground rapidly (*sholde, shal, wil, may, can*) and by the end of the Middle English period they far outweighed the subjunctive forms. In Olga Fischer's view (1992:362), the development started in Late Old English when "the gradual erosion of verbal inflections made it necessary to replace the subjunctive by something more transparent". Besides, the use of periphrastic

constructions at a fairly early stage accounted for the disappearance of the subjunctive. This change may have been triggered by "the desire to be more emphatic and possibly to be more specific than was possible with the subjunctive form". Together with the loss of the subjunctive came a grammaticalization of the modal verbs, which in Old English in many ways still had the status of full verbs.

As Fischer (1992:247) notes, another significant change that happened in Middle English is that the past tense indicative began to be used as a modal marker, the so-called modal preterite. This is in fact a continuation of the Old English past subjunctive, which had become virtually indistinguishable from the past indicative in Middle English. The use of the modal preterite is most common when other elements in the clause are the indicator of modality, such as conjunctions (*if, as if*), adverbs (*perhaps*), or when the clause is preceded by a class of verbs that semantically expresses non-fact (*desire, hope*, etc.).

Like in Old English, the subjunctive is used in both independent and dependent clauses in Middle English as well. In independent clauses, the present subjunctive expresses wish or exhortation, (Fischer 1992:248):

(11) God *shilde* that he deyde sodeynly!
þatt mann þatt wile follȝhenn me/ & winnenn eche blisse,/ He *take* hiss rode, & *here* itt rihht.
'That man who wants to follow me and attain eternal bliss, let him take up his cross and bear it well'.

The hortatory subjunctive is expressed by a periphrastic construction with *let*, which is used to express an exhortation, command. Unlike the Old English construction with *uton*, which still occurs in Middle English (*ute(n)*) until the late thirteenth century, *let* is not restricted to the first-person plural. Moreover, *let* and the subjunctive can occur side by side.

(12) Now *lat us stynte* of Custance but a throwe,/ And *speke* we of the Romayn Emperour,…

The past subjunctive expresses an unrealisable wish or a hypothetical situation, such as in:

(13) Allas, for wo! Why *nere* I deed?
For though I *write* or *tolde* yow everemo/ Of his knyghthod, it myghte nat suffise.

Besides independent clauses, the subjunctive is also used in different types of dependent clauses, such as in clauses of purpose (Fischer 1992:343-344). The most common subordinator is *that*, but we can find a variety of conjunctive phrases which strengthen the idea of purpose, such as *to that/the endet hat/the ente that* and in negative purpose clauses *lest* (*that*) is used.

> (14) And when ony man dyeth in the contree þei brennen his body in name of penance to þat entent þat he suffre no peyne in erthe to ben eten of wormes.

Instead of the subjunctive mood modal auxiliaries can also be used. The auxiliary found most frequently in these clauses is *shal/sholde*, especially in the preterite. Furthermore, *may/mighte* also occurs mainly in the present tense, just like *wil/wolde,* which is occassionally found in Late Middle English.

Besides clauses of purpose, the subjunctive mood frequently occurs in conditional and concessive clauses in Middle English (Fischer 1992:347-352). The most common subordinator in Middle English conditional is *if (that).* To convey the sense of 'if only', 'provided that', Middle English uses *so (that).* Sometimes, however, indicative and subjunctive are found side by side within the same sentence:

> (15) eke if he *apparailleth* (ind.) his mete moore deliciously than nede is, or *ete* (subj.) it to hastily by likerousnesse.

In fact, the subjunctive is required by an inverted word order in the conditional:

> (16) But & sche *haue* (subj.) children with him þei leten hire lyue with hem to brynge hem vp …

Interestingly enough, the past subjunctive is the rule in both main and subclauses when the activity expressed is unreal or purely hypothetical. However, the subjunctive of the main clause is usually replaced by a modal auxiliary:

> (17) … and I *were* a pope/ Not oonly thou, but every myghty man,/ … *Sholde have* a wyf;

In Middle English the use of the subjunctive continues in concessive clauses but begins to be replaced later on by the indicative when the subclause is factual, especially in the preterite:

> (18) And thogh youre grene you the floure (subj.) as yit, /In crepeth age alwey, as stille as stoon, ...
> And though that Salomon seith (indic.) that he ne foond nevere worn man good, it folweth nat therfore that ...

The reason why the preterite subjunctive is replaced more frequently by the indicative is presumably that the preterite subjunctive came to be used more and more to express hypothetical/non-factual situations.

In clauses of comparison in Early Middle English the indicative becomes the rule unless non-factuality or potentiality is involved. In clauses introduced by *as if/as though/lyk as/as (that)* the past subjunctive is used even when the context is present and expresses non-factuality (Fischer 1992:356-361):

> (19) … it is ȝit all broylly (= charred) as þough it were half brent.

It is noteworthy that instead of the subjunctive, the modal auxiliaries *sholde* and *wolde* are also used.

When the comparative expresses the highest possible degree, a subjunctive is used at least in Early Middle English:

(20) Aþulf sede on hire ire/ So stille so hit were.
'Adolf said in her ear as quietly as possible.'

In Late Middle English an auxiliary (*can, may* or *mighte*) is the rule and *that* may also accompany *as* or be used instead of *as*:

(21) And fleeth the citee faste as he may go.
And spedde hym fro the table that he myghte.

In unequal comparative clauses, which are always introduced by the conjunction *than* regularly followed by the general subordinator *that*, the indicative becomes the rule in contrast to Old English, which used the subjunctive. However, Chaucer still prefers the subjunctive when the *than*-clause refers to a prospective event and after phrases like *had lever*, which indicate uncertainty. Instead of the subjunctive the auxiliary *should* is also found.

(22) It is ful lasse harm to lete hym pace,/ Than he *shende* alle the servantz in the place.
Arveragus… hadde levere dye in sorwe and in distresse/ Than that his wyf were of his trouthe fals.
For, by my trouthe, me were levere dye/ Than I yow *shoulde* to hasardours allye.

The subjunctive occurs regularly in object clauses as well (Fischer 1992:314). The subjunctive mood gives the activity expressed in the verb a certain modal colouring so that it conveys no longer a fact, but something that is possible, probable or desirable. Not surprisingly, therefore, the subjunctive occurs especially after verbs expressing a wish, a command or exhortation, where the subclause denotes a prospective event as in (a); after verbs expressing some mental activity as in (b):

(23) (a) ichulle þæt ʒe speken selde.

I want that you speak seldom.
'I want you to speak seldom.'

(b) Hi weneþ þæt þu segge soþ.
'They think that you speak the truth.'

The subjunctive also occurs after a negated verb, denoting the uncertainty of the action conveyed in the complement clause. For the same reason the subjunctive is fairly frequent in indirect questions.

Nevertheless, instead of the subjunctive, after verbs expressing a wish, a command or exhortation, we often find auxiliaries. *Should* is the most common

auxiliary, in Early Middle English we also come across *mote* 'may', while in Later Middle English *would* also occurs (Fischer 1992:315):

> (24) And manie gon nakede; and bidde þæt sum man heom scholde
>   biweue,…
>   'and many go naked and ask that some one would clothe them, …'

4 Conclusion

The subjunctive is a continual source of dispute among grammarians and of perplexity to scholars as its historical role in English seems to have been rather weak and inconsistent. Some grammarians and linguists even proclaimed the subjunctive's death, and others regarded its usage as pretentious in Modern English. As far as its development is concerned, it is generally agreed that the inflectional subjunctive experienced a steady decline in the history of English.

As is evident from the above discussion, historical change has more or less eliminated mood from the inflectional system of English, with past subjunctive confined to 1st/3rd person singular *were*, which is moreover usually replaceable by the indicative past form *was*. Besides the loss of inflections, the appearance of the periphrastic forms accounted for the decline of the subjunctive. In fact, in Present-day English, the main mood system is analytic rather than inflectional, marked by the modal auxiliaries. Although there have been considerable changes in the forms of the subjunctive, there have not been many in its usage. As we have seen above, the subjunctive has always been marked for modality, expressing doubt, unreality, wishes, commands, and so on, and it was the mood selected by certain conjunctions, such as *if, though, unless, whether, that* and *lest*.

However, its functions have been somewhat reduced in Present-day English. Like in Old English and in Middle English, the present subjunctive is commonly used in the mandative construction in an object clause introduced by *that*, especially in American English. It is, however, not used after mental verbs and expressions of desire.

By now the subjunctive seems to have completely disappeared from reported speech, in which it was commonly used both in Old English and Middle English. Reported speech is governed by other rules in Present Day English, with shifts in tense and not the mood of the verbs and some changes in the use of deictic features of the language that relate to the time and place of the utterance and to the person referred to in the utterance (Quirk et al. 1985:1026-27). As mentioned above, when using the subjunctive in Old English the reporter wished to avoid commitment to the truth of what was reported.

The present subjunctive, which was commonly used in both Old English and Middle English to express wish or exhortation, can be found in certain formal and rather old- fashioned set expressions in Present-Day English, like **Come** what may, God **save** the Queen, **Suffice** it to say, Heaven **forbid**, **Be** that

as it may, etc. (Quirk et al. 1985:157-158). It is noteworthy that the subjunctive and *let* occurred side by side in both Old English and Middle English. In Present-Day English, the directive *let* with 3rd person subjects, such as **Let no one** *think that a teacher's life is easy*. **Let each man** *decide for himself*, etc. is generally rather archaic and elevated in tone. (Quirk et al. 1985:830)

In dependent clauses, such as in clauses of condition, concession and negative purpose introduced by *lest* or *for fear that* the present subjunctive is rather formal in Present-Day English (Quirk et al. 1985:158). Interestingly enough, while the subjunctive, a variant of which was *should*, still occurred in clauses of comparison introduced by *than* in Middle English, it seemed to have disappeared in Present-Day English.

The auxiliary *should* as an alternative of the past subjunctive also appears to be used in other cases in Middle English, namely it replaces the subjunctive in a main clause expressing unreality or hypothesis. In Present-day English it alters with *would* for 1st persons in the same hypothetical meaning in main clauses. Unlike in Old English and Middle English, the past subjunctive is, however, not used in main clauses to express hypothesis.

Especially in British English specialised *should* is commonly used in mandative clauses as an equivalent to the subjunctive, just like in adversatives introduced by *lest*, in which this specialised *should* is also readily used, such as in *Both were tense with worry lest things **should** somehow **go** wrong*. Specialized *should* also occurs in unreal conditional in a subclause introduced by *if*, which involves that some doubt is involved in the condition, such as in *If some thief **should open** the case, he wouldn't easily find the jewellery*. In fact, it alters with the indicative past, which, however, suggests that the condition is accepted as satisfied. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:998-1000).

All things considered, the subjunctive may be used in a limited area in Present-Day English, but it is very much alive in that area, especially in Am E, in which it is assumed to have become remarkably prevalent again in the 20th century.

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Metaphors in Cognitive Linguistics

Attila Imre

The first part of the article offers an historical overview of metaphors, starting from Aristotle and the classical definition of metaphor. Chomsky's contribution to cognitive psychology is also mentioned together with Rosch's and Kay and McDaniel's research concerning categorization. The end of the first part contains new theories of metaphor, thus establishing the link to the second part, which presents the last three decades regarding metaphors in cognitive linguistics, trying to highlight the revival of studies on metaphor. The pervasiveness of metaphors cannot be overlooked in human understanding, and the classical debate is also mentioned (dead versus live metaphors). Our conclusion is that they offer an insight into our everyday experience and may help us in exploring the unknown.

Keywords: metaphor, cognitive linguistics, categorization.

Historical Overview

As metaphor has been the subject of various inquiries throughout the centuries, we start by presenting the major thoughts connected to it. The nature of metaphor has been an ardent subject of debate back to Aristotle, who discussed it on the level of noun (*name*), stating that metaphor typically 'happens' to the noun, and it is presented as motion:

> …the application of a strange (alien, *allotrios*) term either transferred (displaced, *epiphora*) from the genus and applied to the species or from the species and applied to the genus, or from one species to another, or else by analogy (1982:1447b).

After a name is applied to an alien thing, it may express something much more clearly, which is otherwise difficult to grasp. Aristotle's four possibilities of creating a metaphor are: genus to species, species to genus, species to species, and by analogy or proportion; *resemblance* is explicitly mentioned. However, in what was probably his later work one can find that the major goal of rhetorical speech is persuasion, which is of less importance from our point of view.

Nevertheless, the virtues of metaphor include *clarity, warmth, facility, appropriateness* and *elegance*, and finally "metaphor sets the scene before our eyes" (Aristotle 1954:1410b).

Scholars argued that even the definition of metaphor is itself metaphorical, so the explanation for metaphor is thus circular. For instance, Derrida (1982) realized that any explanation relies heavily on the physical – and in this way on the metaphorical –, as our thinking is basically metaphorical; this led to the conclusion that metaphors could be only explained based on other metaphors. Researchers might have slowed down with their interest in metaphors throughout the centuries, leaving them to thrive 'only' in stylistics, as a basic 'figure of speech', a trope, trimming ordinary language, taking away monotonousness by 'picturesque' replacements. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* encouraged this approach, and things stayed more or less undisturbed until the twentieth century, when Chomsky directed back the attention of many to linguistics. In his *Language and Mind,* he states that linguistics is a branch of cognitive psychology:

> I think there is more of a healthy ferment in cognitive psychology – and in the particular branch of cognitive psychology known as linguistics – than there has been for many years…if we are ever to understand how language is used or acquired, then we must abstract for separate and independent study a cognitive system, a system of knowledge and belief (1972:1-4).

Chomsky admits that "we are as far today as Descartes was three centuries ago from understanding just what enables a human to speak in a way that is innovative, free from stimulus control, and also appropriate and coherent" (1972:12-13), and he turned to the analysis of deep structure. Instead of deep structure and transformations, cognitive linguistics focuses on language in terms of the concepts, and it is interested in meaning and the uncovering of a network with interconnected elements, which may offer explanation about the nature of metaphor. It is to the merit of cognitive linguistics to have the idea of including metaphor within natural language widely accepted, thus pioneering a way of understanding metaphors by tracing their roots back to ordinary, concrete words, reinterpreting *resemblance*, and explaining the need for metaphors, which were constituents only in stylistics.

The Saussurean classification must have had its merit, whatever nature this classification was, as the idea re-emerged towards the end of the century. Brugman highlights the importance of categories (another type of classification), based on Rosch (1977) and Kay and McDaniel (1978), reaching the verdict: sensory elements in categorising human experience represent a possibility to describe language, although a single word is but a narrow investigation, not revealing great truths about the language itself (1981:1).

Still, by analyzing metaphors, it became obvious that they are grounded in our everyday physical experience and they are not as close to similes as was rooted in the western tradition ('Metaphor is an abbreviated simile'). Instead, cultural stereotypes should be accounted for when metaphors are investigated, for instance, metaphors with snow in Eskimo trigger different associations than in any African language (cf. Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and more recently, the neo-Whorfian hypothesis). On the other hand, diachronically viewed, metaphors dating decades or centuries ago might have changed as well, and similarities that were important or easily observed may be forgotten.

The '*seeing as*' becomes problematic within cognitive linguistics, as metaphors usually try to shake category boundaries, and this friction cools with continuous usage. Black (1962) took into parts the constituents of metaphors, stating that only the common elements would select each other and 'reconcile'. This comes close to Rosch's prototype theory of semantic features, where we have marginal members instead of tension, or we can also mention Mac Cormac's fuzzy set theory (1985).

Whereas concrete categories are much better defined and relatively well-separated from others (although boundaries are flexible and they often depend on the point of view, as members have various characteristics), the abstract entities are often made more explicit via metaphors, which make use of the concrete categories (cf. Aristotle). Consequently, metaphors do not describe reality, but they create one where strange elements intermingle with more familiar ones, thus revealing a part of how we see our surrounding world and ourselves.

Langacker (1999:208) states that we are able to conceive of one situation against the background afforded of another. Regarding new information, previous discourse functions as a background to the current expression, and when speaking of metaphors, the source domain serves as a background for structuring and understanding the target domain. More recently, there are studies in which the theories of metaphor are undermined by theories of metonymy. According to Barcelona (2003) and Taylor (2003), metonymy is an operation that may be more fundamental to the human conceptual system than metaphor. Barcelona (2003:31) even suggests that 'every metaphorical mapping presupposes a prior metonymic mapping.' The so-called primary metaphors are argued to be motivated by experiential correlation (Evans and Green, 2006:320), but correlation is basically metonymic (Taylor 2003).

We could see that an historical account of metaphors already encapsulates a cognitive interpretation as well, as the past three decades contributed significantly to present-day approach to metaphors. Now let us examine recent interpretations.

Metaphors Reloaded

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) may be considered the first passionate supporters of metaphors, as in their view metaphors are conceptual, as many of the ways in which we think and act are basically metaphorical (Evans and Green, 2006:44). Descartes' rationalist approach is evident in formal approaches, such as Chomsky's generative grammar or Montague's framework, according to which language can be studied as a formal or computational system, irrespective of human experience or the nature of the human bodies. The Lakoffian (empiricist) concept is based on the importance of human experience, the centrality of the human body without which the human mind and language "cannot be investigated in isolation from human embodiment" (Evans and Green 2006:44).

According to Moran (1997), issues regarding metaphor in poetics, rhetoric, aesthetics, epistemology, philosophy of mind and cognitive studies cannot be wholly isolated from each other. So far we have tried to present metaphors starting from their beginnings, and we have to accept that the sparkle to recent studies on metaphor belongs to Brugman, who based her work on Rosch's findings. Ever since cognitive linguists have been arguing that metaphor is central to human language (cf. Evans and Green 2006). The basic idea is that metaphors (metaphorical expressions) are based on our physical experience, and offer a background to the analysis of metaphors in a synchronic frame. The comprehension of figurative language is dependent on the literal understanding of the words used, unlike in the case of idiomatic expressions:

> Literal language is precise and lucid, figurative language is imprecise, and is largely the domain of poets and novelists. While literal language is the conventional 'ordinary' or 'everyday' way we have of talking about things, figurative language is 'exotic' or 'literary' and only need concern creative writers (Moran 1997:249).

According to this view, most ordinary language is literal. However, on a closer inspection, much of our ordinary everyday language turns out to be figurative in nature (Evans and Green 2006:287). Gibbs contradicts this ancient distinction (1994:75), as he differentiates conventional literality, non-metaphorical literality, truth condition literality and context-free literality. He also adds that certain concepts are impossible to describe non-metaphorically; for instance, time without recourse to space and motion is hard to describe.

We will not enter another debate regarding the differences between metaphors and iconicity, but it may be interesting to mention Gentner and Bowdle's experiment (2001) presented by Hasson and Giora (2007). They studied the differences between metaphors and similes (cf. Johnson's 1996 research: comprehension times for metaphors and similes), and concluded that when the sources are novel, similes can be more quickly understood than

metaphors, but when we face conventionalized sources, the comprehension of metaphors is quicker. These findings are completed by Kövecses's preface (2002) where the author contradicts five traditional concepts regarding metaphor, e.g. one must have a special talent to be able to use metaphors; in fact, they are used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, as they are an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning.

More recently, Gibbs (2007:16) discusses metaphoric understanding based on research conducted in 2006 by Wilson and Gibbs, and his conclusion is that "people were faster in responding to the metaphor phrases having performed a relevant body moment than when they did not move at all". Another finding was that "real movement is not required to facilitate metaphor comprehension, only that people mentally simulate such action", as generally speaking, people do not understand the non-literal meanings of metaphorical expressions as a matter of convention.

Kövecses's forerunners, Lakoff and Johnson, also mention persistent fallacies (1980:244-245), stating that metaphor is a matter of words not concepts; but the locus of metaphor is in concepts not words. Moran states (1997:251) that in metaphor we interpret an utterance as meaning something different from what the words would mean, if we took them literally. This means, that the same words or utterances change their meaning when taken metaphorically (Moran 1997:251).

Metaphors transport the images, feelings, values, thought patterns, etc. entrenched in our cultures, as Mittelberg (2007:34) states based on Dirven, Wolf, Poltzenhagen; Kövecses (2005) also accepts this view. Furthermore, metaphor is based on similarity; but it is based on cross-domain correlations in our experience, which give rise to the perceived similarities between the two domains within the metaphor. These two domains lead to the many interpretations outlined below; we would only like to mention here Ricoeur's theory of metaphor, which is based on icons (standing for something) concerning cognitive notions, and he adopts Wittgenstein's proposal (1958), namely "seeing as" (mentioned by Mac Cormac). Lakoff and Johnson also say that all concepts are literal and none can be metaphorical; but even our deepest concepts (time) are understood and reasoned about via multiple metaphors, so they conclude that, in short, metaphor is a natural phenomenon (1980:247).

According to Coulson (2007), many empirical studies have compared reading times for literal and non-literal utterances, and found that when the metaphorical meaning was contextually supported, reading times were roughly similar. Gibbs (1994) notes, parity in reading times need not entail parity in the underlying comprehension processes, and he also mentions that literal and metaphorical meaning might take the same amount of time to comprehend, but that the latter required more effort or processing resources.

On the other hand, classical accounts of metaphor comprehension (cf. Grice 1975 or Searle 1979) describe a two-stage model, in which literal processing is followed by metaphorical processing. The real support in favour of Lakoff and

Johnson regarding their theory about the central importance of metaphors comes from Pynte and colleagues, who could not find qualitative differences in brain activity associated with the comprehension of literal and metaphoric language (Coulson 2007:414), which is consistent with Gibbs (1994) or Glucksberg (1998).

The pervasiveness of metaphors in human understanding can be best characterized by the phenomenon whereby a target domain is structured and understood with reference to another (more basic) source domain (cf. '[P]hysical experience shapes our understanding'). Here we seem to reiterate the idea that physical experience is central, though we cannot say that it is more basic than other (emotions or time), although at a given point Langacker (1999) considers that *time* is more important than *space*, as the former is needed to perceive changes in the latter (*motion*). Anyway, a reasonable conclusion would be that the source domain serves as the background for structuring and understanding the target domain (Langacker 1999:208). At this point we can mention W. Bedell Stanford's summary on metaphors:

> The essence of metaphor is that a word undergoes a change or extension of meaning. In simile nothing of this kind occurs; every word has its normal meaning and no semantic transference is incurred (cited by Mac Cormac 1985:37).

To Lakoff and Johnson, the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another, and we act according to the way we conceive of things (1980:5). The problem is that one can easily remember those school days when the difference between metaphors and similes were explained with a set of examples:

Her cheeks are like red roses. (simile)
Her rosy cheeks … (metaphor)

The explanation was that metaphor is a shortened or compressed simile, without the *like* element; we now know, that this is not as simple as it may seem, as the only similarities relevant to metaphor are the ones experienced by people, which differs based on culture and personal previous experience (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:154), and metaphors force us to wonder, compare, note similarities and dissimilarities, and then seek confirmation or lack of confirmation regarding the suggestions posed by metaphors (Marconi, 1997:76). Mac Cormac completes the picture about metaphors by stating that resemblance and difference are also constituents when metaphor is at stake, together with similarity, as they are all involved in the knowledge process. One of the consequences is that the separation of metaphors from everyday language becomes impossible, and it is worth mentioning that Mac Cormac places the so-called dead metaphors within ordinary language.

We would only say that 'dead metaphors' (which are nevertheless alive by constant usage, cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980) create a fuzzy category in-between figurative and literal language, of course, if we accept this rather controversial dichotomy.

Another problematic aspect (under the controversion theory) is that metaphors are meaningful, but false. This falsity comes from semantic contradiction and not from empirical test (folk theory gladly passes them) and, interestingly enough, Mac Cormac offers an approach of degrees. He discusses the relativism of metaphors, and observes that they could be false when taken literally and true when taken figuratively. Hence the truth or falsity of the metaphor is relative to its context of interpretation, as there is a degree to which their referents have similar properties and false to the degree that their referents have dissimilar properties. His fuzzy-set theory (1985:216, 220) is consistent with it, so we have F (false), D (diaphor), E (epiphor), T (truth). In his view, we have epiphors (metaphors that express more than suggest) and diaphors (metaphors that suggest more than they express). Diaphors can become epiphors as their hypothetical suggestions find confirmation in experience/experiment, so they turn commonplace.

Although this seems plausible, we cannot really accept his argument, as the case of 'dead' metaphors remains unsolved. Remember that on the one hand we have metaphors we live by (Lakoff), on the other hand we have dead metaphors. Stylistically Mac Cormac is right, but cognitive grammar deals with understanding, motivation, nature and origin; the way Lakoff presents them offers an explanation to these. Dictionaries contain dead metaphors (Mac Cormac), but when reading a dictionary, one can often find explanatory remarks, such as *(fig.)*, standing for figurative, which Mac Cormac omits to mention. So it seems plausible to us when Mac Cormac criticizes Lakoff & Johnson (1985:58-60), saying that they are adamant when it comes to the status of metaphors: even when figurative metaphors become conventional or literal metaphors, they retain their metaphorical status (otherwise dictionaries could not have identified them as metaphors!).

By considering hundreds of dead metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson succeeded in showing that natural language presumes and expresses many hidden conceptual meanings arising from the use of these metaphors. But they transformed these dead metaphors into live ones by redefining the notion of dead metaphors. For them, metaphors are alive because they are used in ordinary language as parts of the systematic metaphoric expression. So they have no method left for distinguishing between metaphoric and non-metaphoric utterances, they have literal metaphors and figurative metaphors. Moran correctly observes that the meaning of the metaphor in general will be confined to the intentions of the speaker if the meaning of a metaphorical utterance is the speaker's meaning, and the latter is a function of the intentions of the speaker in making the utterance. Thus the interpretation of the metaphor will be a matter of the recovery of the intentions of the speaker (1997:264). If Moran is right, the so-called 'live'

metaphors can be difficult to interpret, as the interpreter is dependent on assumptions about the beliefs and intentions of the speaker (Cooper 1986:73, cited by Moran 1997).

We can only say that once categorising is accepted, there is a degree of membership, including views upon language itself. So Lakoff and Johnson can only embed non-metaphorical concepts in direct experience, which emerges through interaction of the agent with their environment. Kövecses indirectly answers the question of 'dead' metaphors later (2002, Preface):

> …dictionary entries are full of that, but there is an important point: they are deeply entrenched, hardly noticed and thus effortlessly used, they are most active in our thought. So they are 'alive'. According to the cognitive approach, both metaphorical language and thought rise from the basic bodily (sensori-motor) experience of human beings, and it is a key instrument in organizing human thought.

Conclusions

Metaphors bring about changes in the ways in which we perceive the world, and these conceptual changes often bring about changes in the ways in which we act in the world, accepts Mac Cormac (1985:149). Metaphors appear to be so common and so regular a part of ordinary language that instead of contending that they deviate from a normative grammar, it is worth considering that any grammar, which cannot account for metaphor, is too limited in comprehension to be useful (Mac Cormac 1985:32). On analysing the relationship between metaphor and communication, Moran concludes:

> ...metaphorical speech counts as genuinely communicative (of a content beyond the literal) because, among other things, the figurative interpretation of the utterance is guided by assumptions about the beliefs and intentions of the speaker, intentions which, among other things satisfy the Gricean (1975) formula (1997:261).

The success of metaphor in communication may also be explained by the fact that metaphor is beyond language, as it is to be found primarily in thought and action (e.g. *killing wax dolls*, Lakoff and Johnson 1980:153). The danger of pervasiveness of metaphor lies in the fact that there are many ways of creating it: extending, elaborating, questioning, combining and personification (Kövecses 2002:47-50). Metaphors produce new insights and new hypotheses internally, whereas externally they act as mediators between the human mind and culture, states Mac Cormac (1985:2). This correlates with Moran's statement (1997:252), according to which the words employed in a metaphor undergo a 'meaning-shift', but when an expression is interpreted metaphorically, the literal one is not cancelled or removed from consideration. The constraint that limits the

excessive production of metaphors is that there must be a similarity between the two entities compared. In Moran's words:

> In metaphor...if we are to speak of a new meaning, this meaning will be something reachable only through comprehension of the previously established, literal meanings of the particular words that make it up (1997:253).

Davidson, on the other hand, denies the non-literal meaning regarding metaphors. His famous statement attracted serious criticism: "... metaphors mean what the words, in their most literal interpretation, mean, and nothing more" (1979:246).

Cognitive linguistics breaks away from the notion of predictability of generative grammar, and replaces this notion with motivation. Our remark is that when we have a metaphorical view, we employ only a part of a source domain, not the whole (when needed), in other cases other parts. The mappings that deviate from the widely accepted ones are either considered as bad ones, or literal ones! This partial mapping (only a part of a concept is mapped, and only a part of target is involved) peaks in metaphorical highlighting (Kövecses 2002:67, 75, 79), and the unconventional use is called 'unutilized parts of the source' (e.g. *the chimney of a building*).

Moreover, many metaphors do map additional knowledge from the source onto the target, and one can pick out distinct pieces of knowledge associated with the source domain of a metaphor, which is already connected to the scope of a metaphor. This means that abstract concepts are characterized by a large number of distinct source domains, and a single concept can characterize many distinct target domains (war is both *argument* and *love*, cf. Kövecses 2002:94, 107). The previously mentioned motivation comes into picture again, as truth value is connected to motivation (purpose in mind when dealing with categories, fuzzy sets), which ultimately helps in successful communication to be realized by well-established meaning foci of words (cf. Kövecses 2002). The conclusion is that Plato's and Aristotle's objectivism and subjectivism are only myths (cf. cave and "the greatest thing by far is to be a master of the metaphor", *Poetics*, 1459a). Lakoff and Johnson conclude that metaphor unites reason and imagination, creating an imaginative reality (although 'virtual reality' is a contradiction in terms, nobody seems to care too much about it, and we all seem to perfectly understand and use the expression).

All in all, we can say that metaphors indeed give an insight into everyday experience; the way we have been brought up to perceive our world is not the only way and it is impossible to see beyond the "truths" of one's particular culture (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:239). These metaphors, after all, contribute to the differences between humans and animals by the systematicity of analogies and disanalogies. Even the unknown is felt closer this way, and major advances in metaphor theory preserve these findings (cf. Joseph Grady's complex

metaphors, Srinivas Narayanan's metaphors as neural phenomenon. And the subject is not closed, as Mac Cormac's (1985:56) statement leaves the question open: "not all language is metaphorical, only the theories about metaphors are metaphorical".

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Translation in Foreign Language Teaching:
A Brief Overview of Pros and Cons

Albert Vermes

In this paper I examine why translation has become an outlaw in certain circles in foreign language teaching. A list of the most common objections to using translation in the classroom will be contrasted with possible counter-objections, on the basis of which I support the view that translation can be used in a meaningful way in the teaching of foreign languages. Quite obviously, this view leads to a number of further questions concerning when, how, in what circumstances, and for what purposes translation may be usefully employed. These questions, however, cannot be discussed within the limits of the present paper.

1 Pedagogical translation versus real translation

According to Klaudy (2003: 133), a discussion of translation pedagogy requires that a distinction be made between two types of translation, which she calls **pedagogical translation** and **real translation**. Pedagogical and real translation differ from each other on three counts: the function, the object, and the addressee of the translation.

As regards function, pedagogical translation is an instrumental kind of translation, in which the translated text serves as a tool of improving the language learner's foreign language proficiency. It is a means of consciousness-raising, practising, or testing language knowledge. Lesznyák (2003: 61) points out two additional functions of pedagogical translation: illumination and memorisation. In real translation, on the other hand, the translated text is not a tool but the very goal of the process.

The object of real translation is information about reality, contained in the source text, whereas in pedagogical translation it is information about the language learner's level of language proficiency.

There is also a difference concerning the addressee of the two kinds of translation. In real translation it is a target language reader wanting some information about reality, while in pedagogical translation the addressee is the language teacher or the examiner, wanting information about the learner's proficiency.

Somewhat confusingly, Klaudy adds that we can speak of real translation "only if the aim of translation is to develop translation skills" (Klaudy 2003: 133). This should probably be understood to mean that the kind of translation that is practised in translator training institutions would qualify as real translation. A few lines later, however, she notes that even within the framework of such programmes we cannot speak of real translation in the true sense, since the addressee of the translation is mostly the teacher, not a real-world target reader. It might be added that the function and object of the translation would also mark such translations as pedagogical rather than real, as this kind of translation serves as a tool for improving the trainee's translation skills and it is meant to produce information about the trainee's level of translation proficiency rather than about the world outside.

An essentially similar distinction is made by Gile (1995: 22) between school translation and professional translation. He defines school translation as the writing of texts "following lexical and syntactic choices induced by the source-language text", as opposed to professional translation, which is aimed at a reader who is fundamentally interested in the contents of the text. In school translation the focus is on the language, while in professional translation it is on the content of language. Professional translation can thus be seen as a different level of translation, where linguistic problems, in a strict sense, are a mere side issue. Thus the teaching of translation for professional purposes is also qualitatively different from the use of translation in foreign language teaching.

It then follows that "translator training starts where foreign language teaching ends" (Klaudy 2003: 133). In secondary schools and even in the foreign language departments of higher institutions we can only speak of pedagogical translation in the narrow sense, while the teaching of real translation is the task of translator training programmes, which are designed for this purpose.

In fact, Klaudy is talking about two kinds of pedagogical translation. One serves as a tool of foreign language teaching, the other as a tool of translator training. The object of the first is information about foreign language proficiency, the object of the second is information about translational proficiency. To distinguish these two subtypes, I will use Gile's term **school translation** for the first type and will call the second type **simulated translation**. In this paper I will only be concerned with school translation.

Schäffner (1998: 131-2) also recognises the difference between translation exercises in language teaching and the teaching of translation for a professional career. She suggests that the concept of translation in the two contexts needs to be defined differently. Translation for foreign language learning is "reproducing the message of the ST while paying attention to different linguistic structures". This is a kind of decoding-encoding translation. On the other hand, translation for professional purposes involves "text production for specific purposes", which would entail that in simulated translation attention is focused rather on the function of the text.

Related to this is another difference, which is that in "foreign-language acquisition, many texts tend to be isolated fragments, because they are used to check student mastery of specific features (vocabulary, syntax, etc.), whereas texts in translation classes are coherent, run-on texts" (Dollerup 2005: 81), just as in real translation.

2 The origins of pedagogical translation

The use of translation for the purposes of language teaching is bound to be associated with the Grammar-Translation Method, which was first employed in the secondary schools of Prussia at the end of the 18th century. The method appeared as a reaction to a social need, as the teaching of modern languages to masses of learners required changes in earlier practices of language teaching. The Grammar-Translation Method was a modified version of the ancient Scholastic Method, which was traditionally used to study the written form of the classical languages through a meticulous lexical and grammatical analysis of classic texts. This method involved, as a natural component of language learning, producing translations of parts of the original text.

The Grammar-Translation Method aimed to make the language learner's task easier by using, instead of whole texts, artificially made-up sentences illustrating particular grammatical features. Such graded example sentences were translated into or out of the target language in writing. Thus the Grammar-Translation Method, while bringing changes to the structure of the syllabus and the materials used, also preserved the focus of the Scholastic Method on grammar and on written language.

The essence of the Scholastic Method is well summarised in Hell (2009). In ancient Rome, there were basically three levels of education. In the elementary classes children learned, beside other skills, to read and write. They then moved on into grammar school, where they received further linguistic instruction. After finishing the grammar school, at around the age of 13, they could enrol in a rhetorical school, providing education for would-be orators, which included studying texts by renowned authors, learning the techniques of argumentation, acquiring the skills of producing and embellishing texts for effect.

Since in the imperial age Rome became practically bilingual, in the grammatical classes Latin as well as Greek texts were used for educational purposes. This would lead to the practice of relying on translation as a tool for analysing and interpreting the contents of literary works. As in the grammatical classes the focus was on the analysis of lexical items, the interpretation of texts took the form of a kind of word-for-word translation.

As opposed to this kind of literal translation done in the grammatical schools, in rhetorical schools children were instructed in a more sophisticated, literary form of translation. According to Pliny, this practice has the following advantages: It enriches one's vocabulary, increases the number of figures of speech one can use, develops the ability of interpretation, and through the

imitation of the best writers it makes us able to produce similarly good texts, because translation forces us to notice such details as would escape the attention of a simple reader (Hell 2009: 9).

3 Translation in the classroom: pros and cons

The usefulness of translation in the practice of foreign language teaching has long been brought into question. The objections against the use of translation in language teaching seem to be a reaction which was evoked by the obvious shortcomings of the Grammar-Translation Method, the dominant form of language teaching until the 20th century.

The first voice to cry out against the use of translation in foreign language teaching came from the Reform Movement of the late 19th century, and it was followed by a wave of renewed attacks by proponents of the Audio-Lingual, the Direct, the Natural, and the Communicative Language Teaching Methods throughout the 20th century. The Reform Movement was based on three fundamental principles (Malmkjær 1998: 3): (a) the primacy of speech, (b) the importance of connected text in language learning, and (c) the priority of oral classroom methodology. On this basis the use of isolated, out-of-context sentences, especially in written translation tasks, can be considered detrimental to the process of foreign language acquisition, because it hinders the contextualised or situationalised use of language in spoken communication.

To take a well-known example of such voices, Bloomfield (1933), speaking in the American context, blames the "eighteenth-century scheme of pseudo-grammatical doctrine and puzzle-solving translation", which was kept alive by pupils who began their foreign language studies too late and incompetent teachers "who talked about the foreign language instead of using it", for the relative lack of success of foreign language instruction in America, compared with Europe. The problem with the use of translation in language teaching, he writes, is that "[t]ranslation into the native language is bound to mislead the learner, because the semantic units of different languages do not match, and because the student, under the practised stimulus of the native form, is almost certain to forget the foreign one" (Bloomfield 1933: 505).

In other words, the problem is twofold. The first is that translation conceals the differences that exist between the systems of the two languages, and the second is that translation, by providing the wrong sort of stimulus, fails to reinforce correct foreign language behaviour. It is easy to notice the theoretical driving forces of the criticism here: structural linguistics and behaviourism. The behaviourist conception of language learning was introduced by the psychologist B. F. Skinner in his book *Verbal Behaviour*. In this book he describes language as a form of behaviour and argues that the first language is acquired by the infant through a stimulus – response – reinforcement cycle, and that language performance arises largely as the result of positive or negative reinforcement. This idea of language learning as habit formation, along with the view of

language as a structural system, lead to the rise of the Audio-Lingual Method of second language teaching, which made use of constant structural drills in the target language followed by instant positive or negative reinforcement from the teacher. Clearly, in such a methodology, translation could not have a role to play.

But people devoted to various other methodologies have also protested against school translation. Newson (1998: 64) provides a summary of the main objections in the following way. Translation, he writes, "does not allow or make easy the achievement of such generally accepted foreign language teaching aims as" (1) fluency in spoken language, (2) the controlled introduction of selected and graded structures and lexical items, or (3) the controlled introduction of communicative strategies. Translation leads to no observable learning effect, either of new vocabulary or structural items, and does not foster communicative language use.

As for the first of these objections, it only stands if we think of translation as an exclusively written form of activity. Translation, however, can also be performed orally, and can thus, in principle, be used to develop spoken language fluency. Also, there is no theoretical reason why translation exercises could not be used to introduce or practice structures or lexical items, which would eliminate the second objection. Newson (1998: 67) offers two such classroom activities. The first one is a simultaneous oral translation exercise in which the teacher reads out source language sentences whose translations by the learners will provide them with examples of selected target language patterns. Parenthetically, this kind of oral translation is simply a mildly modified version of the characteristic sentence translation task of the Grammar-Translation Method. The other activity uses, instead of isolated sentences, examples of a few sentences long, where the task is not to translate the whole text, but only certain expressions in it which exemplify selected language features. An additional advantage of such tasks, as Stibbard (1998) points out, is that the use of the mother tongue in translation exercises, for example, and also in oral summary tasks, can reduce the anxiety level of the learner in the early stages of language learning.

Malmkjær (1998: 5) lists a number of further general objections to school translation, which are the following. Translation (4) is independent of the four skills which define language competence: reading, writing, speaking and listening; (5) it is radically different from the four skills; (6) it takes up valuable time which could be used to teach these four skills; (7) it is unnatural; (8) it misleads students into thinking that expressions in two languages correspond one-to-one; (9) it produces interference; (10) it prevents students from thinking in the foreign language; and (11) it is a bad test for language skills. Since the objection under (11) does not concern the use of translation in teaching the foreign language but its use in checking the results of language teaching, it will be dealt with separately in Section 4.

The objections under (4)–(6) are all based on the traditional assumption that competence in a language is exclusively a matter of the four skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing, and has nothing to do with skill in translation. Moreover, Lado (1964: 54) contends that translation is a psychologically more complex skill than speaking, listening, reading or writing and since it cannot be achieved without mastery of the second language, it should be taught only after the second language has been acquired, as an independent skill, if necessary. But as modern cognitive theories (e.g. Fodor 1983 or Anderson 1992) describe the processes of speaking, listening, reading and writing as all relying on a form of mental translation, the idea that translation as a skill should be regarded as separate from, or subsequent to, the other four skills, does not seem well-founded.

Malmkjær (1998:8), for instance, argues that since translation is impossible without reading, writing, speaking and listening, it is "in fact dependent on and inclusive of them, and language students who are translating will be forced to practice them", even though, admittedly, teaching a language through translation may not always be the most time-efficient means. Essentially the same point is made, in connection with translation and foreign language writing skills, in Vermes (2003). So the exclusion of translation competence from the range of language skills to be developed must be attributed to centuries of negative experience concerning the pedagogical uses of translation, as Lesznyák (2003: 67) points out, rather than to its independence or difference from the other skills.

At first sight the argument about the unnatural nature of translation mentioned under (7) is really not easy to understand, in view of the fact that translation has been part of human life for millennia. The point probably concerns the kind of translation that was practiced in foreign language classrooms, rather than translation practiced outside of the classroom. However, since a large part of the world's population is bi- or multilingual, Malmkjær (1998: 8) claims that there is no reason why we should not regard translation as a natural skill in its own right and why it could not be used as a natural classroom activity. Stibbard (1998) also voices the opinion that since translation is a universally useful activity, even in monolingual societies, it is a skill whose development should also be incorporated in a teaching programme alongside the other four language skills.

As Lengyel and Navracsics (1996: 60) show, there is some neurolinguistic evidence to suggest that the human brain is predisposed to acquire more than one language, and in this context the role of translation must also be re-examined. In their study, Lengyel and Navracsics look at the question whether translation is as natural a language activity as are speaking, listening, writing and reading, and whether translation also has inherited elements. They carried out a translation experiment with four groups of primary school children of different ages, in which the children were asked to "translate" (decode and encode) a short text in an artificial language into Hungarian. They were provided with explanations on the vocabulary and the grammar of the text. There was a general improvement

observed in the children's performance from grade to grade, which was remarkable because they did not receive explicit instruction in translation during their studies. This makes Lengyel and Navracsics believe that translation is "a latent component of language competence which, to a certain extent, develops itself" (1996: 60).

The idea that translation skills are connected with language competence also occurs in a study by Selinker (1996: 103, cited in Malmkjær 1998: 1), who argues that since translation equivalents contribute to the formation of interlanguage competence in language learners, learners' ability to translate may be related to their L2 competence. If this is the case, the use of translation in L2 education may foster the acquisition of the foreign language. Also, Stibbard (1998) cites a study by Cummins (1981), who provides evidence for the hypothesis that experience in either the source or the target language can promote the development of the common proficiency underlying both languages.

Objection (8) can be exemplified by Lado (1964: 53-4, cited in Malmkjær 1998:5). Lado argues against school translation on the following grounds: (a) There are few, if any, fully equivalent words in two languages. (b) Supposing that the words in the two languages are equivalent, the learner will mistakenly think that the translations can be used in the same situations as the originals. Such overextensions produce interference phenomena in language acquisition. (c) Word-for-word translations result in incorrect constructions.

Heltai (1996), in a study of lexical errors in learners' translations, finds evidence that seems to support the idea of Lado (1964) that the greatest difficulty for the language learner is to master one-to-many correspondences between the first and the second language. The findings suggest that language learners at the intermediate level are not prepared to do translation in the true sense of the term. Their translations are dominated by decoding and encoding processes, and exemplify a kind of semantic translation in which only the referential function of the text is observed. Learners' translations are clearly different from professional translations in this regard.

Learners' translations also frequently contain errors of syntactic and lexical decoding and encoding, whereas "in professional translation grammatical and lexical contrasts, ideally, do not cause interference" (Heltai 1996: 80). Interference, however, may occur in any language learning situation, whether or not translation is used as a teaching procedure. Thus interference, the objection cited under (9), cannot logically be held to be a consequence of translation, and as Malmkjær (1998:8) points out, translation exercises have the advantage that they encourage awareness and control of such phenomena.

As for point (10), it can be noted that it concerns not only translation but, more generally, any form of the use of the mother tongue in the foreign language classroom. In connection with the presentation of new vocabulary, Harmer (1991: 162) writes that it is not always easy to translate the new words and "even where translation is possible, it may make it a bit too easy for students by

discouraging them from interacting with the words". The old idea of the inhibitive role of the mother tongue seems to return here.

He also raises objections against the use of translation in checking the understanding of new language, although he admits that it can be used efficiently in monolingual classes, where all the learners share a common first language. He says the main disadvantages are that it cannot be used with classes of different nationalities and that it is not always possible to translate a target language expression exactly, as "[n]ot all languages have words for exactly the same concepts, and it is often the case that in a given language there is not really a word which means the same as a word in another language" (Harmer 1991: 71).

Checking understanding is especially important when the teacher instructs the students on how to carry out an activity. In this case, it may be a good idea in monolingual classes, Harmer suggests (1991: 240), "to get a translation of these instructions to make sure the students have understood".

On the whole, Harmer appears to advise caution in the use of the mother tongue and suggests that a consistent policy towards its use will be helpful for both teacher and students. The question is, of course, what this policy should be. Should we discourage the use of the mother tongue?

Vienne (1998) is in favour of using the mother tongue in the language classroom, provided it is focused on problems which are related to the foreign language and the culture, or on the relationship between the mother tongue and the foreign language, or the relationship between the two cultures in question. Such activities will raise awareness not only of the two languages but also of the two cultures, as also pointed out in Vermes (1999).

4 Translation in language testing

As Duff (1989: 5) observes, "today translation is largely ignored as a valid activity for language practice and improvement. And even where it is still retained, it tends to be used not for language teaching, but for testing". This use of translation in foreign language teaching has also been the object of criticism for several reasons.

Gatenby (1967: 69-70, cited in in Malmkjær 1998:5) contends that because of the frequent lack of literal translation equivalents across languages, translation, especially literal translation, cannot be used for testing language understanding. Another reason why testing by translation is inadequate in language teaching, in Gatenby's opinion, is that it goes counter to the aim of the teaching process, which is to enable the learners to use the target language fluently by training them to dissociate it from the mother tongue.

According to Newson (1998: 64), there are two main points of criticism concerning the use of translation as a means of testing language competence. One concerns its unreliability as a measure of language command, the other concerns the fact that "it presents the examinee with random translation problems". The examination candidate is generally expected to be able to

translate any text written in the target language, which tacitly implies that "the potential resources of the entire language are being tested". Newson suggests this situation may be improved if the texts to be used in the examinations are selected through a series of filters, including genre, subject matter, originality and length of the text. Such filters will enable the language teacher to select texts for classroom work that will make predictable what it is that the learner is expected to know at the exam.

Källkvist (1998) also tackles an objection to the use of translation to test language proficiency. This often quoted objection is based on the observation that there is no reliable empirical evidence to the effect that there is any correlation between proficiency levels established through translation tests and through other, independent measures of proficiency. Källkvist's paper examines lexical errors induced in free compositions and in translations. The study finds that translation tests induce higher proportions of lexical errors than free compositions do. An explanation for this may be that in translation tests examinees are deprived of avoidance strategies, which may mask such errors in free composition tests. Such avoidance, or reduction, strategies include the avoidance of a topic, message abandonment mid-stream, message reduction to something vaguer, or meaning replacement/semantic avoidance (Chesterman 1998: 136-7). Källkvist's results seem to support the view that if translation is used as a testing tool, it should be used in conjunction with other production tests which each focus on different aspects of the learner's general language proficiency.

5 Conclusion

So should translation have a role to play in foreign language teaching? It seems from the above discussion that there are some good reasons in favour of the inclusion of translation exercises in the foreign language syllabus or, at least, that there are no fundamental reasons for its exclusion. The objections to the use of translation in foreign language teaching are all based on a limited view of translation. But translation is not only structure manipulation; it is primarily a form of communication. And as such, it necessarily involves interaction and cooperation between people, which makes it a potentially very useful device in foreign language teaching. Obviously, this answer leads to a number of other questions, concerning the level of language proficiency at which translation may be most useful, the kinds of translation exercises that may be useful, or the purposes which translation may usefully serve in language teaching. A detailed discussion of these issues, however, will have to be given in a separate paper.

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Negotiating National Identity in 1930s and 1940s British Cinema

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Introduction

The growing popularity of British films made prior to and during the Second World War is well reflected in both the academic attention this era has received and the ever-increasing number of DVD-releases of classical cinema. The fascination film/cultural historians and contemporary audiences show towards these motion pictures has elevated them to a cult status. However, 'cult film/cinema' is a low-specificity umbrella term, thus its application requires careful consideration. Cult films – as we understand them today – rely heavily on self-reflexive uniqueness, unusual visual or acting styles, oddball topics, eccentric narrative techniques or anything that breaks with mainstream conventions. These are not the features of mainstream productions but are constitutive of the peripheral cinematic output. Eric Schaeffer in his book on the origins of exploitation film, for example, shows how early censorship of topics related to sexual hygiene created a cult cinema that departed from Hollywood standards and norms.[1] This process of detachment from the mainstream may be a motor behind the birth of new genres and/or the refinement of generic representation, still the cult following of certain types of films does not necessarily overturn the mainstream logic of cinematic production and consumption.

Cult in the original sense of the world refers to ritual behaviour and a set of practices of worship, and as such, it has rich religious connotations. Manifesting itself in rituals, ceremonies and liturgy, cult conserves and rigidifies a certain frame of mind, manners, values and morality. It is this capacity to mummify which Friedrich Nietzsche criticised (most notably) in the *Twilight of Idols*, denouncing the cult of authority as the sign of decadence in culture. A similar reading of cult is offered by Harry Allan Potamkin, who in the early 1930's studied and denounced the cult status of melodrama, a genre in which "it is the treatment and not the material that counts" (28). He writes: "[t]his attitude must be fought as a form of intellectual selling out. The movie is more than a 'passing amusement'. And deceptive platitudes limiting it to the snobbery or laziness of

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[1] See Eric Schaeffer, *Bold! Daring! Schocking! True: A History of Exploitation Films, 1919-1959* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

the cultist must be exploded" (28).[2] Simply put, Potamkin stresses the overt anti-intellectualism and escapism of melodrama, something comparable to blind idolisation: "cults are never self-critical, they are never objective. So that when they do turn on the idol of their creation, it is not a progressive act, but an act of treachery" (28). What Potamkin describes as cinematic cults are those stylistic, narrative and content-based mummies, clichés which seem timeless and authoritative: a (passively) received, oversimplifying and escapist formula.

Either understood as a divergence from or a convergence with the mainstream, cults and specifically cinema as a cult is closely connected with the cultural forces it connects with. In this paper I will analyse the state of the British film industry from this double perspective and discuss (1) how it both rejected and accepted the cult of Hollywood, (2) how it became a mirror of social change and national unity, and last but not least (3) how it came to articulate a symbolic image of Britishness, an image that has been a point of reference ever since and is responsible for the enduring popularity of films from this period.

I.

Potamkin described cinematic cultism as a modern worship that goes far beyond the single genre of the melodrama. As a cultural commodity of overwhelming magnitude on both side of the Atlantic, the moving image had unprecedented influence on public opinion both as a vehicle of ideological populism and as a means of disseminating normative and uniform lifestyles and standardised social values. The Hollywood studios could not have managed to strengthen their positions in Europe had they not employed models of identification that were appealing to audiences of different nationalities. The unique position their films enjoyed in the period is definitely linked to the powerful visions these movies offered of the American past and present, identity and national character. The emergence of the western and gangster genre was instrumental in strengthening the consensual understanding of what values, beliefs and ethical principles America as a culturally diverse community should foster. In order to understand the full impact of Hollywood on Europe, one has to consider the nationalist discourse wrapped up in high production values and glamour. What arrived from the new world were not just endless reels of celluloid dreams but uncompromisingly monumental testimonies of the unbound American spirit, glorious accounts of national dignity which unquestionably spellbound audiences. Moreover, opposed to this sense of optimism, most of the countries involved in the Great War still carried deep wound and traumas and saw a threat in overt nationalism.

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[2] Harry Allan Potamkin, "Film Cults," *The Cult Film Reader*, eds. Mathijs, Ernest and Xavier Mendik (Open University Press: Berkshire, 2007).

The popularity of American films was overwhelming in Britain, as suggested by the figures Robert Murphy gives: "[b]y 1926 thirty-seven British films competed with over five hundred American imports" (47). European companies with their less efficient or non-existent vertical system of production, distribution and screening had a major handicap. Although the Cinematograph Films Act of 1927 resulted in an increase in the number of British films made up until the end of the thirties, the annual audiences of just under one billion[3] ensured comfortable American market dominance. To counterbalance this supremacy, UK production companies sought to satisfy domestic audiences by putting on screen real British topics. Parallel with legislature and the industry, the critical establishment also lashed out against Hollywood and the complex nature of its influence on British life – be that linguistic, manners-related and cultural. Yet it was the conservative MPs, public administrators and local authorities who condemned American films most vehemently. The incident Jeffrey Richards recalls[4], when officials reproached cinemas for playing an active role in the Americanisation of the English language, is only the tip of the iceberg. Lawrence Napper's summary illuminates the situation in a concise manner: "[c]inema became the symbolic focus, both economically and culturally, of fears of the American threat to Britain's national life and her international status" (38). The cult of Hollywood among cinemagoers might have been threatening in the eyes of cultural politics, yet the power of film to strengthen national cohesion was something of an asset Britain could use.

Whereas the fears of cultural and economic hegemony were definite, Hollywood's image of America was enlightening to most European countries feeling the pressing need to capture their national symbols and moments of national unity on screen. This need urged filmmakers to set out on a mission – as Napper writes – "to represent an *indigenous* and *unchanging* version of British National Identity" (38, emphasis added). The key-words – indigenous and unchanging – call for a cinematic memory fostering the untimely national heritage, a patriotic imagery that guides the audience towards positive identification with British values and way of life. What Hollywood taught to the rest of the world is that such an image is never self-evident but needs to be constructed through meticulous labour with cinema taking the lion's share of the job.[5] It did not take long for policymakers and public administrators to realise,

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[3] The box-office figures of the analysed period which never fell below 900 million show the importance of cinema as a cult, and the sheer impact films had on cultural discourses. In comparison the 1980's saw admissions drop to 50-100 million, that is by more than 90 percent. See British Film Institute, http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/facts/fact1.html.

[4] Jeffrey Richards, "The Cinema and Cinema-going in Birmingham in the 1930's," in James Walton and John K Walin (eds.) *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 46

[5] American cinema of the 1910's and Soviet cinema of the 1920' are traditionally described along a set of antagonisms. If they have anything in common, it is the social role to actively produce a memory on which the unity of the group relies. The epic representation of the birth of American

that, as long as the consumption of images continues on such a massive scale, cinema will become a useful vehicle of controlling and disseminating attitudes, values, beliefs and cultural identities.

II.

With the emergence of mass culture, the scope of negotiating and representing national character has been broadened and deepened. The link between the strong regulatory function of cultural institutions and the different forms of control over cinema has also increased resulting from the insight that more institutional control over cinema ensures less ambiguous films. Any government, social group or ideological community aiming to impose their will and power over people will know that control over the institutions of politics and law is less effective than capturing the popular imagination and unconscious desires of the masses. The totalitarian regimes of the 20th century successfully managed to undermine one with the other, and used – amongst others – the promise of a higher race and the communist revolution to sweep politics and law aside. Cinema in The Soviet Union and Nazi Germany was "nationalised", whereas political art and cultural memory received a distressingly uniform shape. To a much lesser degree both of these came about in Britain, but not before the late thirties and the outbreak of the war.

Prior to WWII and especially in the first half of the interwar years, the situation was very different. The undefined guidelines of institutionalising various, often fundamentally discordant vehicles of cultural identification made it ever more difficult for cinema to come up with a positive image of Britishness. The fact that cultural consumption was class based made the situation of filmmakers ever more challenging. Emphasising the social struggle behind the British history of cinema, S.P. MacKenzie argues that in the interwar period "representatives of the elite society tended to view the mass culture of the lower orders with a mixture of incomprehension and disdain, despite – or because of – the evident growth in the power of those orders" (2). The section of the landed gentry and aristocracy who pursued military careers were especially hostile. Their contempt for cinema was not based on deep aesthetic considerations but part of their general repulsion for the working classes. They could easily dismiss cinema for the silly and sentimental treatment of life's problems (as seen in melodrama) or the irresponsible view of the different branches of the armed forces (in war drama), yet their real enemy were not cultural clichés, but the social class that cherished them.

This air of hostility was to change as the international political situation turned hopeless and the establishment of national unity gradually became the

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nationalism (D.W. Griffith) and the awakening and rise to power of the proletariat (S. Eizenstein, V. Pudovkin) signal the rise of political cinema with a strong ideological mission to repossess the past and substantiate the present in terms of images.

key to survival.[6] Much needed was a cinema that would refine and redefine the stereotypical views classes held of each other and establish a new perspective of everyday life that was neither marred by escapist dreaming nor by conservative fantasies of eminence. Why could cinema be successful in carving out a cultural middle ground and determining those values and ideals which all classes shared? Well, because it transcended traditional class conflicts and heavily relied on the socio-cultural middle ground, the middle-class which by this time had successfully managed to assimilate parts of the high and the lower classes. In the longer run it was this intermediary space of negotiation that helped to tune down the explicit nationalism of the pompous and ultra-conservative aristocracy and awaken the spirit of patriotism in the otherwise politically inactive and ideologically neutral working class. Before identifying and analysing how this "third", intermediary space came to shape the war years, I would like to discuss the components essential to its emergence.

III.

Film production in 1930s Britain was dominated by the so-called "quota quickies", low-cost films of the second-feature class, the largest proportion of which were comedies. These films often featured the star singers of music hall and variety shows and meanwhile "spoke to working-class audiences of community, solidarity and longing" (Street 46). The other relevant genre was the crime picture (the so-called whodunit) and its popularity peaked among lower middle-class audiences. These two dominant genres of the quota quickies – despite their rather modest stylistic innovations and emphasis on voyeurism, exhibitionism and cheap attractions – were desperately different from American products. As Andrew Higson states in *Waving the Flag: Constructing a National Cinema in Britain*, the films identified as quota quickies of working-class interest had a strong consciousness for local cultural identity and maintained a strong sense of regionalism. The research of Jeffrey Richards and John Sedgewick affirms this view and also points out that star cults in working-class neighbourhoods differed significantly from middle-class preferences. Whereas Gracie Fields and George Formby served as working-class role models of honesty, decency and hard work and, consequently, could be admired and

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[6] MacKenzie gives a detailed analysis of how the value of cinema changed in the eyes of the military elite. According to the author, the ice seemed to have first cracked in 1915, when the Admirality was persuaded about the benefits of cinematic propaganda (4-5). After the war the public demand for stories with patriotic sentiments disappeared but on the eve of the Second World War the armed forces began to recognise once again the benefits of the favourable image cinema was capable of creating for them. As MacKenzie observes "all three services…had in the course of the 1930's learned the value for recruiting and general publicity purposes of cooperating with the commercial film industry in the making of feature films" (25).

identified with[7], middle-class audiences preferred Continental and Hollywood actors, stars of costume melodramas. In both cases star personalities provided an invaluable service to the Establishment by making people (almost unconsciously) aware of the accepted and socially beneficial modes of behaviour. Napper's research into whodunits reveals a strong element of resistance to the American influence. He concludes that "in their thematic concerns 'quota quickies' dramatise the fears of a threat to indigenous British cultural values. This 'threat' is characterised as being to do with the modernity, classlessness and instability implied by the impetus towards social mobility" (43).

A key player of the British film industry – London Films Productions – reacted to the American influence in a way that strongly shaped the future of cinema in the country. None of the histories of British cinema miss to point out that Alexander Korda's *The Private Life of Henry VIII* from 1933 single-handedly conquered the American and international markets. Its key to success was the adaptation of high production values partly underlying Hollywood's success. Korda had a keen eye for the narrative, generic and scenic models a film has to follow in order to reach international cult status. The films Korda would later produce (and in a few cases direct) in the upcoming years – including *The Rise of Catherine the Great*, *The Private Life of Don Juan*, *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, *I, Claudius* – follow in the footsteps of *Henry VIII*; they are all historical biopics or costume melodramas. Like most historical adventure films these generically uniform products appealed to the middle-classes. Their strengths lay in their deep understanding of quality entertainment and slapstick-free humour which was combined with seriousness and prudence regarding the treatment of national themes.

IV.

Is it at all relevant to ask to what extent the above mentioned Korda-films follow Hollywood-formulas. They clearly did as far as production values are concerned, nevertheless, the situation is more complex as the following quote suggests:

> I might put it epigrammatically and say I believe that international films are what good directors make… But perhaps the phrase 'international film' is a little ambiguous. I do not mean that a film must try to suit the psychology and manners of every country in which it is going to be shown. On the contrary, to be really international a film must first of all be truly and intensely national. It must be true to the

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[7] Discussed in detail by Jeffrey Richards in *Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain 1930-39,* 155-156.

> matter in it…In my case, if I may say so, it is because *The Private Life of Henry VIII* is English to the backbone I feel it. [8]

Besides spectacle and a straightforward (but never naive) dramaturgical structure the Kordaesque international film was universal in appeal but national in spirit. In marketing terms Korda offered authentically British topics to foreign markets. However, this also meant that his films – and *Henry VIII* is essential in this regard – transcended class-awareness exactly by offering an image of the nation as a happy family, the members of which express their love for their country in distinct but sincere ways. I should add that although this image was apolitical and idealised, it did offer (in a very consciously constructed manner) identification with national stereotypes regardless of class and rank.

After the success of *Henry VIII,* Alexander Korda's London Film Productions came up with a series of films that deal with historical figures. It was not until *This England* (1941) and later *That Hamilton Woman* (1941) that the nation's past was openly compared to its present, that the narratives came to fully embrace a parabolic mode of address. Never has 'the family of Britain' looked more dignified than in the films of this period, never has cinema been a more sincere mirror of national unity than in 1941. Yet, in a sense, 40s cinema began during the mid 30s. For this wartime unity to emerge, major transformations needed to take place, a key element of which involved the alteration of the group's self image, an image no longer drawn up within the framework of reference to the global Empire but in terms of the insular nation. Films directed by Zoltán Korda (known as the Empire-films) are especially important in this regard.

The first of the cycle, *Sanders of the River* (1935), starred Leslie Banks in a story of an officer of the empire who maintains order and peace in the dark corners of Nigeria. Being a film that mirrored both the political conservatism characteristic of Kipling's prose and the colonial ideology with its racist vocabulary, it served as a model-narrative for later films addressing the struggle between reason and savagery. In *The Elephant Boy* (1937), *The Drum* (1938) and *The Four Feathers*[9] (1939) it is within the framework of colonial policies that the upper and lower classes came to form a special alliance. They can do so,

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[8] Quoted in James Chapman, *Past and Present. National Identity and the British Historical Film*, 19.

[9] *The Four Feathers*, adapted from A. E. W. Mason's novel of the same title is counted as one of the more classic adaptations. Altogether six versions of the story exist three of which was made between 1915 and 1929. Mason was also responsible for writing *The Drum* and *Fire over England* (1937), the latter title being one of the first historical biopics to be read as a parable, a story openly drawing comparison between the conflict of Elizabeth I and King Philip II of Spain and the Spanish Civil War, a conflict of republicans (supported by many Brits) and the nationalists (supported by the Axis powers, most notably Nazi Germany). Lines from the film, like "Spain is the prison of freedom. Spain is horror…" or "Spain is the land of ghosts" clearly carry this double meaning.

since the stories are set in the care-free decades the Empire enjoyed during the Victorian era. The evidently nostalgic tone of these films called for positive identification with Victorian values natural to those members of the Establishment who actively participated in sustaining the system of colonialism (either in military or administrative ranks). Interestingly enough this included both the middle-class (which in the second half of the 19th century saw increased possibilities either in the professional fields or the administrative branch) and the working-class (many members of which enjoyed upward social mobility by joining the army).

Emphasising its nostalgia and glorious rhetoric, Marcia Landy compares the generic model of the Empire-films to the Hollywood western film and its reconstruction of the ideologically biased frontier experience. In classical westerns the conquering of the land involves the taming or defeating of natives, a motif also present in the films of Zoltán Korda (especially in *The Elephant Boy*). The 'western message' offers reassurance and implies that rebellions are useless, that control will be regained and colonial rule strengthened. In the late thirties such reassurance was vital, after all, the visible disruption of the international balance of power and the impotence of European governments to stop German expansion worried many. Bearing this in mind, it is by no means surprising that the retrieval of order and the defeat of untrustworthy natives and constantly plotting aggressors is a recurring motif in these films. Contemporary audiences must have had no difficulty in understanding (even if unconsciously) that despite the geographical and temporal dislocation, these stories were parables emphasising the familiarity between the evil shiftiness of subaltern groups and the moral corruptness of Nazism.[10] Yet, the caution and indirectness of the parabolic address also suggests that a large proportion of people still felt uncomfortable to openly embrace the idea of war. The bitter moment of disillusionment for pacifists would soon arrive but so would a renewed sense of patriotism. This time, however, the new national consensus relied more than ever on middle-class values.

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[10] Korda's *The Thief of Bagdad* (1940) makes similar use of parabolic mode of address, as it portrays Bagdad captured by fear of the evil Jaffar (a character impersonated by the German emigrant Conrad Veidt). Given the historical context, Bagdad is used as synonym of Berlin or any German-occupied city. The political parable applies to almost every aspects of the film. The main characters and their mentalities call into play a rich network of associations and symbolic identifications. Along this line of argumentation one may discover in the character of the power-thirsty Jaffar (the eliminator of the Sultan) Hitler who overthrows the politically modest era of Hindenburg. In similar fashion Prince Ahmad may stand for post-Chamberlain England, Abu for the British colonies and the Princess (the character who makes Ahmad see again the moment she is enslaved by Jaffar) may symbolise Poland in the German occupation of which put an end to the blind policy of appeasement. The most enigmatic element of this parabolic narrative universe is the Old King, who gives Abu the weapons to defeat Jaffar. His quite passive, yet decisive role may be likened to that of the US, following the policy of non-involvement in the war, yet assisting the British war effort with shipments of weapons and other economic aid.

V.

The Empire-cycle specific to London Films Production Company saw the strengthening of the epic cinema of attractions and a rather conservative topic treatment. Spectacular visual effects, but a surprisingly fresh socialist-pacifist vision unfolds in London Films' big budget adaptation of H.G. Wells' *Things to Come* (dir. William Cameron Menzies, 1936). The film looked into the future with the challenges of the contemporary situation in mind, proving once again the merits of the parabolic address. Apart from its reliance on parabolic narration, *Things to Come* seriously deviated from the tone set down by other films, especially in its queries about the state of international politics. It predicted the eruption of a worldwide conflict and sought to find out which political ideology can best represent the future of 'the social animal'. The answer proposed by Menzies and Wells is unambiguous: they pled for a more effective collaboration between nations while rejecting the idea of the nation state. In *Things to Come*, the safeguarding of international peace is embodied by the world-government called "Wings over the World", a technocratic and efficient organisation which deals with tyrants in a more successful manner than its real-life equivalent, The League of Nations. For Wells and Menzies, the war is the natural outcome of nationalist policies. The local warlord of Everytown, called "The Boss", exemplifies how xenophobia – a common feature of both nationalism and nativism – leads a community into the dark pool of moral decay, militarism, aggression and finally back to the stone-age.[11] The film arrives at the concept of the collectivist idea through its commitment to pacifism and the disavowal of social/racial discrimination and pro-war sentiments.

At this point two questions arise. The first explores whether the denial of nationalism and the nation state means the rejection of the nation as a framework of identity. The second asks if the pursuit of the collectivist ideals mean abandoning traditions, national character and cultural memory. Wells and Menzies give a negative answer to both of these questions. The future society of *Things to Come* is made up of a collective of people unified by a common ancestry, language, institutions and mentality, furthermore, they share a belief in progress (both technical and social). To find an answer to the second question we have to consider one of the most disturbing recognitions of *Things to Come*. The film envisions a war generation that has forgotten why the war had erupted in the first place and why people fight. Consequently, it suggests that collective memory is the only weapon to overcome collective amnesia and ensure that a group proceeds towards a future without committing past mistakes. British cinema throughout the Second World War will do just that; filmmakers will go

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[11] In this regard the film could not have been released at a better moment, at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, where thousand of ordinary Brits fought in the international brigades with well-known socialists (including George Orwell) supporting the Republican's cause, while the British government and the policy of appeasement practiced by prime minister Neville Chamberlain indirectly assisted the nationalist faction.

to great length to have people remember what they are fighting against and what they are fighting for. It is the popular-populist political cinema with a strong historical awareness that I will analyse in the next paragraph.

VI.

By the eve of WWII cinema had strengthened its position both as a form of art and mass entertainment, although the films took little interest in either pure aesthetic enjoyment or straightforward entertainment. This period saw the rise of political filmmaking. Or was it the rise of propaganda cinema? The scope of this essay does not allow me to analyse the complex set of relations between political art, political marketing, political propaganda and ideological indoctrination. Historically, mass society, mass media and propaganda emerged simultaneously and constituted an effective framework of producing and disseminating specific contents with the aim to serve and engage large numbers of people. It must be added that the term propaganda has a rather pejorative meaning in English, and is invariable used to refer to the selective and impartial presentation of facts, to emotional manipulation, conditioning of behaviour, even brainwashing. All these may be true for propaganda but not apply to British wartime cinema. The films I have seen never intended to make people believe things against their better judgement, never imposed a limit on individual freedom or altered the distinction between fiction and fact in a way as to consciously victimise certain individuals and groups. On the contrary, they respected the basic human rights of free speech, opinion and belief.

At the same time, it is also evident that British propaganda did fulfil its fundamental function of propagating certain values, patterns of behaviour and social practices. In order to address the new challenges posed by the war, propaganda aimed to mobilise the masses and guide them towards the sphere of public service. Propagandists have long realised that the effectiveness of action does not depend on the degree of individuality it is triggered by. Nevertheless, it is a dangerous wisdom, since it can be easily abused, as it happened in Nazi Germany, where self-sacrifice was glorified so openly and uncritically that it became a virtue. Self-sacrifice may have been recognised in the Third Reich as the most useful of action, it never came anywhere close to this in Britain. Why? Well, because the total subjugation of individuality to the sphere of communal interest (as a form of dehumanisation) would have undermined the greatest asset of British culture: the common sense of people, their instinctual rejection of power-worship and their likewise instinctual affirmation of law.[12] In a sense we

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[12] George Orwell's essay entitled "England, Your England" catalogues the characteristic features of British civilisation and emphasises how power-worship never touched the ordinary people: "The goose-step, for instance, is one of the most horrible sights in the world, far more terrifying than a dive-bomber. It is simply an affirmation of naked power; contained in it, quite consciously and intentionally, is the vision of a boot crashing down on a face… Why is the goose-step not used in England? … It is not used because the people in the street would laugh. Beyond a certain

could say that propaganda is culture-dependent, it is a machinery of readjusting and supervising people how to adapt to new situations, yet its effectiveness is in positive correspondence with the respect it pays for national characteristics. In short: propaganda cannot radically alter what people believe in and what they detest. At the same time, values and beliefs often lie beneath the ground in an unconscious and raw state, the excavation and fine tuning of which required the kind of sensibility and commitment (the parabolic narratives of 1930s) cinema has already proved to possess.

A key issue at the outset of the war was to change the public perceptions and sentiments about the necessity of military conflict. Films relevant in this regard employed identical strategies; they viewed history, its major figures and their achievements to convince people about the self-destructive effects of the policy of appeasement. Not surprisingly all the major features during this period rejected pacifist sentiments. Korda's *That Hamilton Woman*, Thorold Dickinson's *The Prime Minister* (1941) and Carol Reed's *The Young Mr Pitt* (1942) are all biopics that deal with passionate political visions and government policies at the time of past international conflicts. Korda's and Reed's films take the viewer back to the time of Napoleonic wars and neither fail to point out that signing a self-deceptive peace treatise with Bonaparte was a historical blunder Britain cannot afford to repeat. *The Prime Minister* follows through the political career of Benjamin Disraeli, a strong devotee of the empire and a close ally of Queen Victoria. Nevertheless, what makes Disraeli a model statesman is neither his official colonial policies nor the royal support he receives, but his personal determination and uncompromising will at the Berlin Conference. All three of these films use historical parables to convince people that only fighting till final victory will result in lasting peace. In a sense the militant tone of these films reflected the precise principles Churchill's coalition government followed.

David Lean's *This Happy Breed* (1944, based on Noël Coward's 1939 play by the same title), while looking back at the line of events that lead to the war, reaches a similar conclusion. The following dialogue between Frank Gibbons, a full-hearted patriot and Aunt Sylvia, portrayed as a hysteric and aggressive spinster takes place in the late 1930s:

> *Frank Gibbons*: We shall never have to find ourselves in a position when we have to appease anybody.
> *Aunt Sylvia*: […] I am a woman, I don't care how much we appease as long as we don't have war. War is wicked and evil and vile. Them that

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point, military display is only possible in countries where the common people dare not laugh at the army … Here one comes upon an all-important English trait: the respect for constitutionalism and legality, the belief in 'the law' as something above the State and above the individual, something which is cruel and stupid, of course, but at any rate *incorruptible*…Everyone believes in his heart that the law can be, ought to be, and, on the whole, will be impartially administered. The totalitarian idea that there is no such thing as law, there is only power, has never taken root."

live by the sword shall die by the sword. It is more blessed to give than to receive.

Frank: I don't think it is more blessed to give than receiving a nice kick in the pants for doing it.

Sylvia. You are a warmonger. That's what you are: a warmonger.

Frank is not simply the mouthpiece of the general wartime sentiment about the misdirected policies of the previous decade, but a voice of reason. What he calls a "nice kick in the pants" is none other than The Blitz, a moment in British history when popular resistance was a matter of life and death. No member of the audience would have forgotten this at the time of the film's release in 1943. In this sense Sylvia's stubbornness is depicted as a kind of blindness and pacifism as an ideology out of touch with reality. *This Happy Breed* takes sides with Frank, the "warmonger", not because there is anything joyful in violence and militarism but because wars are not won by negotiations and diplomacy but on the battle fields and on the home front. Although the story ends on the eve of the war, we can be sure that Frank, the elderly veteran, will not take part actively in the Blitz, yet as a member of the home front his spirit and vigour is an essential part of final victory. The characters in the film are all individualised and have strong personalities, still, the main protagonist of the story is the Gibbons family, a representative middle-class household and more importantly an allegory of the British nation. What forges the Gibbons into a family, something more than a group of people having the same name, is the profound recognition, that, despite their various, sometimes conflicting worldview, they can trust and rely on each. In the eyes of Coward and Lean, what applies to the family postcard is also valid for the big picture: Britain is forged into a nation, a "happy breed" by shared responsibility and not a uniform way of thinking.

VII.

The aforementioned films offer invaluable assistance in the field of mobilisation. In fact the necessity to offer one's service comes through as a central motif in cinematic propaganda. Clearly distinguished from servilism or servitude, the concept of service originated from neither an interior compulsion nor an exterior constraint. First and foremost it expressed the active will of the individual and the group to overcome inertia and act responsibly. It may be very much the case, that the only enemy in war is the passivity and numbness of people, the kind of disillusionment characterising Aunt Sylvia in *This Happy Breed*. The old spinster was clearly not the only person to awake to the horrors of war and want no part in it.

We see a similar confusion in the case of Clive Briggs, the character of the deserter in Anatole Litvak's *This Above All* (1942). Clive is a kind of modern everyman; his dismay over meaningless destruction puts him off from the line of duty and forces him to escape from responsibility of any sort. It is not that he

doubts the legitimacy of service, the origin of his paralysis is psychological. Briggs regains to the power to act after saving a child trapped in a house during the Blitz but only after he has regained self-control and learnt the importance of self-respect. *This Above All* articulates an insight shared by numerous other films, an insight which could be summarised in the following terms: there is no mental security without self-direction, self-respect and self-control and there is likewise no action without the peace of mind. This is the lesson Basil Deadren's *The Halfway House* (1944) teaches us, a film that depicts how a group of people from different classes escape to a country inn from the horrors of war. Acting as individuals rather than a community, the first half of the film portrays the disintegration of the Family. This pessimistic tone disappears altogether in the second half, as the two hosts – allegorising national unity – help the 'deserters' return home and regain the sphere of action. They achieve this by urging them to undertake self-examination. "What am I to do?" – asks the spiv with the faulty conscience at the end of the film. The answer, as the main moral of the film, is as follows: "You are the only one to answer that, look into your own heart".

Looking into one's heart is not always the easiest thing to do during wartime, in the general state of insecurity. The shared experience of anxiety however forges people into this new Family exemplified by such films of the social cross-section like *In Which We Serve* (Noël Coward and David Lean, 1942) and *Millions Like Us* (Sidney Gilliat and Frank Launder, 1943). Not a single character in these films loses his/her individuality despite the fact that the traditional contours of social identities have become blurred. This blurring is depicted most beautifully in the final scene of *Millions Like Us* when women of different social ranks sing together in the canteen. The community singing as a symbol of the newly forged Family and the recently found common ground of the rich and the poor also appears in the short films of Humphrey Jennings (most notably in *Spare Time* and *Listen to Britain*). Jennings embraced this newly founded Family of the British with an almost religious enthusiasm. As Charles Drazin argues: "the religious feeling, I think, stems from *not* knowing them as individuals. Unconcerned with the separate personalities, Jennings was able to focus on the humanity common to them all" (153). It is not that individuality did not count for Jennings; just the opposite. His camera was able to reveal the universality underlying individuality, the qualities of faith and courage, as in his short documentary *Family Portrait* (1950). Jennings understands individuality and community as terms inclusive to one another, in that they illuminate rather than undermine each other, a point also stressed by Aldgate and Richards: "[t]he family above all other images epitomises the ideal of diversity within unity" (228).

Neither of the abovementioned films questions the positive correlation between individual service and the national interest.[13] The strengthening of

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[13] The minor character of Clive Seymour in *Fanny by Gaslight* (Anthony Asquish, 1944) is no exception. Although the sentence "I am a public servant not a private individual" suggests the

community consciousness left uncontested the belief in individuality, yet made it evident to the "individual that he is *not* altogether an individual" ("The English Revolution"), led to the reinforcement of public morale but also led to a specific socio-political doctrine taking root in Britain, namely middle-class socialism. "The war and revolution are inseparable" – wrote Orwell in his essay "The English Revolution", a claim he believed was underpinned by the fact that the "war turned Socialism from a textbook word into a realizable policy". At this point we must mention the role of the middle-class which is historically most closely linked to progress and social transformation. The middle-class, with its strong moral sense and economic independence, has always propagated the importance of family, education and public service. The Gibbons family in *This Happy Breed* is the closest wartime cinema comes to articulate the archetypal middle-class identity. They possess all the previously mentioned qualities and manage to successfully balance between the ideological extremities represented, on the one hand, by Reg Gibbons, who in his youth flirted with hard-line socialist ideals, and, on the other hand, Queenie, who is enchanted by elitist and aristocratic snobbery. Opposing both radicalism and bourgeoisie high-handedness, the Gibbons find the middle-road and start sharing values associated with ordinariness, tradition and respectability:

> *Queenie*: Seems to me all the spirit has gone out of him [Sam], he is just like everybody else now, just respectable.
> *Freddie*: What's the matter with that? […] We are as we are and that's how we are going to stay and if you don't like it well you can lump it. But one of these days when you know a bit more you'll find out that there are worst things than being just *ordinary* and *respectable* and living the way you've been brought up to live.

Decency, honesty and respectability are values of positive identification, they are attributes of middle-class identity worth embracing. They form the backbone of the slow-paced, yet unstoppable revolution associated with modern British history. The mistrust of the British towards explosive transformations does not mean that there are no moments when change is perceived inevitable. The Second World War was such a moment, a moment of revolutionary spirit that was heralded by the middle-class, which unlike the working-class and the upper class had real potential and affinity to propagate the egalitarian idea. The aristocracy lost its grip over society during the industrial revolution and has never been able to recover it. Thus its members clung to outdated traditions and political power not out of sheer hypocrisy and vanity but because of the insecurity as to what their new role would be after the inevitable social

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opposite, the narrative context resolves this contradiction. He uses the words to decline his social status for gaining undeserving advantages, thus relying on his good conscience instead of his class privileges.

transformation and modernisation occurred. At the same time the majority of the working-class had no positive self-image or class-memory and lacked any involvement and historical experience in reform. Only the middle class had both the accumulated knowledge and tools to function as social levellers, that is, to offer personal qualities, cultural mentalities, lifestyles, and patterns of behaviour as models to follow. Also, their attitude to create calculable political, economic and legal environments, their inclination to revise values with sufficient regularity and the readiness to integrate foreign influences (elements of other identity systems), made the middle-class the chief advocator and the catalyst of social reform. The combination of these factors paved a way for middle-class identity being transformed national identity.

The representation of women in wartime cinema is also middle-class biased. The two most memorable films with a female protagonist of this social background are *Mrs. Miniver* (William Wyler, 1942) and *Brief Encounter* (David Lean, 1945). Intended primarily for an American audience, Wyler's depiction of the Miniver family, their living standards and social contacts reflect the American perspective on the middle-class. Still, the character of Mrs Miniver – a courageous, strong-willed, charitable and attractive lady – occupies the centre of the local community and uses social intelligence to mediate between the lower and higher classes. Laura Jesson of *Brief Encounter*, on the other hand, is genuinely British and genuinely middle-class. Her fragile posture and angelic face, perfect manners and emotional self-restraint is complemented with bitter rationalism, convincing her that a family and home are more valuable than an adulterous fulfilment of her desires.

Other films, like *Millions Like Us* and *The Gentle Sex* (Leslie Howard, 1943), are not single-protagonist narratives but focus on female communities, the members of which undertake demanding and often dangerous physical labour without losing their feminine touch. The one thing these women of different social backgrounds lose is their class-cherished stereotypes. The motif of discovery is a key element in both narratives. Besides exploring the world of industrial labour, women also come to share a common ground and mutual respect for each other, both of which are the vital for social preconceptions about gender roles to shift. Even melodramas (often associated with Gainsborough Studios) articulate a similar message. The corresponding research of Aldgate and Richards reveals that, although the audience of the historical melodrama consisted of working-class woman, "[t]he clear implication of the films is that social change and a levelling of the barriers is needed" (163).[14]

Including the already mentioned titles, wartime films featuring woman protagonists or intended for women audiences propose an image of the gentle sex that could not be more different from the one heralded by prejudicious Victorian gender politics and traditional sexist representations. Contrary to these, they speak of sexual equality and criticise the conservative, male chauvinist

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[14] See *Britain Can Take It*, 157-165.

view of gender and sexual differences. The fact that even melodrama – described at the beginning of this essay as an escapist genre – had a role in this "tender revolution" is significant; it proves that the spirit of social self-awareness and the general will to gradually evaporate class and gender barriers became part of the British psyché, giving rise to a model selfhood that was national because it was consensual, and it was consensual because it relied, more than ever, on the middle-class.

Conclusion

My essay has outlined the origins and evolution of national imagery, a decade-long process, at the end of which, cinema came to possess a patriotic and consensual representation of British values and character. I first described the often conflicting sets of influences Hollywood had on British cinema. Ona positive note, American popular films taught English filmmakers how to call up the community's past in glorious terms while also strengthening the spirit of national unity among audiences. Alexander Korda and London Films took a lion's share in adopting the Hollywood model with the introduction of such genres as the historical film and Empire-cycle. I identified three key areas where *London Films* had significant influence:

(1) it played an essential role in popularising films with high production values and consequently managed to reach a wider audience;

(2) its use of the parabolic mode of address ensured that the values and beliefs represented as part of the past can reflect upon the present and through strengthening or undermining the continuity between the two lay out the symbolic sphere of British identity;

(3) whereas the Empire-cycle of Zoltán Korda argued for national unity within the framework of reference to the global Empire, later films, like *Things to Come* put the emphasis on awareness towards the challenges posed by aggressive and xenophobic nationalism.

With the deterioration of the international situation in the late 1930s, filmmakers employed historical parables more consciously than ever before to denounce the policy of appeasement and the impotency of international diplomacy to cope with Nazi Germany. The outbreak of WWII soon made cinema into the most important ally of the political establishment with films serving as an effective medium of propaganda. Consequently, filmmakers abandoned films of pure aesthetic experimentation and pure entertainment. So much was at stake in the early months of the war that, in a sense, cinema was enlisted and given the mission to boost low public moral, but more importantly, to mobilise people and encourage them to joint the home front.

Propaganda or political cinema had the following characteristics:

(1) it highlighted the importance of public service, a virtue which runs through British history, and thus, is a key national characteristic;

(2) as opposed to the totalitarian and indoctrinating rhetoric, British propaganda never worshiped self-sacrifice but humanised and psychologised it, keeping it well within the sphere of common sense – as another British characteristic;

(3) the image of Britain as a family committed to individual freedom and mutual responsibility was popularised in a number of key films from the period,

(4) the chief propagators of these values were middle-class characters who either directly or indirectly argued for a higher degree of social and gender equality.

The realist view of the material, emotional and mental sacrifices of the people during the war has entered deep into the national unconscious and has had a lasting effect on the British self-image. This could not be truer for cinema which in the period in focus managed to rise to the rank of the people's cinema, becoming a cinema of national unity. It helped to achieve victory on two fronts, not only providing its full support to the war efforts but playing a remarkable role in diminishing social prejudices. It is for these socially purposive and reformist attitudes that war cinema has come to gain a cult status unlikely to melt away any time soon.

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Peter Peri (1898-1967) – An Artist of Our Time?

Matthew Palmer

> This paper should be seen as the second in a series examining the lives of Hungarian-born artists forced to live in exile during the course of the twentieth century. While our first paper looked at the life and work of György Kepes, who initially left Hungary for Berlin, before settling in the United States (via England), this paper has chosen to focus on Peter Peri, who decided to stay in England having fled the Nazis at the same time as Kepes.[1] Kepes and Peri's artistic lives had already taken two very different paths by the time they left Berlin, and following a sojourn in which they both lived in Hampstead thanks to the kindness of Herbert Read, they were to embark on very different journeys: one which led to public recognition and renown, and the other to a life of relative obscurity, possibly total obscurity had Peter Peri not had admirers in the persons of Anthony Blunt,[2] and more importantly John Berger, whose first novel *A Painter of Our Time* is partly based on the life of this Hungarian emigré.

László Péri: Peter Peri[3]

John Berger's first novel *A Painter of Our Time*, published in 1958,[4] is based around the diary entries of the fictional Hungarian emigré artist János Lavin,[5] as read by his friend John, who has found the journal on the floor of the painter's

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[1] Palmer, Matthew, "György Kepes and Modernism: Towards a Course and Successful Visual Centre," *Eger Journal of English Studies Vol. VI*, 67-82.

[2] Anthony Blunt (1907-1983), professor of Art History at the University of London, director of the Courtauld Institute, London (1947-74), and surveyor of the King's / Queen's pictures (1945-75), honorary fellow of Trinity College Cambridge and Soviet spy from some time in the 1930s to at least the early 1950s.

[3] During the course of this paper the artist will be referred to as László Péri in the period up to his leaving Berlin in 1933, and Peter Peri from his arrival to England onwards, although Péri was only to adopt the name Peter Peri formally when he gained UK citizenship in 1939.

[4] As Peter Fuller reminds us in *Seeing Through Berger* (London and Lexington: The Claridge Press, 1988), the book was soon withdrawn by its publishers, Secker & Warburg, who were also publishers of the CIA backed magazine *Encounter,* which contained a hostile attack on the book (4, footnote 4).

[5] In Berger's novel János is written "Janos", without an accent.

abandoned London studio. The journal, which begins with the entry for 4th January 1952 and ends on 11th October 1956, is found towards the end of October that year, after which a Hungarian friend of John, "who wishes to remain anonymous", makes a rough translation of the document from Hungarian into English. John then publishes an annotated and revised version of János's diary under the title *A Painter of Our Time*. While it has been widely recognised that the character of John, who is an art lecturer, is based on John Berger himself, the original model or models for the character of János Lavin has been open to debate.[6] While Berger's list of acknowledgments includes the Hungarian emigré artist Peter Peri,[7] he has subsequently made a point of saying that although the character resembles Peri closely, the novel is 'in no sense a *portrait* of Peri' (Fig. 1.).[8] But to what extent does János Lavin resemble Peter Peri?

This paper appears at a time when Peter Peri is receiving some overdue public attention both in Hungary and England, courtesy of the 2008 shows "Nature and Technology: Moholy-Nagy Reassessed 1916-1923" (The Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest) and "Art for the People : Peter Peri 1899-1967 - An exhibition of sculpture, prints and drawings" (Sam Scorer Gallery, Lincoln).[9] Rather than merely being an attempt to evaluate the extent to which the character of János Lavin was based on Peter Peri, this paper will seek to assess the changing fortunes of an artist, whose greatest achievements are often seen to have been crammed into four years between 1920 and 1924 while he was living in Berlin,[10] and whose subsequent work has aroused very little interest among critics and art historians, with the notable exceptions of Anthony Blunt and John Berger.[11]

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[6] In his afterword to the Hungarian edition of the novel – John Berger, *Korunk festője,* trans. László Lugosi (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1983) – István Bart suggests Peri is Berger's model.

[7] Berger, John, *A Painter of Our Time* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958). The acknowledgements: "the contributions of the following to this book - contributions by way of example, criticism, encouragement and quite straightforward, practical services of help: Victor Anant, the late Frederick Antal, Anya Bostock, John Eskell, Peter de Francia, Renato Guttuso, Peter Peri, Wilson Plant, Friso and Vica Ten Holt, Garith Windsor, and my own parents".

[8] John Berger, "Impressions of Peter Peri," in the *Peter Peri Memorial Exhibition Catalogue* (1968), an essay that also appears in John Berger, *The Look of Things* (1972).

[9] The accompanying publications were: Botár Olivér, *Természet és Technika: Az újraértelmezett Moholy-Nagy 1916-1923* (Budapest: Vince Kiadó; Janus Pannonius Múzeum Pécs, 2007) and the pamphlet *Art for the People : Peter Peri 1899-1967 An exhibition of sculpture, prints and drawings*, including an essay by Sarah Taylor.

[10] Passuth Krisztina, "Péri László konstruktivista művészete", *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 91/3-4 (Budapest 1991), 175.

[11] Apart from being ignored Peter Peri has also been a subject of derision. A typical example can be seen in David Pryce-Jones's review of Miranda Carter's "Anthony Blunt: His Lives" in the March 2002 edition of *New Criterion*: "There is something hilarious about Blunt's adoption of Soviet realism, his inability to know what to think about Picasso and modernism, or his admiration of hack artists of the day, like the justly forgotten Peter Peri" (p. 62). When writing about contemporary art in the *New Statesman and Nation* and elsewhere, John Berger was aware that he was championing 'famously unacceptable' realists.

Any account of the life and work of Peter Peri, however, has to acknowledge that there were in fact two Peris: the László Péri, as he was then known, who left Hungary for Berlin shortly after the collapse of the Republic of Councils in 1919, and who then moved from Berlin to London in 1933; and the Peter Peri he became shortly after arriving in England.[12] This duality is due as much to historiographical circumstances as to the vicissitudes in his life. For while the English literature on Peri devotes very little space to his pre-London existence,[13] Hungarian research says next to nothing about Péri's life after he left Berlin, and even when references are made they are done in a very disparaging way.[14] This information gap, which our intention is to fill here, we shall discover, is also a device Berger uses in his novel to allow him to lay the clues and expound the riddles that lead to the novel's unresolved conclusion, in which he leaves the reader to decide, firstly whether János Lavin returns to Hungary (we last hear of him in Vienna), and then to resolve which side he fought or sympathised with during the Hungarian Uprising:

> Even worse, we do not know what he did. Did he stand by and watch those terrible days in Budapest? Did he join with the revisionists of the Petőfi circle? Did he fight side by side with those workers' councils who resisted the Red Army? Did he oppose this resistance and was he lynched by a mob as a Rákosi agent? Is he now a supporter of the

[12] According to *Tate Gallery: Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions 1986-88* (London: Tate Gallery, 1996) László Péri was born László Weisz, something that also appears in Peri's Wikipedia entry and Gillian Whiteley's entry for Peter Peri in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, published in September 2004. It would appear, however, this is based on a misunderstanding, as it was László Moholy-Nagy, himself like Péri a Jew, who was born László Weisz.

[13] Much of what has been written in Britain on Hungarian emigrés tends to be interested in the way people like Peter Peri have made a significant contribution to British Civilisation. In this respect Sárközi, Mátyás, *Hungaro-Brits: The Hungarian Contribution to British Civilization* (Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, 2000) is not only typical, but a valuable document. I am indebted to my aunt and uncle, Rosemary and Raymond Harris who received their copy when guests of Katalin Bogyay at a Hungarian Evening held at The Athenaeum on 28th February 2002. Their covering note gives one an idea as to how cultural interchange took place in mid-20th England. "We were given some publications (too heavy to send), one of which was a list of 'Hungaro Brits' – famous Britons who are actually Hungarians, having been chased out by Hitler or Stalin. It included Dennis Gabor, the husband of Lilly Goetz's close friend (Lilly was our maid in Brixton before the war). It should have included Marta Zalan (sic!), Eleanor's brilliant piano teacher, but I suppose she's not famous enough."

[14] This is perhaps typified in Krisztina Passuth's article "Egyszerű geometrikus formák" *Népszabadság*, 1st November 1999: "On leaving Germany in 1933 he (Péri) settled in England, when he went about recreating his earlier lost works in cement. Primarily, however, he made small figures in a realistic-natural vein, whose artistic power never matched that of his earlier work" (p. 11). In saying this, however, one should mention that Helga László wrote her undergraduate thesis at the University of Budapest under the title "The Realistic Sculpture of Laszlo Peter Peri" in 1990.

Kádár government or does he bide his time? Each of these possibilities is reasonable.[15]

János Lavin: Peter Peri

Biographical details about János Lavin are spread thinly throughout the novel. The little John in fact knows, he tells us first in the opening section which leads up to the finding of the diary, and then with the annotations John adds to the diary entries that follow. The lack of concrete information confirms John's realisation when looking at the artist's abandoned studio that there is a lot he does not know about his friend. It is a conclusion Berger also comes to in relation to Peter Peri.[16] What follows in the novel is, as John tells us, a search for what he did not know and what had not even realised about János Lavin.

> There were several photographs of athletes in action – hurdlers, skiers, divers. There was a picture postcard of the Eiffel Tower. There was a photograph of himself with some other students at Budapest University in 1918. He had originally intended to be a lawyer. He did not seriously begin painting until his early twenties, when he was in Prague – having been forced to leave Hungary after the overthrow of the Soviet revolutionary government in 1919. There was another photograph of about a dozen people at a studio party in his own Berlin studio in the late twenties. In the background one could see some of his own paintings, which were then abstract.[17]

László Péri was born in Budapest in 1899 into a large proletarian Jewish family and became politicised at an early age. In adolescence he moved in the same cultural and political circles as László Moholy-Nagy, which was by about 1917 to centre on Lajos Kassák's journal *MA* (Today). He also lived in Paris for a short period in 1920, where he stayed in the house of a socialist baker before being forced to leave the country due to his political activities. While it is not known for sure whether Péri, like his friend László Moholy-Nagy, studied Law, Krisztina Passuth believes it was by no means unlikely that he did. Péri also went as part of a theatre company to Prague, which is where he heard about the fall of the Republic of Councils, before moving to Vienna and then on to Berlin.[18]

When reflecting on how they first met at the National Gallery in London, John mentions that although János had enjoyed quite a reputation in Berlin at the end of the twenties and had had a book published in England at the end of the

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[15] Berger (1958), 190.

[16] Berger (1968), 3: "I asked him many questions. But now I have the feeling that I never asked him enough. Or at least that I never asked him the right questions."

[17] Berger (1958), 11-12.

[18] Passuth (1991), 175-77.

war, he had practically been forgotten by the 1950s.[19] Passuth dates the heights of Péri's artistic powers a little earlier to the four years between 1920 and 1924, during which time he enjoyed the patronage and support of Herwarth Walden and his *Der Sturm* gallery and magazine.[20] It was a period when, following a joint exhibition at Der Sturm Gallery in February 1922 that Moholy-Nagy and Péri enjoyed critical acclaim as they each pursued their own constructivist agendas.[21] On returning from the Soviet Union in 1922 Alfréd Kemény declared the artists to be the only two up-and-coming artists capable of producing work of a comparable level to the best he had seen in Russia.[22] El Lissitzky came to a similar conclusion.[23]

Péri's contributions to constructivism at this time were firstly the discovery of concrete as a potential sculptural medium,[24] colouring it if necessary, and secondly the appreciation of the hard contour as a visual device, as seen in his collages and lino prints,[25] which could be used to create a visual medium hovering somewhere between the relief and architecture.[26] Péri's great contribution at a time, in late 1922 and early 1923, when both Péri and Moholy-Nagy were happy to sign manifestos declaring the necessity for a true communist constructivism,[27] was therefore to challenge the surface of the wall and to open up new planes. Whereas Moholy-Nagy's *Glasarchitektur* achieved this using paint and canvas Péri used less conventional media. This he did to great effect at the *Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung* in May 1923 with his three-piece 7 x 17-metre composition, which while it may also have been executed in paint on canvas, had pretensions to be executed in concrete (Fig. 2.).[28]

Perhaps his most memorable image from this period, and certainly the most reproduced of Péri's works is his plan for a Lenin Memorial (1924) (Fig. 3.). It however also marked the end of Péri's investigations into the non-objective. While Moholy-Nagy's immediate career would take him to the Bauhaus, Péri's star waned.

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[19] Berger (1958), 18-19.

[20] Passuth (1991), 175.

[21] Passuth Krisztina, *Avantgarde Kapcsolatok Prágától Bukarestig 1907-1930* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1998), 225-34.

[22] Moholy-Nagy's letter to the editorial board of *Kunstblatt*, Berlin, July 1924, published in Passuth Krisztina, *Moholy-Nagy* (Budapest: Corvina, 1982), 382.

[23] Passuth (1982), 361.

[24] Although some his concrete sculptures survive from the 1920s, most notably *Reclining Woman* (1920) and *Standing Woman* (1924), other Berlin designs were subsequently worked in concrete from photos and drawings soon after Péri's arrival in England. József Vadas's recent article "A beton mint hungarikum" (Concrete as Hungarian National Treasure), *Népszabadság* (June 12th, 2010) fails to make any mention of Péri as a pioneer in the medium, or that he invented a synthetic material for sculptors, which he patented under the name Pericrete.

[25] Peri *Linoleumschitte* 1922-23. Verlag der Sturm, Berlin 1923, with preface by Alfréd Kemény.

[26] Passuth (1998), 229.

[27] "Nyilatkozat", signed by Ernő Kállai, Alfréd Kemény, László Moholy-Nagy, László Péri, *Egység* 1923 márciusi szám, reproduced in Szabó 195-6.

[28] Szabó 118; Passuth (1982), 31; Passuth (1991), 185-7.

By the late 1920s Péri was living on state support in Germany having tried unsuccessfully to be an architect.[29] Péri's decision to abandon constructivist art appears to have been caused by his realisation that while constructivism had a future in architecture, realism was best suited for the visual arts. It was a realisation that coincided with the changes in cultural attitudes that were going on in the Soviet Union at this time.[30]

> I believed that the results and experiments of constructivism could best be used and developed in architecture. (...) My interest in people, the way they live and their relationships to each other was so strong that architecture did not satisfy me and since 1929, I have returned to representational art. The significance of my representational painting and sculpture is, that it follows constructivism, i.e. using all the knowledge I gained through abstract art.[31]

In 1928 Péri signed the manifesto and statutes of the German Association of Revolutionary Visual Artists (*Association Revolutionärer Bildener Künstler Deutschlands*), otherwise known as "Asso", which like other new and militant Communist art organisations called for a reinvigoration of the idea of "proletarian culture" and suitably positive images of working-class life and culture.[32] It has been suggested that Péri himself went to the Soviet Union, although Passuth suggests this remained a dream.[33] Berger gives Lavin a concrete reason why he went to England rather than the Soviet Union:

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[29] Passuth suggests his decision to work for the Berlin municipal architectural office in 1924 was motivated by a desire to put his productivist values into action. It proved a frustrating period and he left his job in 1928 (1991, 188).

[30] It was a move that had its origins in the emergence of Realist groups like the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia within the Soviet Union (AkhRR), whose Declaration was published in June-July 1922. As to what such a realist approach entailed, a circular to all branches of AkhRR in May 1924 tells us: "Only now, after two years of AkhRR, after the already evident collapse of the so-called leftist tendencies in art, is it becoming clear that the artist of today must be both a master of the brush and a revolutionary fighting for the better future of mankind. Let the tragic figure of Courbet serve as the best prototype and reminder of the aims and tasks that contemporary art is called on to resolve." quoted from AkhRR: "The Immediate Tasks of AkhRR", a circular to all branches of the AkhRR in May 1924. It followed the exhibition "Revolution, Life and Labour" in February 1924, republished in: Harrison, Charles and Wood, Paul (eds), *Art in Theory: 1990-1990, An Anthology of Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 387.

[31] From the exhibition catalogue accompanying the exhibition "It's the People who Matter" at the Lloyd's Gallery Wimbledon, 1965.

[32] Harrison & Wood (eds) 390-393. As they note Asso followed the example AkhRR in Russia.

[33] Passuth Krisztina: *Magyar művészek az európai avantgarde-ban: A kubizmustól a konstruktivizmusig 1919-1925* (Budapest: Corvina, 1974), 144-5; Lynda Morris & Robert Radford, *The Story of the Artists International Association 1933-1953* (Oxford: The Museum of Modern Art, 1983) say, Peri went to get to know the work of Malevich, Tatlin and Rodchenko, "and helped on the design of workers communes" (49). Passuth later rejected Katherine S.

> The most critical decision of my life, though at the time it was casual enough, was when I decided to come west instead of going to Moscow. And the reason behind my decision now seems not only naïve but ironic. I wanted to go where I would still have to fight for Socialism. I did not want to enjoy the victory that others had fought for.[34]

For Péri the decision to go west was made suddenly in 1933 after the Nazis had forced their way into his studio in Berlin.[35] It meant he had to leave his works in concrete behind.[36] On arriving in England he lived first in Ladbroke Grove and then 10 Willow Road, Hampstead,[37] before moving to a studio in Camden Town in 1938.[38] John Berger reflects on his early memories of Peter Peri in the following terms:

> I knew about Peter Peri from 1947 onwards. At that time he lived in Hampstead and I used to pass his garden where he displayed his sculptures. I was an art student just out of the Army. The sculptures impressed me not so much because of their quality – at that time many other things interested me more than art – but because of their strangeness. They were foreign looking. I remember arguing with my friends about them. They said they were crude and course. I defended them because I sensed they were the work of somebody totally different from us.[39]

As to János Lavin's publication of a book at the end of the war, it would appear that this was not true of Peter Peri, despite the fact that he continued to be vocal in his attitudes towards art and society. On his arrival in England he became a member of the recently founded English section of the Artists International

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Dreier's opinion that Peri went to the Soviet Union to work on housing projects, and claims that Mary Peri was insistent that her husband did not go (1991, 189-190).

[34] Berger (1958), 41.

[35] Passuth (1991), 188.

[36] Passuth (1991), 188. While the vast majority was lost, Mary, his wife, was able to retrieve a few smaller pieces gradually over time.

[37] There Peri would have been among Herbert Read's "nest of gentle artists" who had sought sanctuary in Hampstead at the same time from mainland Europe. These included Walter Gropius, László Moholy-Nagy, Marcel Breuer, Erich Mendelsohn, Naum Gabo, Piet Mondrian, Ernő Goldfinger and György Kepes. The emigré Hungarians Breuer, Goldfinger, Kepes, and Moholy-Nagy were all represented at the "Hungarian Designers of Hampstead" exhibition at Burgh House, Hampstead (March 14th–16th May 2004) which formed part of the Magyar Magic series. Peri did not feature in this or in any of the events relating to the Hungarian year of culture in the United Kingdom.

[38] The exact address being 28b Camden Street, where Peri worked until 1966. Camden Town also gave its name to a group of painters including Walter Sickert (1860-1942), Harold Gilman (1876-1919) and Spencer Gore (1878-1914) whose work marks one of the high points in English realism.

[39] Berger (1968), 3.

(AI),[40] an association composed largely of commercial artists and designers whose declared intention was to mobilise "the international unity of artists against Imperialist War on the Soviet Union, Fascism and Colonial oppression" (Fig. 4.).[41] By September and October 1934, Peri had already contributed "several forceful works in coloured concrete" to the AI exhibition *The Social Scene* held in a large shop at 64 Charlotte Street.[42] László Moholy-Nagy also submitted work to the AIA exhibition *Artists against War and Fascism* opened by Aldous Huxley in November 1935, at a time when AIA was able to benefit from a mood of widespread consensus.[43]

In his review in *The Spectator* (10th June) for Peri's exhibition *London Life in Concrete*, held in an empty building at 36 Soho Square during June 1938,[44] Anthony Blunt made a point of stressing the credentials of concrete as both a modern and popular medium:

> One of Peri's great achievements is that he found a medium suitable for the kind of thing that he wants to express. He has no need for the more expensive media of bronze or marble…. Instead he has exploited concrete, a rough medium which has many advantages: it is cheap; and it can be used in several colours. Moreover, it is the most important modern medium for architecture; and if this kind of sculpture is to have its full effect it must be thought of as a part of architecture, as part of public activity.[45]

Public activity formed the theme for the one-man show *Peri's People* held at the AIA Gallery in November 1948, the title of which was adapted for use in the

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[40] Later to be known as the Artists International Association (AIA).

[41] Morris & Radford 11; Harrison, Charles, *English Art and Modernism* (London: Allen Lane, London, 1981), 251-2. The AIA intended to further these ends by: "1. The uniting of all artists in Britain sympathetic to these aims into working units ready to execute posters, illustrations, cartoons, book jackets, banners, tableaux, stage decorations, etc.; 2. The spreading of propaganda by means of exhibitions, the Press, lectures and meetings; 3. The maintaining of contact with similar groups already existing in 16 other countries." At the time the statement was published, Peri was one of thirty-two recorded members.

[42] Morris & Radford 14, 43; Harrison, 252. Henry Moore, Paul Nash, Edward Burra and Eric Gill also added their support, despite what Charles Harrison calls the "Leninist-cum-Stalinist" flavour of the accompanying manifesto: "We must say plainly that the AI supports the Marxist position that the character of all art is the outcome of the character of the mode of material production of the period. Today, when the capitalist system and the socialists are fighting for world survival, we feel that the place of the artist is at the side of the working classes. In this class struggle, we use our experience as an expression and as a weapon making our first steps towards a new socialist art".

[43] Morris & Radford 29.

[44] The exhibition was sponsored by the Cement and Concrete Association to publicise the use of coloured cements. The works shown depicted daily life and leisure in London. As the anonymous preface to the catalogue stated, 'Road workers, builders, charwomen and the street crowds of London are his models'.

[45] Morris & Radford 49.

Sam Scorer exhibition in 2008. In Berger's novel, however, the fact that Lavin is a painter means that works with such Peri-esque titles as *The Swimmer*, *The Games*, *The Ladder*, and *The Welder* are executed in oil on canvas. Here Berger drew not only on his own experiences as an artist,[46] but on the work of another of his named contributors, the Dutch artist Friso ten Holt.[47] While the trials and tribulations of the creative process, carried out in an isolated and solitary fashion, would have been common to both ten Holt and Peri,[48] the manipulation of paint and the challenges of realising a vision on canvas would have been the domain of the painter alone. Looking at his huge *The Games*, inspired by the runner Emil Zátopek, which it has taken him 11 months to complete, Lavin reflects:

> In every shape on that canvas I could go to sleep happy. None of it is just paint now, just coloured shit. It is clean. Every colour has ceased to be something that can be rubbed off. Has become space and form. No one else will ever quite understand the satisfaction of that. The painted athletes will take the credit. Which is right. The content of the picture must always get the credit of the painter's technical struggle.[49]

An aspect of Lavin's work that may also have been true of Peri, although one suspects it is more likely to have been a device used by Berger to make some cogent cultural and ideological points, is his relationship with László, a childhood friend whose life as a poet and then as a political activist accompanied Lavin's until László left Berlin for the Soviet Union, from whence he returned to Hungary to play his part in creating socialism after the war. When writing his diary entries, both before Laci's execution (recorded on July 7th 1952), János is forever comparing the courses on which their socialist beliefs have taken them, a course of action that is always laced with doubt and self-recrimination:

> The difference between László and me was perhaps the constant difference between the revolutionary activist and the revolutionary artist. I always took victory for granted. He could never afford to. Maybe events have proved him right, but in the most unexpected way.

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[46] While still a practising artist Berger contributed works to the AIA Summer exhibition in 1950. The Manchester Guardian correspondent wrote: "Berger' s work faces outward towards the world more squarely, and his subjects – drunken fishermen, oxyacetylene welders, builders and acrobats – are reduced to a formal simplicity enclosed in thick black lines" (Morris and Radford 83).

[47] Friso ten Holt (1921-1997) Dutch realist artist.

[48] Expressed memorably by Berger (1958), 85: "Janos said to me once, "This working, it is always the same. At nine o'clock in the morning you are full of plans and ability and the truth. At four o'clock in the afternoon you are a failure."

[49] Berger (1958), 153.

He is dead because the victory was threatened, and I am left with only my prophetic vision.[50]

An artist defeated by the difficulties?

János's diary is one that expresses the joys and turmoils of the painter who endeavours to work on their own terms, eking out a living from an ever-decreasing number of courses at the local art college and the occasional sale, forcing his wife Diana to take on a second evening job at the local library to make ends meet. For a man who had enjoyed fame, if not fortune, in Berlin, János wonders just under a year before the successful exhibition that precedes his disappearance whether he cuts a tragic figure. It is a suggestion János refutes: "Michel considers my life to be tragic. I can see this in the way he reassures me – in order perhaps to reassure himself. I suppose many others might agree with him. Yet it is not and has not been tragic. My work bears witness to that."[51]

Krisztina Passuth also portrays László Péri's English work in tragic fashion, but not in the same way as Michel, an old friend from Parisian days who sees János as being unrecognised, unbought and consequently almost destitute.[52] For Passuth the issue is that he failed to find his own style and position in society.[53] However, in *A Painter of Our Time*, those artists who find their styles and enter the establishment, however, are roundly condemned for betraying the true aim of the modern artist: "The modern artist fights to contribute to human happiness, truth or justice. He works to improve the world".[54]

In fact John Berger goes some way to explaining where Peri's priorities did and did not lie, in a piece he wrote for the *New Statesmen* shortly before *A Painter* was published.

> In the past, one of the reasons why Peri has not had the success he deserves is that his work has unusually been seen…in the hedonistic atmosphere of London 'culture' where his cheerful lack of elegance has been mistaken for inept clumsiness. But here, his works modelled in concrete on brick walls beside a football field or a gymnasium, he comes into his own…he is not the least illustrative, and has the sculptural energy of an artist like Zadkine (Fig. 6.).[55]

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[50] Berger (1958), 118.

[51] Berger (1958), 160.

[52] In her short essay for the Sam Scorer exhibition SarahTaylor makes the point that Peri's material of choice, concrete, was "a rough, ordinary material," which would have "alienated London buyers".

[53] Passuth (1991), 188.

[54] Berger (1958), 144.

[55] John Berger, "Artists and Schools", in *New Statesman*, 27 July 1957, Vol. 54, No. 1375, 81. This quote appears on the website devoted to Gillian Whiteley's *Designing Britain 1945-75,*

It is a view that is corroborated in the novel when János argues the case for state-financed art when coming to blows with the art collector Sir Gerald Banks. This he does by making the point that late capitalism was incapable of commissioning artists in such an imaginative and daring way as the Medicis during the Renaissance, partly through a lack of a suitable subject matter:

> 'I believe the artist works better if he has complete freedom. We have learnt that now'.
> 'You think so? You do not think it is because you know you cannot inspire him? Because you know you do not share ideas with him. Except ideas about form. You do not commission him because you have no subjects. The artist is unemployable – that is why he is free. No one really knows what he should be used for. And so he makes exercises, he makes pure colours and pure shapes – the abstract art – until it has been decided what he can do'.[56]

Despite his political convictions, in 1946 Peri was commissioned to make the sculpture *Displaced Persons* by the Ministry of Information.[57] Following a series of commissions for the London County Council in the late 1940s, Peri produced a sculptural group entitled *Sunbathers* for the 1951 Festival of Britain. This sculpture hung out from the north wall of station gate near Waterloo on the southern extent of the festival site (Fig. 5).

The most fruitful period in Peri's English career was yet to come, particularly with the commissions he received from Stuart Mason, Director of Education for Leicestershire. These took the form of either low-relief wall murals, many of which were made in concrete, or more spectacular feats of three-dimensional sculpture leaping out of walls and windows.[58] In *Two Children Calling A Dog* at the Willowbrook Infants School in Scraptoft of c. 1956 (Fig. 6.)[59] and *Man's Mastery of the Atom* (also known as *Atom Boy*) at Longslade Grammar School, Birstall, of 1960 (Fig. 7.),[60] one can see the extent to which Peri manages to make his (realist) figures part of the (constructivist)

Art for Social Spaces, Public Sculpture and Urban Generation in post-war Britain, accompanied by illustrations of some of Peri's work for the Leicestershire Education Authority.

[56] Berger (1958), 37.

[57] One could perhaps congratulate the ministry in the same way as Peter Hennessy in his *Having it So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2006), when he relates the case of Alan Brien, Campaign of Nuclear Disarmament (CND) marcher in 1958, who later joined the Air Ministry and became one of the Ministry of Defence's experts on nuclear retaliation, namely, "One might think that only in Britain would such a mature approach be possible" (p. 529).

[58] Press release for the Sam Scorer exhibition, dated 20th February 2008.

[59] Terry Cavanagh & Alison Yarrington, *Public Sculpture of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 326-7; Helga László, *The Realistic Sculpture of László Peter Peri* (undergraduate thesis, ELTE Budapest, 1990), 87, 94.

[60] Cavanagh & Yarrington 11-12; László 87, 95.

architecture. The figure compositions leap out from the wall surfaces and even from windows, something, which Berger fails to say, form part of Peri's earlier interest in analysing the way hard profiles and silhouettes relate to their backgrounds.[61] Despite this continuity with his work in the 1920s the very notion that Peri continued to be a modern artist was not countenanced by an art establishment that associated modernism with abstraction or with realism very different from his own.[62]

Peri's greatest achievement, however, should perhaps not be seen in relation to the Modern Movement, but within the context of the project within which he himself was operating; namely, the creation of a socialist art. Looking at Peri's work for the Leicestershire Educational Authority in the company of Ernst Fischer's writings, it is clear Peri successfully avoids the dangers of politically committed art, and state sponsored art in what western communists once termed the "new democracies" of Eastern Europe:[63]

> A society moving towards Communism needs many books, plays, and musical works that are entertaining and easy to grasp, yet at the same time also serve to educate both emotionally and intellectually. But this need carries with it the danger of hackneyed over-simplification and crude propaganda disguised under a high moral tone. Stendhal wrote as a young man: Any moral intention, that is to say any self-interested intention of the artist's, kills the work of art.[64]

At the same time Peri rarely commits the errors Richard Hoggart detects in the work of "middle-class Marxists", who when portraying the working class insist on "part-pitying and part-patronizing working-class people beyond any semblance of reality".[65]

Peri's Position in English Art

Peter Peri's name does not appear in conventional accounts of 20th Century English Art. Charles Harrison's *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939*, which

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[61] Szabó 118. See footnote 30 and accompanying quotation.

[62] There have been attempts to portray Peri as an artist who was a man ahead of his time. Helga László in catalogue entry for Peter Peri's *People Sitting on a Bench* (1948-52) for the Kieselbach Gallery auction held on 8th December 2000 suggests Peri's concrete relief presages Frank Stella's "shaped canvases" by forty years. We would like to suggest that Peri's decision to use concrete was partly inspired by its unproved durability that made his maquettes a liability for art collectors, a consideration that prompted Andy Warhol to deliberately print on paper that was likely to disintegrate quickly, raising the issue of in-built obsolescence.

[63] William Gallagher, *The Case for Communism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949), 133-136.

[64] Ernst Fischer, *The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), 211. First published in 1959 under the title *Von der Notwendigkeit der Kunst* (Verlag der Kunst, Dresden).

[65] Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1958), 16.

goes into the history of the Artist International Association in some detail, fails to mention Peri's name. Accounts of British sculpture also leave him out.[66] Both politically and artistically Peter Peri has been considered by many beyond the pale. Indeed, one of the abiding themes in *A Painter* is the way János Lavin is considered to be old fashioned and out-of-touch by the art establishment for not painting in the modern (abstract) manner. It is a premise János challenges in his diary entry for December 7th 1952, when describing the ministry inspectors' visit to the art school he works at. His boss Hardwick tells the visitors: "Mr Lavin is our link with tradition," he explained. And I thought: yes, I who was painting abstract paintings when you were five years old."[67]

The point being made here is that Hardwick, was not even aware of the artistic debates going on beyond Britain's shores, a debate Peri himself had already contributed to in England at his first London exhibition at Foyle's Gallery provocatively entitled "From Constructivism to Realism" in 1936. [68] This was in response to Naum Gabo, Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth, whose magazine *Circle*, first published a year later in 1937, was a landmark in England's contribution to constructivism.[69] *A Painter*, however, should be seen in relationship to what was on show at the Festival of Britain of 1951,[70] where the debate as to what constituted a 'socially progressive style' was still rumbling on.[71]

John Berger relates his memories of 1951 in his essay on Barbara Hepworth in *Permanent Red*, which illustrates his reservations at the time, reservations which resembled Peri's criticisms of constructivism in 1936, and earlier still in 1924:

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[66] Sandy Nairne & Nicholas Serota, *British Sculpture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1981).

[67] Berger (1958), 77.

[68] Morris & Radford 49.

[69] "The Constructive Idea of Art" which follows was printed at the beginning of the first edition of *Circle*: "The Constructive idea sees and values Art only as a creative act. By a creative act it means every material or spiritual work which is destined to stimulate or perfect the substance of material or spiritual life. Thus the creative genius of Mankind obtains the most important and singular place. In the light of the Constructive idea the creative mind of man has the last and decisive word in the definite constructivism of the whole of our culture" (quoted in: Harrison 285). Contributors to the magazine included some of Peri's fellow Berlin and Hampstead residents Marcel Breuer, Walter Gropius and László Moholy-Nagy, who were soon to take their utopian theories to the United States.

[70] An event marking the "centenary of the Great Exhibition of 1851, in the Arts, Architecture, Science, Technology and Industrial Design: so that this country and the world could pause to review British contributions to world civilization in the arts of peace" (as announced by Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, to the House of Commons on 5th December, 1947).

[71] The Arts Council commissioned work from artists such as Robert Adams, Reg Butler, Lynn Chadwick, Frank Dobson, Jacob Epstein, Barbara Hepworth, Karin Jonzen, F E McWilliam, Bernard Meadows, Henry Moore, Uli Nimptsch, Eduardo Paolozzi, and, as has already been mentioned, Peter Peri.

> I remember that when Barbara Hepworth's two monumental figures called *Contrapuntal Forms* arrived at the South Bank for the Festival, the workmen who unloaded them spent a long time searching for an opening or a hinge because they believed that the real figures must be inside. I do not repeat this story now to encourage all those who automatically hate contemporary art for being contemporary: but because it seems to me to point to the basic emptiness of sculpture like Miss Hepworth's – there wasn't anything inside the contrapuntal forms. What are the causes of this emptiness: an emptiness which even all the good intentions, energy, sensibility, skill and single-mindedness that may lie behind such works cannot fill?[72]

These were criticisms similar to those made by Millicent Rose in the Daily Worker on 10th November 1948 to an exhibition of sculpture in Battersea Park: "All those who felt empty at the sight of a Henry Moore, all those who wish to see a closer understanding between artist and public, should visit Peter Peri's new exhibition."[73]

Post-Communist Peri

While Peter Peri's name does not appear in conventional accounts of Twentieth Century English Art his work is nevertheless arousing new interest. It is an interest perhaps easier to countenance now that the Cold War is over, and countries like Hungary are in the EU and not behind the Iron Curtain. With Socialist Realism no longer an issue, ideological positions no longer need to be taken when appreciating Peri's work. The lack of a political agenda, from artist and viewer alike, has removed any menace from what have always been celebrations of community life and human intimacy. Could it be that Peter Peri's depictions of the English working classes find a place in people's hearts alongside L S Lowry?[74]

Peri's reputation, however, is more likely to be established as one of many who played their part in the English post-war school building programme, a project which Andrew Saint has described as: "[...] the fullest expression of the movement for a social architecture in Britain which gathered pace in the 1930s and found its outlet in the service of the post-war welfare state. No more ambitious, disciplined, self-conscious or far-reaching application of the concept of architecture as social service can be found in any western country".[75]

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[72] John Berger, *Permanent Red* (London & New York: Writers & Readers, 1960), 75.

[73] Morris & Radford 79.

[74] Peri's works for the Leicestershire Educational Authority were very popular with pupils and staff. They found their way onto school badges and even acquired nicknames.

[75] Andrew Saint, *Towards a Social Architecture, The Role of School Building in Post-War England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), ix.

In his fifties Peri could be said to have found his true vocation, albeit in a capitalist country led by socialists of Fabian rather than revolutionary convictions. Towards the end of his life Peri was able to reconcile his political beliefs with being a Quaker. As to whether Peri was an artist of our time, the English Peter Peri was undoubtedly an artist of my parents' time in post-war Welfare State Britain,[76] and also of my time, a child enjoying a progressive education and the social architecture in the Leicestershire and Hertfordshire Education Authorities.[77] A growing interest in Peri's work suggests that his work may even have a future.

Postscript: What if?

So what would have happened had János Lavin returned to Hungary in 1956? If one is to believe Géza Szőcs in his play *Liberté 1956* Lavin would have walked the streets of Budapest during the uprising uttering communist slogans, and promising to join János Kádár in building communism.[78] While Peri's stance on the ICA's competition for the statue to the Unknown Political Prisoner in May 1952,[79] suggests where his sympathies may have lain,[80] the cameo Szőcs gives Lavin is both infantile and out of character.

> Lavin: This heroism… this noble people… the self-sacrifice, which insists on defending an unjust cause [...] in defiance of the tide of history [...]
> Susan: Why, where is the tide of history taking us?

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[76] My father taught history at City of Leicester Boys School from 1964 to 1968.

[77] My infant school in Evington, a suburb of Leicester did not have a Peter Peri striding up or down its walls, but Scraptoft was close by.

[78] Szőcs Géza, *Liberté 1956* (excerpt), in *Kortárs* 2004, 48. évf., 10. sz.

[79] The competition was proposed to the ICA (Institute of Contemporary Arts) in 1953 by Anthony Kloman, an ex-US cultural attaché in Stockholm, although there were rumours that the funds had in fact come from an American government agency. There were 3,500 entries, with the grand prize of £4,500, going to an abstract design by British sculptor, Reg Butler (Fig.8.). John Berger accused the winning entries of being uncommitted, abstract and sentimental, and of dealing with generalisations rather than the particular and local. Soon after Butler's prize-winning maquette was put on display at the Tate it was severely damaged by a twenty-eight year-old Hungarian refugee, Laszló Szilvássy. According to a report in *The Times* (24 March 1953), Szilvássy handed a written statement to a Gallery attendant explaining his reasons for breaking the model: '"Those unknown political prisoners have been and still are human beings. To reduce them - the memory of the dead and the suffering of the living - into scrap metal is just as much a crime as it was to reduce them into ashes or scrap. It is an absolute lack of humanism"'. See: Richard Calvocoressi, "Public Sculpture in the 1950s" in Nairne and Serota 137-8.

[80] Morris & Radford 91: "In the leading article by Peri in the May 1952 *AIA Newsletter* he states: There were always different interpretations about who can be called a 'political prisoner', or what we understand by 'human freedom', but these differences were never so apparent as today, because of the existence of new kinds of society – the USSR, China and the New Democracies of Eastern Europe.

> Lavin: Capitalism is destined to die, the West is on its last legs […]?

Berger tells us that Peri did in fact read *A Painter,* but he never found out what he thought of it, or its ending. Peri did not go back to Hungary, in fact he may well have found any suggestion that Lavin would return totally preposterous. As it was, Peri was about to enjoy the most fruitful period of his artistic career, certainly since his arrival from Germany. To his oeuvre he also added a series of etchings illustrating both *Gulliver's Travels* and Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the latter a project close to the Quaker beliefs he embraced towards the end of his life.

Illustrations

Figure 1. *Portrait of Peter Peri* (Leeds Museums and Galleries /Henry Moore Institute Archive/ Peter Peri Papers)
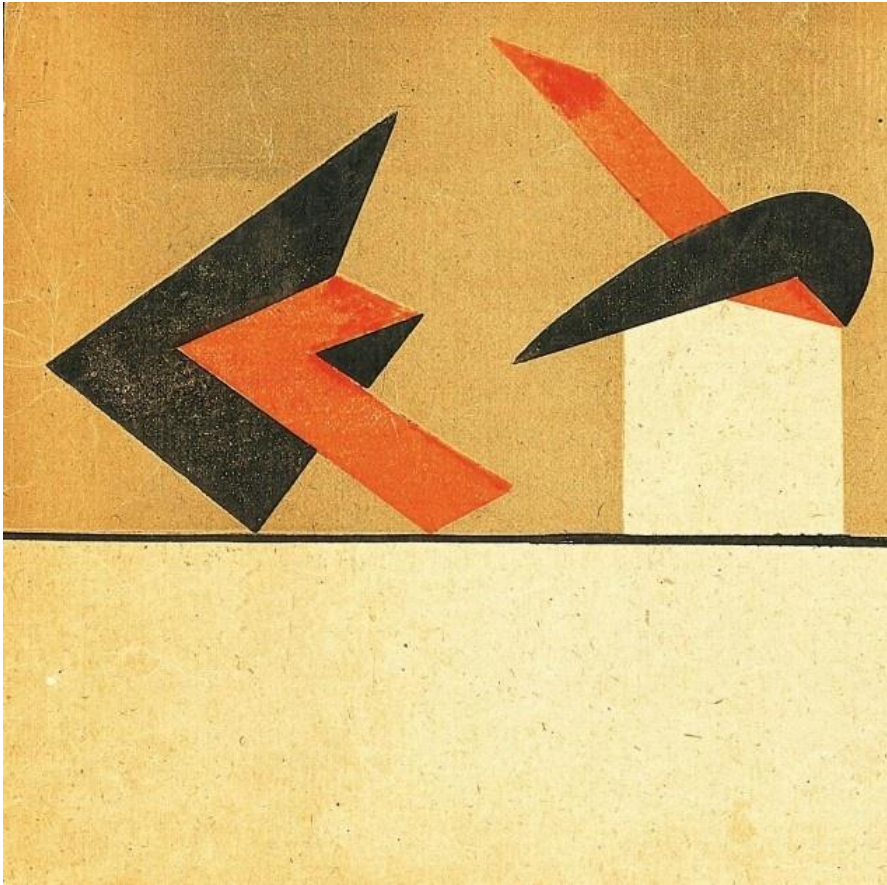
Figure 2. László Péri. *Sketch for a three-piece concrete composition*. 1923, (detail)
paper, watercolour (Wulf Herzogenrath, Cologne)

Figure 3. László Péri. *Plan for the Lenin mausoleum* (whereabouts unknown)

Figure 4. Peter Peri. *Aid Spain*, 1937, coloured concrete

Figure 5. Peter Peri's. *Sunbathers on display at the 1951 Festival of Britain* (original now missing)

Figure 6. Peter Peri. *Two Children Calling a Dog*. Willowbrook Infants School,
Scraptoft, Leicestershire, c. 1956

Figure 7. Peter Peri. *Man's Mastery of the Atom*. Longslade Grammar School, Birstall, Leicestershire, 1958

Figure 8. Reg Butler. *Monument to the Unknown Prisoner*. 1953. Photomontage showing the proposed site the Humboldt Höhe, Wedding, near the border with East Berlin.

BOOK REVIEW

Memoires for Jacques Derrida[1]
J. Hillis Miller. *For Derrida.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2009

Éva Antal

Since Derrida died in 2004 a series of books has come out, commemorating the radical thinker's greatness. In their collections of essays and monographs friends, colleagues, and contemporaries trace the different concepts of the Derridean thought, following the (impossible) paths of his argumentation.[2] Remarkably, all of the 'homage' books are characterised by a unique feature – by a melancholically mournful tonality.

As an "impossible" closure, as a *coda*, of a forty-year friendship, Joseph Hillis Miller published 'his' homage-book, *For Derrida*, with its title echoing Derrida's *Memoires for Paul de Man*, which was written after the death of his 'other' Yale-friend, de Man. Thus, it is supposed to be a 'friendly' book composed in grief, together with the inevitable intimacy of such a context. The blurred photo on the cover, showing the two aged friends travelling on a train, reaffirms such a 'closeness', while it also hints at a possibility of a journey. Actually, Miller's 'memoires for Derrida' starts with mourning and ends in mourning but in-between it offers the reader – the gentle and patient reader – a highly exciting intellectual (de)tour, if he or she is interested in philosophical or literary critical issues.

On the one hand, Miller presents the 'late' Derrida's concepts in his rather complicated twelve essays, which were composed after Derrida's death between 2005 and 2007, with the exception of the first that was written in 2004. On the other hand, he tries to show how these concepts are applicable in literary studies and criticism; and, first of all, as he claims in "Preface", his main aim is to encourage the readers to read, or re-read, Derrida (xvii-xviii). Here Miller, as a good guide, highlights the two most important drives in Derrida's writings (and probably the two most important keys to the understanding of his writings); namely, his death-drive and his 'other'-drive.

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[1] The title of my review alludes to Derrida's *Memoires for Paul de Man* (trans. C. Lindsay, J. Culler and E. Cadava, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

[2] See the recently published books: Nicholas Royle, *In Memory of Jacques Derrida* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2009); Michael Naas, *Derrida From Now On* (New York: Fordham UP, 2008); or the collection titled *Adieu Derrida*, ed. Costas Douzinas (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

The first and shortest chapter, "A Profession of Faith," does not only describe the entry of Derrida and deconstruction into the States, together with the first encounters of the two friends, but it also explores the Derridean notions of "unconditionality" and "sovereignty," while introducing such central ideas as the promise, the event and the wholly other. In *Acts of Literature* Derrida defines literature as the domain of unconditionality, being characterised by the openness towards the other and its (im)possible coming. Here Miller, the distinguished critic and professor of English literature, accepting the unconditionality of literature, declares his own 'profession of faith'*:* "When I as a reader or teacher respond to the wholly other as embodied in a literary work and try to mediate it to my students or to my readers of what I write, I am, perhaps, just 'perhaps,' fulfilling my professional duty to put everything in question" (8).

The next essay, "Who or What Decides, for Derrida: A Catastrophic Theory of Decision" (which is also written in the Millerian 'ethics of reading'[3]) focuses on the concept of decision, textually on his "Force of Law". Apart from discussing the topic in the context of the Austinian speech act theory, Miller elaborates on the Derridean distinction between law and justice, and on the incongruity between decision and knowledge. Our actions are ruled by laws but "justice obliges us to decide;" however, making a just decision is 'mad' as we must decide about the future and for the future (23-5). In this chapter, the complexity of Miller's book is revealed in the immense amount of allusions and references – besides to Derrida's works, also to Austin, Kierkegaard, Levinas, or Proust, James, Carroll, Montaigne etc. On the other hand, going beyond the difficulty of understanding, the reader can enjoy the way Miller ironically juxtaposes philosophical, political and literary examples. Nevertheless, placing George W. Bush's decision to invade Iraq next to Isabel Archer's dilemma (viz. whom to marry) really makes the reviewer think about the "unconditionality" of criticism.

After the two ethical chapters, the third is about Derrida's "destinerring" ("Derrida's *Destinerrance*"), where the central question is what will happen to Derrida's *oeuvre*. D*err*ida is/was destined to wander and he was so characteristically doing it in all of his writings and seminars – thanks to his 'bad' or 'good luck', being expressed in the same pronunciation of *mes chances* and *méchance* (36). In Derrida's complex rhetoric, in his wandering sentences, the reader can encounter how language falls upon us by chance, where this 'us' is problematic as well. Moreover, deconstruction should be understood as "to allow the other to come or to announce its coming in the opening of this dehiscence" (46). Miller emphasises the importance of Derrida's ideas on telepathy because it is "another name for the communication at a distance that Derrida came to call or demand of the wholly other" (48). It is obvious that Miller is interested in the different ways of (tele)communication and technology and his frequent mentioning of the Net, wikis, iPods, Macs, and cell phones is in

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[3] Joseph Hillis Miller, *The Ethics of Reading* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

accordance with the 'demand' of the 21ˢᵗ century.[4] However, he also frequently refers to Derrida's aversion of the Internet; for instance, due to his fear of data-loss, he refused to write e-mails though he was a "demon typist" (261).

In the fourth chapter, "Late Derrida," Miller quotes from his friend's last interview, which he gave, being aware of his dying of pancreatic cancer in the summer 2004: "I live my death in writing" (59). The crucial word, death, resonates not only throughout the entire interview but the whole *oeuvre*. In his writings – starting with *Aporias* and *The Memoirs of the Blind* through *Glas* and *Spectres of Marx* to *The Gift of Death* and *Demeure: Fiction and Testimony* (only to mention the most famous works) – death is thematised. After listing the compulsory references, Miller chooses to speak about the Derridean death-drive and the *revenant,* analysing a seminar of the (still) unpublished 'late' work, *The Beast of the Sovereign (Two),* giving the quotations in his own translation and the French original in endnotes.[5] It is the right time for the reviewer to praise the precision and accuracy that characterise the book. Inescapably, the essays are full of quotations – how can a book be written 'for Derrida,' not allowing Derrida to speak? The reviewer cannot help expressing her admiration, having found the seven-page list of Derrida's abbreviated works at the beginning, the fascinating Index at the ending of the book and the exact references and witty endnotes throughout.

In "Late Derrida" in a really enjoyable and lucid way Miller discusses, more exactly, he is closely reading, what Derrida says about Defoe's Robinson, who has just found the naked footprints in the sand on the island. Miller gives a quotation in full length, where Derrida imagines Robinson's exaltation in a style that is analogous to a jazz-riff or a Bachian fugue: "Is it I? Is it my track? Is it a specter of my print, the print of my specter? Am I in the process of returning? Am I or am I not a ghost, a *revenant*? a *revenant* of myself which I cross on my path as the trace of the other, on a path which is already a path of return and of coming back, etc.?"(59) Crusoe's fear that he is running after his death recalls Heidegger's definition of man as "being toward death" (*Sein zum Tode*), while his fear of being haunted by himself, or of encountering himself as the wholly other, alludes to the Freudian *unheimlich*. As 'for Derrida,' who claimed to have thought about death everyday, writing was meant as speaking of death, while the waterfall of words were to keep death away – for a while.

In the next chapter, in "Derrida's Remains," again the death drive and the future of the legacy are examined by Miller – this time with a main focus on the word, *reste*, meaning bodily and textual 'remains' (cf. the corpse and the unpublished writings). As the reader can expect, *reste* should be discussed with the concepts of *restance*, the trace, and "archivization". Miller calls attention to

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[4] See more about it in J. Hillis Miller. *The Medium is the Maker: Browning, Freud, Derrida and the New Telepathic Ecotechnologies* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2009).

[5] In 2009 only the first volume of the seminars was published. See *The Beast and the Sovereign*: *vol. 1*, trans. Geoffrey Bennington (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009).

the most striking (very Derridean) idea of *Archive Fever*; namely that, besides the desire of preserving, some 'destruction drive' operates in the 'evil' archive (viz. the original title, *Mal d'archive*, 82). While Derrida, recalling Plato's fear of writing itself in *Phaedrus*, says, if something is safely stored, it can safely be forgotten; Miller emphasises such dangers of new technologies as, for example, hackers, bugs and viruses. Nevertheless, the reviewer would rather highlight Derrida's naming his own work as "a strategic wager" and his definition of deconstruction in *A Taste for the Secret*: "Deconstruction is not a method for discovering that which resists the system; ... in the reading and interpretation of texts, ... it has been a question of showing that a system does not work, and that this dysfunction not only interrupts the system but itself accounts for the desire for system" (87). In the same interview, quoted by the author, he also claims that in 'his' deconstruction he has made efforts to go beyond language, to think the unthinkable and utter the unsayable about "the wholly other" (89).

The sixth chapter, "Derrida's Enisled," addresses the Derridean (anti-)concept of community. Although the opening hypotheses suggest a clear and straight-forward argumentation with a reference to Heidegger's *Dasein* ('being there') as *Mitsein* ('being together'), the definition of community as an "agglomeration of solitaries" and Derrida's radically different views on these two ideas (101), the essay turns out to be one of the most (awkwardly) complicated ones. The author thinks, he has to tell everything about the concept of community before Derrida's *entrée*. Consequently, with the insertion of some Derrida-quotations, he flashes Walter Benjamin's, Raymond Williams's, Husserl's, Heidegger's, Levinas's, Lacan's, and Nancy's notions of community in order to reach his actual topic – after a nineteen-page introduction. The reviewer has to admit that this lengthy intro is thorough and exciting, though the reader should make an intellectual effort to get a taste and enjoy the 'digressive' rhetoric of the argumentation. As for Derrida's concept of community, it radically denies the others' ideas, especially rejects the Heideggerian *Mitsein*, since Derrida emphasises that "there is no world, there are only islands" (121). In Derrida's (world)view each and every human being is irremediably isolated, *enisled*, without any "bridge, isthmus, communication"; everyone is infinitely the "wholly other" with 'its' secrecy and complete alterity (ibid.). In the presenting of Derrida's concept Miller mainly relies on the already analysed last seminar, as a result, the description of the 'marooned' individuals is haunted by Derrida's own lines (cf. traces) written on *Robinson Crusoe*. Also in this essay the concepts of "nonbelonging" and "autoimmunity" are introduced but investigated in chapters 8 and 10.

The seventh chapter is about "Derrida's special theory of performativity," as the title exactly states. Actually, it is the least convincing writing in the book. On the one hand, the chapter, similarly to the previous one, begins with the hypothesis-trick, here playing on the two senses of the word – performativity as speaking about a performance or a performative speech act. Then it gives a 'brief' seventeen-page overview of the different interpretations of the concept,

where Miller consults with some 'outdated' article on Wikipedia (sic!), then with J. L. Austin, Judith Butler, Kafka, and Lyotard, before turning to the discussion of Derrida's ideas. To be honest, the geneology of the re-defined term Miller proposes; namely that Butler formulated her "performativity theory" in *Gender Trouble*, having "appropriated Derrida's modification of Austin's speech act theory" (probably with Lyotard in the background) is interesting but not convincing (145). Nevertheless, Derrida's questioning of the stable ego ('I'), being presupposed in the Austinian performatives, and his claiming that there is no innate selfhood and subjectivity as everyone takes roles in the "iterability" of performatives (or would rather change due to the others' demands in every context), greatly influenced the Butlerian 'engendered' performativity. On the other hand, chapter 7 also shows how the study of performativity – in both meanings – can be useful in the analysis of literary works. Miller provides a long digression on George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, which turns out to be a well-written short essay within the lengthier one, though it is only forcefully and awkwardly related to Derrida's conception, mainly reflecting on his ideas on the promise and his Jewishness.

The next chapter, " 'Don't Count Me In': Derrida's Refraining", can be read as a 'light' intermezzo between the two previous rather difficult and the two forthcoming ethical and socio-political essays. Here, in the opening, Miller deals with the "*tantal*izing and challenging" Derridean term of the aporetic "third" (neither/nor, both/and), that is, "the continually displaced middle" that frequently turns up in his writings (175-6). The chapter then speaks about the philosopher and teacher Derrida's "nonbelonging," even highlighting some biographical episodes; for instance, how he propagated the setting up of several revolutionary counter-institutions then turned against them. As Miller sees, in all of his 'performances' Derrida insisted on refraining, sometimes even refused to react. In accordance with his ideas of being enisled and even heterogeneous to himself (cf. 'Derridas'), he claimed that he was "not one of the family;" consequently, he was rather suspicious of any form of collectivity (187).

Chapter 9 traces the concept of "irresponsibilization" in two sections ("Derrida's Ethics of Irresponsibilization; or, How to Get Irresponsible, in Two Easy Lessons"), how Derrida differentiates between the responsibility of universal ethics and the responsibility of absolute ethics, where the second type is destined to be understood as "irresponsibility" by the standards of the first one. In the opening Miller deals with the "secrets" of literature ("Literature in Secret") so as to bring his focus on a Biblical story of secrets, in which Abraham was called to sacrifice his own beloved son, Isaac. In *The Gift of Death*, following Patočka's and Kierkegaard's reading, Derrida makes Abraham the emblem of "irresponsibilization," who upon the demand of the (absolute) Other acts against, 'sacrifices,' everyday ethical norms. Interestingly enough, this sacrifice is also performed textually because Miller feels to be condemned to comment on Derrida's commenting on the others' reading of the parable "by

respeaking the words of the other or the words of an interminable string of the other" (207).

Chapter 10 explores "autoimmunity" and also intends to describe the 'political' Derrida ("Derrida's Politics of Autoimmunity"). This chapter is 'mostly' American, so to say, with lots of references to such current happenings and events as the War of Terror following 9/11, the cock-up of Bushian politics, scientific and technological innovations with their potential dangers, and the recession. It is the most repetitive writing, although an almost 380-page book on Derrida written by the same author obviously cannot avoid repetitions (and for sure, it does not). What makes the chapter still informative on Derrida is that the events described are used to exemplify autoimmunity. Derrida is said to foresee that the self-protecting defence mechanisms of a social body will turn against themselves and become self-destructive (238); similarly, how after 9/11 the fear of terror generated greater fear and more terror.[6]

The eleventh chapter titled "Touching Derrida Touching Nancy" is about Derrida's highly complex book, *On Touching – Jean-Luc Nancy* (*Le toucher, Jean-Luc Nancy*),a commentary on Nancy's works; more exactly, Miller tries to deal with the motif of 'the hand' in Derrida's book. It is the right time for the reviewer to recommend reading, which is also frequently done by the author himself. It is the longest essay (sixty pages), where not only the 'late' Derrida but also the 'late' Miller is shown in their 'prime'. The reader encounters the abundance of wordplay, flourishing rhetoric and insultingly convincing argumentation. The Nancy-Derrida essay is a masterpiece of rhetorical close reading and the reviewer, only with great difficulty, can do without quoting the essay in full length, and can only (poorly) highlight the main, 'presentable' ideas here.

Before reaching his "humanual" (cf. human and *manus,* 'hand' in Latin) theme, Miller offers a digression on technicity, then describes Derrida's style (cf. *stylus* in Latin). The author, as a good critic, enumerates eight features of the "inimitable" Derridean hand: his usage of (otherwise Blanchotian) "x without x" phrases; his "unhanding" the boundaries between the literal and the figurative; usage of wordplays; putting everything in question; giving extravagant list of connected words or synonyms; his technique of "micrological" reading with numerous even repeated citations and ironically insolent commentaries; "the rhetoric of postponement"; and his manipulations (cf. *manus* hidden in the word) of aporia and paradox (267-78). All of these features characterise his Nancy-book, where his main aim is to deconstruct the Western concept of "touch" from Aristotle through Husserl to Nancy, claiming that "there is no 'the' touch" (Nancy) and the "immediacy and intimacy of touch never happens" (278). By the end of the essay, the reader must admit that no one can lay a hand on anyone

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[6] However gloomy a picture Miller paints of his contemporary America (and the world), he also welcomes some improvement, expressing his hope about Obama's election in November 2008 in a passage that is probably one of the last additions in the book.

here: neither the writer, nor the critic, or the reviewer. Notwithstanding, in his "coda" Miller happily quotes from Nancy's *Noli me tangere* (cf. Touch me not), which he wrote after Derrida's death and in which he touches upon Derrida's "rabbinical" *Le toucher*, analysing primarily Renaissance paintings about the risen Christ and Mary Magdalene's encounter (301-303).

Miller proposes mourning as a leitmotif, "as a conspicuous and enigmatic thread" that runs through Derrida's work (309). The theme is actually introduced earlier in chapter 5 "Derrida's Remains" (90-95), but it is elaborated in the last two essays. While the Nancy-essay is a strange kind of mourning text since Nancy survived his heart-transplant (he "died and resurrected," 292), the twelfth chapter titled "Absolute Mourning" deals with – not only Derrida's but also Miller's – 'work of mourning'.[7] In the interpretation of "absolute", "impossible", or "pre-originary" mourning, Miller reveals that for Derrida mourning, since it is speaking about the sorrowful "nonavailability of the other and myself" (320), is a "universal condition of human existence" (324). In his discussion of the differences between mourning and melancholy, Derrida argues against that the two could be kept separate, undoing Freud's, Abraham and Torok's distinctions about the introjecting mourning and the incorporating melancholy (310). Moreover, he suggests that both of them, even the Freudian 'normal' work of mourning with its introjection, betrays the other's otherness, while the 'true(ly)' "impossible" mourning "leaving the other his alterity, ... refuses to take or is incapable of taking the other within oneself" (95) – as Miller quotes Derrida from his *Memoires for Paul de Man* (95).

Although mourning marks and frames the essay-collection, the reviewer does not intend to conclude in a doleful tone. Moreover, in his last interview Derrida himself puts emphasis on the survivor's duty: "survival is an originary concept that constitutes the very structure of what we call existence, *Dasein*, if you will. We are structurally survivors, marked by this structure of the trace and of the testament. But, having said that, I would not want to encourage an interpretation that situates surviving on the side of death and the past rather than life and the future. No, deconstruction is always on the side of the *yes*, on the side of the affirmation of life".[8] In his complex book Miller fulfils the survivor friend's duty, since in the essays Derrida's texts are kept alive and the reader – the frequently addressed "dear reader" (e.g. 32., 121., 281., 297) – is invited to

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[7] See the collection of his 'eulogies,' dedicated to his friends' memory: Jacques Derrida, *The Work of Mourning*, eds. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2001), and Jacques Derrida, *Chaques fois unique*, *la fin du monde*, Textes présentés par Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Paris: Galilée, 2003). Actually, I first came across Miller's book when I was doing some research on Derrida's work of mourning in winter 2010 at NIAS in the Netherlands.

[8] Jacques Derrida. *Learning to Live Finally – The Last Interview*. *An Interview with Jean Birnbaum* (trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 51. The interview was given to *Le Monde* in the summer of 2004, and Derrida died in October the same year.

join the journey and enjoy the Sternesque narration with its numerous digressions on philosophical and literary texts or of private anecdotes. Meanwhile, in the reading process, the Millerian-Derridean texts are 'lively' *destinerring* and escape their 'deadly' oblivion.