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TWO OR THREE THINGS I KNOW ABOUT KANAI MIEKO'S TRANSTEXTUALITY

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University of Queensland

Kanai Mieko (b.1947)[1] is less known outside Japan than big-name writers Murakami Haruki or Yoshimoto Banana. Her book sales are far fewer and none of her book-length novels has been translated for publication. For four decades, however, Kanai has produced a steady output of high quality material—in poetry, fiction, essays, and literary and film criticism. She is recognised as one of the most important writers of recent decades. Kanai's early writing tended to be overtly meta-fictional and/or sur-realistic with some disturbing and macabre themes and images: a young woman attired in a "rabbit suit" she made from the skin of real rabbits that she killed and ate presents herself to her dying father as a gift;[2] a prostitute insists that the rotting "meat" lying under the bed is the flesh of her butcher lover whom she has killed.[3] Subsequently, however, Kanai's work has become increasingly light-hearted and entertaining,[4] but also more overtly critical of those she castigates as "macho idiots,"—phallocentric patriarchal writers, critics, editors and literary journalists.[5] Her recent works are even richer in nuance and more intricate, stemming from her affinity for an intriguing intertextuality and deliberately convoluted style. This makes her writing difficult for some readers, but a source of deep pleasure for many.

"The notion of intertextuality," as Jonathan Culler notes, in reference to Julia Kristeva, "emphasizes that to read is to place a work in a discursive space, relating it to other texts and to the codes of that space, and writing itself is a similar activity: a taking up of a position in a discursive space."[6] Here my focus is Kanai's intertextuality, or more broadly, transtextuality, which Genette defines as, "all that which puts one text in relation to other texts."[7]

I spotlight *Kanojo(tachi) ni tsuite watashi no shitte iru 2, 3 [ni, san] no kotogara* (Two or Three Things I Know about Her [and Her Friends], 2000),[8] a title obviously transported from Godard's 1967 film *2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle*. A noted film critic, Kanai often uses film titles for her novels and essays and her writing abounds in transtextuality involving film as well as literature and other genres. Since Genette's transtextuality includes not just parody, allusion, and quotation within texts but also other types of relationships between texts, it serves well to illuminate Kanai's work and its intrinsic interest.

This examination reveals how Kanai's ways of creating and enhancing various textual relationships differ significantly from other prominent examples of transtextuality in modern Japanese literature. For comparison I have chosen two novels written by (very) canonical authors: Mori Ōgai (1862–1922) and Ōe Kenzaburō (b.1935). Their texts, like Kanai's, incorporate a variety of preceding texts as read, quoted, referred to, parodied, and alluded to by the respective protagonists who are about the same age as the narrator and her friends in Kanai's novel. Despite common elements, Kanai's text takes up positions in a discursive space radically different from the other two texts. Two issues emerge through transtextuality: 1) the didactic importation that explicitly or implicitly concerns Japan's modernisation and Westernisation; and 2) reflection or implication of gender awareness.

Let me discuss first a novel entitled *Seinen* (1910), translated as *Youth*, but really meaning "young men." Its author is one of the most important and remarkable figures in modern Japanese literary and intellectual history, Mori Ōgai. Ōgai wrote poetry, criticism, fiction, and drama, and translated numerous texts from Goethe to Schnitzler, Hartmann's *Aesthetics* (1887, trans. 1899), Clausewitz's *On War* (1873), while he pursued a career as an Army doctor, rose to the heights of Surgeon General, and then became curator of the Imperial Museum. The celebrated status of this author not only creates a kind of paratextuality (as the novel deals with contemporary intellectual scenes) but also affirms his discursive positions.

The protagonist of *Seinen* is Koizumi Jun'ichi, a young man who aspires to be a writer. Typical of young intellectual men of the time in Japan (and perhaps of many other times and places), he and his friends discuss, quote, allude to, and parody numerous names and texts.[9] Some of these (e.g. Maeterlinck, Ibsen, Huysmans, and Weininger) play significant roles within the novel, but even those

mentioned only once or twice represent part of the essential reading list of young men interested, like Jun'ichi, in literature, art, and philosophy. I say young men, because although at that time a group of early feminists had formed a society with its magazine *Seitō* ("Bluestockings," est. 1911), the intellectual world circa 1910 was clearly male-dominated and homosocial. Jun'ichi's emotional, intellectual, and artistic maturation has since been read as the symbol of young and aspiring Japan, but for many young men of the time the novel functioned as a reference book or manual.

Also clear from the names referred to in the novel is the dominance of Western thoughts and cultural production. This is the period following the Russo–Japanese War and the colonisation of Taiwan (1895) and Korea (1910). Contemporary Japanese writers (including Ōgai) are also mentioned in this text though their names are usually slightly (transparently) modified. Furthermore, the text spells out the hegemony of the West. A leading writer called Fuseki (modelled on [Natsume] Sōseki, 1867–1916), remarks at a public lecture the young Jun'ichi attends:

> At first, Ibsen was Norway's little Ibsen, but after turning to social dramas, he became Europe's big Ibsen. When he was introduced in Japan, however, he again reverted to the small Ibsen. No matter what comes to Japan, it turns into something small. Even Nietzsche became small in our country. And so did Tolstoy. The Japanese people import all kinds of systems, all kinds of *isms*, and while toying with these, Japanese eyes are perpetually blinking. Everything and anything is turned into small playthings when fingered by us Japanese.[10]

The teaching and learning mode and its homosocial nature are also evident in the following excerpt:

> "Do you remember the Austrian scholar who committed suicide when he was young? That was Otto Weininger. Of all the books written after Nietzsche, his has had the greatest impact on me. His argument goes something like this: In the same way that each man has some feminine elements in him, so do all women have some masculine traits in them. All human beings have M + W elements in them. And so he apparently said a great woman had a greater proportion of M elements."
>
> "If that's the case, Eiko must have a good many M's," said Junichi, even as he thought in a rather disturbing way that there were many W elements in himself. (Mori 438)[11]

Eighty years later, the transtextuality of Ōe Kenzaburō's *Shizukana seikatsu* (A Quiet Life, 1990) is certainly neither as overtly homosocial nor as Occidentalist as that of late Meiji intellectuals. Like Ōgai's Koizumi Jun'ichi, the narrator of this novel is young and intelligent, keen to learn more about life and various texts. But she is a woman. In both texts transtextuality plays roles much more significant and interesting than simple name dropping or instructions for younger generations,[12] but the didactic dimension remains obvious. The narrator, Ma-chan, is eager to study, learn, and understand—be it Tarkovsky's film or Céline—as opposed to passively watching, reading, and consuming texts for pleasure:

> … from about the end of my sophomore year, I started reading Céline every day, making reference cards as I read. When some of my seniors in graduate school found out about this, one flung at me some words laced with toxic implications: "You say 'Céline' … An innocent princess reading Céline, huh? … feigning the villain. When did Céline turn into a cute hobbyhorse?" My sheepish reply on such occasions: "I'm not really reading him. I'm a cat lover, and I'm thinking of making a list of quotations of what this writer said about cats."
>
> From the very start, though, I had made up my mind as to how I would approach Céline. I would try to understand him through the children he calls *nos petits crétins*, *our little idiots*, the children who live under dire circumstances but who live life for all it is worth. And fortunately, I was allowed to participate in the university's volunteer program for handicapped children … With the experience I have gained through working with this group—and I've got Eeyore, too, of course—I think I have some idea of what it takes to enter the world of children with handicaps.[13]

As we saw earlier, Ōgai's Fuseki complains that "everything and anything is turned into small playthings when fingered by us Japanese." Note how "small playthings" disparages; only a century later did adult male intellectuals[14] begin to show some interest in "cute" culture (as exemplified by "Hello Kitty"). Ōe's Ma-chan pretends she is "not really reading [Céline]" but just "thinking of making a list of quotations … about cats". Cats may symbolise "small playthings." And yet the reader knows that this is Ma-chan's "sheepish" reply to the scornful senior student who doubts her suitability for her chosen subject. Ma-chan's supervisor (male) also expresses doubts about her choice and her abilities:

> My thesis adviser quite frankly told me that Céline's French, with all its slang, would be too difficult for me. He also said he wasn't sure if a girl from today's affluent society could enter into Céline's sensitivity and way of thinking. Blunt as he was, I think his intention was neutral,[15] and his advice—well, pedagogical. (Ōe, *A Quiet Life* 155; *Shizukana seikatsu* 188–9)

Here are social expectations about young women's reading material and abilities. Ōe's Ma-chan does not protest, though she never abandons her plans to study Céline. She may seem passive but she is certainly resilient and determined. Her humility, and her love for, and dedication to, her family are central in the novel. She quietly continues with her study—with the help of her family, in particular with her mentally disabled older brother Eeyore's moral support and their younger brother's intelligence. Her parents are mostly absent from this novel as her novelist father has been appointed writer-in-residence at an American university,[16] but he has indicated his support and encouragement by giving her not only his own prized Pléiade series of Céline, but also an opportunity to meet his American friend "KV" (referring obviously to Kurt Vonnegut Jr.), who wrote an introduction to the Penguin edition of *Semmelweis*. Like Ōgai's *Seinen*, Ōe's text has elements of the *roman à clef*,[17] inviting the reader to interpret its characters as a disguise or a caricature of actual people, including the Nobel laureate author himself.

Let us turn to Kanai. Like Ōe's *A Quiet Life*, Kanai's *Kanojo(tachi) ni tsuite watashi no shitte iru 2,3 no kotogara* and her earlier volume *Indian Summer* (1988)[18] are narrated in the voice of a young woman: in *Indian Summer* Momoko is about the same age as Ma-chan. In Kanai's texts, regardless of their age women are not excluded from reading and nor is it censored. Nor do they need any encouragement or assistance in choosing or interpreting texts. Women (usually Momoko, her best friend Hanako, and Momoko's novelist aunt, with the occasional addition of a middle-aged neighbour) laugh at the ignorance or bad taste of others, usually a "macho idiot" who may be fictive or historical/actual. Hanako, for instance, bitterly despises her father, an editor in a major publishing company. Her father admires Yoshimoto Takaaki (a leading 1970s intellectual notorious for his sexist remarks) and André Gide. To Hanako's disgust, he hasn't even read *Anti-Oedipus*! Momoko finds her father so shallow that she likens him to the fathers in *Bonjour tristesse* and a "lowbrow" novel of Mishima Yukio, and she is

embarrassed when he makes really "basic" mistakes such as referring to Michelangelo Antonioni as a *neo-realismo* director.[19]

In another Kanai novel, a naïve young man (not totally unlike Ōgai's Koizumi Jun'ichi) finds himself completely at a loss when a stunningly beautiful older woman (his mother's old friend and an ex-film star) imitates the old man in the famous restaurant scene in the classic Ozu Yasujirō film *Sanma no aji* (1962, distributed as *An Autumn Afternoon*): "What is this? *Hamo*? Ah, with the fish radical and 'rich'?"[20] The irony is that despite his "gross" ignorance (or perhaps because of it?) the young man not only becomes a secret lover of this extremely beautiful and sophisticated woman[21] but after her sudden tragic death he writes a "novel" (obviously a very naïve one) based on his experience with her, and manages to win a major literary prize. Surrounded by writers and critics (one of whom is in fact Momoko's aunt), the young man wonders: "Why do they make such a fuss if one doesn't watch films or read fiction? … Surely there are a lot of other things, a variety of much more important things in the world." (Kanai *Dokeshi no koi* 122)

In other words ignorance itself may be tolerated or even defended or justified, but when it is accompanied by affectation, authoritarianism, greed, and particularly misogyny, it becomes the target of scathing satire. In *Kanojo(tachi),* Momoko and her friends bestow the title of "honorary macho" on a young woman (Momoko's sister-in-law) for her pushy, judgemental behaviour. This female "macho", Yumiko, works in a film distribution company and so is supposed to be an expert on cinema. And yet, to the annoyance of hardcore film buffs Momoko and Hanako, Yumiko doesn't even notice a famous film critic's error in confusing Fritz Lang's appearance in Godard's *Le mépris* [Contempt] with Samuel Fuller's appearance in *Pierrot le Fou*. It hardly matters whether the reader knows this difference or even has seen any Godard film. This transtextuality informs readers in-text, to highlight the incongruity between Yumiko and Momoko (and her friends).

In the novel the target of the attack shifts from Yumiko to Hanako's father, who, in Hanako's opinion, must have seen *Contempt* as a young man "just to see Brigitte Bardot in the nude scene" (*Kanojo(tachi)* 243). The daughter continues to imagine her sexist father's youthful days:

> Of course he wouldn't have had a clue what the film was about, and so he must surely have said to some young woman, desperately wanting to get her attention, something like: "Well,

> I would have thought Michelangelo Antonioni would be much more suitable to make a film based on Moravia's novel. Have you read any Moravia?" (*Kanojo(tachi)* 243–4)

Thus Hanako's imagining, reconstructing, and performing for Momoko of her father's name-dropping of Moravia and Antonioni is intended to reveal his combination of intellectual snobbery and sexual ambition. Examples such as this strongly support the view that a text is "a dialogue with other texts, an act of absorption, parody, and criticism, rather than as autonomous artifact which harmoniously reconciles the possible attitudes towards a given problem" (Culler 1383). From the imagined discursive positioning of Godard and Moravia, the conversation between Momoko and Hanako strays off again, to another more recent case Hanako witnessed at a cinema: a young man, obviously either a postgraduate student or a junior academic, was giving some erroneous piece of information to impress his young, pretty (and "obviously very boring") woman companion:

> "Don't tell me you don't know Fritz Lang! Hitler loved his films but he just rejected Hitler and went into exile. Isn't that great? He said no to Hitler!" The young man said this in the sort of voice so familiar to us, the voice of the *superego* that tries to control the high-pitched shrills that tend to be produced when his sexual desire is *sublimated* into the best possible display of knowledge he can manage. (*Kanojo(tachi)* 244)

The reader does not need to understand the mistake Hanako refers to.[22] Again, the point is not to disseminate important knowledge or ideology but to create comic, satirical text that lays bare human—particularly "macho"—stupidity. The character who reveals this stupidity in someone else, however, often represents another kind of stupidity or self ignorance through insinuating the superior value of certain knowledge, though rather than repellent, it is usually quite endearing.

Kanai provides less informed readers with transtextual information or clues in much more innovative ways than either Ōgai or Ōe. For more than half the novel no direct reference is made to Godard's *2 ou 3 choses*…. Then we come across an essay entitled "Media no naka no baibaishun" [The media's treatment of selling/buying sex], which Momoko's novelist aunt has been commissioned to write for a newspaper but has been rejected because the editor fears it "defames" Murakami Ryū (an actual

contemporary writer). Infuriated, Momoko's aunt asks Momoko and her friends to read the manuscript, the main topic of which is how prostitution, especially teenage prostitution, is treated in the popular media. The writer (Momoko's aunt) points out the similarity between mediatised teenage prostitution in Japan and the prostitution of an ordinary working- class housewife in Godard's film: in both cases women sell their bodies not out of poverty but to obtain luxury items:

> After claiming that the buying and selling of sex shows the exchange relationship in close-up, Godard says, in his uniquely "frank" manner, that three quarters of films are made by misogynistic men, and besides, he says, "most white men hate women." (*Kanojo(tachi)* 188)

Prostitution has no direct connection with the central theme of the novel, but in a more general sense we find a reversed parallel between Kanai's novel and the Godard film, in which men listen to news about Vietnam while Juliet reads glossy magazines and, according to the men, "talks crap." In other words, big boys go for big issues like international politics, ideologies, economics and war, while girls are concerned with small, unimportant things like fashion.

Kanai's innovation is to set up the situation in which women together read this rejected manuscript (which discusses, among other things, Goddard's voice-over comments in his film), adding and commenting constantly, and meandering off to other topics and texts. Instead of simply complaining about the "macho fools," these women introduce and *share* texts, and transform and critique them as they wish. These texts include not only "big" canonical film and literature but obviously "small," lowbrow, obscure texts—my personal favourite among the latter is a questionnaire apparently actually conducted and published in the late 1960s in a women's weekly magazine. It included a question: Which would you marry if there were only two men in the whole world, Mishima Yukio or the Crown Prince [i.e. the present Emperor]? The reported result: more than 80 per cent chose "I would stay single." (*Kanojo(tachi)* 201).]

The "small playthings" that Ōgai makes the symbol of Japanese limitations in importing and dealing with great European thoughts are precisely what Kanai cherishes and by giving them prominent places in her text she beckons us to question the dominant intellectual conventions and hierarchy. These small playthings include trivial details from obscure films, books, and journals, as

well as food, fashion, toys, interior decoration, kitchen utensils, stationery, and so forth. Kanai's style and structure incorporate endless small talk and constant digression.

Despite such constant meanderings, a theme of validating indisposition unifies *Kanojo(tachi)*. Momoko is a kind of "NEET" (Not in Employment, Education, or Training), [23] as she completed her masters degree some time ago, is single, works part-time, and is not interested in training. She is irritated by the great apostle's pontification "He that does not work, let him not eat." (Paul, *Second Thessalonians*, 3[10]), but remembers a less threatening dictum attributed to Marilyn Monroe, that she thinks she read somewhere but is not sure: "It's sad if we *have* to have something to live for."[24] (*Kanojo(tachi)* 280). Momoko's (tentative) conclusion is that it *is* acceptable to live without a clear aim or a job or a husband/boyfriend. Kanai makes her protagonist reject the notion of *having* to write or *having* to do something to prove herself—in stark contrast to the aspiring young man in Ōgai's novel or the earnest and altruistic Ma-chan in Ōe's novel. The final chapter, "Nakutemo ikite ikeru" [[One] Can Live Without] concludes with Momoko thinking, while surrounded by friends in seemingly aimless yet jolly conversation, "Oh, well, I'll think about the future a bit later." (*Kanojo(tachi)* 307). It is a very fitting conclusion for this open-ended, transtextually rich novel to be continued in a sequel.[25]

As we have seen in this paper, transtextuality is a central feature of Kanai Mieko's writings as she explores extensively, almost obsessively, the intricate relationships between texts and their readers. Her texts, unlike those of Mori Ōgai or Ōe Kenzaburō, use transtextuality to question—at times to subvert—dominant socio-cultural and gender dichotomies and the hierarchical orders they imply. In this way Kanai liberates readers from the shackles of the canon that has largely been constructed and proliferated by male authors and critics in modern times, and along the way she often creates original and scathing criticism of gender biases. Her unparalleled critiques of modernisation and gender roles in contemporary Japanese society signal clearly that Kanai knows much more than two or three things about transtextuality in the production of absorbing writing.

NOTES

[1] Japanese names are cited in this paper (with family name first), unless they refer to the author of publications originally published in English using English name order (given name first).

2 "Usagi," first published in 1972, included in Kanai Mieko, *Usagi* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, Shūeisha Bunko, 1979). An English translation of this story is available: Kanai Mieko, "Rabbits," trans. Phyllis Birnbaum, in *Rabbits, Crabs, Etc.: Stories by Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982): 1–23.

3 "Funiku," [1972], Kanai, *Usagi* 65–72. The story has been translated by Mary Knighton as "Rotting Meat," *Fiction International* 29 (1996) 110–16.

4 As Atsuko Sakaki points out, however, this should be understood as "deceptively accessible." See Atsuko Sakaki, "Materializing Narratology: Kanai Mieko's Corporeal Narrative," in *Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies* 5 (Summer 2004): 212–26; 213.

5 This is discussed in Tomoko Aoyama, "Embroidering Girls' Texts: Fashion and Feminism in the Fiction of Kanai Mieko," *US–Japan Women's Journal*, 29 (2005): 99-117.

6 Jonathan Culler, "Presupposition and Intertextuality," *MLN* 91 (1976): 1382–3.

7 Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982/1997), 1.

8 I use its paperback edition: Kanai Mieko, *Kanojo(tachi) ni tsuite watashi no shitte iru 2, 3 [ni, san] no kotogara* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, Asahi Bunko, 2002). Like her other full-length novels, this has not been translated into English. Translation of the passages quoted in this paper is my own.

9 These include: St Augustine, Rousseau, Segantini, Maeterlinck, Ibsen, Flaubert, Maupassant, Bourget, Nietzsche, Tolstoi, Verhaeren, Rodin, Shakespeare, Goethe, Montesquieu, Watteau, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Hugo, Gautier, Huysmans, Balzac, Zola, Goncourt brothers, Otto Weininger, Lemonnier, Constantin Guys, Simmel, Paul Heyse, Sudermann, Henry Bernstein, Albert Samain.

10 Mori Ōgai, *Youth*, trans. Shoichi Ono and Sanford Goldstein, in *Youth and Other Stories*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 406–7. Fuseki in the Japanese text sounds much more humorous than in this English translation. Readers are expected to recognise Sōseki's style in this speech.

11 I have added an apostrophe for Jun'ichi. [Takabatake] Eiko in the text is a middle-aged woman educator, modelled after Shimoda Utako (1854–1936). The person talking about Weininger is Jun'ichi's friend, a medical student, who is often identified as the poet/writer Kinoshita Mokutarō (1885–1945), who was one of Ōgai's disciples when this novel was written. Mokutarō, like Ōgai, pursued a medical career, and became an internationally renowned professor of dermatology.

12 Both have, for instance, interesting metatextual examples.

13 Ōe Kenzaburō, *A Quiet Life*, trans. Kunioki Yanagishita and William Wetherall (New York: Grove Press, 1996), 155–6. The accent on *crétins* is missing in the translation. For Japanese text, see Ōe Kenzaburō, *Shizukana seikatsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha Bunko, 1995), 189. Eeyore (taken from the character in *Winnie-the-Pooh*) is the nickname of the protagonist's older brother with a mental disability. This novel was made into a film by Ōe's brother-in-law and old friend Itami Jūzō. Most of the transtextuality has been dropped in the 1995 film.

14 See, for example, a series of works by Ōtsuka Eiji since late 1980s. Most recently, film and literature critic Yomota Inuhiko has published a study of cute culture, *"Kawaii" ron* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2006).

15 Ōe (*Shizukana seikatsu* 189) uses a *katakana* word *nūtoraru* rather than the normal *nyūtoraru* from English to give the impression that Ma-chan writes like other much older male characters in Ōe's novels—characters that are usually identified as the author himself.

16 In Itami's film this is changed to an Australian university.

17 And, one might say, of the *shishōsetsu* (usually translated as "the I novel"), which is beyond the scope of this paper.

18 In *Indian Summer*, the protagonist Momoko and her friend Hanako are about twenty years old. *Kanojo(tachi)* is its sequel, set ten years after the first volume. *Indian Summer* is also linked to other novels set in Mejiro, Tokyo, and Momoko and Hanako appear as side characters in some of them. Momoko also appears in Kanai's latest novel *Kaiteki seikatsu kenkyū* [A Study of Comfortable Life], 2006). Intertextuality across these volumes gives seasoned readers of Kanai a special pleasure.

19 These examples are taken from *Indian Summer*. For more detailed discussion, see Tomoko Aoyama, "Transgendering Shōjo Shōsetsu: Girls' Inter-text/sex-uality," in *Genders, Transgenders and Sexualities in Japan*, ed. Mark McLelland and Romit Dasgupta, (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 49–64. The reference to Yoshimoto Takaaki is revisited in Kanai, *Kanojo(tachi)* 228.

20 The novel is Kanai Mieko, *Dōkeshi no koi* (A Fool's Love, first published in 1990). The scene appears in the paperback edition (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1999) 14. In *Sanma no aji*, an old retired teacher of Chinese classics played by Tōno Eijirō utters this famous line, writing the Chinese characters in the air with his chopsticks.

21 Interestingly, in *Seinen*, too, Koizumi Jun'ichi is seduced by an older woman, Mrs. Sakai, although he despises her and bitterly regrets the affair. In contrast, the young man in Kanai's novel admires an older woman, before and after her "dramatic" death.

22 In any case she supplies the answer immediately after this in her usual abusive manner: it wasn't Hitler but Goebbels who was

impressed by Fritz Lang, and who impressed Hitler wasn't Lang but "that stupid old hag Leni Riefenstahl—though of course she wasn't old in those days" (Kanai *Kanojo(tachi)* 245).

23 Critic Saitō Minako points out perspicaciously that Ōgai's Koizumi Jun'ichi was the "original NEET" hero in fiction. Saitō Minako, "Kyūsaku ibun," *Waseda bungaku FreePaper* 5 (2007): 12.

24 I have not been able to locate or verify this Marilyn Monroe quotation.

25 Momoko and her friends appear again in Kanai's most recent omnibus novel *Kaiteki seikatsu kenkyū* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2006).

ONCE UPON A TIME … TELLING THE PAST AND MEDIATING CULTURAL IDENTITY IN PARODISTIC FAIRY TALES OF THE FRENCH AND GERMAN ENLIGHTENMENT

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During the last decade, the relationship between literature and history has been heavily discussed. Schools of thought that compose the narrative turn in modern social theory—such as post-structuralism, semiotics, critical theory and postcolonial theory—have "stressed the close resemblance between literature and historiography"[1] and drawn "attention to different literary and rhetorical techniques used in historical narratives, as well as to some textual strategies of (modernist) literary fiction that could be used as models for new, postmodern ways of dealing with the past" (Korhonen 9). While theories of the narrative turn have inspired some historians to pursue new avenues of inquiry, other historians have grown uneasy. They have reacted to these recent theoretical and methodological initiatives—and Australian Keith Windschuttle's *The Killing of History*[2] is only one extreme example of them—with what Dominick La Capra calls "born-again empiricism or … even positivism … rallying around the flag of objectivity."[3] In his recently published *Tropes for the Past*, Kuisma Korhonen sets the current so-called History/Literature Debate into the context of cultural history:

> In the beginning, there was no history or literature: there were just tales, mythic narratives of the legendary past … In the 18th-century, literature and historiography both still belonged to belles lettres and the rhetorical tradition … In the early 19th century, however, new (more or less) scientifically motivated historians began to stress the importance of documentation and thus downplay the role of fictive and rhetorical elements

> in historical writing. At the same time, writers and literary scholars began to see *literature* as autonomous field of writing that was either an alternative or a rival for historians' claims to truth. Romantics, and later symbolists, saw literature as a substitute for religious truth, as revelation of those existential basic principles that normally were hidden behind the banalities of bourgeois existence. (Korhonen 9. Original emphasis.)

The bourgeois existence Korhonen mentions, however, has its foundations in the era of the Enlightenment, when secularized Western modern civil society began to grow with the rise of the middle-class in the second half of the eighteenth century. Focussed on reason and facts in life on earth, the world-view of the Enlightenment implicitly produced the idea of the marvellous as "the Other" of reason.[4] So it is hardly surprising that late Enlightenment theorists such as Johann Gottfried Herder and Christoph Martin Wieland accepted the genre of the fairytale with its specific narrative styles as a high-grade literary genre due to its significance for the emergence of poetry.[5] Shortly afterwards, in the context of the Jena Early Romanticism, the fairytale genre was even considered the literary genre *per se*, when Novalis called it the "canon of poetry."[6]

In the following, a French and a German parodistic fairytale will be discussed. Both texts debate gender identity as a crucial criterion for cultural identity in the raising modern middle-class respectively "bourgeois" culture. Both text deal with literature as a subject matter and reflect on the historical process and social norms. In doing so, both literary narratives show that not only is historiography influenced by cultural narratives and literary strategies. The historical process in modern Western culture itself —the every-day act of "doing culture"—is strongly influenced by metaphors and images forged through literature and is therefore to some extent predefined by literary narratives and patterns.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Queen Fantasque*

The Queen Fantasque (originally *La Reine Fantasque*) is the only fairytale prominent French Enlightenment pedagogue and philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote.[7] First published in 1758, the fairytale narrates the story of a good-natured king called Phoenix and his rebellious and capricious wife Fantasque, who quarrel constantly. After a long period of childlessness, the queen falls pregnant and delivers twins—a daughter and a son—who look

very much alike. The ongoing dispute between the king and queen is intensified when Discrète, the fairy responsible for giving newborns their character, asks with which attributes they wish their children to be endowed. Since they cannot come to an agreement, Discrète proposes that each mould the child of the same sex. Phoenix picks up what he believes to be his son, and looks pityingly upon his second child. Nevertheless, he feels comfortable with this compromise since it protects the heir to the throne against the queen's capricious wishes. However, Fantasque is offended and picks up the other child, declaring "my wish is that the child I hold receive the exact opposite of that which he asks for the other" (Rousseau/Zipes 168–9[8]). Phoenix is appalled that Fantasque apparently hates her daughter. He wishes his daughter to be perfect, so he demands his son be similar to Fantasque. He immediately regrets having said this but it is too late: the children are "endowed forever with the traits that were requested" (Rousseau/Zipes 169[9]). Thus the crown prince receives the name Caprice and seems destined to be adorned "with all the perfections of a pretty woman" (Rousseau/Zipes 169[10]), while his sister is called Reason and is "destined one day to possess all the virtues of an honest man and the qualities of a good king" (Rousseau/Zipes 169[11]). In the end, the embarrassment is solved by the narrator who explains that the king had mistaken his daughter for his son because of their great similarity and Discrète had deliberately used this mistake "by endowing the two children as would suit them best" (Rousseau/Zipes 171[12]). Regardless of the Queen's caprices "everything found its natural order" (Rousseau/Zipes 171[13]).

The fairytale of Queen Fantasque and her husband King Phoenix is only one part of Rousseau's text. At the beginning, by the very first sentences of Rousseau's text the story about to unfold is introduced explicitly as a fairytale narrated within the fiction:

> Once upon a time there was a king who loved his people— / "That's the way a fairy tale begins," the druid interrupted. / "Well, that's what it is," Jalamir responded. (Rousseau/Zipes 160[14])

The conversation of Jalamir and the druid forms the framework. The fairytale is a second narrative—fiction-within-fiction—created through this conversation. Jalamir's confirmation that the following will really be a fairytale also functions as an ironic signal of social criticism running all through the fairytale, as it points out that a king who loves his people would not be part of the real world but

of a fairyland and thus that a story about a king loving his people must be a fairytale. The explicite reflection on the common opening of fairytales "once upon a time," literally claiming to tell "real" history and not just any story, also functions as a hint to the twilight zones of transmission and tradition. It should be noted that, while creating the tale of Queen Fantasque, Jalamir and the druid talk about the blurring between history and story. Furthermore they change their roles as interlocutor and listener to create different versions of the story and to elaborate on the impact of the narrator on the way a story is being told. In fact, the above paraphrased tale, with its happy ending referring to the "natural order," is only the last version confirmed by the first narrator Jalamir as being the "real" and "true" one. The druid's version given in between critisises cultural norms, describing a state ruled by a capricous king. The druid points out that people would demand to change the system of succession to the throne in a land where Princess Reason would be a new wonderland heroine. But—as the druid elaborates on his vision further on—jurists and lawyers would emphatically try to prove that the most stupid man would be a better and more appropriate sovereign than the most brilliant woman, even if the first-born were a monkey or a wolf. Jalamir, empowered by the author to have the final say, just manages to drown out the critical voice's version. Before narrating what supposedly truly happened, Jalamir emphatically hints at the significance story-telling, imagination and fantasy have for the human want and need to understand the world and organise the community's constitution and social life:

> "For God's sake, Father Druid, how you exaggerate!" Jalamir said, greatly surprised. "… If I were to let you continue, you would soon turn a fairy tale into a political treatise, and one would some day find Bluebeard or Donkey-Skin as royal officials advising princes, rather than Machiavelli." (Rousseau/Zipes 170–71[15])

Jalamir ironically expresses his fear that people are going to appoint fairy tale characters as politicians if his "co-narrator" continued to use the fairy tale genre to discuss politics, because in the cultural history of mankind narrating stories has been a means of modelling mindsets. Jalamir's nonsensical fear hints at an anthropological function of storytelling and the emergence of literature. Human mentality and behaviour are—amongst others—moulded and modelled by stories in the process of civilisation. Storytelling does

not only support human efforts to understand and explain the environment. Storytelling—whether with more or less historical reference as in Ancient myths or religious narratives or in purely imaginary tales like Rousseau's literary fairy tale—provides a specific space for reflecting on and notionally test running human past or prospect possibilities. Storytelling functions as a means of designing, making and giving laws and instructions to the individual and the community. In the secularised Modern Age—when literature in the narrower sense adopts part of the functions religion was bearing in pre-modern times—this does not change as a basic principle. Stories about the past (but not only stories about the past) being told within a community have an irrefutable impact on the community's culture and actually are part of the ongoing process of creating social reality.

Friederike Helene Unger, *Prince Bimbam—A Fairytale for Young and Old*

Friederike Helene Unger's literary fairytale *Prince Bimbam—A Fairytale for Young and Old* (*Prinz Bimbam—Ein Mährchen für Alt und Jung*) was published anonymously in 1802.[16] It was only recently taken notice of by researchers in literary studies.[17] While Rousseau's fairytale reflects on the blurring between history and story and on the impact of the transmitting speaker conveying tradition, Unger's text focuses on the significance of literature and literary narratives for the forging of social reality and transmission of cultural, namely gender identity.

Prince Bimbam, the eponymous hero of Unger's fairytale, is the young and spoiled son of a fairy called Quatscheline (a meaningful name signifying "nonsense talker"). One morning Bimbam awakes from wondrous dreams about girls and bewitched cherry stones. Spontaneously he declares that he will marry one particular girl in his dreams. The chosen one is called Zenobia. She is an aesthete who keeps company with other aesthetes and critics. Bimbam has to complete an exhausting voyage through the history of culture and literature to win her over. However, his main task and test is to catch a cherry stone between the rotating sails of an enormous windmill and hand it over to the princess to gain self-assurance after having achieved this. Bimbam departs, accompanied by Invalido who is supposed to supervise his education. After a little while Bimbam encounters Kronos who is introduced as the gravedigger of literature. Bimbam passes through different epochs of the history of literature, such as the singing of alexandrines and German poems in antique style. Finally he reaches the forest of

current literature and philosophy. There among other fairytale figures he meets a tomcat wearing boots whom the reader—but not Bimbam—recognises as Puss-in-Boots (Unger 80–1). While observing the marvels he encounters, Bimbam feels like a silly boy. This is the moment when he gains self-knowledge. He now appears "as the epitome of male beauty" (Unger 100[18]). When he hands over to Zenobia the cherry stone he had caught earlier in his travels, an illuminated inscription with the words "*Genuine Worldly Wisdom*" appears on all the palace walls (Unger 100–101[19]). Zenobia explains that she was only an instrument of the formation of Bimbam (Unger 101). She declares that she has now returned to her "inherent female nature" (Unger 101[20]). Nevermore will she be "an aesthetic female" (Unger 101[21]). Both live happily ever after.

Similar to Rousseau's *La Reine Fantasque*, Unger's parodistic literary fairytale ironically takes up the aesthetic cultural asset of the European folktale tradition and the form of the voguish French *conte de fées*. Reflecting on various literary narratives and patterns while emphatically talking about gender concepts, her fairytale reveals that gender identity itself is a cultural narrative very much determined by literary images and rooted in its specific historical contexts. The name of the eponymous hero already indicates that the text deridingly deals with sex and gender issues. The onomatopoetic "Bimbam," suggesting the sound of a large hanging bell, was around 1800 a bawdy German slang word for male genitalia.[22] Unger's fairytale can be considered a satire about gender identity and a parody of the fairytale genre in general and the subgenre of the "fairytale of formation" in particular. Furthermore, Unger's text as a whole can be considered an ironic citation of the genre of the classical German *Bildungsroman*. Recent gender-oriented research in narratology has argued that the *Bildungsroman* itself is the most gendered—male coded—narrative pattern.[23] The genre reference in Unger's fairytale is marked by several allusions to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* which is considered a paradigm of the genre.[24] In fact, the story about Wilhelm Meister is not only regarded as a narration of the formation of the male middle-class subject but also as a narration of the history of the formation of middle class and bourgeoisie par excellence.[25]

Unger's narration of the formation of the male subject quotes a kaleidoscope of literary narratives of males' stories. The plot broadly trifles with Parzival, the young fool who leaves home to make innumerable mistakes and finally becomes wise. Bimbam has to start his journey in the Iron Age, which is—as Ovid explicates in his creation myth—the beginning of the history of culture when

human mankind interferes with God's Creation. Bimbam's descent into hell during the first part of his travels recalls Dante's descent into hell in *La Divina Commedia*. To become a strong man, the eponymous hero has to take a bath in a stream of blood, where "the sparkling wave breaks against the delicate shoulder" (Unger 66–7[26]). Bimbam's bath plays on the Germanic epic poem *Nibelungenlied* where Siegfried has to take a bath in the blood of a dragon to become invulnerable but his shoulder remains weak and fatally vulnerable due to a leaf falling from a tree and covering this part of his body. This is to mention only some of the allusions. Moreover, Bimbam explicitly passes by popular literary characters, representative writers, and aesthetic shapes of the literary epochs and trends of the eighteenth century. His trip ends up in a forest which is the "hotbed of the latest literature and philosophy" (Unger 81[27]) and can easily be identified as an allusion to the *Athenäum* journal and the progressive contemporary aesthetic projects of the Jena Romanticists. Thus, for Unger's protagonist becoming a man does not only mean to live according to bourgeois gender roles but also to end up in the world of contemporary literature. Well ahead of the times, Unger's satirical fairytale demonstrates that identifying oneself with a certain concept of identity is a process of adapting a set of pre-existing narratives.

Telling the Past and the Function of Literature

Talking about literature and reflecting on gender identity, both Rousseau's *La Reine Fantasque* and Unger's *Prince Bimbam* demonstrate the function of literature as a means of mediating and questioning social reality by reflecting on given cultural conditions and alternative possibilities. Rousseau's text focuses on the act of storytelling and on the "competition" between different versions of the same hi/story when it comes to the point of judging certain gender concepts and their historical context. Unger's fairytale is suggestive of the impact of the imagination and poetry on cultural identity and cultural processes. Concentrating on the styling power of literary patterns her story points out that identity itself is forged by and a product of pre-existing narratives.

NOTES

1 Kuisma Korhonen, "General Introduction: The History/Literature Debate," *Tropes for the Past. Hayden White and the History/Literature Debate*, ed. Kuisma Korhonen (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 9–20 [14].

2 Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History. How a Discpline Is Being Murdered by Literary Critics and Social Theorists* (Paddington: Macleay, 1996).

3 Dominick La Capra, review of Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History*, *American Historical Review* (February 1998): pp. 148–9 [148].

4 In general "the marvellous" stands for a reasonably unexplainable breach of natural laws. On different concepts of the marvellous and their appearance in the fairytale genre, see Petra Küchler-Sakellariou, "Romantisches Kunstmärchen.—Versuch einer Annäherung.—Über die Spielarten des Wunderbaren in "Kunst" und 'Volks'märchen," *Phantasie und Phantastik. Neuere Studien zum Kunstmärchen und zur phantastischen Erzählung*, ed. Hans Schumacher (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1993), 43–74 [45].

5 Helmut Nobis, *Phantasie und Moralität. Das Wunderbare in Wielands "Dschinnistan" und der "Geschichte des Prinzen Biribinker"* (Kronberg/Ts.: Scriptor, 1976), 33–4.

6 Novalis, *Schriften. Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs*. Vol. 3, ed. Paul Kluckhohn/Richard Samuel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1968), 449.

7 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "La Reine Fantasque, conte," *Collection complete des oeuvres, tome treizieme, contenant le IIIe. volume des "Mélanges"* (Genève: Peyrou 1782), 293–324. All citations in the main text refer to the following English translation (abbreviated "Rousseau/Zipes"): Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "The Queen Fantasque," trans. Jack David Zipes, *Spells of enchantment. The wondrous fairy tales of Western culture*, ed. Jack David Zipes (New York: Penguin, 1991), 160–71.

8 "je demande pour celui que je tiens, tout le contraire de ce qu'il demandera pour l'autre" (Rousseau 317).

9 "étaient doués sans retour des caractères demandés" (Rousseau 318).

10 "de toutes les perfections d'une jolie femme" (Rousseau 318).

11 "toutes les vertus d'un honnête-homme, and les qualités d'un bon Roi" (Rousseau 318–9).

12 "pour douer les deux enfants de la maniere [!] qui leur convenoit le mieux" (Rousseau 323).

13 "tout se trouva dans l'ordre naturel" (Rousseau 323).

14 Punctuation marks are as in the English original while "/" indicates a word wrap. "Il y avoit autrefois un Roi qui aimoit son Peuple. . . . Cela commence comme un conte de Fée, interrompit le Druide? C'en est un aussi, répondit Jalamir. Il y avoit donc un Roi" (Rousseau 295).

15 "Tubleu, Père Druide, comme vous y allez, dit Jalamir tout surpris; flux de paroles! Où Diable avez-vous pris de si belles tirades? Vous ne prêchâtes de votre vie aussi bien dans le bois sacré, quoique vous n'y parliez pas plus vrai. Si je vous laissais faire, vous changeriez bientôt un Conte de fées en un traité de Politique et l'on trouverait

quelque jour dans les cabinets des Princes Barbe Bleue ou Peau d'Ane au lieu de Machiavel" (Rousseau 322–23).

16 [Friederike Helene Unger,] *Prinz Bimbam. Ein Mährchen für Alt und Jung* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1802). All English translations of Unger citations are by the author of this article.

17 Anne Thiel, *Verhinderte Traditionen. Märchen deutscher Autorinnen vor den Brüdern Grimm* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, Diss. 2001), 51–99; Birte Giesler, *Literatursprünge. Das erzählerische Werk von Friederike Helene Unger* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), 245–281.

18 "in männlicher Schöne."

19 "*Wahre Lebensweisheit*."

20 "eigenthümliche Weibesnatur."

21 "ästhetisches Weib."

22 Heinz Küpper, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Umgangssprache* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1988), 108.

23 Astrid Erll/Klaudia Seibel, "Gattungen, Formtraditionen und kulturelles Gedächtnis," *Erzähltextanalyse und Gender Studies*, ed. Vera Nünning/Ansgar Nünning (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004), 180–203 [195].

24 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Berlin: Unger, 1795/96). For a general theoretical discussion of Goethe's paradigmatic text see Todd Kontje, *The German Bildungsroman: History of a National Genre* (Columbia: Camden House, 1993), 13.

25 Helmut Koopmann, "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre (1795/96)," *Goethes Erzählwerk. Interpretationen*, ed. Paul Michael Lützeler and James E. McLead (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1985), 168–191 [183].

26 "die schäumende Welle brach sich an der zarten Schulter."

27 "Dieser Wald, den oft die Leute vor Bäumen nicht sahen, ist der Tummelplatz der neuesten Litteratur und Philosophie."

GROUNDHOG DAY 1602, OR PLACE AND CLASS IN *TWELFTH NIGHT*

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This essay is a tale of two places: the first known, specific and indeed, still viewable; the second traffics briefly with the real, but for the most part resides within the domain of what Orsino, in the opening speech of *Twelfth Night*, calls the "high fantastical" (1.1.15)[1]. This is the place where, as we discover in the second scene of the play, the action unfolds. The exchange is famous:

> Viola: What country, friends, is this?
> Captain: This is Illyria, lady.
> (1.2.1)

Illyria did exist, a section of the Eastern Adriatic (roughly the territory of the former Yugoslavia). In Shakespeare's time, its coasts were famed for the rapacity of its pirates, and the play, as many have noted, draws on this reputation for the back story of the love-lorn Antonio, the "notable pirate" and "salt water thief" (5.1.65), whom Orsino has arrested at the climax of Act 3, proving Antonio's own claim that he may not without danger walk the streets of Illyria (3.4.25)[2]. The streets meanwhile, seem English. To the south, there is a pub called the Elephant, named after one just down the road from the first Globe in London. There is a church, and two great households. One of those has a walled garden. More than a specific place, then, the location named in scene two is a palimpsest, oscillating between a romanticised Mediterranean and the London where the play was first performed, the perfect location for the fusing of genders, desires and twins mistaken for each other which has made the play so consistently pleasing to audiences. When we hear "Illyria," as Penny Gay observes in her

introduction to the revised New Cambridge edition of the play, we perhaps play on in our heads the words "lyrical" and "illusion"[3]. We might also catch a foreshadowing of the term "Olivia," the great lady of Illyria, whom Orsino pursues, using his new page Cesario as a choice new piece of bait. Cesario of course, is the questioning Viola from scene 2 in male disguise, indistinguishable from her twin brother Sebastian. The set up of the play always sounds ludicrous in summary, as the play itself acknowledges. "If this were played upon a stage, now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction" (3.4.125–26). Certainly it is far from being a graphic delineation of some highly specific tract of Southern Europe.

Nor did it appear so to its early audiences. For we know well the place where this second place, Illyria, was enacted. This was on 2 February 1602 in the newly built Hall of the Middle Temple in the middle of the city of London, across the river from the Globe. Likely the play was first performed at the Globe, but the Middle Temple performance was the first we know about, thanks to a crucial and rare witness. How might these two places resonate when considered together? Modern editors inevitably record this first recorded performance; the potential for unlocking the play through the lens of that performance remains underdeveloped. My main aim here is to advance further in this direction.

I do not want though to recommit the "occasionalist" fallacy, claiming that the play was originally written for the Middle Temple audience. Leslie Hotson's famous claim that the first night of *Twelfth Night* was for the visit of the Duke of Bracciano in 1601 has not won many adherents[4]. Antony Arlidge's more recent *Shakespeare and the Prince of Love* assembles a welter of facts about the Middle Temple and presses a claim for the play being delivered precisely for the 1602 Candlemas Revel.[5] The play eludes either claim. Nobody has yet convincingly proven that any of Shakespeare's plays was thus devised. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* two earlier romantic, social comedies, have been frequent candidates for "occasionalist" readings. Those imagined performances lack a witness. For *Twelfth Night* the presence of a surviving witness allows the speculation of a "local" reading, showing at least one way the play signified for its early audiences[6]. This account is strikingly different from the way modern scholars and reviewers evoke the play, a reminder of how difficult the task is of the time travel we set ourselves as readers of historical texts, striving to grasp how they might have resonated when first performed while, at the same time, accounting for

contemporary readings of those same texts. Here then I will use this witness, the diarist and lawyer Sir John Manningham, to evoke anxieties of place in the play. To grasp the force of his anecdote, it will be helpful to review the history and nature of the Middle Temple.[7]

These buildings, like those of the nearby Inner Temple, take their name from the Knights Templars who controlled these properties, inside the old medieval wall of London, until their suppression in 1312. Their confiscated lands were given to the Knights of St John. The knights in turn gave their lands over for the use of lawyers in the reign of Edward III. By the sixteenth century the complex of Middle Temple buildings had become host to a community of lawyers: both those who practised the law and those who sought to learn it. In Sir George Buc's celebrated phrase, the Temple, as one of the Inns of Court, was England's third University (after Oxford and Cambridge). The decline of ecclesiastical law, after the Reformation, ensured that people instead exploited the common law. Those who grasped the uses to which common law might be put could become rich and powerful. Those who were already empowered ensured their sons accessed the law through the Inns of Court system. Those who sought power and "place," who were literate and adroit enough verbally to argue or "moot" well found the Middle Temple useful also. It was clearly a great place for the ambitious to network, securing or advancing their "place" or position.

Like the court of Elizabeth, the Inns of Court were accustomed to revel between Christmas and the second of February, the feast of Candlemas, or purification. The "revels" were a series of ritualised entertainments, with high points being the feast of epiphany, or twelfth night, after which the play is evidently named, and the last day of the revels, Candlemas. There could be masques, role play and role inversion. Often too there would be plays. Shakespeare's other twin play, *The Comedy of Errors*, was performed at Gray's Inn in 1594. Eight years later, John Manningham recounts the earliest known performance of *Twelfth Night* at the climax of the 1602 Revels. The revels were designed for an exclusive audience (the Middle Temple's population was around 200): homosocial, eloquent, litigious, anxious about their "place," and how to advance it (the structure of the Temples was highly stratified); and likely quite drunk. Manningham, in this company, did not receive the plays as a wistful, neo-Chekhovian meditation on "gender trouble" (which is the predominant Anglo-American mode of reading as

well as performing the play).[8] Rather he recalls it as a boisterous widow-stalking farce:

> At our feast wee had a play called Twelve night, or what you will, much like the commedy of errores, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practise in it to make the steward beleeve his Lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter, as from his Lady, in generall termes, telling him what shee liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparraile, &c., and then when he came to practise, making him believe they tooke him to be mad.[9]

Technically, of course, Olivia is not a widow. Yet, as the play begins, she is immersed in a vow to mourn for seven years, for her dead father and brother. Like a dutiful Renaissance widow, the first Olivia was probably swathed like Hamlet in "customary suits of solemn woe." Then too, as her father's sole heir, Olivia has control over her estate and her person, just a rich widow would have. This is part of her charm.

Manningham does better with source hunting, identifying Plautus's *Menaechmi* (which enacts confusion of twin brothers) and the Italian *Inganni*, where a girl disguises herself as a male page. Both plots are of course central to *Twelfth Night*, as cross dressing and twin confusion unites Olivia, finally, with the twin Sebastian and Orsino with his "page" Cesario, who, as Viola, loves him. Contemporary critics and actors alike, beglamoured by issues of gender confusion and exchange, make these actions central to the affect of the play.

Yet it is striking that Manningham was more drawn to the boisterously farcical "sub-plot" of the humiliation of Olivia's servant, Malvolio. His account anticipates the comment by Nicholas Rowe in his famous first edited text of Shakespeare's plays in 1709 that "there is something singularly Ridiculous and Pleasant in the Fanatical Steward *Malvolio*."[10] Manningham recalls with relish the "excellent practise" of taking Malvolio down. The account precisely recalls the three stages of Malvolio's comic downfall: the letter in Act 2 which dupes him into thinking Olivia loves him; his appearance in yellow cross gartered stockings, the lurid uniform of the love lorn in Act 3; and his incarceration in the dark house in Act 4. Manningham's performance "reading" is acute, for stripping the upstart of his dignity—lopping the tall poppy—is central to this section of the play. It seems unsurprising

that this is the section that most appealed to the ambitious, status hungry audience of the Middle Temple. A specific, local audience, in a specific place, their legal ambitions structured around anxieties of sustaining their place in various hierarchies were then transported to an imagined place, Illyria. There, knowing how to "place" someone, and knowing the "place" they should rightly occupy, are central to the play's business.

Sir Toby, Maria and Fabian put Malvolio in his place before he can realise his plan of reducing their status or place in Olivia's household. Malvolio's countering revenge fantasy revolves around realising his erotic power by marrying Olivia. He imagines this as a class-crossing triumph: "There is example for't: the Lady of the Strachey married the yeoman of the wardrobe" (2.6.37–8). The specific lady has not been identified, but there are like examples of Elizabethan and Jacobean courtiers marrying out of turn. Having usurped Olivia's station, Malvolio sets himself to reform the manners of the household. He imagines ordering his "cousin" Toby and his companions to amend their drunkenness, relishing being able to tell him "I know my place, as I would they should do theirs" (2.4.50–1). Malvolio knows his current place; through marriage he seeks to change his "position or standing in the social scale … rank station, whether high or low," as the *OED* nicely defines one of the several usages of place current in Shakespeare's lifetime[11]

For Sir Toby, the epitome of a gentry wastrel, the double challenge to his status and his morals is too much. In drunken outrage, he plays the high status card: "Art anymore than a steward?" (2.3.109–10), underlining that he comes from a class superior to Malvolio's. The vehemence of this response, and the viciousness of the revenge which follows, emphasizes Toby's own insecurities. He is Olivia's uncle, presumably her father's younger brother, and lacks independent wealth, as his main use for his companion Sir Andrew Aguecheek seems to be to cadge money. Toby is gentle by birth, but lacks other accomplishments. Thus he is later subject to rebuke by Olivia as well:

> Will it be ever thus? Ungracious wretch,
> Fit for the mountains and the barbarous caves,
> Where manners ne'er were preached—out of my sight!
> … Rudesby be gone. (4.2.46–50)

Toby is of the right class but lacks the kind of "classiness" I will turn to in my conclusion. Where Toby rounds on the weaker Malvolio, he accepts chastisement from above. At the beginning of

the play, Toby's passion for excess has a Falstaffian swagger. By its end, he has disavowed Sir Andrew, his companion in foolery; married Maria; and returned to Olivia's household. On this level, the play, as Jean Howard has written, is recuperative. Like many English social comedies, it overtly rewards conservative social values.[12] "The play metamorphoses struggles of ideology and history into intimate emotional confrontations, traumas, and restitutions."[13]

The competition for "place" in Orsino's palace is no less intense than that in Olivia's household, though the play dwells more on Olivia's than Orsino's retinue. Cesario's arrival causes a sussuration in Orsino's court:

> If the Duke continue these favours towards you, Cesario, you are like to be much advanced. He hath known you but three days, and already you are no stranger. (1.4.1–4)

The note of instruction and envy that Valentine sounds is clear. His implication is that competition for place in Orsino's court (as at Elizabeth I's), is fierce; in both courts place seekers are aware that "advancement in all worlds be obtained by mediation and remembrance of noble friends."[14] Here Cesario quickly becomes a special favourite, displacing Valentine, who speaks these lines, as Orsino's special ambassador to Olivia. From the outside, it looks to Illyria as though the success arises out of Cesario's natural status as a gentleman, whose parentage is "above his fortunes" yet whose "state" [or "status"] is well (1.5.268). The audience knows, however, that what they are watching is also a gentlewoman's skill at evoking a "gentleman" as well as a young male actor's talent for enacting both genders. That gentlewoman is clumsy too at times: overplaying the rhetoric of love to begin with, and with no masculinist skill at duelling, unlike her twin brother. Nevertheless, it is Viola's skill at passing amongst the aristocrats of Illyria that enables her and her brother to form, at the end of the play, the centre of the new, married kingdom.

Olivia greets the final alliances with glee: "most wonderful"; she makes also the right status gesture, extending her largesse to include the more powerful Orsino: "One day shall crown th'alliance on't, so please you / Here at my house and at my proper cost" (5.1.222, 315–16). Here she performs the magnificence expected of a Renaissance noble. This too the lawyers of the Middle Temple would need to learn, were they to serve the powerful well. If the

play has a political moral, perhaps it is that apt service would be rewarded, but that attempts at class displacement would be cast out.

The new conserving order at the play's end does not have room for all. Olivia tries to placate Malvolio, just as in Act 1 she tried to reassure him while putting him gently in his place. Having sought a new and higher place, Malvolio cannot be assuaged with his former stewardship. Hence his ringing exit line: "I'll be revenged on the whole pack of you" (5.1.374). Where Malvolio goes to next is moot and irresolvable. "I think Malvolio goes off to start the English Civil War," Michael Neill announced at an Auckland symposium on the play in August 2006:[15] a nice piece of oral hyperbole. Yet in the Civil Wars of the 1640s the Parliamentary opposition was comprised, in part, of religious zealots who shared many of Malvolio's opinions. Another striking witness to the play, in this respect, is Charles I. He owned a copy of the 1632 Second Folio. Besides the listing for *Twelfth Night* in the table of contents, Charles has written, 'Malvolio'. For him too, it seems, the play was a comedy of comeuppance. His marginalia suggest a grasp of the way the play traffics from one place to another, reminding its first viewers of what their place might or should be.

To conclude by speculating in two directions: one historicist, one presentist. Manningham recalls the play with its full title: *Twelve Night or What You Will* (the same title as we find in the 1623 *First Folio*, the first and only authoritative text of the play). What the play means by "twelfth night" remains mysterious, since the Feast of Epiphany is nowhere directly mentioned. Pepys was bemused by this: "a silly play," he wrote on 6 January 1663, and "not relating at all to the name or day."[16] In the later eighteenth century, it was the fashion to revive the play on the sixth of January. Perhaps this is the wrong Christmas Feast, however. Accounts of the play that consider its carnival context link the play to the general period of Christmas Revels, and see the battle between Sir Toby and Malvolio as an Illyrian version of the struggle between carnival and lent. And, generally, this seems to be true. Yet what if we took the play seriously as a Candlemas entertainment, a play to do with the rites of purification, set at the end of winter? In the Middle Temple Revels of 1597, for example, the elected Prince of Love resigned his office, resolving instead to study "the Common Law" (Finkelpearl 50), a fitting moral for a Hall, as Arlidge puts it "full of young swaggerers who would soon have to change to sober lawyers" (Arlidge 7). The play need not have been written specifically for the lawyers for them to grasp it this way. Manningham does not mention Feste, but the clown's last song

clearly reflects on the sadness of getting on, growing up and growing old.

This is the burden also of the most popular modern Candlemas entertainment, Bill Murray's comedy *Groundhog Day*[17]. This takes place also on the second of February, the day when, by North American tradition, the groundhog emerges to see how much longer winter is to last. The groundhog is a herald of spring. For Bill Murray's character, groundhog day becomes a purgatory, where he find himself repeating over and over again the same day in Punksetawny, meeting the same townsfolk in the same sneering way. The film though is more than just another Bill Murray vehicle, and anticipates the characters Murray has played in Sofia Coppola's *Lost in Translation* and Jim Jarmusch's *Broken Flowers*. Murray cannot leave Groundhog Day until he learns its lesson: to "be generous, guiltless, and of free disposition" (1.5.87–88) as Olivia puts it. Until he is open and honest, he can never find happiness. What he lacks, and needs to learn, is class. He needs grace, decorum and wit. This comes to him not by birth but through practice. "Class" in this case, is something that can be performed and perfected. The play offers two models for this. Olivia is gracious, rueful and forgiving towards Malvolio while, inside the fiction of the play, Feste is malicious, grudging and implacable.

New World actors in the Shakespeares I have seen in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States struggle with class on stage. English actors project much more readily codes of deference and obeisance, which plays like *Twelfth Night* underline. In New World productions, sociological class mutes into issues of status. "Class" behaviour becomes "classy" behaviour. This is what, finally, Bill Murray adopts at the end of *Groundhog Day*.

The current cult for imitating Elizabeths I and II seems likewise to have to do with projecting those queens' inherited class as "classy." Such is the power of those roles that not only are the actors who play them easy favourites for acting honours, but the actors who have played them (Cate Blanchett, Judi Dench, Helen Mirren[18]), are themselves thought to be "classy" on the red carpet, Hollywood glamour folding back upon and in a sense replacing regal charisma. In a 2006 production of the play in Auckland, Olivia was played as a love-starved star, awaiting her next role at the beach.[19] For "class" in romantic comedy, though, you need to look to the older Hollywood. For if the task is to reinvent yourself as a gentleman, always witty, graceful and debonair, if you need someone who can survive shipwreck and sword play without stirring a hair on his well groomed head, not quite "gay" and not

completely straight either, then the actor you really want is Cary Grant.

NOTES

1 William Shakespeare, *The Oxford Shakespeare: the Complete Works*, 2nd ed.; ed. John Jowett, William Montgomery, Gary Taylor and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Clarendon P, 2005). All references to the play are from this text.

2 Goran Stanivukovic, "Illyria Revisited: Shakespeare and the Eastern Adriatic," *Shakespeare and the Mediterranean*, ed. Tom Clayton, Susan Brock and Vicente Forés (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 401–15.

3 Penny Gay, "Introduction," *Twelfth Night or What You Will*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, revised edn., ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 6.

4 *The First Night of* Twelfth Night (London: Mercury, 1961).

5 *Shakespeare and the Prince of Love: The Feast of Misrule in the Middle Temple* (London: Giles de la Mare, 2000).

6 The precedent I have in mind here is Leah Marcus's elegant *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Marcus brings out the meanings specific performances might have realized, without insisting, as Arlidge and Hotson do, on readings which turn the plays into masque-like allegories for specific performance events.

7 The brief history in the following paragraph redacts from two main sources: James Claude Webster's entry "Inns of Court," *Encyclopedia Britannica* 11th edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), Vol. 14 584–87; and Philip J. Finkelpearl, *John Marston of the Middle Temple* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).

8 Gay 41–52 usefully summarises modern/postmodern production styles.

9 *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, 1602–1603*, ed. Robert Parker Sorlien (Hanover: NH: University Press of New England, 1976), 48.

10 Cited in *Shakespeare: the Critical Heritage*, Vol 2: 1693–1733 ed. Brian Vickers (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1974), 195.

11 "place," s.v. 9.

12 *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1994), 112–16.

13 Eric S. Mallin, *Inscribing the Time: Shakespeare and the End of Elizabethan England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 217.

14 A Renaissance maxim listed in Francis Peck's eighteenth century compilation, *Desiderata Curiosa*, quoted in Wallace T. MacCaffrey's seminal "Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics," *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale*, ed. S. T.

Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams (London: Athlone Press, 1961), 108.

15 Held in conjunction with a spirited local production of *Twelfth Night*, staged by the Auckland Theatre Company. My thanks to the English Department of Auckland University who hosted this symposium, and comments from both the audience and commentators gathered, including Michael Neill, Mac Jackson and David Carnegie.

16 *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* Vol. IV: 1663*,* ed. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews (London: Bell & Hyman, 1983), 6.

17 *Groundhog Day*, dir. Harold Ramis, perf. Bill Murray, Andie McDowell, Columbia Tristar Home Video, 1997.

18 In, respectively *Elizabeth*, *Shakespeare in Love*, *Elizabeth I*, *The Queen* and the forthcoming return of Blanchett as the title role in *Elizabeth I: the Golden Age*.

19 Local audiences there would know the actor, Jennifer Ward-Lealand well, as an actor and performer in several shows of Marlene Dietrich's famous love anthems: "Falling in love again/Never wanted to/What am I to do/Can't help it."

DAS PRIVATE IST POLITISCH: JULI ZEH'S TRAVELOGUE TO BOSNIA

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Juli Zeh is currently one of the most successful young writers in Germany and can best be described as a European writer. In her 2002 travelogue *Die Stille ist ein Geräusch. Eine Fahrt durch Bosnien* [The Sound of Silence. Travels through Bosnia], she concentrates on the Yugoslavian war zone nearly ten years after the end of the conflict. Her self-declared aim is to create a picture of Bosnia which is not formed by the media and which draws the reader in by means of literature rather than journalistic sensationalism. The secondary literature published so far on this work has either attributed to Zeh a critical stand towards the media and war reporting[1] or interpreted Zeh's travelogue as "indulg[ing] in Oriental nostalgia."[2] This paper engages with these contradictory readings and will show how each interpretation only grasps part of Zeh's poetic strategy. In focussing on Zeh's political critique these commentators overlook the fact that her political analysis is situated within a profoundly subjective narrative that merges the private and the political.

German-Speaking Writers and the War in Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav Wars were a series of violent conflicts which took place between 1991 and 2001, and comprised two sets of successive wars affecting all of the former Yugoslav republics. Together with the war in Slovenia (1991) and the Croatian War of Independence (1991–1995), the war in Bosnia (1992–1995) formed part of the collapse of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The latter half of the conflict focussed on Albanian-populated areas, namely the Kosovo War (1999), the Southern Serbia conflict (2001), and the Macedonia conflict (2001).

After the outbreak of the war "Yugoslavia" underwent a vast transformation in the German mindset: from tourist destination to war zone, and from a country of origin for "guest workers" to a multi-ethnic nation state disintegrating in a most violent manner. The siege of Sarajevo, the war atrocities, and most importantly the systematic rape of women and the genocide of Muslims in Eastern Bosnia were the crucial events portrayed in the media (Würmann 160).

Consequently, German intellectuals and writers discussed the war and its representation in the German media. By far the most prominent literary work was Peter Handke's travelogue *Eine winterliche Reise zu den Flüssen Donau, Save, Morawa und Drina oder Gerechtigkeit für Serbien* (1996), which expounded the problem of the media's representation of Serbs as aggressors. The subsequent debate has continued into the present and flared up only recently, when Handke held a speech at the funeral of the former Yugoslavian president Slobodan Milosevic.[3]

Since the end of the war Juli Zeh's travelogue *Die Stille ist ein Geräusch* and Norbert Gstrein's *Das Handwerk des Tötens* (2003) have both focussed on the Yugoslav wars. Like Handke's travelogue they each have a journey at their heart. In Gstrein's novel the writer friend of an Austrian war journalist killed in Kosovo in 1999 travels to the region and tries to make inquiries for a novel about his friend's fate. Zeh's travelogue follows in Handke's footsteps in terms of genre, but her tone and political perspective are quite different. When asked about parallels between her and Handke's engagement in an interview for the left-leaning Berlin daily *die taz*, Zeh replied:

> Nur zum Teil. Seine Intention war unter anderem, der objektiven oder pseudoobjektiven journalistischen Berichterstattung eine literarisch-subjektive Sichtweise zur Seite zu stellen. Insofern gibt es eine Parallele. Aber wo es Handke darum ging, mit aller Macht gegen den Strom zu schwimmen und einen Skandal zu verursachen, sehe ich keine Gemeinsamkeiten. An allen Stellen, wo es hätte brenzlig werden können, habe ich den leiseren Ton gewählt statt den lauteren.[4]

Unlike Handke and Gstrein, both well-established writers, Zeh's travelogue is only her second monograph. Born in 1974, Zeh graduated from university with a law degree and a degree from the Leipziger Institute for Literature, the most established creative

writing program in German. While both Handke and Gstrein have published on a variety of topics, Zeh's work has always included and referred to the relationship between East and West, especially between Eastern and Western Europe. Her debut novel *Adler und Engel* tackles the European drug trafficking scene, and is set in Leipzig and Vienna. The book was first published in 2001 and won the Deutsche Bücherpreis, a renowned German book prize, in the category of "most successful debut." It has since been translated into English, Russian, and Swedish. Her travelogue *Die Stille ist ein Geräusch* was published a year later and so was her law thesis *Recht auf Beitritt? Ansprüche von Kandidatenstaaten gegen die Europäische Union* [The right to join? Claims by candidate countries against the EU]. Her latest novel *Spieltrieb* appeared in 2005—one of the central figures is a Polish German teacher—along with an anthology on contemporary Bosnian writing entitled *Ein Hund läuft durch die Republik*, which Zeh coedited, and several other smaller publications.

The Crisis of Interpretation

Considering Juli Zeh's vested interest in matters Eastern European, it does not come as a surprise that the scholarly attention her works have been given so far has focussed on the "East." Two different positions can be discerned in this context: Würmann and Vitzthum analyze Zeh's critique of the media in her works *Adler and Engel* and *Die Stille ist ein Geräusch*, while von Oppen interprets Zeh's travelogue from a post-colonial perspective. While von Oppen attributes to Zeh an awareness of issues of representation, she concludes that Zeh ultimately falls into a Balkanist trap, representing the East as an ambiguous, uncontrollable Other. The common ground of these conflicting interpretations is their focus on questions of representation, which are an explicit concern of the author. On the first pages of the travelogue the first person narrator named Juli, explains her motivation to travel to Bosnia to her dog, which is getting nervous about the travel preparations:

> "Vor etwa acht Jahren, als du noch klein warst, fragte mein Bruder einmal, wo die Städte Moslemenklavebihać und Belagertessarajevo liegen." Der Hund versteht nicht. "Ich will sehen, ob Bosnien-Herzegowina ein Ort ist, an den man fahren kann, oder ob es zusammen mit der Kriegsberichterstattung vom Erdboden verschwunden ist."[5]

While critics have concentrated on specific parts of the travelogue, the development of Zeh's first person narrator has so far gone unnoticed. I argue that this development parallels the five distinct stages of the travelogue.

After her departure from Leipzig, the narrator passes through Vienna, Maribor, and Zagreb, and drives through the Serbian part of Bosnia Herzegovina (part 1).[6] The stay in Sarajevo, where the narrator feels very isolated, marks the second phase in the travelogue (part 2). After her arrival in Sarajevo, two special sequences are devoted to a longer trip to Republika Srprska to see Tuzla, Brcko and Srebrenica, the areas in which most war crimes happened (part 3). After her encounter with the recent past (part 4), the narrator arrives at the source of the river Neratva and then departs in the direction of Germany (part 5).

Each of these five stages is expressed by different literary means. Zeh's narrator starts the journey by rejecting any media representations of Croatia and Bosnia and with the ironic announcement (after all, she is addressing her dog) that she intends to look for a different Bosnia. As her narrator travels to the Bosnian border, Zeh creates what could be called a borderland between Bosnia and Germany by constantly crossing linguistic, geographic and metaphoric borders, as well as borders between humans and animals. In a chapter entitled *The Catcher in the Rye*, for example, the narrator tries to cross the border to Bosnia. Since the train connection between Zagreb and Sarajevo is not to be reopened for another two weeks and her dog is not allowed on the bus, she faces a very practical obstacle. After trying to bribe the bus driver to no avail, she decides to smuggle the dog onto the bus. In order to do so and to communicate in a foreign-speaking environment she invents a new language:

> Schnell entschließe ich die Entstehung einer neuen Sprache: Das Endepol. Es besteht aus zehn englischen, hundert deutschen und einer Menge polnischer Wörter und kommt fast ohne Grammatik aus. Es gibt nur eine Zeit, die Gegenwart und keine Personen (Zeh 19).[7]

She speaks about this language in German. On the bus she meets a young man who is reading *Catcher in the Rye*. Despite the fact that he reads an English book, he wants to speak to her in German. He used to live in Germany but has returned with his parents. His name is Dario, an Italian name, despite the fact that he is Croatian. Like Holden Caulfield, the hero in Salingers book, he has lost a

sibling, a sister who looks like and was born in the same year as the narrator, and he suffers from an identity crisis. After many more examples of transgression they finally pass the border between the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina.

Sarajevo in turn is depicted in a different way. Zeh's narrator suffers a low point in the place she first stays for a longer amount of time. Her sense of alienation is furthered by the sexual harassment she experiences: she is temporarily forced out of her room after being verbally harassed in a guesthouse. After the encounter the narrator, who up to this point has found it hard to find her rhythm in the city, focuses on her surroundings, turning to history:

> Auch diese Stadt ist ein Setzkasten europäischer Erinnerungsstücke, jede Epoche, jede Kultur hat ein Haus hingestellt, von Rom über christliches Mittelalte, jüdische Diaspora und türkische Besetzung. Österreich-Ungarn, Faschismus, Kommunismus, Kapitalismus und American Dream, Bürgerkrieg und europäische Integration ... Erst jetzt, peinlich genug, begreife ich, dass ich mit eigenen Augen sehe, was man den Schnittpunkt europäischer Kulturen, die Grenze zwischen Morgen- und Abendland, den Vielvölkerstaat nennt. „Plopp" macht es, als die Wirklichkeit andockt an den Begriffen. (Zeh 67)[8]

Oppen understands this passage as an Orientalist fantasy, which appropriates Sarajevo as a symbol of "multiethnic Europe in the face of adversity" (Oppen 251). After describing the narrator's alienation caused by sexual harassment, she supposedly finds reassurance in relating to Sarajevo as a melting pot, which in turn is a Western stereotype. According to Oppen this fantasy "helps Zeh overcome the difficulties she experiences as a woman travelling alone" (Oppen 251).

While Oppen picks up on the gendered nature of Zeh's text, she misappropriates the text at the same time. Zeh does indeed reactivate a picture of Bosnia that can be seen as typically Western, but she also overcomes this. How? Firstly, the sexual assault is—somewhat unexpectedly—not at the hands of a Bosnian or a Serb, but a Turkish migrant. Secondly right after activating her "oriental fantasies," the narrator states:

> Dennoch spüre ich weder Spannung noch Geheimnis. Die Dinge sitzen unbeteiligt nebeneinander wie in einem

> Freiluftmuseum …Die Gegensätze … kürzen sich weg, und unterm Strich bleibt: Null. Oder ich bin zu müde.
> So geht es nicht weiter. (Zeh 67)[9]

While she does not yet have an alternative, she clearly questions and rejects the very stereotypes she conjures up. Rather than perpetuating a Balkanist discourse (as Oppen suggests), which is undoubtedly present in the minds of her readers, she rejects such a discourse without having any fixed answers. This technique peaks in the passage quoted above, but is present throughout the second part of the travelogue, such as when the narrator describes a red plastic bag: "Die leere Plastiktüte am Boden ist rötlich und feucht, als habe sich etwas frisch Blutiges darin befunden. Meine Finger sind klebrig bis zu den Handrücken und riechen nach Erdbeeren. Abendessen" (Zeh 54).[10] Just before leaving Sarajevo, the narrator decides to answer several questions in an attempt to structure her approach:

> Folgende Fragen gilt es zu beantworten:
> Wo wachsen die Melonen.[11]
> Wie grün ist der Neretva-Fluss.
> Warum war hier Krieg.
> Wer hasst wen wie sehr.[12] (Zeh 67)

The last two questions are focussed on the war, which has been at the centre of the travelogue right from the beginning. The narrator has discussions with various other members of the "international crowd" in Bosnia, including aid workers, members of the UN forces, and locals in mixed marriages, giving each the possibility to explain their opinion on the underlying reasons for the war. Rather than representing Bosnia in the tradition of Balkanism, Zeh reinvents Bosnia as a post-war space that in many ways resembles post-war Germany directly after World War Two. She depicts the silence that surrounds events, the desolateness of people and animals (comparable for example to Louise Rinser's short story *Die rote Katze*[13]) and a writers' group gathered in a bookshop called Buy Books that reminds the reader of the iconic Gruppe 47. The members of Buy Books have stayed in the country during the war. They read writers like Thomas Mann, Günther Grass, Heinrich Böll and Ingeborg Bachmann, all of whom have written extensively about the impact of WWII on German and Austrian society. They also write about the war:

> "Sie alle", flüstert Goran (the owner of the bookshop), "schreiben nur über den Krieg. Ich schreibe gar nicht mehr. Zehn Jahre nach einem Krieg kannst du nichts schreiben als…"
>
> Er ruft Cuki hinterher, um das Wort für "Kitsch" in Erfahrung zu bringen. Ich habe schon verstanden.[14] (Zeh 84)

Zeh also focuses on the war experience in the fourth part of the travelogue, but here she shifts the focus from personal narratives to political explanations and theatres of war. She travels to Tuzla, Brcko and Srebrenica, the scenes of major war crimes during the war. On the way, she meets an American journalist seemingly by chance, whose aim is to write a story about war atrocities against women. This rather disagreeable *Doppelgänger* figures as a symbol of journalism, Americanism and sensationalism (Würmann 158ff). In their final encounter, the two women discuss the role ethnic conflicts played in the war. While for the American journalist ethnicity is the primary cause of the war, the narrator takes sides very strongly: "Noch eine Minute Gelächter und ich hätte behauptet, Serben, Moslems und Kroaten seien eine Erfindung Westeuropas" (Zeh 143).[15] While the narrator does not actually say ethnic differences do not exist—note the use of subjunctive—, she rejects them as an explanation as to why the war took place. Both viewpoints can be identified as specifically American and German: American national identity traditionally relies on very different perceptions of ethnicity and genocide. In the United States, ethnicity has traditionally been seen as a means of collective identity and acculturation, with a focus on its fluid aspects. Genocide, on the other hand, is something that happens elsewhere and American foreign politics aim to prevent genocide in other states.[16] The German position is more twisted. With the Nuremberg Laws Hitler defined ethnicity not along lines of identity, but along lines of origin. The consequent genocide of—partly artificially constructed—ethnic (and other) communities makes ethnicity a highly contested political term. This is not expressed in Zeh's work, but for her the American journalist remains a *Balkanheldin*, someone who travels to the Balkans with their own interests at heart. Rather than explaining the causes of the war, Zeh's interest lies in critically assessing the handling of the war by the international community. Her political views, which are expressed at this point in an inner monologue unlike the dialogic structure of the previous stage, are summarized in the following way:

> Die Srebrenica-Episode ist so viel Wasser auf meiner Mühle, dass sie durchdreht davon. Eine Schutzzone einrichten, sich damit in den Medien brüsten, den Flüchtlingen aus der Region sicheren Unterschlupf versprechen. Dann zulassen, dass die Stadt in wenigen Tagen leergeräumt wird. Achttausend Menschen vor den Augen der UNO-Soldaten geschlachtet, Leichen in den Häusern, auf den Straßen, im Wald verteilt. Das taugt nicht mal zum Argument. Man kann schweigen, sich schämen. Beten, falls man religiös ist.[17] (Zeh 230)

The reference to religion is a signpost for the personalized turn the travelogue takes at this stage. Up to this point all events had been mediated through the consciousness of the narrator, but in an emotionally detached way. Now, hand in hand with the political analysis, the narrator develops a strong emotional attachment to Bosnia:

> Ich fange an, das Land zu lieben. Sarajevo inclusive. Ohne rosa Wolke, ohne Schmetterlinge im Bauch. "Ihr liebt euch, aber ihr mögt euch nicht", sagt eine Figur in einem fiesen skandinavischen Beziehungsdrama. Ich beschließe eine Hommage zu schreiben.[18] (Zeh 221)

In the fourth part of the travelogue, this bond is not only expressed emotionally but also physically, when the narrator awakes and realizes one of the blood vessels in her eye has burst. She has developed what she calls a "Blutauge" (bloody eye/ blood-eye). This made-up German expression symbolizes both her love-hate relationship to Bosnia, and the physical connection she has developed to the country.

Embodiment is also a literary strategy as she sets about solving the second last question in her list: why is the Neratva river green? At the very end of the book she travels to the spring of the Neratva, which is said to be of astonishing beauty. This search for the only river in Bosnia that does not join up with other rivers in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, but pours directly into the Adriatic Sea, can be seen as the narrator's last attempt to find *Ur*-Bosnia, Bosnia as it once was. The implicit comparison with Goethe's *Italienische Reise* (1816/17) is of special interest, since Zeh's narrator does not return with scientific insights, but with a rather romantic identification with Bosnia. The story within the story unfolds along familiar lines. The narrator travels to a place of great beauty, but neither local farmers nor the local travel agent have told her that the street to get there is riddled with landmines. At the end

of her journey she will not find out why the Neratva is green: the mystery remains, but on her way back she finds a half-starved and crazed dog with a puppy. The narrator leaves enough food for the mother to give her the strength to find her way back to the city and takes the puppy, Olga, back with her to Germany.

Die Politik zur Privatsache erklären

At the beginning of this article I claimed that secondary literature so far has only looked at specific aspects of Zeh's travelogue. Oppen focuses on the Balkanist discourse Zeh conjures up, but mistakes it for a mere reproduction of traditional Western images of the Balkans, rather than a conscious poetic strategy. Oppen's focus on the gendered nature of Zeh's work is helpful, though, since the embodiment and animal allegories Zeh uses are informed by a female subject position. Würmann, on the other hand, focuses on the depiction of media and journalism in the travelogue, but he seems slightly puzzled by the fact that the media are not of any relevance in the last part of the travelogue, which he interprets as a humanist appeal concerning the importance of travels for enlarging one's personal horizon (Würmann 172).

Stripped back to its core, Zeh's encounter with Bosnia sounds like a (slightly tormented) love story: a tentative and cautious beginning, a first rejection through alienation and disorientation in Sarajevo, then slow acceptance, and lastly the realisation that—at the point of separation—she has developed a lasting emotional bond. At the end of the travelogue, though, stands the seemingly surprising turn inwards; the narrator packs up her dogs and travels to Germany.

Zeh deploys various poetic strategies to highlight the development of her first person narrator. This allows her to criticize Western media discourse and to play with Balkanist perceptions. Both strategies form only part of an overall textual strategy, however. The innovative aspect of her travelogue lies, not so much in a specific political critique, but more importantly in the merging of the political and the private.

This strategy is best expressed through a comparison with Robert Musil's *Die Verwirrungen des Zögling Törleß*, to which Zeh's book presumably owes its title. In Musil's novel Törleß contemplates his existential loneliness, "Was ist das? Ich fühle es oft wieder. Dieses plötzliche Schweigen, das wie eine Sprache ist, die wir nicht hören?"[19] Törleß's quest is to understand and express the mystery of (his young) life. He struggles to find a language in which to do

so, and only after various emotional and sensual experiences at a convent school, does he grow into a sensitive adult:

> Ich leugne ganz gewiß nicht, daß es sich hier um eine Erniedrigung handelte. Warum auch nicht? Sie verging. Aber etwas von ihr blieb für immer zurück: jene kleine Menge Giftes, die nötig ist, um der Seele die allzu sichere und beruhigte Gesundheit zu nehmen und ihr dafür eine feinere, zugeschärfte, verstehende zu geben …[20] (Musil 107)

Zeh takes up this concept, but retells the story of a quite different alienation (the female foreigner in a post-war country), and from the perspective of a first person narrator. Her interest is innately different from Musil's: where he draws the reader's attention to the language of silence, Zeh wants to listen to the "sound of silence." While both Törleß's and Zeh's narrators slowly learn to deal with their emotions, Zeh's narrator is more flexible and on the move. The shift in narrative perspective (from third to first person) and genre (from novel to travelogue) allows Zeh to adopt a new tone, which differs from that of her modernist predecessor: while innately private, the travelogue also allows striving for political insights. While Juli Zeh aims to impart political insight, the framework of her analysis is highly subjective and transcends political categories. This subjectivity seems fit for a time in which—as the writer herself has explained elsewhere—„Man hat, unendlich paradox, die Politik zur Privatsache erklärt".[21]

NOTES

1 Carsten Würmann, "Ausgerechnet Bosnien-Herzegowina: Gründe fürs Reisen in Juli Zehs Bericht über eine Fahrt durch Bosnien," in *Fräuleinwunder literarisch*, ed. Christiane Caemmerer (Frankfurt/M.: Lang 2005), 151–73 [158ff]; Wolfgang Vitzthum, "Gerechtigkeit für Bosnien? Zu Juli Zehs Bildern vom Balkan", in: *Fiktionen der Gerechtigkeit: Literatur, Film, Philosophie, Recht.* (Baden-Baden: Nomos 2005), 117–33.

2 Karoline von Oppen, „Nostalgia for Orient(ation): Travelling through former Yugoslavia with Juli Zeh, Peter Schneider, and Peter Handke," *Seminar* 3 (2005): 246–60 [259].

3 The complexity of Handke's case lies in the juxtaposition between his literary treatment of the matter and his personal relations to leading Serbian politicians. The recent judgement the International Court of Justice supports Handke's political position insofar as it

acquitted Serbia of genocide, however at the same time it found the Serbian State guilty of not preventing genocide.

4 All translations by Birgit Lang: „Only partly. His intention was, amongst other things, to contrast the objective or pseudo-objective journalistic perspective with a literary subjective one. To this extent a parallel exists. However, where Handke persistently swims against the tide and aims to create a scandal, I cannot see any similarities. At disturbing points I opted for a more subtle rather than a loud voice." Ulrich Noller, „Wie eine Gehirnwäsche", *die tageszeitung* 6811 (Berlin: 27./28.7.2002), 13.

5 Translation: "About eight years ago, when you were little, my brother once asked where the cities of Muslim-enclave-Bihać and sieged-Sarajevo were." The dog does not understand. "I want to know if Bosnia is a place which you can visit, or if it disappeared from the face of the earth together with war reporting." Juli Zeh, *Die Stille ist ein Geräusch. Eine Fahrt durch Bosnien* (Frankfurt/M.: btb 2003), 11.

6 Bosnia Herzegovina today exists of two quite independent halves, the Republika Srpska, which is inhabited by Serbians, and the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina, which is populated by Croatians and Muslim Bosnians.

7 Translation: "Quickly I decide upon the creation of a new language: Endepol. It consists of ten English, a hundred German and a lot of Polish words and manages with next to no grammar. There is only one tense, the present, and no subject."

8 Translation: "This city, too, seems a display case of European memorabilia, every age, every culture has put up a building, from Rome to the Christian Middle Ages, the Jewish diaspora as well as the Turkish occupation. Austria-Hungary, fascism, communism and the American dream, civil war and European integration.
Embarrassingly enough I realize only now that what I can see with my own eyes is commonly called the melting pot of European cultures, the border between East and West, the multinational state. It makes a "plop" once reality docks with the ideas."

9 Translation: "Nonetheless I feel neither suspense nor a secret. Everything sits next to each other indifferently, just like in an outdoor museum. The contradictions cancel each other out, and below-the-line remains: nothing. Or I'm just tired. Things can't go on like that."

10 Translation: "The empty plastic bag is red and damp, as if it has contained something fresh and bloody. My fingers are sticky up to the back of my hand and smell of strawberries. Dinnertime."

11 The truckloads full of melons just before the crossing from Republica Srpska into Bosnia and their disappearance beyond the border are one of the first impressions the narrator has of the

country (Zeh 24). The Neretva river, on the other hand, she will visit at the very end of her journey.

12 Translation: "The following questions need to be addressed:
Where do the melons grow.
How green is the river Neretva.
Why was there a war here.
Who hates whom how much."

13 Rinser's narrator, a young child, gruesomely kills a red cat, which has been adopted by the family, because although the cat restores some sense of warmth for the family the immediate post-war struggle for survival does not seem to allow for an animal to be fed with the scarce food available.

14 Translation: "All of them only ever write about the war," Goran whispers. "I have stopped writing alltogether. Ten years after the war you can write nothing but…" He calls after Cuki, to ask for the word "kitsch". I have understood him already."

15 Translation: "Another moment of laughter and I would have claimed that Serbs, Muslims and Croations are a Western European invention."

16 Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race. Making Identities in a Changing World* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1998), 69.

17 Translation: "The Srebrenica incidence is so much grist to my mill, that my head starts spinning. To establish a safe area, to show off about it in the media, to promise the refugees in the region safe shelter. Then to allow that the city is emptied within a few days. 8000 people butchered in front of the eyes of UN soldiers, corpses in houses, on the streets and in the woods. This is not even suitable for an argument. One can only remain silent, be ashamed. Pray, if religious."

18 Translation: "I begin to love this country. Including Sarajevo. Without pink clouds, without butterflies in the stomach. "You are in love with each other, but you do not like each other", states a character in a wicked Scandinavian drama. I decide to write a tribute."

19 Translation: "What is it? I feel it often. This sudden silence, that resembles a language we cannot hear?" Robert Musil, *Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törleß* (Berlin: Cornelsen 1994), 23.

20 Translation: "I definitely do not deny that this represented a humiliation. Why not? It passed. But something remained forever: the small amount of poison that is necessary in order to take away an all too secure and peaceful sense of soul and to provide instead a finer, sharpened and understanding awareness."

[21] Translation: "Politics have been declared, quite paradoxically, to be a private matter." Juli Zeh „Wir trauen uns nicht," *Die Zeit* 11 (2004), 56.

THE QUESTION OF AUSTRALIAN POSTCOLONIAL IDENTITY AND MICHAEL GOW'S CAREER

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> Australian literature from the outset was inevitably a set of transformations of other texts, other genres, other stages of other cultures. But the hebephrenic search for what was purely and uniquely "Australian" ignored this essential intertextuality, and instead tried to isolate Australianness as the autonomous residue left after all alien elements had been subtracted.
>
> (Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra[1])

In this paper I shall discuss the "unanxious" influence of European culture on the writing of Michael Gow, and how this reflects on postcolonial themes such as the establishment of a national identity for a country like Australia, which would declare itself different from its British, Irish and Continental origins. I shall trace Gow's career in the form of a critical biography relating these themes to his interests. (I shall also mention how recent Postcolonial Irish studies inform such a discussion.) The artists of a postcolonial nation face a dilemma as they can neither wholly embrace nor reject the imperial nation that has dominated them. Rather than seeking to define an identity distinct from Europe, Michael Gow's plays, with a plethora of self conscious literary references, convey the fact that Western literature is part of the received past of many Australian men and women.

Australian studies can be informed by recent Irish Postcolonial studies, which have highlighted the conflict between initial, projected images of what a new nation's identity should be and the final establishment of a canon of literature. Joseph Valente has

expressed the cultural struggle thus: "Joyce did not regard himself as inhabiting the sort of Gaelic nation that the revivalists believed existed just beneath the distorting sociocultural gravity of colonial domination."[2] Modernists such as Joyce and Beckett have surprisingly only recently been studied in relation to their contemporary society, having previously been seen as "self-indulgent" internationalists (and not "Irish" enough).[3] The critique of the assumption that pastoral idylls and folkloric myths that stress cultural uniqueness must be the site for the founding of a national self-image, not metropolitan cities and generic, urban workers who could live anywhere, has important parallels in Australian literature criticism. Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra have critiqued the development of the similarly endorsed white "bushman" mythology in Australia:

> One of the paradoxes of his character that has been noticed yet strangely discounted is the fact that neither this character nor his setting is or has been "typical" in any useful sense. Australia is one of the most urbanised countries in the world, and this type would now constitute a small proportion of the populace that claims to find its true identity embodied by him. Even the belief that he was the norm at some time in the past is without foundations (xv).

By wearing his debt to European literature lightly and subverting establishment institutional depictions of national identity, Gow is similar in this way to the Irish Modernists before him. (I shall return to the parallels that can be drawn between Irish and Australian studies later in this paper, using Nels C. Pearson's discussion of Hegel's Master/Slave complex in relation to Beckett's *Endgame* as a starting point for an analysis of Gow's own development of these themes in *Europe*.)

Michael Gow has always stressed his interest in the wider concerns of world literature, and yet the Australian settings of his plays are crucial. Gow has commented: "for me the school hall and the beach in *Away* were strong settings. A hot stuffy hall at night and then the beach and air and salt water. A terrible December night in the 1960s. These sum up for me the whole notion of Australia in summer."[4] Or again: "northern New South Wales and Gold Coast areas are terribly important in my plays … because it's so long ago, the places are very idealised in my mind. I don't have to do very much doctoring to them as they are already fantasised."[5] His plays present "defamiliarised" portraits of life in Australia that

eschew traditional national images and associations and "spurious exceptionalism," and put him at the forefront of his nation's drama.[6] In his most celebrated play, *Away*, there is a focus on details that might be passed over as trivial, the minutiae of life: a bad school production of Shakespeare, a teacher's speech to the departing children, an undemonstrative farewell between students, caravan holidaying. As with his other plays, there are sudden subversions of the viewer's expectations, revelations of character and situation, and while the overall dramatic structure is unconventional, the "rules of drama" are followed, as Gow has expressed it.

Michael Gow's childhood interest in literature and drama were probably seen by him as a subversion of projected (Como and national) anti-intellectual identity.[7] Gow has stated that his time at Sydney University was an important inspiration for his creative work. Teaching there at the time, the author David Malouf was a spiritual rather than (as Simon suggests) an actual mentor: "there was no specific mentoring by David Malouf, apart from his refusal (or inability) to separate art from life. I will always remember his teaching of Robert Lowell as a key to understanding the use of life as raw material, the need to be ruthlessly honest with the life and just as ruthless with and dedicated to the history and technique of whatever medium you were working in" (Gow to me, 2003). The intertwining of personal experience and art (the history of the medium) is a theme throughout Gow's work, suggesting how his and our literary heritage constitutes our perception. (Malouf would later praise Gow's *Away*, *The Australian*, 9 January 1986.) Gow describes gaining a unique grounding in literature at university: "there was enough of the old fashioned view of literature to grow up thinking there was still a canon that you could yourself add to, with real value and worth attached to the job of writing" (Gow to me).[8] I shall return to this when discussing Gow's *Away*, what could be called the "constructed naturalness" of an Australian experience of the Western canon which has seemed forced to certain American critics. After university, Gow was a successful actor before choosing writing: "the dramaturgical sense which I have comes from my acting experience, I think. You learn structure from being inside plays. When you're in something that works you know what it feels like structure-wise" (Akerholt 78). This reference to the theatrical experience appeals to an understanding that undercuts a received perception of what Australian writing should be. I see strong parallels here with Harold Pinter's move from acting to writing. Gow's writing continues to reflect an early

theatrical training and experience that involved performing an international dramatic canon. (Australian theatre goers are more interested in seeing literary names than up and coming contemporaries, and so they tend to demand international fare.) He is as apt to compare himself to Shakespeare or Chekov as an Australian playwright. This experience may explain why he elides an overly self-conscious prescribed "Australian-ness" in his work (the exemplar of which is the nationality requirements for a work to win the Miles Franklin Award.)

Gow's first play, *The Kid*, has been criticised for being overburdened with issues, from child abuse and sexual identity to Nuclear Holocaust, Christian fundamentalism and the growth of the New Right. Later, Gow was philosophical: "your first play's always a mess. *Love's Labour's Lost* wasn't all that good either."[9] It does, however, contain a brilliant parody of the traditional Australian literary establishment's interests and looks forward to the concerns of historical consciousness in Gow's later play, *1841*:

> Man A: [reading a history he has written] …Mmm. The smell of a fresh masterpiece. …The Henty-Jones property. Isn't it a fine building? Look at the verandahs. How'd you like to sit there at sunset, eh? Eh? With a whisky, watching your cows come home, building a new society? Eh? … Apparently his wife was First Fleet. They've got a coat of arms over the fireplace … Oh, and there's the convict gangs building the road. And then the railway coming. Those wild Irish navvies. Marvellous times. Marvellous times. Aren't you proud? You should memorise every line of this. It took four years to produce. This is your past.

The brevity of the references together with the flawed logic of the connections ("Danny Macready. Our own bushranger. Great man. Sums up the spirit of what it was that built our country")[10] suggest well-established cliches, Man A's aspiration to poetry parodying overused icons. The critique of colonial iconography in *The Kids* has an interesting counterpart in his later play *1841*. Some have suggested that *1841*, a play about colonial Australia commissioned for the Bicentenary, was poorly received because its message of a society founded on violence, genocide and various forms of oppression was not what Australians wanted to hear about themselves, and so generated feelings that it was time for a star to be taken down a notch (as Gow has acknowledged in interviews).[11] Whether or not the play's ambition is realised, and whether it works

to have a central character who is a symbol (as opposed to a recognisably human character, aspects of which can be read as symbolic),[12] the play does produce a coherent and meaningful alternative history, and so was a valuable contribution to that troubled year of self examination and anti-climax that was the Bicentenary. The play explicitly details the genocidal and exploitative aspects of the act of settlement in Australia:

> [The men with guns and machetes cross back over the stage. They are all blood spattered. One of them carries an aboriginal spear and shield.]
> First Man: Hell of a lot of work still to do.
> Second Man: Made a mess.
> First Man: Worth it. […]
> Second Man: We found the creek. It's a good spot. I wouldn't go down there for a week, maybe longer, you might find it a bit ugly. But once it's cleaned up it'll be a good spot.

For a female character, Mercy, the men's offer of a life on the "cleared" land is more attractive than a foresting labour camp. Their founding act of killing the native population promises what she "came to this place for."[13] The play depicts the raw material of romantic adventure stories in very different terms. Robert Dixon writes in *Writing the Colonial Adventure* of the "uniquely colonial identity crisis … the new concept of an Australian nation caught between a lost origin and an undefined future" that is expressed in popular sources at the turn of the century: "the new discourse on nation required that Australian identity be different to Englishness, yet also distinct from those others—Women, Aborigines, Asia—against which that difference was measured."[14] Dixon describes the surprisingly ambivalent attitude amongst imperial adventure narratives to their subject during the period when the national identity was forming. Gow's parody in *The Kid* takes aim at narratives (perhaps inherently absurd) that have solidified into national history through countless retellings, especially in classrooms, and the controversy surrounding his depiction of a nation founded on genocide and invasion in *1841* brought these issues to the fore again in 1988 after they had been comfortably covered over with establishment histories.

My experience of learning Australian history at school was that the events of the past were the opposite of the Chinese curse "may you live in interesting times." My fellow classmates felt the same, and analogously it has been suggested that so did numbers of

Canadians with regard to their own history, commonly calling themselves the "couch potato" of nations for their absence of controversy and violent events. Whereas other history involved conflict and social and cultural change, what we were told about Australia lacked an incisive analysis of what could have been done differently, who exploited others, who suffered and what mistakes were made. We were taught a bland progressivism: from discovery by explorers of different parts of the unknown continent to social engineering that favourably contrasted with Britain (convicts advancing in society) to the benefits of the Industrial Revolution (streetlights in Melbourne). We were given heroes and stress was laid on the advance beyond Old World decadence through the physical and moral benefits of our new environment. Needless to say it could have been taught in other ways. At the time of writing, Prime Minister John Howard looks to dictate to the states through funding his own unapologetic version of history for the school curriculum: a uniform view that will be sure to give proper place to the required unique identity-creating icons. (The announcement was made as part of an election campaign and clearly thought to be capable of capturing popular sentiment.) As if conscious of this paper's concerns, Labor leader Kevin Rudd responds that Shakespeare, Milton and Austen should also be compulsory. One reading of this phenomenon—inspired by Michel Foucault's lectures published as *Society Must Be Defended*[15]—would be that we were taught an earlier type of history. Foucault contrasts the previous triumphalism, exemplified in Livy's histories that listed the achievements of Rome, with what he calls "a history of race war." The development of European consciousness of Norman against Saxon and Franc against Gaul, ironically through the writing of disaffected pro-aristocracy advocates, led to modern history as we know it, both Marxist and other analytical critiques. The colonial-postcolonial aspects of Australian society—its relation to the new centre, the United States, its complex history with regard to the old centre, the British Empire, and indeed with Ireland, its proxy colonial role in the region and the rest of the Third World, its conflicted marginal/centre identity, its diasporas of highly skilled professionals economically forced to work overseas, and so on—deserve further investigation. The European-descended mainstream is sometimes treated as a homogenous monolithic ruling class even by recent postcolonial studies,[16] belying the antagonistic and aspirational vicissitudes of that population that problematise the dichotomy of coloniser/colonised.

Gow's third play, *Away*, made his reputation. It is both his most popular and most critically praised work (to the point he has spoken of regretting the increased expectations it created).[17] It shows three families in crisis as they go "away" for the holidays. One couple's son has been killed in Vietnam; another, Tom, is stoically dying of cancer; while other children must deal with the crushing negativity a mother visits on them in the guise of love. There are continual references to and use of Shakespeare, from the opening which is the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ("If we shadows have offended") to the ending (with tones alluding to Tom's approaching death) that is the beginning of *King Lear*. National critics approved of the device and set about explaining (with a liberal dose of their own free associations) the use of Shakespeare in a play set in 1960s Australia. Kippax saw the parallels with the Shakespearean plays underlining *Away*'s theme of the families, through travail, winning their way to regeneration and resignation, while Morton-Evans with the help of a definition of the title from the *OED* saw the theme of the transience of existence on the way to death, that one can at best learn to make the most of. McGillick, though unhappy with the production, wrote of the Shakespeare as having "strange undercurrents" that might help us to overcome the "devastating" nature of the ordinary.[18] Webby outlined a number of the functions of this intertextuality, from the audience's initial disorientation ("Are we in the wrong play?") and their consequent recognition of and pleasure in high culture references, to parallel themes between the Elizabethan plays and *Away*, and to the overt theatricality of the device that continually reminds the audience of the medium.[19] Australian critical acceptance contrasts with American critics (Hampton, Barnes) who thought the connections forced.[20] One can speculate why American critics rejected an Australian using Shakespeare to exposit the Australian experience. Whether these critics thought they knew more about Australia than Gow (their received image brooking no contradiction: bushman and crocodile hunters, yes, Elizabethan stage, no) or there are other reasons why they did not appreciate the connections through the New South Wales high chool curriculum (HSC) of Shakespeare to Australian youth, they clearly lacked that feeling of naturalness, constructed by upbringing, for a play about (and for) students, and their parents and teachers, and the use of Shakespeare.

The intertextuality or even blank parody at the beginning of *Away* is one of the most obvious examples of a writer decontextualising and recontextualising the unchanged text of

another. Regarding the influence on his work of poststructuralist and postmodern concepts gaining currency in English literature study at the time Gow was an undergraduate, he told me:

> It was still thought (outrageously) that only a Frenchman could declare the author dead. I have no understanding of post modernist anything. It was also held at Sydney (again outrageously) that post modernism was a bunch of French people making money out of stating the obvious … I'm only as intertextual as Shakespeare and Chekhov and everybody else is, that is unconsciously. I'm aware of no theory of anything when I write, only the rules of drama and what I think about them and my relation to them when I'm writing. I've been thinking about directing *Pericles* lately. Interesting that Shakespeare resurrects John Gower as narrator of that play, to give *Pericles* an antique, naive feel. Deeply intertextual, but to Shakespeare just part of the job, just as me using Shakespeare in *Away* seemed like the right thing to do to give the play a context and to give it the freedom of form and mood that the play needed.

While Gow has denigrated the various theoretical "posts" to me, he stressed he did not object to the use of these or any other critical terms by academics but thought writers are not conscious of them when they work: "if they do [have this in their mind] they're just stealing the best bits to give themselves encouragement to move forward." If not consciously applying postmodern ideas to his work, Gow's lucid texts filled with literary references do, anyway, parallel other contemporary authors. He stresses his desire to be readily understood on a number of levels: "my aim is to make the plays as varied as possible in their appeal and hit different parts of the audience with different things … Shakespeare was clever because he had ghosts and fights for the groundlings and philosophical discourse for the balconies" (Akerholt, 77).

Perhaps the theoretical consideration of another "post," post-colonialism, is more to the mark for him. He has commented on the issue of Australian identity and his particular exposition of it at length in his plays in a number of interviews, and it remains a central theme as he depicts (not-just-ordinary) Australians lives. His fourth play, *On Top of the World*, has it at its heart. It sees a more conventional dramatic device of the revealing of character's hidden peccadilloes under the pressure of a family reunion, though with the twist of the daughter being a linguistics academic who must analyse everything to death. Equal weight and viability are given to

two different, conflicting perspectives advocated by different generations of Australians: the post-war mindset of "doing your duty and marvelling at increasing prosperity," which contrasts with the later "is it all it was cracked up to be?" view. Both are seen to be partly true and partly self-deceiving. The play's resolution sees the older, put-upon Baby helped to tell her extended family what they can do with their demands. With some issues resolved and others not, the family unit with all its flaws will carry on providing some support for all its members. We might draw parallels with the perception by characters in Joyce's short story "The Dead" in *Dubliners* of the past as weighing on their ability to live and develop. A number of national icons are broached at speed and with a denaturalised distance that prevents conventional sentimentality about them. As the worn narratives that were always seen to give identity are deconstructed and a literary sensibility established that admits greater complexity, paradoxically a stronger and more confident sense of identity results. Others (non-Australians) will identify with the characters' process of creating themselves through narrative and a stronger sense of who these people are is given. This reflects similar issues for turn of the century Ireland: the need to establish something worthy of the name nation against a threatening cultural centre, assumed to reside in Catholic purity and traditions of hospitality and communal life but ultimately coming through a subversive (and ultimately canonised) literature.

We could group *On Top of the World* with his later plays *All Stops Out*, *Sweet Phoebe* and *Furious*[21] as giving us unusual "takes" on elements of Australian life. The title of his 1989 play *All Stops Out* refers to parents' invective encouragement to their children during the "all-important" last year of study for the HSC. (With Absurdist touches like a student breaking and entering to change a paper and another sitting through the whole exam without writing anything, this play's evocation of a mindset and atmosphere must produce a pleasure of recognition in students.) *Sweet Phoebe* (1995) is one of Gow's tightest and most literary plays. The dialogue of a yuppie couple seems banal until we realise that they are speaking to each other in the language of motivational self-actualisation. Their neat ordered lives are disrupted when they lose a dog they are minding and while they search for it must enter less pristine, almost Dantesque, Sydney suburbs experiencing the oddities of people who do not live their manicured lives. If not autobiographical, *Furious* (1991) shows a persona that is, of all his plays, closest to Gow's current position as a leading playwright. Here the deeply personal nature of the material covered serves the idiosyncrasy of

his vision of Australia. Grappling with family secrets, his sexuality and a mental breakdown, the main character asks a PhD student, who has written a thesis on his work, how he writes his plays. (She is angry others will describe a new direction he is about to take and her work is wasted.) Self-referential, dwelling on the creative process and the trappings of success, one scene has him being lionised at a writing workshop (with a course "Towards A Non-Threatening Theatre"), others describe the pretences of government award ceremonies, "the Premier droning on about how important the arts are to a healthy community" (*Gay*, 353) and attack teachers for symbolic interpretations of his plays. All four plays take ordinary aspects of ordinary lives and make them both unfamiliar and dramatic.

In his fifth play, *Europe*, suspense develops in the early Acts as an Australian man visits a French actress backstage after a performance (again art about life reconstituted by art) and we are never sure whether we are watching a stalker pretending intimacy, or an actress imperiously only partly remembering a former friend: "DOUGLAS: The show tonight was really great. BABARA: Thank you, Douglas. I'm flattered you like it so much. It almost makes it worth performing" (14). Does Douglas talk a situation into being, like in Pinter's plays? Later acts reveal they did have an earlier fling, but she never expected or wanted him to follow her to Europe. They have disputes about Old and New World values and he is always leaving/expelled, to be back again in the next act. The end of the play suggests the cycle continues as he waits for her after he is supposed to be gone. Gow scores points against both experimental theatre and classical drama with its need for artificial climaxes of emotion and the cliche of suicide, and its endless "reinterpretations." Playing with the strictures of what an Australian playwright should be.

The dynamic of the play sees an Old World and a New World character expressing their different perspectives—whether they mean to or not—as they "court." However much the author critiques teachers and academics finding symbolism in his plays—a sentiment he shares with Pinter also—it is hard not to see the protagonists as representing their respective national identities. Frenchwoman Barbara is cynical. She is cynical about Australian Douglas's view of Europe. Putting words in his mouth, Europe reminds him of "burnt out cars," "rusting tanks," "decay," "riot police," "water canon," "explosives," "missiles," "blizzards," and "barbwire" (11). Douglas, by contrast, is upbeat: Europe makes buildings/drinks/cake "look wonderful" (9). He makes the mistake

of agreeing with her: "Malaise. Angst," "Gloom. Dark" is "Very European" (6). Barbara talks sarcastically of "Australian theories of art" and "Australian traditions" and suggests a Donald Duck movie might be more to his taste than a church they are visiting (26).

Finally Douglas breaks down and his response is violent:

> DOUGLAS [*in a fit of anger, becoming more outraged and violent*] Thinking about how lucky you are having two million years of blood-soaked history. Counting your ruined churches and bomb craters and flaky paintings and immigrant workers. You can't stand them either. You hate them. That's what I really despise about this place, this continent. You're so proud of your culture, your history, you love pointing to the bullet holes and the wall. Every fucking castle and palace and museum and gallery and square I've drag dragged myself around looking for the courage to face you, all they arouse in me, all it suggests to me is the billions of poor fucking victims on this globe that suffered and died so you could have this wonderful continent. All those bastards who woke up one morning and saw the white sails on the horizon and thought, "This is it, this is the end; it had to come" … And you: you have the hide to look down on us, the fucking gall to look down on us; us, the victims, the rubbish. Makes me want to vomit. Shit, why didn't I fall in love with someone from Wilcannia? (29, my ellipsis).

His rage covers the cultural centrality of Europe; its economic exploitation of a dominant position as the provider of knowledge and culture; his required supplication to it; the frustration of his constructed desire (of both Barbara and the European episteme); and the context of her imperious insulting of him, looking down on the victims of empire as barbarians. It covers the colonial exploitation of the rest of the world by the "Old World" and how power directly brings about and is supported by this cultural system. Finally he identifies—although perhaps only aspirationally—with culturally-unsophisticated "New World-ers" braving the slightly less comfortable, slightly less consumer-orientated "Old." This speaks strongly of the Hegelian "Master/Slave Complex" which Pearson has discussed in relation to Irish literature (216). In his article "Outside of here it's death: Codependency and the Ghosts of Decolonization in Beckett's *Endgame*," [22] Pearson writes:

> What *Endgame* shows us, as Beckett's rewriting of *The Tempest* suggests, is that the control over the mind of the

> oppressor/oppressed or colonizer/colonized paradigm, so frustrating at home, continues to follow and haunt the exile, just as it continues to haunt the nation that has supposedly thrown off the yoke of imperialism (219).

He suggests that this dynamic proposed by Hegel is a useful model for discussing the dilemma of the colonial and postcolonial subject in Ireland. The "slave" can only kill the "master," he cannot otherwise affect the rules the master lays down. In Irish literature, the language of Modernist writers is English and their topic is the generic, modern, urban environment. We might see such an artistic strategy (Beckett following Joyce) as a way through the Master/Slave complex. Beckett's adoption as a quintessentially Irish writer is a surprisingly recent phenomena. Before, he was an internationalist, focusing on the subjective and not dealing with political problems of the New Ireland. The paradoxical solution Irish critics assert their writers have had to their dilemma is that by adopting the colonizer's culture they have established their own identity.[23] Hodge and Mishra have commented on the Australian version of this dilemma:

> In the past the Australian obsession with legitimacy has been translated into the project of establishing a distinctly Australian tradition, complete with a Great Australian Writer and a Great Australian Novel, whose manifest greatness would at last prove the colonist's right to belong, both to the metropolitan centre and in the territory that they had invaded and colonised, Australia itself. But this search was doomed from the outset by a contradiction in the project itself, a double message at its core. The concept of "greatness" was saturated with imperial connotations, with the value system emanating from and controlled by the centre, while "Australian" was defined as an opposition to these values (x–xi).[24]

Europe deals with the continuing cultural ownership of the "New World" by Europe and the impact of this legacy on Australian identity. Like the Irish Modernists before him, Gow examines the issue of being in the "wake of empire," and exposes the diasporic dilemma that continues to affect Australians under the surface of their celebratory projections of themselves. Douglas's experience of European culture is esoteric and profoundly intertextual. As almost obsessively outward looking in their outlook ("how do others see us"), it speaks of the experience Australians have of themselves

through the mediation of foreign knowledge and understanding. "If we cannot repudiate European influence, can we live with it?"

In conclusion, Irish writers such as Joyce and Beckett are now not just part of an international modernist canon. Since the 1990's they are Irish. Once dismissed by Irish academics as self indulgent—Joyce's Dublin of *Dubliners* could be any modern metropolitan city; Beckett's plays were about French existential verities—today postcolonial scholars have linked their work to the political concerns of the day in Ireland. Postcolonial concerns are similarly prominent in the work of Michael Gow. Gow's plays examine the established verities of "Australian-ness"; not taking the claims or aspirations to "uniqueness" that have come down to us at face value. The lived experience of Australians is not open to only one interpretation by a well-worn meta-narrative. His vision of Australia is questioning, intertextual and new, and so enriches our image of ourselves (as Joyce and Beckett enrich Ireland.) In *1841* and *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* he critiques the colonial narrative that has been given to us. In *Away* he uses Shakespeare as part of the Australian experience, and in *On Top of the World* and other plays he presents Australian life in unfamiliar ways. In *Europe* he can be seen to explicitly detail the dilemma of Australian identity in the shadow of European cultural achievements. We are in some ways victims of our own successful marketing campaigns. Australia is one of the most urbanised populations in the world because it was settled or invaded after the Industrial Revolution, and so most Australians live a suburban-urban existence. Much of our art, by contrast, embraces outback imagery, bushrangers, farmers and the like. Do we allow ourselves to understand ourselves as Americans and Europeans would, briefed by travelogues focussing on the exotic? Should we make ourselves spuriously exceptional, so that we are what they expect, because it is good for business? I teach a course in the United Arab Emirates called "Introduction to Heritage and Culture." My students learn that a seemingly stable, conservative, icon-rich culture—the heart of Arabia—has become what it is from foreign influences. Yet the issues of foreign influence in Australia are ignored when the culture embraces obvious but largely spurious icons. Michael Gow's plays bring these concerns to the forefront.

NOTES

1 Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra, *Darkside of the Dream: Australian Literature and the Postcolonial Mind* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991), 15.

2 Joseph Valente, "Joyce's politics: race, nation and transnationalism," in *Palgrave Advances in Joyce Studies*, ed. Jean-Michel Rabaté (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 76.

3 See Terence Killeen, "Ireland Must Be Important…," *Joyce Studies Annual* 14 (Summer 2003): 22–23. Ironically Joyce pushed the high art, formalistic aspect of his work as a defence against the charge of pornography and so his work was intimately bound up with the socio-political struggles of turn of the century Ireland. See Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 205.

4 Wendy Beckett, *Michael Gow's* Away (Sydney: Pascal, 1993), 46.

5 May-Brit Akerholt, "Michael Gow Talks to May-Brit Akerholt," *Australian Drama Studies,* 12/13 (1988): 73–84.

6 This issue continues to be considered important in the study of Australian literature. See Brian Castro, "Making Oneself Foreign" *Meanjin* 64: 4 (2005), which stresses the positive influence of other cultures and questions Australian aspirations to "uniqueness," arguing Literature is something achieved "in spite of," (not because of) nationality, Van Ikin and Darren Jorgensen, "Australia," *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 41.5 (2006): 6–7. In their overview of 2005, Ikin and Jorgensen concur with the *Australian Book Review*'s approbation: "Has there been a richer year in Australian publishing than 2005?" and cite Castro's essay as the reason as one of "two essays that treat the literary situation with a rare sophistication" (6).

7 Of the working class, Southern Sydney suburb, Como, he explained: "I went to a pretty rough school where it wasn't such a good thing to be able to read," Ginny Dougary, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1986 quoted in Luke Simon, *Michael Gow's Plays: A Thematic Approach*, (Sydney: Currency, 1991), 7.

8 Gow commented on his teachers, "The early/mid seventies at Sydney were great for budding writers. Apart from David Malouf, there was Michael Wilding on the metaphysicals, [Leonie] Kramer on Australian literature, [Gerald] Wilkes on Milton, Pamela Law on Sterne, Andrew Riemer on Shakespeare and the meditative poets, Bernard Martin on Chaucer (teaching explicitly, well before Harold Bloom, that all art is an argument with the art that has gone before), Elizabeth Webby on Austen, Margaret Clunies-Ross on Old English and many others. All great minds and great personalities."

9 In retrospect after the success of *Away*, H.G. Kippax condescended to see *The Kid* as a "raw slice of youth … Mr Gow's talents, especially

in bringing the language of fury and despair of cynical children into earshot is impressive. I came out with no doubt that here was an authentic new voice" (5 September 1986, quoted in Simon, 8). Much of Gow's early work speaks of a sensibility allied to youth (though *Away* transcends this).

10 Michael Gow, *The Kid* (Sydney: Currency, 1983), 8, 10.

11 John McCallum, Review of *Away* and *1841*, *Australian Drama Studies,* 15/16 (1989): 199–201 [199].

12 Perhaps his *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* (Sydney: Currency, 2002), is a more successful play. It is an adaptation of Henry Handel Richardson's novel, Gow bringing out the main character's continual dissatisfaction with whatever he establishes in Ballarat, Melbourne or England. Gow's play resonates with the expatriate's sense of never feeling at home anywhere.

13 Michael Gow, *1841* (Sydney: Currency, 1988), 53–54 (my ellipsis).

14 Robert Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure: Race, Gender and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 63. Later, Robert Dixon, *Prosthetic Gods: Travel, Representation and Colonial Governance* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001), 2, has criticized his own book along with certain other works in the postcolonial field for too glibly conflating literary text, administrative practice and ideology. Yet he still acknowledges, for all the existence of the Foucaultian "dispositif," that literary discourses are a significant element of any episteme.

15 Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–76*, translated David Macey (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004).

16 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), consistently sees all the Westerners he writes about as orientalising their object of study and therefore he suggests that they all have the same relationship to the imperial enterprise. Said clearly has sympathy for Richard Burton but not enough for him to escape the same judgement.

17 David Britton, *The West Australian*, 2 August, 1986. Michael Gow, *Away* (Sydney: Currency, 1986).

18 Paul McGillick, *National Times*, 17 January, 1986; H. G. Kippax, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May, 1987; Michael Morton-Evans, *The Australian*, 4 May, 1987.

19 Elizabeth Webby, *Modern Australian Plays* (Sydney University Press, 1993), 55–56.

20 Clive Barnes, *The New York Post*, 25 July, 1988; Wilborn Hampton, *The New York Times*, 24 July, 1988.

21 Michael Gow, *Europe/On Top of the World* (Sydney: Currency, 1987); *All Stops Out* (Sydney: Currency, 1991); *Furious* (Sydney: Currency,

1994); in *Australian Gay and Lesbian Plays*, ed. Bruce Parr (Sydney: Currency, 1996), pp. 341–84; *Sweet Phoebe*, (Sydney: Currency, 1995).

22 Nels C. Pearson, "Outside of here it's death: Codependency and the Ghosts of Decolonization in Beckett's *Endgame*," *ELH* 68 (2001): 215–39.

23 See Marjorie Howes, "Joyce, Colonialism and Nationalism," in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

24 While involving questions outside the scope of the present paper, Subain Hussain, "Label and Literature: Borders and Spaces in *Postcolonial Migrant Literature* in Australia," *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 3 (2004): 103–16, discussing "non-Anglo-Celtic authors," comes to similar conclusions: "[T]he keeping of control of literary spaces and the attempt of securing a literary tradition has a double effect. On the one hand both engender an authentication of a definable Australian culture and literature, on the other hand the validity of a distinguishable Australian literature is undermined by the construction of new spaces which are only viable in combination … The naming of new formations points to the heterogeneity of a location. It shows that movement and diversified perceptions of spaces create breaks and fissures which eventually lead to new imaginings of the nation, culture, and its literature" (my ellipsis, 114). See also David Carter, "Literary Canons and Literary Institutions," *Southerly* 57: 3 (1997): 16–37, and Bruce and Judith Kapferer, "Monumentalizing Identity: Discursive Practices of Hegemony in Australia" in *Streams of Cultural Capital: Transnational Cultural Studies*, ed. David Palumbo-Lui and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (Stanford University Press, 1997), for a Marxist-orientated critique of "the search for a uniquely Australian identity" (96). Hodge returns in his latest work to this uneasy relationship of the dominant Australian meta-narratives to their history. See Bob Hodge and John O'Carroll, *Borderwork in Multicultural Australia* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2006), "Of all the "diasporas" that have reached Australia, the most important has been one that is not usually recognized as such: the core group of British settler-invaders who arrived in 1788 and thereafter. Their legendary longing for "home" and their alienation are not usually seen as diasporic precisely because *they* formed the "host" culture that others struggles to fit into" (206).

DAPHNE DU MAURIER AND INCEST: BIOGRAPICAL RECOGNITION AND EVASION

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In her book *Three Guineas* Virginia Woolf suggests that a biography should be read as a cryptic text: "let us go on looking—if not at the lines, then between the lines of biography."[1] Woolf thought the painter Walter Sickert a great biographer because he had the ability, through his portraits, to penetrate to "the complexity and intrigue of character" without having to fall into "the three or four hundred pages of compromise, evasion, understatement, overstatement, irrelevance and downright falsehood which we call biography" (12). Daphne du Maurier's biographies fall into the negative categories Woolf outlines, but a close reading "between the lines" reveals that through recognition and evasion her biographers actually reinforce the probability that Daphne and her father, Sir Gerald du Maurier, had an incestuous relationship.

Margaret Forster acknowledges she had the full co-operation and support of du Maurier's children when writing her biography. They had provided documentation of their mother's life including her letters to Maud Waddell, who was du Maurier's governess, and letters to Mlle Fernande Yvon (Ferdy), du Maurier's teacher at the finishing school in Paris, with whom she had experienced a passionate relationship. Forster was also given access to the correspondence between du Maurier and the woman she adored, Ellen Doubleday, the wife of her publisher, and letters to Ellen's daughter, Ellen M. Violett, the Family Curator of the Ellen McCarter Doubleday Collection. She had access to letters that belonged to people outside the family and, through conversing with members of the du Maurier and Browning families, learnt a great deal. Forster says the "particular truths" she has revealed in her

biography have been hard for the du Maurier family "to take" but they have "stayed loyal to their mother's directive" that there is no point writing a biography unless it portrayed the "truth."[2]

Forster records that du Maurier's feelings toward her "fun-loving" father whom she had adored and hero-worshipped changed as she grew into young womanhood and the intimacy and empathy they had shared were replaced by du Maurier's yearning for independence. The change in their relationship made Gerald feel insecure because he felt his parental role slipping and he began openly to express the wish that he was Daphne's brother and "hoped" that after his death "he could come back as her son" (52–3). In his biography Martyn Shallcross, a close friend of du Maurier, notes that before reaching puberty Daphne was Gerald's "surrogate boy"—he had showered her with attention and expensive gifts.[3] He says du Maurier herself desired to be a boy and finally convinced herself that her outward form was a mistake and inside she was a boy and invented the character "Eric Avon" as her alter ego and dressed in boy's clothes. Daphne's mother, Muriel, resented the attention Gerald gave their children and felt particularly hostile toward Daphne, his favourite. His obsession with Daphne worried Muriel to the extent that she decided to send her to finishing school in Paris run by Mlle Fernande Yvon (43).

The difficulties du Maurier and Major Tommy (Boy) Browning experienced in their marriage are noted by Forster. She says that in a letter to Ferdy, du Maurier had confided her regret at the lack of sexual intimacy in the marriage and that after taking sleeping pills she would fall into a restless sleep and dream of her father.[4] She then adds that for du Maurier to dream of her father "when she was so disturbed about the sexual state of her marriage, cannot help but seem significant" (209–10). However, instead of expanding on the significance of her statement, Forster moves on to discuss the difficulties Browning experienced in his role as father. She also notes that du Maurier was sexually attracted to her cousin Geoffrey, and at the age of twenty was "capable of dealing with Geoffrey's advances rather better than she had done at fourteen" (51). She says when Daphne kissed him she found it a very agreeable experience:

> … like kissing her father used to be—pleasant, familiar, comfortable … seeming to show Gerald and Geoffrey, uncle and nephew, inextricably linked both with each other and with her, daughter and cousin (55).

The strong inference of incest with both cousin and father is then evaded by Forster who goes on to discuss du Maurier's relief to find she did not miss Geoffrey when he went overseas and her irritation at Geoffrey's use of "sloppy" phrases in his letters to her (55).

Although she acknowledges du Maurier's novel *The Progress of Julius*[5] deals directly with an incestuous relationship between father and son, and then between father and daughter, *and* the confessional content in the novel, Forster evades the probability of the novel's subject matter mirroring du Maurier's own experience. Instead she asserts there is "no record that Daphne herself at any time experienced the kind of fondling Julius received from his father" or the relationship "between Julius and his daughter," yet she affirms that the incestuous content in the novel "certainly suggests a strong indication that the physical contact between fathers and children fascinated if not troubled her" (85). Forster notes that du Maurier had insisted her short story "A Borderline Case,"[6] in which Jinnie makes love with a man not realizing at the time he was her father, was "purely imaginary." However, Foster acknowledges that "nowhere else is the anguish of the father-daughter attraction so strongly described" in du Maurier's texts and then adds: "incest interested [du Maurier] and she had begun to admit this openly, though in a way that was confusing and caused misunderstanding." To clear any confusion and misunderstanding Forster draws attention to a radio interview in 1969 between du Maurier and Wilfred De'Ath in which du Maurier echoes Freud's Oedipal complex that people when looking for a partner look for someone who resembles their family. She says in the interview du Maurier had stated: "the boy looks for someone like his mother or sister … the girl for someone like her father or brother … the whole thing is incestuous (378). Forster's repeated allusions to the subject of incest seem to be driven by twin impulses: to portray the "truth" as directed by du Maurier *and* to remain loyal to the trust invested in her by the du Maurier and Browning families.

Judith Cook claims her biography is not the "official biography of Daphne du Maurier"— instead it is "an honest attempt to tell the story of someone who became a literary phenomenon as a hagiography would do her a disservice." In her portrayal of du Maurier she says:

> [Du Maurier] was a strange, self-contained and introverted woman, a woman who had suffered an emotional onslaught in her early years, the blighting effect of which never left her,

> ensuring that she was happiest retreating physically behind the walls of the house which obsessed her for most of her life, and mentally into the personae of her heroes and heroines and the fantasy world of fiction.[7]

The reader is not told what the nature of the "emotional onslaught" was but it must have been very traumatic for it to have had a "blighting effect" on du Maurier for the rest of her life. Cook comments on a photograph taken of Daphne and Gerald in 1927:

> [They] look more like guilty lovers than father and daughter—he gazes at her in obvious adoration, she looks into the distance, the unflattering cloche hat of the era and the fur coat making her look much older than she was (67).

She quotes A. L. Rowse, a friend of du Maurier:

> What happened to Daphne was that she was deeply in love with her father; her emotional life was really entirely tied up with him … he had an absolute fixation on Daphne which she reciprocated.

Cook notes that Daphne's emotional tie with Gerald "scarcely diminished with time"—it survived her involvements with her cousin, Geoffrey, and her marriage to Browning. She says the attraction between Daphne when she was fourteen and Geoffrey who was twice her age "closely mirrored her feelings for Gerald" and in her attempt to come to terms with her feelings Daphne:

> … looked to medieval Italy and the Borgias. If she were Lucretia, then Geoffrey must be Cesare, her Borgia brother, and Gerald, Alexander, the Borgia father; a reference to the supposition that Lucretia had enjoyed incestuous relationships with both (71–2).

Cook notes that later on in their marriage du Maurier and Browning's relationship "fitted into a separate compartment in [du Maurier's] life and its physical side was not what was important to her." To support this statement Cook again quotes Rouse who believed that because of du Maurier's relationship with Gerald, there was a part of her she could never give her husband or her children: "I think that is why she shut her eyes to Browning's infidelities even to the affair that went on for years" (72–3).

Cook finds the subtext of *Julius* "psychologically fascinating" because of Julius' "sexual desire for very young girls" and "incestuous love for his daughter, and their joint rejection of [the mother]" (108–9). She questions why du Maurier wrote the novel:

> … one can only conjecture just what it was that Daphne was desperately trying to exorcise—the feelings Geoffrey had stirred in her when she was fourteen? The overwhelmingly possessive emotional ties between her and Gerald? Her rejection of her mother? (110).

Cook leaves these questions for the reader to answer. She draws attention to du Maurier's essay "This I believe" in which du Maurier says "incest being denied us, we must make do with second best" and to ensure this statement is not misinterpreted says:

> Amplifying this later, in conversation she explained that *in part what she meant* was that incest, *not necessarily the physical act*, but the emotional quest for the father, brother, sister—the perfect "other" ruled the world; at least the emotional world. Gerald would always be the perfect other.[8] (My emphasis)

The phrases "that in part what she meant" and "not necessarily the physical act" are ambiguous and Cook does not enlarge on them but instead says that marriage to Browning must have "come as a relief" after the "intensity of mutual attraction" between Daphne and her father—it was an "attempt to break the suffocating tie" (74). Clearly Cook, like Forster, through "compromise, evasion, understatement, overstatement, irrelevance and downright falsehood" recognizes and yet denies the probability of an incestuous relationship between Daphne and Gerald.

In their study of du Maurier, Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik acknowledge Gerald's possessiveness of Daphne that "signaled an almost sexual jealousy." They note that he would "pry" into what Daphne had been up to sexually and his emotional disturbance at hearing of her decision to marry Browning, yet insist that Daphne's "own relationship with her father and her fictional representations of the 'family romance'" should "be placed within the broader historical framework of the evolution of the family"[9] They draw attention to the father/daughter incest in *Julius* and the split masculine subject and subject matter that are brought to a "shocking" conclusion that results in "emotional abuse and murder." They express surprise that du Maurier could deal with

such a horrific subject at the age of twenty-six whilst her father was alive and when "such topics were still considered taboo in polite society" (53), yet evade the probability of incest between Gerald and Daphne and instead advise the reader *how* to approach the topic of incest in the novel. To distance the reader even further from the subject, Horner and Zlosnik focus on du Maurier's narrative strategy in *Julius* as one that "allows her to explore how far changing constructions of both masculinity and femininity are dependent upon one another and how they, in turn, both regulate and are regulated by, the family romance" (62). It is important to note that whilst conducting their research Horner and Zlosnik kept in close touch with Oriel Malet, a good friend of du Maurier. They also sought the cooperation of du Maurier's son, Christian (Kits) Browning, who encouraged them in the writing of their study and perhaps this is why they are careful not to link incest in du Maurier's writing with her own life. Horner and Zlosnik also refuse to acknowledge du Maurier's `Venetian tendencies'[10] and dismiss Forster's account of du Maurier's sexual orientation as seeming to "construe the author's ambivalence concerning her sexual identity as indicative of repressed lesbian desire" (10–11).

Carol Le Masters's appraisal of Nina Auerbach's biography highlights Auerbach's fascination with du Maurier. She says Auerbach first developed a passion for du Maurier at the age of twelve when they met at summer camp and her biography is "more than a biography or a critical literary analysis; it is a tribute and a defense."[11] She says by the end of her study Auerbach succeeds in "restoring her beloved author to the realm of respectable literature" (49). Le Masters notes that Daphne and Gerald had a "complex" relationship with "incestuous overtones." She discusses Gerald's wish to be Daphne's brother and adds "it was no coincidence that the great passion of Daphne's life would be actress Gertrude Lawrence, one of Gerald's ex-lovers" (48). Le Masters attaches significance to this relationship without elaborating on *why* "it was no coincidence." Reading "between the lines" of course reveals it was no coincidence *precisely because* of the incestuous relationship between Daphne and Gerald that made Lawrence sexually attractive to Daphne!

Auerbach acknowledges the incest motif in du Maurier's fiction and the "torment" Gerald experienced because of the "sudden sexuality of his three daughters who were barely younger than his many mistresses"—and his special interest in Daphne and desire to be her brother,[12] but avoids discussing incest as a distinct probability between Daphne and Gerald. Instead she says du

Maurier's feelings for her father are "hard to gauge" particularly since she "expunges" herself from the biography she wrote after his death, yet says "clearly, she was in love with him" and this explains Muriel's dislike of Daphne and Daphne's "sexual attraction, at fourteen, to her flirtatious middle-aged cousin Geoffrey" (35). After implying the incestuous nature of the relationship between Daphne and Gerald, Auerbach, like Horner and Zlosnik, veers away.

Cook says du Maurier never succeeded in breaking free of the emotional tie that bound her to her father and in the biography written after his death "brings him to life with a painful honesty" (74). Forster comments that du Maurier's biography manages to capture the Gerald she wanted to remember, a charming character, yet pulls back from "revealing the full extent of her own very mixed feeling" for him and that "the real misery Gerald had caused her, much of which went into *The Progress of Julius*, is lacking" from the biography. The reason given for the omission is that du Maurier "wanted to keep faith with her father, to tell the truth, *but only so far as she thought acceptable at that time*" (my emphasis, 115). Exactly what does Forster mean? What part of the truth was unacceptable that for reasons of propriety du Maurier had to omit it? This begs the question: *why* was she protecting Gerald? In her discussion of "A Border-Line Case," Forster says it is the "most biographically revealing" and "rooted" in "personal emotional experience" but du Maurier did not intend it to be an "affirmation that incest was natural." She then qualifies her statement by saying what was "natural" for du Maurier was the desire for "closeness" between family members (377–78).

According to Forster, du Maurier did "not condone incest" but "did think that *not* being able to give free rein to incestuous feelings was some kind of tragedy" (Forster's emphasis). In attempting to define what du Maurier meant by "some kind of tragedy" she says that everything du Maurier wrote in both her letters and fiction indicated a "very strong desire on *her* part, at one point" to "enjoy with her father such a relationship" which she considered "quite normal" and which she "grew out of like most girls do" (my emphasis). Yet she says du Maurier "could not dismiss either the memory of her own feelings or, more importantly, the strength of Gerald's feelings towards her." Forster concludes saying "the tragedy of incest" meant that at a "certain stage in growing up incestuous desires were normal but they could never be fulfilled, and therein lay the tragedy. Incest itself she found repugnant" (378).

Why did du Maurier continue to write about incestuous desire if she "grew out of" her desire for an incestuous relationship with her father? Forster's dismissal of the suspicious nature of Daphne and Gerald's relationship into the realm of sexual "fantasy" does indicate her complicity with Freudian psychoanalysis that expects girl-children to express and repress a desire to have sex with their fathers. Elizabeth Ward comments that "while this *may* be true, it is the specific content of this particular expectation which has been turned by Freudian practitioners into a mechanistic device to explain (away) Father-Daughter rape."[13] Du Maurier's preoccupation with incest is explained (away) as sexual "fantasy" and fits in with Freud's own fantasy about incest. Although initially appalled with the reality of incest among respectable families in Vienna in the late nineteenth century he finally dismissed it as sexual "fantasy" because within the framework of the male supremacy that "rejected out of hand his general causal theory linking 'sexual shock' with hysteria" he decided to abandon it (Ward, 105). Freud was able to dismiss incest as sexual "fantasy" because he based his premise on the Oedipal complex theory that enabled him to turn the reality of incest into fantasy on the girl child's part for sexual pleasure with the father.

Forster views *Julius* as a cathartic experience—proof that du Maurier had broken free of her father's emotional demands. She says that although Daphne "loved him deeply" his ability to "torture her with his need for her had gone" and it was about this time when she had broken free from the yoke that bound her to her father, that she met Browning whom she married (85). The rejuvenating effect *Julius* had on du Maurier sounds like a story with a happy ending yet begs the question *why* thirty eight years after writing *Julius* she wrote "A Border-Line Case"? If *Julius* was a cathartic experience it was not the final expunging of the father figure. In *Julius* the feeling between father and daughter is mutual until Gabriel feels suffocated by her father's demands and decides to break free, whereas, in "A Border-Line Case," Nick is a different father figure to Julius and the emphasis is on the physical attraction/love that Jinnie feels toward him that does not change.

If the textual is linked to the biographical, and the inferences and evasions of du Maurier's biographers are taken into account, the probability of an incestuous relationship between Daphne and Gerald looms large. In *Julius* Gabriel's decision to break free from her father and marry is mirrored in du Maurier's decision to break free from her father and marry Browning. Arguably, "A Border-Line Case" could be read as proof that du Maurier never really

succeeded in breaking free of her father. Marriage may have provided some escape from the yoke that bound her to him but not from the "emotional onslaught" she had suffered in her early years the "blighting effect of which never left her" clearly evident in the emotional abuse and murder of the daughter by the father in *Julius*, symbolic for Daphne's loss of innocence, and in "A Border-Line Case" her continual fixation with the father figure.

NOTES

1 Cited in Hermoine Lee, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1996), 15.

2 Margaret Forster, *Daphne du Maurier: The Secret Life of the Renowned Storyteller* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), xvi.

3 Martyn Shallcross, *The Private World of Daphne du Maurier* (London: Robson Books, 1998), 43.

4 Forster does not provide a date for the letter.

5 Daphne du Maurier, *The Progress of Julius* (London: 1933; rpt. Pan Books Ltd, 1975).

6 Daphne du Maurier, "A Border-Line Case," in *Don't Look Now and Other Stories* (Harmondsworth: 1971; rpt. Penguin Books, 1985).

7 Judith Cook, *Daphne: A Portrait of Daphne du Maurier* (London: Bantam Books, 1991), xii.

8 Daphne du Maurier, *The Rebecca Notebook and Other Memories* (London: 1981; rpt. Virago Press, 2004), 115; Cook, 74.

9 Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik, *Daphne du Maurier: Writing, Identity and the Gothic Imagination*, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), 33–4.

10 "Venetian" is du Maurier's code for "lesbian," a term she abhorred, (Forster 28).

11 Carol Le Masters, "Roles of a Lifetime," *Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*, 7. 3. (2000): 48–9, 48.

12 Nina Auerbach, *Daphne du Maurier: Haunted Heiress* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2000), 34.

13 Elizabeth Ward, *Father-Daughter Rape* (London: The Women's Press, 1984), 107.

ART UPROOTED: MARIA DRONKE AND THE NEW ZEALAND STAGE

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Snatches of New Zealand critical opinion have recently raised my interest in Maria Dronke, born Minnie Kronfeld, known on the Continent under the stage name of Maria Korten. On the basis of collected newspaper reviews, autobiographical notes and photographic materials, correspondence and interviews, this article offers some brief answers to the questions: who was Maria Dronke and what characterises her cultural background? What were her theatrrical activities in the Old and New Worlds, and what was the resonance of her dramatic art?

Born in Berlin on 17 July 1904 as the youngest child of the barrister Dr. Salomon Kronfeld, Maria Dronke grew up in a well-established, emancipated German-Jewish family, which took a deep interest in music and theatre. "Life in Berlin was colourful, artistic, lawless and immoral," the city had "the best theatres, the most wonderful concerts, and many interesting people."[1] This is how the actress remembers the city of her youth, Berlin from 1910 to the 1920s. Maria Dronke loved Berlin. And Berlin loved Max Reinhardt.

In the context of a vibrant capital city, exploding with new artistic energies, currents and trends, Reinhardt had developed the Deutsches Theater in Schumannstraße into an outstanding avant-garde stage, and had earned Berlin the reputation of the leading theatre city in the German-speaking world. The audience was captivated by his innovative use of the principles of the "aesthetic drama"-movement, which combined the stagecraft of light and space, music, choreography and dramatic performance. His first Shakespeare-production at the Deutsches Theater was celebrated as

the revival of the classical play, as it freed the performance from the declamatory style, emblematic settings and stereotype characters of the Victorian Theatre, establishing what has been since regarded as "the characteristic style of Shakespearian performance for the twentieth century—free-flowing, highly rhythmic, leaning towards a symbolist use of colour and design."[2] His experimental stagings after 1910 brought into the public's attention the new form of the symbolist drama and its authors Maeterlinck, Hoffmannsthal, Vollmoeller, as well as the expressionist plays of Sorge, Hasenclever, Bronnen, Georg Kaiser and Toller. Most significantly, the German audience recognised the merits of a modern stage director with a vision not only for stage technicalities but also for the cultivation of high ensemble-qualities and a special actor-audience relationship.

The world of theatrical and musical Berlin was part of Maria Dronke's cultural background from her early adolescence. She regularly attended the Berlin Philharmonic and the Beethoven-Saal, where, only fourteen years old, she lived "in awe and trembling," as she would later remember, in proximity to the great ones in music: Bruno Walter, Edwin Fischer, Fritz Kreisler, Joseph Schwarz and Sigrid Onegin (Dronke, *Rosemary* 27). Her brother Arthur, who enjoyed the reputation of the most proficient psychiatrist and psychotherapist in Berlin's artistic circles of the 1920s, introduced her to prominent figures of the theatre such as the actors Gertrud Eysoldt, Fritz Kortner, the scenic designer Caspar Neher, Erich Engel and Bert Brecht.[3] Arthur also facilitated Maria Dronke's access to Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater and the Sunday matinée performances. The "rebellious expressionist mission-plays"—Hasenclever's *The Son* and Bronnen's *Murdering Father*—remained her most memorable theatre experiences (Dronke, *Rosemary* 28).

Hardly surprising that the early reception of Reinhardt's vibrant art fuelled Maria Dronke's passion for dramatic art and developed an open mind, receptive over the years to the most diverse artistic styles and ideas, regardless of the cultural environment. Her training for the stage was long and thorough: private tuition in Greek philosophy and German literature with Dr. Helene Hermann and Dr. Günther Stark (Reinhardt's literary consultant at the Deutsches Theater); courses in philosophy and literature at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University of Berlin; tuition in elocution and voice production with the director of the Berlin Conservatory, Professor Oscar Daniel; drama classes with the noted Reinhardt-actress Ilka Grüning, tuition in the art of recitation with Dr. Carl Heine (Dronke, *Historical* 3).

It was in this framework that Maria Dronke made her debut on 17 December 1924 with a poetry reading at the Meistersaal in Berlin, in a year remarkably rich in cultural events: Brecht had recorded his first theatrical success in Berlin with the staging of *In the Jungle of the Cities* at Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater; the authors of the English-speaking world—Shaw, O'Neill and O'Casey—were presented to the German theatre public, and Max Reinhardt himself brought Shaw's *Saint Joan* to the stage, which was the most successful production of the year. Yet, Maria Dronke's poetry reading was an instantaneous success. The performance received enthusiastic reviews from theatre critics known as notoriously stern who this time wrote:

> The programme was astonishing; it gave testimony to quite outstanding literary taste and to extraordinary understanding as it included readings of works by Goethe, Heine, Mörike, Hofmannsthal, Rilke, George, Claudius, Nietzsche and Toller; also of boldness, because it did not contain any concession to the audience.[4]

The over-arching content of Dronke's recital programme suggests a deep embedding in the tradition of the German *Bildungsbürgertum*, complemented by receptiveness towards new artistic elements. The critics further regarded as fully convincing Dronke's temperament and her performance, not only her stylistic-formal refinement but her emphatic and aural ways, suggesting that she was a "dramatic talent" and should be on the stage:

> Until now nobody has spoken to us with such passionate feeling … She has a heart which does not only feel with the poet, but is able to understand poetry, a wonderful alto-voice and an appearance which deserves to be called beautiful in expression and gesture as well as in repose (Kant).[5]

The debut marked the beginning of an impressive stage career which took Maria Dronke to Europe's significant theatre cities and finally to her adoptive country in the South Pacific.

In 1925 Dronke accepted a first engagement as leading actress at the Stadttheater München-Gladbach. The engagement proved a difficult beginner's year with eighteen leading roles in nine months, but also one of significant formative potential in a provincial theatre scene that was known to promote production experimentation. Enthusiastic reviews of her performances reflect that she perfected a restrained, economical way of playing, most

necessary for any Shakespeare-performance according to Reinhardt;[6] and she also consolidated her theatrical skills in the art of expressive speaking: "Minnie Kronfeld performed with expressive power and captivated her audience with the music and rhythm of the spoken word."[7]

Between 1926–1928 Dronke performed under the newly adopted stage name Maria Korten at the Burgtheater, Akademietheater, Schönbrunner Schloßtheater and the State Opera in Vienna, taking leading roles in plays by Schnitzler, Hebbel, Shakespeare, Wilde, Racine, Kleist, Ibsen and Shaw, and she also gave an impressive recital of Rilke's works at his memorial service in January 1927. Local newspapers noted that "Maria Korten revealed to literary Vienna Rilke's poetry in all its musical and intellectual subtleties."[8] In the city of the Burgtheater, with its deep-rooted theatre tradition going back to the old church plays and the baroque period, the young actress discovered the Viennese enchantment of acting and the experience of the theater in the Shakespearean sense of *theatrum mundi*.

This new impetus from the Austrian theatre proved to be the necessary dramatic element to qualify Maria Dronke for Max Reinhardt's theatre. After returning to Berlin in 1928 she understudied Elisabeth Bergner playing Juliet for twenty-five performances of Reinhardt's *Romeo and Juliet* production (Dronke, *Historical* 5). His symbolist-impressionistic staging of the Shakespearean tragedy searched to emphasise its strength and universality of meaning and required actors with emphatic theatrical ways and strong suggestive powers in mime and movement so as to stimulate the onlooker's imagination. According to the reviewers, "Maria Korten's performance emerged so richly and profoundly that the audience intensively experienced the unaltered modernity of Shakespeare's Juliet."[9]

A strong individuality with no star pretensions—this was to become the main characteristic of Maria Dronke's appearance on the stage, the foundation to it was laid through direct contact with Reinhardt's work. When the weekly magazine *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* published a review of the "New Generation of German Actors" in 1928, a short introduction and a photograph of Maria Korten were presented next to the statement:

> The theatre audience has never before had such high expectations towards young actresses as at present, particularly in sophisticated Berlin, to mention just a few—powerful

> dramatic talent, graceful appearance, inner maturity and intellectual giftedness.[10]

How much inspiration the young actress actually owed to Max Reinhardt was to become evident only years later during her work as a theater producer, actress and drama teacher in New Zealand. As the situation of the German theatre deteriorated between 1929–1932 due to the intensified actions of the NS-forces against the so-called "jewification of the German theatre," all German-Jewish artists were consequently removed from the stage. Leopold Jeßner, the director of the Berlin State Theatre resigned in 1930; the revolutionary Erwin Piscator closed his theatre company Piscatorbühne in 1931; Max Reinhardt had his theatres in Berlin confiscated and left for Austria in 1932. Maria Dronke ended her career on the German stage in the same year. At that time, Germany was celebrating the Hauptmann-year with the production of his last play *Before Sunset*, a play with strong symbolic connotations in the historical context of the 1930s. Dronke made her last appearances on the German stage in the presence of the writer, playing leading roles in his plays—*Before Sunset* and *Florian Geyer*. The German reviewers described her as "an actress of high artistic judgement and strong emotional instinct," who brings mature understanding to the play and "fills the stage with the strength of her personality."[11]

However, as Peter Vere-Jones suggested, "Germany's loss was mirrored by another country's immeasurable gain."[12] After arriving as a refugee in New Zealand in August 1939 she found opportunities to establish herself in the new world as an actress, stage director and drama teacher. The following is a brief presentation of her main public works with a sampling of the three main cultural areas in which she exerted her theatrical influence: poetry recitals, theatre pedagogy and theatre productions.

According to Bruce Mason, one of Maria Dronke's contributions to her adopted country's cultural life was that "she virtually *created* the solo poetry recital in New Zealand and gave many memorable performances."[13] Her receptiveness towards new ideas and styles proved to have a catalytic effect for the cultural scene of New Zealand. Around 1943, only four years after her arrival in New Zealand, the German-Jewish actress was already introducing New Zealand audiences to New Zealand poetry in recitals of Allen Curnow, Fairburn, R. A. K. Mason, Charles Brasch, Denis Glover, etc. Tracing the impact of her recitals from newspaper reviews has been a fascinating task, as it revealed how sensitive the response of

the New Zealand audience to her art had been. The *Christchurch Press* in August 1943 had high praise for her vast choice of material which instantly reminds one of her Berlin debut recital:

> one wonders how many literatures has she read as widely, and as deeply, as in our own? The poems in her programme ranged from a twelfth century hymn to some of the latest works of one of our younger New Zealand poets, Allen Curnow.[14]

By the time of her first Auckland-recital in February 1944 she was already developing a national reputation, the *New Zealand Observer* noted:

> It is probably unique in the history of Auckland that all seats for a poetry recital should have been sold out days before the event. It *can* happen here. It *did* happen here. It *did* happen with Maria Dronke's poetry recital last Friday night. The audience at the Lewis Eady Hall heard: (a) an infinitely pleasing voice, both rich and resonant; (b) a fine dramatic actress whose clarity of diction has seldom been equalled on the New Zealand stage.[15]

When Allen Curnow had to write a report in 1961 about Maria Dronke's work in New Zealand, he simply concluded "I can think of no other person in this country who has done so much to develop a discriminating public taste for the art of verse speaking."[16]

Devotion to the theatrical world also encompassed commitment towards the young generation of actors; Maria Dronke had learnt from Reinhardt how much a performance depended on a well-tuned ensemble. From 1939 onwards she trained a generation of young actors who enriched her ensemble and subsequently emerged as prominent figures in the New Zealand professional theatre and overseas. To name a few: Pat Evison, Dorothy McKegg, Richard and Edith Campion, Elisabeth MacRae, Bruce Mason, Barbara Ewing, David Vere-Jones. Many of them testified to her strength and commitment as a drama teacher, and to their personal debt to her, among them Pat Evison who noted in her autobiography:

> At the time Maria started her studio, there was no professional theatre in Wellington. Anyone with talent and enthusiasm and the desire to perform on stage belonged to one of the amateur companies … I can think of no other individual who has

> contributed more to the quality of background for actors who eventually emerged as "pros."[17]

Several remarks of Dronke's students reveal that she adopted the training principles which had proved highly effective in the Reinhardt-ensemble: her methods involved introducing the students to a vast selection of literature, reading the texts aloud with them, to make them take up the rhythm and become familiar with all dramatic shades of expression, discussing the characters, settings, etc., until the students had a thorough understanding of the literary work and its context as well as the necessary skills to "lift a text off the page and bring the characters to life."[18] Perhaps most important within the New Zealand context, Dronke encouraged every actor to think both as an individual and as a member of a group. This counted towards the development of a productive ensemble-quality, and was also reflected in the fact that several of her students founded the first ensemble of professional actors, *The New Zealand Players*, with Edith Campion as leading actress and Richard Campion as director.

The strong impact of Dronke's productions is certainly a reflection of committed group contribution. In 1940, the year of her first production, the New Zealand theatre groups proved ready to open up towards a modern concept following the continental example. Maria Dronke herself was ready to answer the challenge of the new situation, bringing enthusiasm and curiosity for new ideas together with intellectual vigour and understanding of how to apply modern culture to the stage. From 1940 onwards she directed and performed in about twenty-five plays, embracing a wide range of dramatic works and exploring different styles of staging to suit every particular play: in her stagings of Ibsen and Shaw she experimented with the expressionist vision of a restrained, dynamic dramatic art, known to her from both Reinhardt's expressionist productions and several provincial stages she had performed on; in numerous classical productions she worked with the principles of the impressionist model; she also adopted the mass-production-form for modern miracle-plays which captured the attention of the New Zealand audience and were an unprecedented success, very similar, I believe, to the success Reinhardt had recorded in the U.S. with his 1924 *Miracle*-production.[19]

I will turn to the Auckland-staging of Eliot's miracle-play *No Room* in order to provide an idea of Maria Dronke's work as a producer. It is safe to assume that Eliot's play attracted her for the possibility to experiment with the rhythms of sound and movement

and moreover for its evocation of religious and ethical ideals, which, in the historic year of 1944, gave her opportunities to express her lifelong idealism sourced in Jewish hopes of redemption. Several newspaper presentations emphasise the producer's intention to bring out the mood and the atmosphere of the play in such a way as to force the audience into it and keep it there as completely as possible, thus creating a community between actors and players. Dronke explained herself: "The production of 'No Room' tries to weld audience and players together into one great community."[20] These kinds of aspirations remind us once again of Max Reinhardt, of whom it has been said that his belief in the power of theatre "to offer its audiences an experience which could counter the emotional poverty of modern society … smacked a little of the evangelist, and was predicated on the need for community ritual" (Styan, 8). It seems that with Dronke's 1944 Auckland-production of *No Room* the open stage of the Town Hall really became for several hours a place in which the practical realisation of a call for Christian action in everyday life seemed possible. The reviewer of *The Auckland Star* highlighted the responsiveness of the New Zealand audience to a more engagé type of theatre:

> Towards the grand climax the chorus lifted the great audience to fervid feeling in the music of Adeste Fidelis, and, finally, Holy Night, and almost to a response merging them with the players in the finale. … Just a slight lead would have been enough to have lifted the house to full voice, despite the strangeness and novelty of the first night.[21]

The unusual theatrical achievement of *No Room* was largely due to Dronke's careful orchestration of acting performance, statuary-symbolic choreography, atmospheric use of light and scenic effects as well as to Winifred Dean's direction of choral and instrumental performance. Dronke worked with a wide range of means to capture the audience and embraced simultaneous elements of symbolist and expressionist stagings in an appropriate mixture to suit the play. For the setting she chose upthrusting obelisk shafts on both sides of the stage "leading the eyes to an aspiring vista" (*Auckland Star* 10) and added a wide flight of steps to stress the tension by their upward and downward movement. The latter scenic device had not only proved its theatrical effectiveness when Reinhardt first introduced a forty-steps-flight in the centre of the stage for his 1920 *Julius Caesar* production, in which Caesar, stabbed

from behind, fell down from step to step being stabbed by the conspirators again and again. But it had also served in the 1920s for the elaboration of an entire theatrical philosphy known in Germany as Leopold Jeßner's theory of the "vertical dimension of the stairstage."

In this simple but powerful setting Dronke made use of light and music to accentuate the atmosphere of the play and to unify the production. A reviewer reported:

> Intrigued … the large audience found itself in a blackout, with the organ pealing the strains of the introduction to Haydn's *Creation*. Then a light shone from on high, revealing the vision of a pathway as from some great temple steps to the heavens … At intervals were heard the voices of an angelic choir from the void (*Auckland Star* 10).

To capture the feelings of the audience Dronke adopted Reinhardt's method of "bursting out of the stage frame," known to remove the barrier of the box stage, with the audience looking through the 'peephole' of the removed fourth wall.[22] The actors moved among the audience, "from the outer darkness came groups of people" (*Auckland Star* 10), not specific individuals but archetypes, with reference to immediate reality: Busy People in brown robes, Tired People in grey and mauve, Suffering People in purple, Hopeful People in rose colour, and lantern bearing shepherds in costume. The requirements of symbolist performance complemented the visual stage. Group movement and gestures co-ordinated with voice modulations, choral singing and speaking conveyed dramatic meaning while conferring a strong, sensuous impression. The play undoubtedly challenged the audience, the reviewers emphasised the strangeness and novelty of the production (*Auckland Star* 10), yet another event proved its lasting impact.

When Dronke decided in 1947 to take her experimentation with symbolic-ritualistic mass-productions and the open stage one step further by staging Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* in Wellington's Old St. Paul's Cathedral, the Wellington press published an article that recalled the Auckland production, saying "Drama Society in Wellington Follows in Famous Tradition."[23] *Murder in the Cathedral* was acclaimed as her most memorable production (Vere-Jones 116), and so it must have been for the force of her stagecraft was matched by an equally strong, perfectly timed earthquake occurring

in the moment of Becket's murder.[24] The *Landfall* published Howard Wademan's rapturous comments:

> This play was produced for the Religious Drama Society in Wellington by Maria Dronke … I have no hesitation in saying that, for me at any rate, these performances were the outstanding aesthetic experience of the year.[25]

For the diverse expressions of her art Maria Dronke received many tributes in New Zealand, including the OBE in 1979. The strength and intensity of her personality was met with surprise and appreciation in the new world where she is still remembered for her inspiring productions and most affectionately, it seems, for her teaching. As part of the group of German-Jewish artists forced into exile and scattered around the world by war and political turmoil she still remains to be discovered in her native country.

NOTES

1 Maria Dronke, *Rosemary for Remembrance and Rue for Thought* (Unpublished memories, Wellington, 1981), 6–7. All papers in Maria Dronke's estate have been used with the kind permission of her successors, particularly of her daughter Marei Bollinger and her grandson Nicolas.

2 John Louis Styan, *Max Reinhardt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 52.

3 Maria Dronke, *Historical Moments of My Life*, (Unpublished autobiographical notes, Wellington, 1980), 4–5.

4 H. Kant, "Poetry Recital Evenings," the *Vossische Zeitung*, leading liberal newspaper published in Berlin (20 December 1924). Quotations from German reviews have been translated by the author.

5 Similar comments in Ergo, "Kronfeld's Poetry Recital," the *Vormärts* newspaper (17 December 1924); Petersen-Flensburg, "Kronfeld's Recital Evening," the *Vossische Zeitung* newspaper (20 December 1924).

6 Max Reinhardt, "In Search of a Living Theater," in *Max Reinhardt and His Theatre*, ed. O. Sayler (New York: Bloom, 1968), 187.

7 Sr., "New Theatre Season in M. Gladbach," the *Mittag* newspaper (9 September 1925).

8 D., "In memoriam Rainer Maria Rilke," the Vienna *New Free Press* (18 January 1927).

9 Rdl., "'Romeo and Juliet' at the High School Theatre," the *Tag* newspaper (2 November 1928).

[10] The *Berlin Illustrated Newspaper* (7 October 1928). Unidentified newspaper clipping held among Maria Dronke's personal papers.

[11] Gt., "Hauptmann-Honours in Bochum: 'Before Sunset' at the City Theatre" (1932); Ewe., "New Season at the Altona City Theatre," *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, Hamburg's liberal newspaper (1931).

[12] Peter Vere-Jones, "Maria Dronke," in *Out of the Shadow of War. The German Connection with New Zealand in the Twentieth Century*, ed. James N. Bade (Auckland: Oxford University Press New Zealand, 1998), 113.

[13] Bruce Mason, "A marriage that has been golden," *The Evening Post* (18 July 1981), 17.

[14] "Poetry Recital. Madame Dronke's Fine Programme," *The Christchurch Press* (9 August 1943), 2.

[15] "The Muse Afire. Madame Maria Dronke's Success," *The New Zealand Observer* (16 February 1944), 12.

[16] Allen Curnow, *Report on Maria Dronke's Theatrical Activities* (18 February 1961). Unpublished letter held among Maria Dronke's personal papers.

[17] Pat Evison, *Happy Days in Muckle Flugga. An Autobiography* (Auckland: Harper Collins Publishers New Zealand Ltd, 1998), 21–22.

[18] Interview notes with Dorothy McKegg held among Maria Dronke's personal papers.

[19] Reinhardt's American production was considered "the biggest, boldest, bravest assault upon the senses that I can imagine; as simple as a Gregorian chant and as stinging as a prize-fight" (Sayler, *Max Reinhardt* xi).

[20] Interview with Maria Dronke. Unidentified newspaper clipping held among Maria Dronke's personal papers; also "Miracle Play of To-day," *The New Zealand Observer* (22 November 1944), 13.

[21] "Miracle Play. 'No Room' Season," *The Auckland Star* (16 November 1944), 9.

[22] Interview with Maria Dronke. Unidentified newspaper clipping held among Maria Dronke's personal papers.

[23] "'Murder in the Cathedral.' Drama Society in Wellington Follows in Famous Tradition," *Dominion* (30 April 1947), 8.

[24] Personal recollection. Interview with Marei Bollinger.

[25] Howard Wadman, "Commentaries," *Landfall. A New Zealand Quaterly*, (September 1947), 208.

THE WANING POPULAR CULTURE: OLD AND NEW WORLDS IN THE WRITINGS OF W. G. SEBALD AND TOBY LITT

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It will be clear to readers of the works of W. G. Sebald and Toby Litt that, at a superficial level, a startling mixture of comparisons and differences indicate in each author innovative attempts to deal with the loss of old worlds and the problems of accepting the new. Both writers grapple with the lonely narrator's attempts to represent and remember familial incidences of death. Both writers also try to define the textual and conceptual impossibility of history to satisfactorily apprehend the past. One of the immediate and abiding contrasts between the approaches of each writer, however, is the radically different cultural perspective of the narrator protagonists. For Sebald's character-narrators, the modern world, while on rare occasions giving way to a sublime moment, is as a rule a disillusioning purgatory: a view derived directly from the *fin de siècle* aftermath of romanticism, in which the ethical and heroic aspirations of humankind are everywhere in decline, and, more specifically, buried in the industrial slaughter of the Somme. As such, Sebald's view of contemporary life is cordoned off by harrowing representations of the past in hazy grey photographs and postcards and forlorn diary entries. The consumer sparkle of newness never impinges on the lives of Sebald's characters, caught entirely within the *nacht und nebel* of irresolvable European decay. While Sebald's fiction represents mundanity and depression, always it is in the poetic, if simple, terms of high art, reminiscent of the sombre elegiacal writing of Kafka, Musil, and Conrad.

For Litt, on the other hand, the perspective of the old is rendered abrupt by a much shorter focus: it is closer to the present and restricted invariably to the span of a contemporary middle-aged

individual's memory of childhood and adolescence. Although for both Sebald and Litt the perspective is irreducibly personal, Litt's personal perspective is suburban and, as such, un-distanced from the reader by poetry in the way that Sebald's fiction is. Litt's fiction is avowedly consumer-driven; caught within the superficialities of popular modern culture that welcome comedic moments of the present as a means of representing, or substituting for, significance or sublime meaning in accounting for the past.

Litt has been writing since 1996. His eight novels and short story collections are astute demonstrations of an author drawn by the competing inclinations of literary merit and publishing success; due to Litt's sometime inexpert appropriation of trade genre writing through his attempts to manipulate genre standards while simultaneously satisfying publishing house and genre expectations, the reader is left with a slightly dirty nutrition-less feeling. His third novel, *Corpsing*—"a deconstructed literary thriller, a very knowing examination of the pathology of the genre... [was] clever, but a little soulless."[1] *Deadkidsongs* ambitiously sought to draw 70s cold-war fear and childhood pathology into an uneasy amalgam of "masculinity, nostalgia, violence and nationhood": it was at times enlightening while at others—such as in its use of narrative frames —cumbersome.

Litt often deals with themes of childhood and adolescence, and dwells on the generational process of life. Nonetheless, his fiction describes worlds that are *not* of themselves old—worlds that do not (as in the works of W. G. Sebald) rely on history as a thematic narrative force. Litt's worlds pillage history for the popular references capable of substantiating the culture minister on you'd focus has of the present. The extent to which time is relevant for Litt is as a support for narrative and thematic development; his are worlds that subordinate history to a process of maintaining that sense of secession of one generation to another. By doing so his use of time assists in establishing, not so much temporally plausible characters as diachronically plausible narrative trajectories, capable of exploring the themes postulated by often explicit, overly academic preliminary suppositions. But these narrative trajectories exist within a present that recognises history only as elapsed culture.

Extra-Textual Angst in Sebald and Litt

Litt studied at the University of East Anglia, where Sebald taught: he quite possibly knew Sebald, and has read his work. In a *Guardian* travel article discussing the Seaside town of Southwold, Litt debates the necessity of a writer living and working in an environment

specific to their novel: one that stimulates and recreates the atmosphere of that author's work-in-progress. He relates the existential angst caused by standing on Shingle Street Beach with his experience of "sit[ting] at one of the dusty tables in the Southwold Sailors' Reading Room and leaf[ing] through the opening chapters of W. G. Sebald's *The Rings of Saturn*."[2] In other words, Litt has gone to the trouble to visit a recursively literary site—a place Sebald also spent time reading in (and subsequently wrote about reading in). In the reading room, Litt replicates Sebald's experience, but replaces Sebald's reading material with the novel *The Rings of Saturn*, in which Sebald describes his own Southwold reading incident. The existential angst Litt refers to is thus hyper- and inter-textual, referencing not only the flagrantly inter-textual thematic of all of Sebald's work, but also reinforcing the inter-textual directions of the work Litt was writing at that time, *Finding Myself* or *From the Lighthouse*.

Litt makes reference to Sebald's literature in *From the Lighthouse*. The novel is a post-modern appropriation (or, to use Litt's own words: a "contemporary version" (Litt 2003) of Virginia Woolf's novel that satirises reality television. In it, a character named Henry has been asked by the narrator-protagonist (who is also a novelist) what Sebald's *The Rings of Saturn* is about. Henry explains that it is:

> "philosophy of one sort or another; or autobiography—poetic autobiography". "Sounds wonderful" [the narrator responded]. "Actually, it is rather" replied Henry, with the implication that it was a good deal wonderfuller than [*her* fiction]. (180)

From a distance, the narrator-protagonist had hoped that the book Henry was reading was one of her novels, books which are clearly lampooned in *FtLH* as Chic-Lit romance that the narrator-author believes are of far more literary merit than either the readership or the other characters' reactions to her work would imply. This small scene can be read in terms of Litt's attempt to transcend the populist genre niche of his own novels, an overt sub-theme in this novel that is reinforced by a censorious publishing-industry presence, rendered concrete by the inclusion of manufactured editorial comments in the margins. After his early thriller novels, described as "trendy bestseller(s)," Litt has sought to "extend his range and readership upmarket."[3] Nonetheless, I would suggest that trendiness is an inexpungible part of Litt's literary work, an

element of publishing savvy that seeks redress as self-satire in the figure of the author-narrator-protagonist of *FtLH*.

It is precisely the elements Litt uses to describe Sebald's work that inflects Litt's own fiction: *philosophy*; *poetic autobiography*—hallmarks of the introspection and reflexive awareness necessary for realising the textually construed self; elements necessary as preconditions for self-satire. To use an example: Litt employs a device in *FtLH* that reminds the reader of the intra-reflexive and representational limitations of published, printed text. The printed pages of *FtLH* include handwritten annotations in the margins and so-called 'deletions'—hand-drawn crossed-out lines (sometimes whole paragraphs) of still-legible text. These scribbled supplements represent the editor's comments, additions and excisions, creating a conscious play between editor and narrator-author, establishing an extra-literary, extra-textual level of critique on both the text and the facts of the narrative (the editor also being a character in the narrative), and raising questions of the reliability of the narrator and the inherent authority of the written—or printed—word. But this is also a disruption in chronological priority that displaces the reader in relation to the events and the narrative of the text: we are presented with two simultaneous but contradicting points in time. For instance, a page and-a-half describing an altercation between author and editor is crossed out, with an accompanying editorial note, "this all goes" [*FtLH*: 117]. Readers are no longer sure whether to insert themselves prior to, or post the editorial annotations: the handwritten marginalia and the printed narrative compete and render both perspectives unreliable. The effect is one of dislodging a conventional narrative perspective and raising doubt as to the capacity of text to represent the world mimetically. This is implicit in Litt's choosing to pastiche Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, a novel concerned deeply with the non-teleological possibilities and limitations of representation.

This example leads some way to explaining why I typify Litt as writing from an *amnesiac* narrative present: his use of the past circumscribes its meaning as demonstrative of an existential instability of the present. Litt's consideration of the past is very much in terms of the present, to the extent that the process of understanding history is at the same time a process of forgetting it. A simpler example of this is his splitting of his first book, *Adventures in Capitalism*, into two sections according to early and late capitalism: the implicit irony being that no apparent distinction between the earlier and later short stories is discernible. Readers must still consider that Litt's inaugural published work has

succumbed to a dialectical synthesis; inherent paradigmatic narrative contradictions and reconceived itself according to a postmodern popular aesthetic. Nonetheless, the potential for historical perspective is suppressed beneath Frederic Jameson's similarly ironical postmodern disavowal of periodising historical hypotheses, on the one hand while, on the other, offering exactly such teleological generalisations about stages in history. The past for Litt is an avenue for political and cultural comment. His titles—"Map-Making among the Middle-Classes"; "After Wagamama but Mostly Before"; "Flies I & II"; "It Could Have Been Me and It Was"—reference attempts to narrate and construct bourgeois reality in the simplest possible teleological structure of anterior and posterior, of before and after: like pre-Renaissance paintings that crudely signify three-dimensional space by obscuring one object behind another, time for Litt is subordinated to its cultural and political content.

While Litt's novels are attentive to the superficiality of consumer culture, Sebald—contrastingly—deliberately evades and disdains consumer culture. Sebald deals with problems of not remembering the past; however, unlike Litt, this is a preoccupation: for Sebald history is not a corollary but a mainstay that restrains any ability of his narrators to accede to, or to properly recognise and accept, the present. Indeed, many of Sebald's characters do not live in the present in any cultural or practical sense, and the extent to which they might do so is rarely evidenced in his novels. His fiction might, therefore, be said to accommodate narrative models and character traits that are *amnesiac*. However, this is a feature of post-modernity that Sebald seeks to criticise. Drawing from the Frankfurt School negative dialectics of Kracauer, Bloch, and Adorno, Sebald stigmatises modern culture as encouraging an amnesiac and uncertain relation to the past caused by "the clutter of material things divorced from value."[4] The resultant metonymical, "accidental" perspective of time is exemplified by Joyce's *Ulysses*, whereby Bloom experiences one day that is interchangeable with any other (Schleifer 62–3). It is a perspective that corresponds with Litt's presentation of modern culture— particularly in *Adventures in Capitalism*, *Exhibitionism*, and *From the Lighthouse*—as a-historical and post-modern: an arbitrary relation of events that denies the ability to establish an indexical standard of reality and of history.

Writing Past Worlds

Unlike Litt, however, Sebald holds an abiding interest in the past. Beyond Sebald's reflexive criticism of the amnesiac tendencies of

modernity, his texts concentrate on another rhetorical / psychoanalytical trope—that of *aphasia*: the inability to faithfully represent thought in speech, or, for the purposes of literature, the incapacity to represent thought in text. Sebald's character Max Ferber typifies this problem: constantly striving and forever frustrated in trying to draw portraits that adequately express his loss. Basing his story on the artist Max Aurach, Sebald describes an ageing Jewish artist from Manchester who lost his family and his formative identity in the Holocaust. Ferber dedicates his time to "portrait studies,"[5] regularly re-worked charcoal palimpsests developing out of a process of annihilation and re-creation that would wreck the drawing surface and weary the sitter. The narrator senses that each portrait:

> had evolved from a long line of grey, ancestral faces, rendered unto ash but still there, as ghostly presences, on the harried paper. (Sebald 162)

The effect is one of constructing a face as a means of attributing an identity to something unknown or absent: *prospopoeia* or *apostrophe*. Even though each drawing is "a portrait of great vividness" (Sebald 162), the result is not one of mimetic correspondence with reality, but of a representation of what might lie behind representation: a long line of ghostly presences preceding and undermining the current image. Ferber describes the faces in his drawings as "ultimately unknowable" (Sebald 162).

Ferber's difficulties typify Sebald's technique of evoking the repressive, digressive process by which memory and culture cope with the trauma of old worlds. To what extent, however, is Sebald's fiction an avoidance of even the possibility of a new world? To what extent can his fiction accommodate the present? My answer to this is twofold and contradictory: it is undeniable that Sebald cultivated a *fin-de-siècle* romanticism—a *der Zauberberg* criticism of bourgeois society's intent on the wholesale obliteration of nature. But just as Litt's attempt to grapple with contemporary culture relies upon his use of postmodern cultural pastiche, Sebald's dependence on a literary and philosophical criticism of society that is born out of the Great War is beholden to a large extent to the cultural and stylistic sympathies—the ethos and perspectives—of that time. But not only are the photographs, stories, even the mannerisms of Sebald's characters beholden to past eras. It is also the *process* of Sebald's narrative (that is, the always-frustrated attempts of its narrator and its many sub-narrators to adequately

narrate the yawning chasm separating national and state history,on the one hand, and personal loss, on the other) that is beholden to a perspective that despairs of the pre sent and unfailingly—but always unsuccessfully—looks to the past.

In other words, Sebald's formal turn of phrase devoid of contemporary language, his narrator's disdain of the invention of internal combustion, zippers, international style architecture, and an undiminished commitment to the postage system is firmly entrenched in the old. However, his use of this old-world perspective admits the possibility of the new in ways that closely resemble attempts by Litt to do likewise. As with Litt's fiction, Sebald's fiction is brimming with narrative trendiness: with techniques designed to question the authority of textual representation and thus allow the *possibility* of new worlds.

The most obvious example is the incorporation of photographic illustrations that question and destabilise the narrative: Sebald's interface between image and word creates an exchange that alters both forms.[6] Rather than using illustrations that "assume a 'naive' reader for whom the images refer to a reality that is ontologically *prior* to the text that frames them,"[7] Sebald's images and, more importantly, their context, avoid homogeneity of meaning and maintain a complex relationship between text and reader, between the image and other parts of the text. The caption beneath one image in the German text of *Vertigo*—"wie ein Untergehender" ("like one meeting his doom")—replicates the visual pun of an illustration that is split between two pages: the reader is forced to follow the image over the page and downwards, replicating the downward motion of the subject of the narrative, a literary *katabasis*: the protagonist's "going down" into the underworld typical of classical epic.[8] But it also replicates our own reading practice, thus making an extremely personal extra-textual reference while simultaneously alluding to the mortality of reader and protagonist alike. As with Litt's earlier extra-textual reference to poetic autobiography and philosophy, Sebald's work serves to remind the reader of those subterranean links between self-identity and mortality, reading and death. What Sebald does that Litt does not, is to remind the reader of the underlying necessity of history in the textual construction of identity.

Sebald's work is less concerned with absolute forgetting, but with the over-arching analogy of the incapacity to represent memory and experience and, more specifically, fatal and violent experience. Such a project extends from Adorno's axiom in the aftermath of Auschwitz concerning modernity's dismantling of our

faith in authoritative standards, either representational or ethical. Adorno asserted that it "corrodes even the knowledge of why it has become impossible to write poetry today."[9] The project finds dissolute ending in the post post-war generation's cold war invention of post-modernity: a despairing affirmation of play in the face of meaninglessness, amid the loss of all value structures.

The spectrum I describe—from the realisation of the loss of a representational standard to the flawed exultation of this loss—approximates to the positions of Sebald and Litt. Sebald's high-literary world—the old world memory of Europe before the fall: a world of values already lost—stands in a not-always marked, sometimes ambiguous contrast to Litt's simulacra in which capitalism, consumerism, exhibitionism, the superficial extremes of desire and popularity deliberately both substitute for—and fall short of—meaning.

NOTES

1 Amazon Books (Review): http://www.amazon.co.uk/Corpsing-Toby-Litt/dp/ Eithne Farry. Accessed 4 December 2006.

2 *The Guardian*: "(Best of Britain: Suffolk) Facts and fiction" by Toby Litt Saturday April 5 2003http://travel.guardian.co.uk/ article/2003/apr/05/unitedkingdom.guardiansaturdaytravelsection1

3 Amazon Books (Review): http://www.amazon.co.uk/Deadkidsongs Sean Thomas. Accessed 4 December 2006.

4 Ronald Schleifer, *Rhetoric and Death: The Language of Modernism and Postmodern Discourse Theory* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1990), 62–3.

5 W. G. Sebald, *The Emigrants* (trans. Michael Hulse The Harvill Press, London, 1996), 161.

6 Renee Riese Hubert, *Surrealism and the Book* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1988), 20.

7 Jonathan J. Long, "History, Narrative, and Photography in W G Sebald's *Die Ausgewanderten*" *Modern Language Review*, 98 (2003): 117–37 [118].

8 The relevance of *Katabasis* to Sebald's fiction is raised by Russell Kilbourn, who observes its "increasingly specific significance in the post-Holocaust context in which Sebald writes." See Russell J. A. Kilbourn, "Architecture and Cinema: The Representation of Memory in W G Sebald's *Austerlitz*" in *W G Sebald: A Critical Companion*, ed. J Long and A Whitehead (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2004), 141–2.

9 Theodor W Adorno, *Prisms* ("Cultural Criticism and Society") transl. Samuel and Shierry Weber (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1981), 34.

COLLECTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF CLASSICAL CHINESE FICTIONAL NARRATIVES IN *EXTENSIVE RECORDS OF THE TAIPING PERIOD*

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In Chinese literary history, the Song Dynasty (960–1279)[1] is best remembered as a golden age for the *ci* poetry[2] and *huaben* [vernacular short story] fiction, but it also witnessed an unprecedented flourishing in the compilation and publication of *leishu* [encyclopaedias].

Among numerous *leishu* produced in the Song Dynasty, some were relatively short and on restricted groups of topics, others longer than any which had previously appeared. The most influential of them were the *Taiping guangji* [Extensive Records of the Taiping Period, hereafter TPGJ],[3] the *Taiping yulan* [Imperial Encyclopaedia of the Taiping Period], the *Wenyuan yinghua* [Finest Flowers in the Garden of Literature], and the *Cefu yuangui* [The Grand Tortoise of the Libraries and Archives], which are collectively known as "the Four Great Books of the Song."

TPGJ in 500 *juan* [scrolls] was compiled under the supervision of Li Fang (925–996) mostly from earlier unofficial historical, anecdotal, miscellaneous, and fictional writings. The compilation of TPGJ got started in the third month of the second year of the era bearing the title of "Taiping Xingguo" [Supreme Peace and Nation Restored] (977) under the reign of Emperor Taizong (r. 976–998) of the Northern Song Dynasty. It took thirteen distinguished scholars eighteen months to bring this project to completion.[4] It was not until the sixth year of the Taiping Xingguo Period (981) that TPGJ was carved onto wooden blocks. These engraved woodblocks, however, were not sent to press immediately. Instead, they were "kept in the Taiqing lou [Supreme Purity Tower] due to the lack of any pressing academic need for it to be printed."[5]

Before long, however, this woodblock edition of TPGJ found its way out of the ivory tower into the hands of people who either read it for fun, as recorded by the Northern Song scholar Wang Pizhi (fl. 1080) in *Juan* 9 of the *Shengshui yantan lu* [Records of Casual Talk on the Shengshui River],[6] and by his younger contemporary Zhang Bangji (fl. 1110) in *Juan* 2 of the *Mozhuang manlu* [Casual Notes from the Ink Village],[7] or for inspiration, as mentioned by the Southern Song story-teller/compiler Luo Ye in his preface to the *Zuiweng tanlu* [Collected Talks of a Drunkard].[8]

The earliest record of TPGJ in official bibliography is found in the *Chongwen zongmu* [A General Catalogue of the Imperial Library in Honour of Literature], compiled by Wang Yaochen (1002–1058).[9] This book was also listed in the two most influential Southern Song annotated bibliographies of private holdings, Chao Gongwu's (1105–1180) *Junzhai dushuzhi* [Annotated Catalogue of Books at the Prefectural Abode, hereafter JZDSZ],[10] and Chen Zhensun's (ca.1183–ca.1262) *Zhizhai shulu jieti* [Annotated Catalogue of Books at the Zhizhai Studio].[11] In JZDSZ, TPGJ was referred to as a source book for two tale collections compiled by Cai Fan towards the end of the Northern Song Dynasty.[12] All of this seems to suggest that TPGJ enjoyed some circulation among scholar-officials and professional storytellers throughout the Song Dynasty after the reign of Emperor Renzong (r. 1022–063).

As is often the case with earlier Chinese fictional works, no Song copies of TPGJ survive to date. Extant with us are about ten texts of TPGJ produced during the Ming (1368–644) and Qing (1644–911) Dynasties. The most authentic and influential of them is the *Tan keben* [The Tan Woodblock Edition], which was printed by the Ming bibliophile Tan Kai (1503–1568), who made a close collation against a Song hand-copied text of all the transcripts of TPGJ available to him.[13] This carved woodblock text serves as a master copy for almost all the editions of TPGJ in current circulation, including the modern Zhonghua shuju [China Book Company] 1961 edition.

TPGJ has long been held in high regard for its preservation of non-official and unorthodox materials, which may otherwise have been lost. However, this book is first and foremost an anthology of classical Chinese narratives known as "xiaoshuo" [fiction], although most of the cited works were conventionally classified as "yishi zalu" [anecdotes and miscellaneous records] in traditional Chinese bibliography. They were treated with contempt and carelessness as compared with Confucian classics, and as a result, hardly any of them survived in the original. Works cited in TPGJ amount to four

hundred strong and date from pre-Qin (221–206 B.C.E.) up to early Song times.

The importance of TPGJ in Chinese literature lies not only in the preservation of ancient *xiaoshuo* writings but also in their classification. With nearly 7,000 entries included in 500 *juan*, TPGJ boasts the largest collection of classical Chinese narratives ever seen. Selected from various sources of different periods of time and covering a wide range of subject matter, these entries presented a great challenge to the compilers of TPGJ. Rather than follow the traditional classificatory system in the bibliographical sections of dynastic history, they drew on earlier *leishu* and *xiaoshuo* collections, and developed a theme-and-content-oriented system of classifying the *xiaoshuo* genre. In this system, it is not schools of thought or stylistic features, nor authorship or dating, but subject matter alone that counts as criteria for entry classification.

Accordingly, TPGJ is first divided into ninety-two major types by subject matter, and under them entries are further divided into more than one hundred and fifty sections with subheadings attached to each section, denoting their specific theme and content. This arrangement of entries marks a great breakthrough in the classification of literary works in the history of Chinese literature. It not only avoids the problem with the traditional catalogue system confusing stylistic features with subject matters, but also makes it much easier for readers to locate an individual entry.

TPGJ is essentially a collection of *zhiguai* [records about the strange and supernatural] tales, which account for two thirds of the 500-*juan* text of TPGJ. The *zhiguai* entries included in TPGJ cover an extremely extensive range of subject matter, and are arranged into four major groups: *dao* [Daoism], *shi* [Buddhism], *wu* [shamanism], and *guai* [animism and antimism].

Daoism as a religion aims at obtaining the Dao and ascending to Heaven [*de dao sheng tian*]. Immortals are held in high regard and credited with various supernatural power, and to a Daoist practitioner nothing is more appealing than to live a long and healthy life in this world and eventually to become an immortal free of worldly cares. The Daoist way of life, especially its search for longevity and immortality, had helped it find favour with Chinese emperors ever since the Qin Dynasty. Daoism was firmly established as the official religion of the imperial court with the support of the royal family of the Tang Dynasty (618–907), who claimed to be descendants of Li Er, better known as Laozi the author of the *Daode jing* [Classic of the Way and Virtue] and the legendary founder of Daoism. Under the patronage of Emperor

Xuanzong (713–756), Daoism even obtained a superior position over Buddhism, and had since then functioned as one of the three pillars of state ideology alongside with Confucianism and Buddhism in imperial China.

Due to the great influence and popularity of Daoism, TPGJ devoted the first eighty-six *juan*, as shown below in Table 1, to accounts of Daoist masters, priests, immortals, and practitioners with focus on their making and taking elixirs of life, exercising breath control and magic arts, going on a special diet for longevity and immortality, or retreating from the madding crowd into remote mountains or deep valleys to live as a hermit on dews and herbs.

Table 1: Daoist Tales in TPGJ

Juan No.	Tale Category	No. of *Juan*
1–55	Immortals	55
56–70	Female immortals	15
71–75	Daoist magic arts	5
76–80	Masters of esoteric techniques	5
81–86	Extraordinary people	6
Total No. of *Juan*	86	

Confucianism sees much of value in maintaining a hierarchical social/family system, which requires deference and obedience of the younger for the elder, of the junior for the superior, of the ruled for the ruling, and of the female for the male. "Whereas Confucianism often seems sternly masculine," as Ebrey observes, "Daoism was more accepting of feminine principles (yin of the yin-yang pair)"[14] As illustrated by Du Guangting (850–933) in his *Yongcheng jixian lu* [The Records of Assembled Female Immortals in Yongcheng],[15] women are treated as, if not superior to, equal and complementary to men in line with "a [Daoist] cosmological model that emphasizes the alternation and complementarity of yin and yang."[16]

Daoism also distinguishes itself from Buddhism and Confucianism in that it does not favour a suppression of human sensual passion and sexual desire.[17] Rather, in Daoist traditions, particularly the early Tianshi [Celestial Masters] and the later Shangqing [Highest Clarity], sexual intercourse is considered to be a natural means of striking and maintaining a balance between yin and yang energies and forming an immortal embryo. Sexual union is not only a union of female and male bodies but a union of their minds and souls as well. It comes as no surprise that women are

often portrayed in Daoist literature as tender-hearted, pure-minded, beautiful celestial beings coming down from Heaven for a romantic encounter and union with men.

Tales promoting Buddhism are mostly found in *Juan* 87–162, 356–357, and 375–388 of TPGJ, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Buddhist Tales in TPGJ

Juan No.	Tale Category	No. of *Juan*
87–98	Extraordinary Buddhist monks	12
99–101	Buddhist miracles	3
102–134	The law of karma	33
135–145	Signs, symptoms and omens	11
146–160	Predestination	15
161–162	Divine inspiration	2
356–357	Yaksha	2
375–386	Rebirth	12
387–388	Becoming aware of previous life	2
Total No. of *Juan*	92	

In contrast to Daoism, Buddhism believes that life is nothing but suffering and that suffering is caused by human desires. The only way out of this suffering world is to follow and practice in this life the Buddhist teachings, or Dharma, so as to enter the realm of nirvana, an absolute spiritual state free from incarnation and reincarnation. Reading and chanting Buddhist sutras is thus part of daily life for Buddhist monks, nuns and practitioners.

"The Law of Karma" is the most commanding of all the Buddhist teachings. The central message of karma is that one will be rewarded for doing good and be punished for doing evil, and that the reward or retribution may occur in this life as a result of one's behaviour in his/her previous life. As manifested in numerous entries in *Juan* 102–134, the karmic effect may be extended to other family members, and even continue to be felt in one's afterlife. The karmic law of reward and retribution has been deeply rooted in the Chinese mind, and makes its power felt ever more through anomalous accounts of various omens predicting the rise and fall of people of all social strata from kings and dukes down to street peddlers and prostitutes, as shown in entries arranged under the subcategory of "Omens, Symptoms and Signs" in *Juan* 135–145.

In addition to Daoism and Buddhism, folk beliefs in *wu* and *guai* were also widespread in ancient China. The Six Dynasties (220–

581) witnessed the publication of dozens of collections of tales about gods, ghosts, and spirits, and during the Tang and Five Dynasties (907–960) there appeared more fleshed stories about the strange and supernatural. As shown in Table 3, entries dealing with shamanistic belief and practice account for 112 *juan* in TPGJ and are divided into thirty-one categories ranging from "ghosts and demons," "souls and spirits," "gods and deities," and "demons and monsters," to "dreams," "witchcraft," and "miracles and mysteries." Apart from *Juan* 163, 216–217, and 276–374, most items in *Juan* 218–224 and 389–392 of TPGJ may also be classified as belonging to this category.

Table 3: Shamanistic Tales in TPGJ

Juan No.	Tale Category	No. of *Juan*
163	Prognostication	1
216–217	Divination	2
218–220	Medicine	3
221–224	Physiognomy	4
276–282	Dreams	7
283	Witchcraft	1
284–287	Magic	4
288–290	Evil and fraudulent magic	3
291–315	Deities	25
316–355	Ghosts	40
358	Souls and spirits	1
359–367	Demons and monsters	9
368–373	Spirits and monsters	6
374	Marvels and mysteries	1
389–390	Tombs and graves	2
391–392	Tomb inscriptions	2
Total No. of *Juan*	111	

Animism and animatism also feature prominently in TPGJ, with a total of eighty-six *juan* given to anomaly accounts of a wide range of natural and supernatural beings and happenings from dragons, birds, beasts, and flowers to thunder, rain, and water, as shown in Table 4:

Table 4: Animistic and Animatistic Tales in TPGJ

Juan No.	Tale Category	No. of *Juan*
393–395	Thunder	3
396	Rain	1

397	Mountains	1
398	Stones	1
399	Water	1
400–405	Treasures	6
406–417	Grass and wood	12
418–425	Dragons	8
426–433	Tigers	8
434–446	Domestic and wild animals	13
447–455	Foxes	9
456–459	Snakes	4
460–463	Domestic and wild birds	4
464–472	Aquatic animals	9
473–479	Insects	7
Total No. of *Juan*	87	

As seen from the tables above, *zhiguai* entries make up the bulk of TPGJ with a total of 376 *juan* devoted to tales of the strange and supernatural, accounting for 75% of the 500-*juan* text of TPGJ. In contrast, entries recognised as *zhiren* [records about men] and *bowu* [knowledge-broadening] tales add up to one hundred and twenty-four *juan*, constituting the remaining one third of this multi-volume *xiaoshuo* encyclopaedia, as shown in Table 5:

Table 5: Tales about Men and the World

Juan No.	Tale Category	No. of *Juan*
164	Celebrities	1
165	Honesty and thrift	1
166–168	Righteous acts	3
169–170	Foreseeing one's career development	2
171–172	Good judgement	2
173–174	Eloquence	2
175	Child prodigies	1
176–177	Talent and tolerance	2
178–184	Civil service examination	7
185–186	Selection and appointment of officials	2
187	Government officials	1
188	Corrupt officials	1
189–190	Generals and marshals	2
191–192	Bravery	2

193–196	Chivalry	4
197	Erudition	1
198–200	Literary talent	3
201	Literary fame	1
202	Confucian conduct	1
203–205	Music	3
206–209	Books	4
210–214	Drawings	5
215	Arithmetic	1
225–227	Handicraft and technology	3
228	Playing games	1
229–232	Rare treasures	4
233	Alcohol drink	1
234	Food	1
235	Making friends	1
236–237	Extravagance	2
238	Cunning and scheming	1
239–241	Flattering and fawning	3
242	Fallacy	1
243	Making a living	1
244	Narrow-mindedness and quick-temperedness	1
245–252	Jocularity	8
253–257	Derision	5
258–262	Disdain	5
263–264	Rascals	2
265–266	Arrogance and frivolity	2
267–269	Cruelty	3
270–273	Women	4
274	Feelings	1
275	Child servants	1
480–483	Barbarian peoples	4
484–492	Miscellaneous records	9
493–500	Miscellaneous notes	8
Total No. of *Juan*		124

Of those classified as *zhiren* tales, entries grouped in *Juan* 164–172 and 178–205 under such categories as "Righteous Acts," "Honesty and Thrift," and "Confucian Conduct" are characteristic of

Confucian values and virtues, which are concerned with moral, ethical, and political issues rather than strange and supernatural beings and happenings.[18]

Xiaoshuo classification in TPGJ reflects the social-cultural background of the time against which *xiaoshuo* was conceived and received. In respect of state ideologies and religions, Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism had co-existed with each other since the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 C.E.). As a native religion, Daoism had never lacked believers and followers in imperial China. Confucianism, after a decline during the Six Dynasties, revived and regained its dominant position over other schools of thought in Tang and Song times. Buddhism, although originally a foreign religion from India, had by the end of the Six Dynasties successfully integrated with Chinese culture and been accepted as a domestic religion. Adherents of the three religions used the tale as a tool to promote their own claims and to expose the pretensions of their rivals in their struggle for support and survival, which gave rise to a persistent prosperity of religious literature in early and early medieval China.

The compilation of the 500-*juan* TPGJ came of the great efforts by Song scholars to collect and classify classical Chinese narratives dating from pre-Qin to early Song times. The collection of such a large number of items and classification of them first into ninety-two general categories and further into more than 150 sub-categories in TPGJ greatly extends the scope of the ancient Chinese conception of *xiaoshuo* to include "all short narratives, fictional or factual, meant for entertainment, edification, and explanation of social, natural or supernatural beings and happenings."[19] This conception of *xiaoshuo* remained largely unchanged until towards the end of the nineteenth century when Western theories of fiction and fictional works were introduced in China.

NOTES

1 In Chinese history, the Song Dynasty is conventionally divided into the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127) with Kaifeng as the capital and the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279) with Lin'an, present-day Hangzhou as the capital.

2 The *ci* poetry is a form of lyric written to certain tunes with strict tonal patterns and rhyme schemes and in fixed number of lines and words, originating in the Tang Dynasty (618–906) and fully developed in the Song Dynasty.

3 The edition of TPGJ I refer to throughout this study is the Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Ancient Literature Publishing House] 1990 edition, which is actually a facsimile version included in the *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* [The Literary Source Pavilion edition of the Complete Library of the Four Treasures].

4 Li Fang, "*Taiping guangji* biao" [Report on TPGJ to the Throne], TPGJ, ed. Li Fang et al., vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Literature Publishing House, 1990), 1.

5 The Taiqing lou was built within the Imperial Institute in Honour of Literature [Chongwen yuan] in the third year of the Taiping Xingguo Period (979) as a private library for Emperor Taizong. For this record by Wang Yinglin (1223–1296) in *Juan* 54 of his *Yu hai* [A Sea of Jade], see *Yu hai* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Ancient Literature Publishing House, 1988), 1030.

6 Wang Pizhi, *Shengshui yantan lu* [Records of Casual Talk on the Shengshui River] (Beijing: China Book Company, 1981), 118.

7 Zhang Bangji, *Mozhuang manlu* [Casual Notes from the Ink Village] (Beijing: China Book Company, 2002), 56.

8 Luo Ye, "Shegeng xuyin" [Introductory Remarks on Tongue Cultivation], *Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo xu ba ji* [Collected Prefaces and Afterwords to Fictional Works from Ancient China], ed. Ding Xigen (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1996), 586.

9 Zhang Guofeng, *Taiping guangji banben kaoshu* [Accounts of Evidential Research on the Textual History of TPGJ] (Beijing: China Book Company, 2004), 6.

10 Chao Gongwu, *Zhaode xiansheng junzhai dushu qianzhi* [The Former Part of JZDSZ by Mr Zhaode] (Shanghai: Shanghai Commercial Press, 1935), *Juan* 3.

11 Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* [Annotated Catalogue of Books at the Zhizhai Studio] (Jiangsu: Jiangsu Book Company), *Juan* 13.

12 Chao Gongwu, *Zhaode xiansheng junzhai dushu houzhi* [The Latter Part of JZDSZ by Mr Zhaode] (Shanghai: Shanghai Commercial Press, 1935), *Juan* 2.

13 Tan Kai, preface, TPGJ, ed. Li Fang et al. 1.

14 Patricia Buckely Ebrey, *China: A Cultural, Social, and Political History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 35.

15 This collection of hagiographies about female immortals was recorded in the bibliographical monograph of the *Songshi* [History of the Song Dynasty] as consisting of 10 *juan*, but did not survive in its entirety. A 6-*juan* text with a total of 37 entries is included in the *Dao zang* [Daoist Canon], and twenty-seven entries from this book find their way into *Juan* 114-116 of the Daoist encyclopaedia *Yunji qiqian* [The Bookcase of the Clouds with the Seven Labels]. Twenty-six entries from this book are quoted in *Juan* 56-70 of TPGJ.

[16] Catherine Despeux, "Women in Daoism," trans. Livia Kohn, *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 401.

[17] Xiao Dengfu, *Daojia daojiao yu zhongtu fojiao chuqi jingyi fazhan* [Daoism as a Religion and Daoism as a Philosophy in Relation to the Early Development of Sinicised Buddhist Thoughts] (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Literature Publishing House, 2003), 127–44.

[18] Confucius is recorded as disapproving of talking about "extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings." For this record, see "Confucian Analects" in *The Chinese Classics*, trans. James Legg, Vol. I & II (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2001), 201.

[19] Xiaohuan Zhao, *Classical Chinese Supernatural Fiction: A Morphological History* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 172.

POWER AND ILLUSION: OLD WORDS, NEW EXPRESSIONS AND DESIRE FOR EMPOWERMENT

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Japan started the new century by encouraging the nation to regain its strength both in public and private sectors after its struggles in the 1990s, which is called "the Lost Decade." The Japanese term for the Lost Decade, 失われた十年 [*ushinawareta jyuunen*], appears to be a literal translation from English. The unusual use of the passive voice in Japanese has an impact on the way of conveying the sense of loss. It could come from the word "Lost Generation," which Gertrude Stein coined to call a group of young American writers in the 1920s, and actually Japanese young people who entered the job market just after the Lost Decade are now called "the Lost Generation," 失われた世代 [*ushinawareta sedai*].[1] Many of those young people have lost opportunities to have full-time permanent positions in companies, which used to be a traditional value in the society.[2]

What was lost in the 1990s? If we look closely at the events that took place in Japan during the period, we can see that what was lost was not confined to the political and economic arena. Overall confidence in society was also undermined. Following the Showa Emperor's death in 1989, the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake struck Kobe in January 1995, and in March of the same year the members of Aum Shinrikyo (a religious sect) attacked Tokyo's subway system by releasing sarin gas. In 1999 the world's most serious nuclear accident since Chernobyl occurred on the outskirts of Tokyo. These disastrous events, together with numerous incidents of political scandal, corruption, child suicides and homicides, were the backdrop for the collapse of core values and established customs of the society such as the lifetime employment

system. There was a strong feeling that the fundamental trust in society has been lost. Some thought that the Lost Decade was going to be the lost fifteen years with no light at the end of the tunnel,[3] and many were struggling to predict the future.[4]

While some think the pessimism about the Lost Decade has been exaggerated given that Japan still remains a very wealthy country in the world,[5] Lebra looks at the inner aspects of people's mind to overcome the crisis:

> many Japanese are in a depressive mood, feeling that their country is "collapsing." To cope with national and global crises, individuals are pressed to rediscover or reinvent themselves, to draw new maps for navigating their life courses, maps that steer away from familiar, collectively shared tracks. As I see it, the big question here is whether and how culture facilitates or blocks, guides or misleads this quest for self.[6]

Lebra identifies "culture" as something that has the power to facilitate or block, guide or mislead individuals searching for the answers to survive in a country they feel collapsing. One of the cultural phenomena which reflect people's efforts to rediscover themselves, or to regain the power they thought they had, is the linguistic practice of creating a new expression by adding a word力 [*ryoku*, power] as a suffix to an existing word.

This paper looks at this new practice of Japanese language both in private and public sectors in relation to social changes and efforts to overcome difficulties that the changes brought about. Starting from "*roujin-ryoku*" [old people's power], which is regarded as setting the new trend in the late nineties, I examine various examples of the new practice together with the social issues behind the new expressions in private sectors. Following that, I look at similar practices in the public sector, and examine specific rhetoric in policy documents showing continuity between public and private sectors in terms of usage. Since this paper is part of my project on Japan's language policies on English in relation to the Japanese government's agendas for maintaining cultural independence in the era of globalisation, I also touch on one of the key issues of such agendas, which is '*eigo-ryoku*" [English competency], and argue what the "*ryoku"* means after all.

"*Roujin-ryoku*": the Beginning of the Unexpected

The book *Roujin-ryoku*, written by an award winning writer, Genpei Akasegawa, was published in September 1998.[7] It was an instant

hit, and the word "*roujin-ryoku"* [old people's power] became one of the vogue words of the year. The book became a bestseller because of its eye-catching but simple title and reverse conception of old age. It argues that people do not just become old and frail, but they actually gain skills and abilities such as "forgetfulness," which should be considered as "old people's power." In other words, it was a proposal to view the negative aspects of old age positively in order to accept and enjoy being old. Akasegawa said in a public lecture that the word "*roujin-ryoku"* was born when his friends joked about their physical and mental decline because of their age.[8] The unexpected combination of words ("old people" and "power"), however, led people to think that old people can still possess power like young people, which was different from what Akasegawa originally meant in his book.[9] One example is a book published under a similar title, **江戸の老人** [*Edo no Rojin-ryoku*, old people's power in Edo], which is a collection of short stories about old people full of vigour in the Edo period.[10]

As the use and misuse of *roujin-ryoku* indicates, the broad meanings of *ryoku are*: force, power, strength, ability, and faculty. Traditionally, the Japanese suffix *ryoku* is combined with one or two *kanji* (Chinese characters), indicating such qualities depending on the combinations of words.[11] In the 1992 printing of *Gyakubiki Koujien* (a reverse dictionary), 196 words with the suffix *ryoku* were entered. In the 1999 printing, which is the fifth edition, the total number of words with the suffix increased to 204. One word was deleted and nine words were added, all technical terms. Among the list of 204 words, there was no unusual combination with the suffix, and the word *eigo-ryoku* (English proficiency or competency) was not included even though it has been widely used at least for the last twenty years, as will be discussed later in this paper. Attaching a suffix is one of the grammatical means for creating new words in Japanese. What is new about the *roujin-ryoku* boom is that it is a language practice using *kanji*, part of traditional Japanese. This practice creates a sharp contrast with the phenomenon of excessive use of foreign words or loanwords in contemporary Japanese society, which are usually written in *katakana*, a type of Japanese cursive syllabary.[12] One of the direct translations of *ryoku* is "power," and the English word has been used as an established loanword in modern Japanese. It is used with the sense of energy and force such as **パワー・アップ** [*pawaa appu*, power-up] and **ウーマン・パワー** [*uuman pawaa*, woman power], or in an expression such as **パワーがある** [*Pawaa ga aru*, Persons/objects

have power]. Both *pawaa appu* [power-up] and *uuman pawaa* [woman power] have made entries in Japanese dictionaries.[13]

The enthusiasm for using foreign words is nothing new for Japanese. Throughout history, Japanese have borrowed words from foreign languages starting with Chinese, and in contemporary Japanese society English is the dominant source language for loanwords. According to the Agency of Cultural Affairs, which is under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), there are two reasons for the use of loanwords in current Japanese language practice: one is the difficulty in translating foreign words into suitable Japanese, and the other is that Japanese people see foreign culture as superior. The Agency explains that by using the language of a country which the writer believes superior, the writer attempts to create a culturally superior image in his or her writing. The Agency discourages using foreign words that most Japanese people are not familiar with because it makes sentences difficult to understand.[14] Actually, the excessive use of loanwords has been a hotly debated issue in relation to the maintenance of proper Japanese.[15] The overwhelming use of foreign words has been seen as a threat to the national language, but the causes of the phenomenon are not as simple as the government explains. English loanwords do not merely add western flavour to the language, and the ways English loanwords are used are quite complex. They are used as part of the communicative strategies of Japanese people to achieve certain goals in communication. According to Stanlaw, one of the reasons for the use of English words in Japanese is that individuals apparently feel free to use them in creative and highly personal ways.[16]

If we think that individual Japanese find room for creativity freed from the restrictions of their national language by using English loanwords, certain political climates might also have contributed to the phenomenon. In relation to internationalisation and the use of English loanwords, Gottlieb points out that "both the post-1970s emphasis on internationalisation and the take-up of new technologies, in particular information technologies, contributed to an increasing tendency to use (mainly) English loanwords instead of Japanese equivalents where they exist."[17] In the background to this was a government policy which located the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL) as the core of its promotion of internationalisation.[18] Some have a view that Japanese internationalisation is a combination of Anglicisation and nationalism,[19] because of the emphasis on Japan's efforts to gain

the trust of the international community represented by the West, and of the consequences this brought was about the cultural and linguistic practices in Japan. However, as I have argued elsewhere,[20] Japanese internationalisation is based on Japan's economic success and the particular qualities of Japanese ways, and it came from a need for the Japanese people to reaffirm the historical continuity of Japan and its cultural coherence. Therefore, the Japanese conception of internationalisation and the motivation for promoting internationalisation both in Japan and the international community were based on the view that Japan and the rest of the world are distinct entities. This view has not changed since the Lost Decade.

As certain language practices can reflect the direction of the nation in the period concerned, it is possible to draw a parallel between the increased tendency to use English loanwords during the promotion of internationalisation and the *ryoku* boom in the era of globalisation. Contrary to internationalisation, the word globalisation is often used in a negative sense in Japan's policy documents. While Japan has embraced internationalisation as a key concept of promoting Japan in the international community, the word globalisation started appearing in education White Papers from 2001, coinciding with the government's acknowledgement of the national crisis after the Lost Decade.[21] One of the key policy documents defining the directions of the twenty-first century indicated that the way Japan had been trying to catch up with and overtake the West was no longer effective in the era of globalisation. [22] This did not make Japan search for a new model, however. It looked inward instead. The document stated that if Japan manages to gain world recognition of the positive qualities of its people and society, Japan can work on its problem within the country without subjecting itself to the powerful forces of globalisation. The new *ryoku* boom can be seen in the same light in terms of the efforts to regain power once it has been lost. It also reflects the promotion of the "beautiful country" by the current Prime Minister Shinzou Abe, who appears to seek solutions for the troubled nation by revisiting once-lost positive qualities of the people and society.[23] In the next section, I examine various examples of the new practice of *ryoku* and look at the intentions and effectiveness.

The Meanings of New Vocabulary

The new practice of using the suffix *ryoku* has spread across all possible fields: international and local politics, business, family,

education, jobs, culture, health, food, relationships, sports, transportation, technology, religion, communication, leisure and so on. In particular, it is often used commercially, such as in book titles and advertisements, aiming at an eye-catching effect. On the other hand, some words are used in normal contexts, more likely demonstrating the writer's up to date knowledge and ideas. Internet space, which is one of the new media of communication, can be both private and public because of its nature. Many users of personal blogs appear to experiment with the new *ryoku* words extensively to express their personal views in their own ways. The words are used in such personal ways that they can be understood only by certain audiences in certain contexts.

Because of limited space here, it is not possible to list all words I have found. It can be said, however, that the number of new vocabulary items easily exceeds two hundred. In other words, the possibilities for making new words with *-ryoku* are endless. The majority of such new words are created by combining *kanji* nouns with the suffix, e.g. **文化力** [*bunka-ryoku*, culture power]. Some are combination of nouns in *hiragana* (a type of Japanese cursive syllabary) or with *kanji* such as **お父さん力** [*otousan-ryoku*, father's power], **いじめ力** [*ijime-ryoku,* bullying power], and **アニメ力** [*anime-ryoku*, animation skills]. One of the popular words, **癒し力** [*iyashi-ryoku*, healing power], presents a reversion to Japanese tradition, given that the English loanword, **ヒーリング・パワー** [*hiiringu-pawaa*], does exist as an established loanword. The word *iyashi* has been popular in Japan since the late 90s, reflecting people's lost state of mind during the difficult times. The new Japanese word focuses on Japanese traditional practices while the English loanword indicates exotic healing devices. The new use of *kanji*, therefore, suggests a parallel to the inward-looking attitude of the Japanese government to overcoming difficulties in the era of globalisation, as mentioned before.

Apart from the nature of word play, there are some common aspects among these words. If we look at two specific aspects, the vocabulary list can be divided into two groups. One is a group of words where people can easily guess the meanings but not necessarily agree on the same definitions (Group A), and another group are words of totally unexpected combination with the suffix, where people can only speculate on the meaning (Group B). Words such as **日本語力** [*nihongo-ryoku*, Japanese language competency/ability], **国際力** [*kokusai-ryoku,* international competency], and **仕事力** [*shigoto-ryoku*, job skills] belong to Group

A. These words are all about ability or competency. On the other hand, *otousan-ryoku* [father's power], *ijime-ryoku* [bullying power] and **大学力** [*daigaku-ryoku*, university power] belong to Group B. Since there are particular social issues behind those words, it is not possible to understand the meanings without knowledge of current affairs. "Father's power" is used against "mother's power," which is taken for granted in contemporary Japanese society. The absence of the father figure at home for children has been regarded as a cause of children's social and educational problems, and because of that reason the word "father's power" is used in order to urge Japanese fathers to review their functions and abilities as a father. The word *ijime-ryoku* [bullying power] has a different story. When I first found this word in a personal blog on the website, the implications of the word puzzled me. "Bullying" is a socially condemned behaviour and, therefore, it is not supposed to be associated with power or ability in a positive sense. When I read carefully the entire text, it became apparent that it was used to describe a student's capacity to bully other students. The word *daigaku-ryoku* [university power] reflects current educational problems, the shortage of students in particular. The word appeared in the advertisement of a private university for prospective students with the message that the university possess power to make a change in the society.

As mentioned earlier, a book title is one of the effective ways to spread a new word and its meaning, and usually authors explain or define the new word in their books. For example, a book **大阪力** [*oosaka-ryoku*, Osaka power] was written as part of a campaign to regain the cultural and economic power that Osaka used to possess,[24] and a book **子供の社会力** [*kodomo no shakai-ryoku*, children's power for socialisation] was produced to claim that Japanese youth lack not the ability to adapt to society but the desire and initiative to be qualified to contribute to society.[25] However, the practice is not always successful. The author of a book, **自信力が学生を変える** [*jishin-ryoku ga gakusei o kaeru*, Confidence power changes students], claims the word *jishin-ryoku* [confidence power] is her own creation, but unfortunately the word serves only to produce eye-catching effect, not in content.[26]

Kadowaki, who is the author of the above mentioned book on Japanese children, refers to a government policy indicating his usage of the word is an extension of the government's claim in the policy.[27] In the next section, I look at the continuity of the new practice in public sector.

Continuity between Public and Private Sectors

What Kadowaki mentioned in relation to his new word *shakai-ryoku* is the Japanese government's promotion of 生きる力 [*ikiru chikara*, power to live] in its educational reform. Here the word is a combination of a verb and a noun, not a suffix, and it is not pronounced as *ryoku*, but uses the same *kanji*. It was translated as "zest for living" in the English edition.[28] Among government publications, the notable uses of the new practice of the suffix *are bunka-ryoku* [culture power] and 人間力 [*ningen-ryoku*, human power]. The English translation of *ningen-ryoku* [human power] is "human resources" in the English edition, and it was stated as something to be improved "by focusing on intellectual education, moral education, physical education and food education.[29] *Bunka-ryoku* [culture power] began appearing in the section on promotion of local culture of the White Papers produced by MEXT from 2003. The word is used with quotation marks in Japanese text and the English translation is not available since the section is not included in the English abbreviated version.

These examples of the new practice of *ryoku* indicate that there is continuity between public and private sectors in terms of the acceptance of the new expression, and both sectors have applied the practice in attempts to restore some kind of vitality to people and society even though the actual meanings are not necessarily clear.

Lastly, I want to mention the word *eigo-ryoku* [English competency/ability] to conclude this paper. As I mentioned at the beginning, the word is not a new word even though it has not yet made an entry into Japanese dictionaries. English learners in Japan are constantly assessed for their *eigo-ryoku* as if it is measurable, even though it has never been clearly defined. Yamada challenges the definition of the word and published a book called 英語力とは何か [*eigo-ryoku towa nanika*, what is English ability?].[30] He argues that everybody agrees that *eigo-ryoku* is about ability in English, and "*eigo-ryoku* is high" means "the person is good at English." Nothing is clear beyond that, however,. Many teachers and students do not know how they can gain English ability or how they can improve their ability. According to Yamada, this is because adequate discussions have not been carried out to clarify the definition of the word. There is no space to discuss the problems surrounding TEFL here, but this challenge to the definition of the familiar word symbolises the connection between new linguistic

practices, social issues, and expectations for empowerment in the era of globalisation which Japan has been struggling to go through.

NOTES

1 "Hide sedai no yuuutsu to shousou" [Melancholy and fret of Hide's generation], *AERA* (2006): 28 August. Retrieved 15 September 2006, from http://www.asahi.com/job/special/TKY200608300339.html

2 According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, the unemployment recorded highest and part time labour has increased in 1998. The survey also shows that among young people there was a change in their attitudes toward employment in a traditional sense. See Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, *Heisei 10 nen ban roudou keizai no bunseki* [Analysis of labour economy of 1998 fiscal year]. Retrieved May 13, 2007, from http://kensaku.mhlw.go.jp/app

3 Junri Ozaki, "21 seiki ni hitsuyou to sareru shihou kaikaku towa. [Judiciary Reform for the 21st century], *Zenyu Web News* (2002). Retrieved February 24, 2005, from hppt://www.zenyu.jp/report/66/66_1.htm

4 See "Tsugi no juunenn wa kounaru" [Next ten years], *Bungei Shunjyu* special issue of February (2004). It features both pessimistic and optimistic predictions.

5 Hara Manabu "Rethinking the 'lost decade' and Japan's options'," *Asahi* (2005, January 29). Retrieved February 24, 2005 from http://www.asahi.com/english/lifestyle/TKY200501290132.html

6 Takie S. Lebra, *The Japanese Self in Cultural Logic* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), xv.

7 Genpei Akasegawa, *Roujin-ryoku* [Old People's Power] (Tokyo: Chikuma shobou, 1998).

8 Genpei Akasegawa, *Roujin-ryoku no himitsu* [the secret of old people's power], *Sanson sokuhou* (2000). Retrieved February 18, 2007 from http://www.sanson.or.jp/sokuhou/no_776/776-9.html

9 See "*Atarashii 'chikara' no hirogari"* [The spread of new "power"], *Asahi* (2003, October 28). Retrieved February 18, 2007 from http://www.asashi-net.or.jp/~QM4H-IIM/k031028.htm

10 *Edo no Rojin-ryoku* [Old people's power in Edo], ed. Hosoya Masamitsu, (Tokyo: Shuueisha, 2002).

11 Examples are: **視力** [*shiryoku*, eyesight], **知力** [*chiryoku*, mental power], **指導力** [*shidouryoku*, leadership].

12 See Peter Backhaus, *Linguistic Landscapes: A Comparative Study of Urban Multilingualism in Tokyo* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2007) and James Stanlaw, *Japanese English: Language and Culture Contact* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004).

13 *Kojien* (Tokyo: Iwanani shoten, 2004), fifth edition.

14 Bunkacho [Agency for Cultural Affairs], *Kotoba ni kansuru mondou shuu* [Questions and answers about Japanese language] (Tokyo: Ookurashou insatsu kyoku, 1996), 697.

15 See Yoshisato Suzuki, *Nihongo no dekinai nihonjin* [Japanese who cannot use Japanese properly] (Tokyo: Chuukou shinsho, 2002).

16 Stanlaw, 17–8.

17 Nanette Gottlieb, *Language and Society in Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 63.

18 See Kayoko Hashimoto, "'Internationalisation' is 'Japanisation'," *Journal of Intercultural Studies 21* (2000): 39–51.

19 Ryuko Kubota, "The impact of globalisation on language teaching in Japan," in *Globalisation and Language Teaching*, ed. David Blocks and Deborah Cameron (London: Routledge, 2002), 13–28.

20 Kayoko Hashimoto, "Japan's Language Policy and the 'Lost Decade'," in *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*, ed. Amy B. M Tuis and James W. Tollefson (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2007), 27.

21 Hashimoto, "Japan's Language Policy and the 'Lost Decade'," 30

22 Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century, *Japan's Goals in the 21st Century: The Frontier within*, (2000). Retrieved February 20, 2005, from http://www.kantei.go.jp

23 Abe Shinzou, *Utsukushii Kuni e* [Towards a beautiful country] (Tokyo: Bungeishunjyuu, 2006).

24 Hajime Tanba, *Osaka-ryoku* [Osaka power] (Tokyo: PHP, 2005).

25 Atsushi Kadowaki, *Kodomo no shakai-ryoku* [children's power for socialisation] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1999).

26 Kazuko Kawachi, *Jishin-ryoku ga gakusei o kaeru* [Confidence power changes students] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005).

27 Kadowaki, 15.

28 The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Technology, *White Paper on Education, Culture, Sports and Technology 2004* (Tokyo: National Printing Bureau, 2005).

29 The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Technology, *FY2003 White Paper on Education, Culture, Sports and Technology*. Retrieved February 2, 2007, from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpac200301/hpac200301_1_002.html

30 Yuuichirou Yamada, *Eigo-ryoku towa nanika* [What is English ability?] (Tokyo: Taishuukan, 2006).

FACTORS AFFECTING STRATEGIES USED BY ENGLISH-JAPANESE BILINGUALS MAKING GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENTS IN JAPANESE

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This paper explores how various factors influence the process by which English-Japanese bilinguals make grammaticality judgments in Japanese. The factors examined are: the way the participants learned the L2 (Second Language); their proficiency in the L2; and the length of their in-country experience.

Differences between those who learn a L2 through instruction and those who acquire it informally have been documented by various researchers. For example, Pica[1] compared the production of English grammatical morphology by adult native speakers of Spanish under three conditions of exposure to English: (1) instruction only; (2) naturalistic (informal), and (3) mixed. She found that errors of morpheme over suppliance in inappropriate contexts were more prevalent among instruction-only subjects, whereas the naturalistic group tended to omit plural s-endings on nouns. Shirai and Kurono[2] examined previous studies on the acquisition of English aspect, and concluded that untutored learners tend to overuse progressive marking[3]. The "*-te iru* form"[4] has a progressive meaning, and a resultative meaning.[5] Sugaya[6] suggested that tutored learners tend to acquire progressive meanings first, whereas untutored learners can acquire both progressive and resultative meanings at the same time.

From the findings mentioned above, we can hypothesise that those who learn a L2 solely through instruction will rely on their grammatical knowledge to judge the grammaticality of a sentence, whereas those who learn a L2 informally will not, as they are less likely to possess explicit grammatical knowledge.

Based on the fact that there are some differences in use of learning strategies between advanced learners and beginners, we

can infer that language proficiency would influence the method of grammaticality judgment.[7] Therefore, I will examine the differences in the process of grammaticality judgments between learners with low proficiency and those with high proficiency.

In-country experience is not usually mentioned as a factor influencing the use of these strategies. However, when Kubota, Skoutarides and Peters compared strategies used by Japanese language learners in Japan with those in Australia, they identified differences such as the use of dictionaries, and other language resources.[8]

Sheu[9] found that even among learners of Japanese with equal proficiency, those who learned Japanese in Japan outperformed those who did not as far as the *"-te iru"* form is concerned. These results suggest that in-country experience influences the language learner's strategy in judging the "-te iru" form.

Grammaticality judgement tests are a popular research tool. However, the use of a grammaticality judgement test to measure proficiency is still controversial in terms of reliability and validity.[10] While the scores of a grammaticality judgement test are used to judge the participants' proficiency in Japanese in this study, it is done so with due caution.

In order to investigate the judgement process, a "think aloud" method was employed. One of the most serious concerns regarding think-aloud protocols is the issue of reactivity—the possibility that the act of thinking aloud while performing the task might trigger changes in the learners' cognitive process.[11] Leow and Morgan-Short[12] critically addressed this issue and concluded that reactivity does not play a significant role in a learner's subsequent performances.

Aim

The aims of this paper are threefold. They are to establish:

(1) whether there are any differences in the processing of grammaticality judgments between those who acquired Japanese informally and those who learned it through instruction;
(2) whether there are any differences in the processing of grammaticality judgments between those who have high proficiency in Japanese and those who have a lower proficiency in Japanese; and
(3) whether there are any differences in the processing of grammaticality judgments between those who have extensive in-country experience and those who do not.

Participants in this study

Data were collected from participants who fall into the following four categories: (1) native English speakers who primarily learned Japanese through instruction (NEI); (2) native English speakers who primarily learned Japanese through exposure to Japanese in a natural, untutored setting (NEU); (3) native English speakers who learned Japanese through instruction as well as in-country experiences in Japan (NEM); and (4) compound bilinguals who were brought up in a bilingual setting and who use Japanese at home and English outside home (CB). Two of the participants fell into the first category, two in the second, four in the third, and two in the fourth.

The following table shows the participants' Japanese learning backgrounds. Codes were used to conceal the participants' identities. The figures in the "Proficiency" column indicate the percentages of the correct answers of the grammaticality judgement test.

Code	Proficiency	Japanese learning backgrounds
NEI 1	86%	Self studied for 25 years. Studied at a private language school for 6 years. Studied at a university for four years. Has been to Japan five times for a total of 4 months for holidays since 1962.
NEI 2	52%	Studied Japanese at a university in Australia. Has been to Japan three times: two months as an English teacher; three weeks as a study tour, and three weeks to learn Japanese. Total time spent in Japan was 3 and a half months.
NEU 1	86%	Went to Japan for one year as a high school exchange student. Went back to Japan as an English teacher's assistant and spent two years. Never learned Japanese formally. Total time spent in Japan was 3 years.

NE U2	66%	Went to Japan eight years ago as an ESL lecturer at a university. Married to a Japanese. Never learned Japanese formally. Total time spent in Japan was 8 years.
NE M1	93%	Started learning Japanese at the age of 11 at school. Went to Japan for one year after finishing high school. After coming back to Australia, studied at a university for three years. Then, studied at a university in Japan for one year. Total time spent in Japan was over 2 years.
NE M2	83%	Started learning Japanese at a university in the U.S.A. Spent three years studying Japanese at a university in Japan and came to Australia. Went back to Japan to conduct research for two years, then came back to Australia. Total time spent in Japan was 8 years.
NE M3	86%	Went to Japan for one year as a high school exchange student. Majored in Japanese at a university in Australia. Undertook a Japanese language teachers training course in Japan for one year. Total time spent in Japan was around 4 years.
NE M4	45%	Went to Japan for 10 months at the age of 16. 15 years later studied Japanese at a university summer course for one month. Went to a language school in Japan for 4 months. Undertook a university course in Australia for one semester. Total time spent in Japan was 14 months.
CB1	93%	Has a Japanese mother and an Australian father. Went to a Japanese kindergarten in Japan for 8 months. Went to a full time Japanese primary school in Australia, then went to an Australian secondary school in Australia. Total time spent in Japan was around 1 year.
CB2	86%	Has Japanese parents, but was born and raised in Australia. Went to a Saturday Japanese school until junior high school while attending an Australian school. Total time spent in Japan was less than 6 months.

Table 1: Profiles of the participants

Participants were recruited through the author's personal contacts. All except one are university graduates.

Materials used in the study

The grammaticality judgment test used in this study contains twenty-two dialogues. It comprises fourteen "-te iru" questions, devised by the author with reference to Koyama's test,[13] and fifteen *wa* and *ga*[14] questions, devised by Sakamoto[15] and slightly modified by the author. The participants were judged on a total of twenty-nine grammatical items.

Research Procedure

The research procedure was as follows.

(1) Participants were given three dialogues with which to practice the "think-aloud" method. Asked to judge whether the underlined particles or verbs were grammatical or not, they were encouraged to say anything that came to mind, to "think aloud".

(2) Participants were given the grammaticality judgment test. They were encouraged to say anything that came to mind while processing their judgements. This session was audio-taped.

(3) Participants were interviewed in Japanese regarding their Japanese learning background and anything relevant to their language learning such as their age, Japanese learning history, trips to Japan, Japanese network, and the language they use at home. These interviews were also audio-taped.

The think-aloud sessions as well as the interviews were transcribed. As a result, the following types of data were obtained.

(1) Audio tapes of a "think-aloud" session and the interview.
(2) The transcription of (1)
(3) The results of the grammaticality judgment test.

Results

Using Ellis's category[16] to analyse the results of the "think-aloud" sessions, I identified the following 9 categories: (1) use of "feel"; (2) rehearse; (3) rehearse an alternative version; (4) access explicit knowledge; (5) use of analogy; (6) evaluate the sentence; (7) guess; (8) translate; (9) "sounds right." The last two categories were not listed in Ellis's category. Examples of each category in my data are as follows. (Utterances in Japanese are italicised, followed by the English translation in brackets.)

1) Use of "feel"

"Differences between *wa* and *ga*. I do not know how I can explain this. It is extremely difficult to explain, but since I have been using Japanese for a long time, I know this should be *ga*."

2) Rehearse

"Ano hito wa Yamamoto san ni niteru kara Yamamoto-san no imooto kana to omoimashita ga chigaimashita [I thought that she looked like MsYamamoto, so I wondered if she was Yamamoto's younger sister, but she was not]. *Ano hito wa Yamamoto-san ni niteru kara Yamamoto san no imooto kana to omoimashita ga chigaimashita* [I thought that she looked like MsYamamoto, so I wondered if she was Yamamoto's younger sister, but she was not]. *Chigaimashita* [was different]. *Ano hito wa Yamamoto-san ni niteru kara Yamamoto san no imooto kana to omotte* [I thought that she looked like Ms Yamamoto, so I wondered if she was Yamamoto's sister]. OK, I am leaving it."

3) Rehearse an alternative version.
"Chigaimashita [was wrong] *chigaimashita* [was wrong] *chigaudatte* [is wrong, and] *chigaudatta* [was wrong] *chigaimashita* [was wrong] *chigaudatta* [was wrong]. For some reason for me *chigau to omoimashita ga chigaudatta* [I thought that I was wrong and I was wrong] probably comes to mind ."

4) Access explicit knowledge
"I think it's *omoimasu* [think]. Because *omotte imasu* [be thinking] is to use for other people and here this person is talking about what they think themselves."

5) Use of analogy
"Ashi ga nagai desu ne [has long legs, hasn't he?], , *oo* [oh]*, dooshite nan daroo ne* [I wonder why]*, Nani ka kore zoo wa hana ga nagai ni niteimasu yo ne* [Somehow, this is similar to 'An elephant's trunk is long,' isn't it]."

6) Evaluate the sentence
"Professor says I will be waiting for you from one o'clock. I will be probably looking at the social standings and my own experiences. I would say *Ichiji ni kite kudasai* [Please come at one o'clock]. *Ichiji ni matte imasu* [I will be waiting at one o'clock]. That would be more like a student saying. But other than that, it seems to me to be OK."

7) Guess
"I really have no idea and I guess."

8) Translation

"Kyonen no Shigatsu kara mainichi gakoo ni kayoimasu [From April last year, I commute to school everyday]. *Mainichi* [everyday], *Kyonen no Shigatsu kara* [From April last year], from April this year, everyday I go to school, I go to school. I think that one is OK, or maybe *Kakyotte imasu* [is attending] would be better. But I think that one is OK, so I will leave that one. I think it is OK."

9) Sounds right

"I've been something since April last year, and I know it has to be *nantokatte imasu* [something *imasu*]. So I've just noticed by sound."

In analysing these strategies, let us first examine if there are any difference according to the method that the L2 was acquired. The following table shows the number of times each category was used by each participant.

Table 2: Number of times that the methods were used

ID	Feel	Re-hearse	Rehearse alternative version	Explicit knowledge	Use ana	Evaluate a sentence	Guess	Transla-tion	Sound-sright
NEI1	3	0	0	**17**	1	2	0	**11**	1
NEI2	0	3	2	**11**	1	1	4	**17**	8
NEU1	6	**11**	10	**11**	5	5	0	0	2
NEU2	**13**	9	**11**	3	1	2	4	2	2
NEM1	9	0	**15**	**15**	6	0	0	0	3
NEM2	**13**	4	0	**12**	1	0	0	0	0
NEM3	1	6	4	**9**	1	1	0	3	**16**
NEM4	0	4	5	**21**	0	6	1	**14**	1
CB1	**25**	**2**	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
CB2	**15**	**11**	2	6	0	0	0	0	0

The most and the second most frequently used methods are written in bold.

The strategic uses of "Feel", "Rehearse," "Rehearse alternative version," "Explicit grammatical knowledge," and "Sounds right" were affected by the way the participants had learnt Japanese as follows:

(1) "Rehearse" was a popular strategy among CBs and with NEU1 who learned Japanese in an untutored setting.

(2) "Rehearses alternative version" was popular among those who learned Japanese in untutored settings and with NEM1, who had extensive instruction as well as having an in-country experience.

(3) As expected, those who showed explicit grammatical knowledge were NEIs.

(4) "Sounds right" was a strategy used extensively by NEU1 and NEM3, both of whom started learning Japanese as high school exchange students. Although NEM3 subsequently learned Japanese at university, NEU1 did not receive any formal instruction.

Next, let us examine the influence of the participants' Japanese proficiency.

Table 3 lists the results according to the scores on the grammaticality judgment test from participants with lower marks to higher marks. Each participant's most and second most frequently used strategies are written in bold.

Table 3: Number of times that the methods were used

Results of the test	Feel	Re-hearse	Rehearses alternative version	Explicit knowledge	Use analogy	Evaluate a sentence	Guess	Translation	Sound-sright
45 %	0	4	5	**21**	0	6	1	**14**	1
52 %	0	3	2	**11**	1	1	4	**17**	8
66 %	**13**	9	**11**	3	1	2	4	2	2
83 %	**13**	4	0	**12**	1	0	0	0	0

86 %	3	0	0	**17**	1	2	0	**11**	1
86 %	6	**11**	10	**11**	5	5	0	0	2
86 %	1	6	4	**9**	1	1	0	3	**16**
86 %	**15**	**11**	2	6	0	0	0	0	0
90 %	**24**	3	1	**20**	0	0	0	0	0
93 %	9	0	**15**	**15**	6	0	0	0	3
93 %	**25**	**2**	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
97 %	**20**	3	5	**14**	2	2	0	0	0

As can be seen, two participants with low proficiency extensively used "Explicit knowledge" and "Translation." These two methods were hardly used by other people. Guess was not used as extensively as the above two methods, but compared with other participants, those who used "Guess" tended to be participants with lower proficiency. This result was to be expected, as those participants with fewer language resources were more often forced to resort to guesswork. A strategy less frequently used was "Feel." This may be due to the two participants' low exposure to Japanese.

The last factor to analyse is that of the influence of in-country experience on the strategies employed. All participants had been to Japan for periods ranging from three and a half months to eight years.

Table 4 differs from Table 3 in that it has been rearranged according to the length of stay in Japan. The compound bilinguals' total lengths of time spent in Japan are relatively short—six months and one year. However, in terms of exposure to Japanese language, the time they spent in Japan is irrelevant, so their information is omitted from Table 4.

Table 4: Number of times that the methods were used ("m" stands for month and "y", year.)

ID	Time spent	Feel	Re-hearse	Re-hearses altern	Explicit knowledge	Use analogy	Evaluate a sent	Guess	Transla-tion	Sound-s rig

	in Japan			a-tive version			ence			ht
NEI2	3.5m	0	3	2	**11**	1	1	4	**17**	8
NEI1	4m	3	0	0	**17**	1	2	0	**11**	1
NEM4	1.2y	0	4	5	**21**	0	6	1	**14**	1
NEM1	2y	9	0	**15**	**15**	6	0	0	0	3
NEU1	3y	6	**11**	10	**11**	5	5	0	0	2
NEM3	4y	1	6	4	**9**	1	1	0	3	**16**
NEU2	8y	**13**	9	**11**	3	1	2	4	2	2
NEM2	8y	**13**	4	0	**12**	1	0	0	0	0

The most and the second most frequently used methods are written in bold.

It is worth noting that the time the participants spent in Japan does not necessarily correlate to their language proficiency. For example, NEI1, who stayed in Japan for only four months,

obtained 86% on the grammaticality judgment test. On the other hand, NEU2, who stayed in Japan for eight years, obtained only 66%. Therefore, Table 4 only focuses on the participants' length of stay in Japan, not proficiency.

Table 4 reveals that there is a clear distinction between those who spent less than two years and those who spent more than two years in Japan. The former group made extensive use of the "Explicit knowledge" and "Translation" strategies, whereas the latter group more frequently used the "Feel," "Rehearsal" and "Rehearsal of alternative version" strategies.

Discussion

When the effects of the form of the L2 acquisition were examined, it revealed that three strategies marked the different approaches taken by those who had learned Japanese in untutored settings, and those who had learned it through instruction. "Rehearse" and "Rehearse alternative version" were popular among those who learned Japanese in untutored settings, whereas "Explicit grammatical knowledge" was popular among those who learned Japanese through instruction. Interestingly, "Sounds right" was used extensively by those who went to Japan without studying Japanese as teenagers. Even though one of them studied Japanese formerly after returning to Australia, she continued to rely on her ear to make grammaticality judgments. This suggests that, like CBs, those who learned Japanese in Japan without prior knowledge of Japanese may be accustomed to relying on the sound of the sentence to make a grammaticality judgement. This requires further investigation.

As far as language proficiency is concerned, "Explicit knowledge" and "Translation" were used more frequently by participants with lower proficiency than participants with high proficiency, whereas "Feel" and "Rehearses" were popular among those with high proficiency. This indicates that people with low proficiency use their L1 to make grammaticality judgements in their L2, whereas those with higher proficiency in their L2 do not. In fact, four participants with high proficiency used Japanese to think aloud, even though they were encouraged to use whichever language was easiest for them.

"In-country experience" became a factor in the choice of strategies for those who spent more than two years in Japan. Those who spent less than two years in Japan extensively used "Explicit knowledge" and "Translation," whereas those who spent more than two years in Japan more frequently used "Feel," "Rehearsal"

and "Rehearsal of alternative version." It is interesting to note that according to Ellis,[17] the Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt "Pidgin-Deutsch" found that the length of residence in Germany functioned as a major explanatory factor in the workers' acquisition of L2 German for only the first two years of their stay. This suggests that the full effect of in-country experiences only occurs for those who spend more than two years in a country where the target language is spoken. Results from my study affirm this suggestion, as there is a clear distinction between the strategies used by the participants who had spent more than two years in Japan and those who had been there for shorter periods.

As we have seen, there is evidence that the form of L2 acquisition, proficiency in the language, and the length of stay in the country where the target language is spoken all affect the process of judging grammaticality.

Conlusion

This paper examines, qualitatively, the processes by which English–Japanese bilinguals make grammaticality judgements. It investigates whether or not factors such as the way a person learns a L2, their proficiency in the L2, and the length of their in-country experience influences the way they process grammaticality judgments. Some evidence of the influence of all three factors was found.

Due to the small number of participants, the findings of this study are not conclusive. To some degree the success of this type of study depends on the number of participants. Recruitment of participants who had learnt Japanese in untutored settings was extremely difficult, but it was even more difficult to find participants with high proficiency in Japanese who had learned Japanese without in-country experiences.

This study was also limited by the small number of grammatical items being investigated. In order to confirm the evidence gathered in this study, there is a need for future studies to investigate a wider range of grammatical items, drawing on a larger pool of participants.

NOTES

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13 (Koyama)

14 Particles *wa* and *ga* are postpositioned to nouns and express various grammatical functions.

15 (Sakamoto 5)

16 (Ellis 178–79)

17 Rod Ellis, *Study of Second Language Acquisition*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 217.

MAKING A GOOD IMPRESSION IN JOB INTERVIEWS IN FRENCH: STRATEGIES AND OUTCOMES

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There is a wide range of research in the field of sociolinguistics that focuses on job interviews. This includes studies that examine issues of power in the interviewer-candidate relationship,[1] studies that focus on solidarity in this relationship,[2] and research that examines candidates' communicative styles.[3] This study intends to further our understanding of job interviews by examining in detail the ways in which candidates present their feelings and beliefs (or attitudes) about their work, and how this contributes to their interviewers' impression of them.

This study draws on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) Appraisal theory, in particular its system of "attitude,"[4] to explore how candidates share their attitudes with their interviewers. SFL views language as a system, that is, a resource that allows us to create meanings through choices (e.g. phonological, lexico-grammatical, semantic).[5] An SFL analysis makes such choices explicit, and may thus highlight the inferences that interviewers make from candidates' linguistic choices, and how this impacts on their impression of them. Such an analysis makes an important contribution to our understanding of how candidates may be successful (or not) at their job interviews and be offered the position for which they are applying.

Following a description of the data and the theoretical framework, I will explore the ways in which candidates shared their attitudes in the course of their interview, and how this impacted on their interviewers' impression of them.

Description of the study

This study examines four authentic job interviews that took place in Sydney, Australia.[6] The positions for which the candidates were interviewed involved teaching either French or English as a foreign language. Three posts also involved postgraduate research at a host university in France. One candidate was a native speaker of French, whereas three candidates were native speakers of English. Each interview was conducted by one or two interviewers. All four interviews involved an interviewer who was a native speaker of French. Three interviews involved a second interviewer who was a native speaker of English. Lastly, two interviews were held in French only, while two interviews were held in French and English. The total duration of the interviews is 1h and 23 min (see Table 1). Three candidates (Clémence, Carrie and Craig) were offered a position.

All the interviews were audio-taped and video-recorded. Separate follow-up interviews were then conducted in which the video of the interview was played to the candidate or the interviewer in order to elicit comments on the candidate's performance (total duration: 9 h and 19 min). The interviews with the candidates were meant to gain insight into the way they had tried to influence their interviewers' impression of them, whereas the interviews with the interviewers aimed at uncovering their impression of the candidate they had interviewed, and whether this impression was consonant or dissonant with the candidate's intentions and their own expectations. The language of the interviews was then analysed using SFL theory. In this paper, I draw more specifically on SFL's Appraisal framework to analyse the candidates' expressions of attitude to their work and chosen profession, and how they contribute to making a good (or bad) impression on their interviewers.

Candidates[7]	**Clémence**	**Carrie**	**Craig**	**Clothilde**
Position at stake	Teach French language	Teach English + research	Teach English + research	Teach English + research
Candidates' native language	French	English	English	English
Interviewers	Ivan	Inès Irene	Inès Ingrid	Inès Ingrid
Interviewers' native language	French	French (Inès) English (Irene)	French (Inès) English (Ingrid)	French (Inès) English (Ingrid)
Language of the interview	French	French	French and English	French and English
Length of interviews	40 min	20 min	10 min	13 min
Length of candidates' follow-up interviews	72 min	56 min	36 min	41 min
Length of interviewers' follow-up interviews	73 min	125 min	75 min	81 min

Table 1: Interview context and participants

A theoretical framework for analysing attitudes

Analyses of expressions of attitude draw on Appraisal theory.[8] Appraisal theory describes the linguistic resources whereby speakers/writers disclose their emotions and evaluate things and people, construe their identity and negotiate their social relationships with their listeners/readers.[9] Types of attitudes are illustrated in Figure 1.

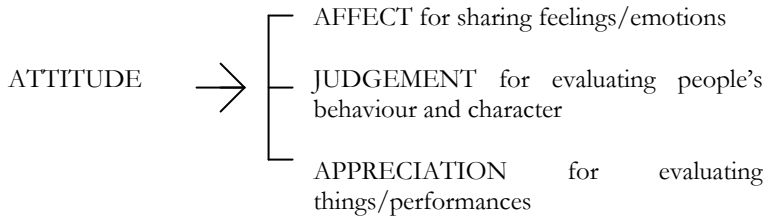


Figure 1: System of Attitude

The system of attitude concerns both positive evaluations (as shown in examples 1, 3-5 and 7 taken from the interview data) and negative ones (as in 2 and 6). Note that each category of attitude includes various subcategories (introduced hereafter as required).

Affect:

1. *j'**adore** être dans une classe* (I **love** to go to class)
2. *je suis très **nerveuse*** (I'm very **nervous**)

Judgement:

3. *je suis très **motivée*** (I'm very **motivated**)
4. *je bosse surtout sur le côté communicatif* (I'm working mostly on the communication side of things)
5. *beaucoup de jeux de rôles* (a lot of role-plays)

Appreciation:

6. *vingt-cinq cours par semaine … c'est très **fatigant*** (twenty-five lessons a week … it's really **tiring**)
7. *je pense que cette expérience sera **enrichissante** et **unique*** (I think this experience will be **invaluable** and **unique**)

"Inscribed" attitudes are expressed through explicit evaluative lexis (as in examples 1–3 and 6–7). "Invoked" attitudes, on the other hand, are implied through ideational meanings describing one's experience (as in examples 4 and 5, where no key words were highlighted). In the system of attitude, these implicit evaluations are known as "tokens." Because their reading is less prescribed than is the case for inscribed attitudes, their interpretation depends much on the perspective of the listener/reader.[10] Thus, only an

interviewer who values communicative language teaching would read comments 4 and 5 as positive evaluations of the candidate's teaching skills.

The framework also distinguishes between emotional reactions to a "realis" stimulus (as in example 8 below) and intentions towards an "irrealis" stimulus (as in example 9).

> 8. *j'**adore** ça* [être en cours] (I **love** it [going to class])
> 9. *j'**aimerais** écrire des livres pour les enfants* (I'**d like** to write children's books)

This distinction is useful in the study of job interviews, since interviewers may ask questions about candidates' projects.

Lastly, attitudes are gradable, so they can be amplified as underlined below or, on the contrary, downgraded.

> 10. *je suis <u>très</u> motivée* (I'm <u>very</u> motivated)
> 11. c'[…]est quand même *<u>énorme</u>* vingt-cinq *<u>cours</u>* par semaine ([this] is *<u>a lot</u>* twenty-five *<u>lessons</u>* a week)

In example 10, intensification is realised through an isolated lexeme, *très* [very], whereas in 11, it is realised via semantic infusion (*énorme*, [a lot]) and intonation (stress on the words *énorme* and *cours*). In the appraisal system, intensification and downgrading are referred to as "graduation."[11]

In the following section, I explore how candidates expressed their feelings and beliefs about their work and profession using resources of attitude and graduation, and how this impacted on their interviewers' impression of them.

The Role of Attitudes in Interviewers' Impressions of the Candidates

The candidates uttered 129 expressions of attitude: sixty-one expressions of affect (thirty-five realis and twenty-six irrealis), twenty-five judgements and forty-three appreciations. Most attitudes expressed were positive (eighty-three vs. twenty negative). This reflects advice from the popular literature that candidates be positive in job interviews, since this might be taken as an indication of their behaviour as employees.[12]

The interviewers' follow-up interviews highlighted three types of attitudes that contributed to their positive (or negative) impression of the candidates: 1) their expressions of enthusiasm for (or dissatisfaction with) their work; 2) demonstrations of confidence

vs. lack of confidence; and 3) statements of capability vs. incapability. The next section shows examples of each, and how candidates' use of resources of attitude impacted on their interviewers' impression of them.[13]

Enthusiasm vs. Dissatisfaction

In the course of their interviews, Carrie, Clémence and Clothilde highlighted their passion for teaching,[14] e.g.:

> 12. Carrie: *enseigner est une de une de mes* ***passions*** [+AFFECT: happiness][15] *dans ma vie*[16] (teaching is one of one of my **passions** in life)
> 13. Carrie: *j'****aime*** [+AFFECT: happiness] *cet échange entre les élèves et l'enseignant* (I **like** the exchange between teacher and student)
> 14. Clémence: *j'****adore*** [+AFFECT: happiness] *être dans une classe* (I **love** to go to class)

Carrie's statements of passion for her work made a positive impression on her interviewers, as Irene's follow-up interview comments indicated:

> 15. Irene: *Quelqu'un qui aimait bien son travail, qui voulait vraiment partir en France, qui était très enthousiaste à l'idée de faire ça, qui aimait bien l'enseignement donc c'est l'image de quelqu'un qui était passionné … par l'enseignement, qui aimait enseigner … et ça c'est toujours bien parce que xxx c'est la meilleure chose quand on trouve quelqu'un qui peut enseigner et enthousiaste.* [Someone who loved her work, who really wanted to go to France, who was really fired up about the idea and who loved teaching, that equals someone who is passionate … about teaching, who likes teaching … and that's always a good thing because xxx it's great when you find someone who can teach and be enthusiastic about it at the same time.]

Interestingly, Irene herself expressed numerous positive evaluations of Carrie in her comments.[17] Likewise, Clémence's remark made a positive impression on her interviewer:

> 16. Ivan: *C'est joliment dit. Personnellement, je préfère être à la plage. Maintenant, dans le cadre, la perspective d'une recherche d'emploi, c'est bien dit, je trouve. Tous les candidats n'utilisent pas ces termes …. Oui, je veux bien la croire a priori.* [It's nicely put.

> Personally, I'd rather go to the beach. Here, in the context of a job interview, it's nicely put, I think. Not all the candidates use these terms …. Yes, I really want to believe her.]

Although candidates were mostly positive, Clémence and Clothilde both expressed dissatisfaction with an aspect of their work. In extract 17, Clémence discusses her working hours at her previous school. She shows dissatisfaction through inscribed Attitude, specifically negative Appreciation and negative Affect. Her dissatisfaction is reinforced through multiple instances of Graduation (underlined in the text).

17. Clémence:

Clémence	donc et on avait un contrat de trente-cinq heures donc ce qui veut dire trente-cinq heures *dans* l'école ce qui est quand même *énorme* vingt-cinq *cours* par semaine c'est quand même beaucoup donc y a ça s'ajoute à la préparation c'est très **fatigant** [-APPRECIATION: reaction] et au bout d'un moment on on **fatigue** [-AFFECT: unhappiness]
Ivan	vous en êtes partie **fatiguée** ? [-AFFECT: unhappiness] parce que la la la personne justement de (nom de l'établissement) qui qui vous recommande heu
Clémence	par==tie **fatiguée** ?== [-AFFECT: unhappiness]
Ivan	==a l'air== plutôt heu plutôt **satisfaite** [+AFFECT: satisfaction] heu de vos services
(Clémence	so we had a thirty-five hour a week contract and that means thirty-five hours *in* school which is *a lot* twenty-five *lessons* a week is really a lot so when you add that to preparation time it's really **tiring** and after a while you get really **tired**
Ivan	you've left feeling really **tired** ? because the the the person from (name of institution) who who's recommending you um
Clémence	real==ly **tired** ?
Ivan	==seems to be== um pretty **happy** with you)

Ivan seemed surprised at Clémence's negative comments, as indicated by his question and his reference to her previous employer's satisfaction with her work. This highlights the risk, for candidates, of displaying negative feelings, since their interviewers may not empathise with them—even though admittedly, twenty-five classes per week do seem a lot! This is also a risky strategy

since it could make a negative impression about Clémence's ability to perform in her new job.

Demonstrations of Confidence vs. Lack of Confidence

Demonstrations of confidence, or, on the contrary, lack of confidence, also played a role in the interviewers' impressions of the candidates. Both Clémence and Clothilde presented their teaching experience or their knowledge of the subject they were teaching in those terms, e.g.:

> 18. Clémence: *j'ai déjà eu des cours particuliers aussi donc le fait d'avoir six élèves ou un élève ou quinze* ***ça me fait pas peur*** [+AFFECT: security] [I've already done one-on-one lessons so whether I have six students, one student or fifteen, **I can handle it**.]

On the other hand, Clothilde disclosed her lack of confidence, as related to the interview experience:

> 19. Clothilde: *excusez-moi je suis* <u>*très*</u> [GRADUATION: force] ***nerveuse*** [-AFFECT: insecurity] *(rire)* [I'm sorry I'm <u>very</u> **nervous** (laughs)]

It is generally more interpersonally risky to present oneself as insecure, since one's interlocutor may not respond with sympathy, empathy or practical help.[18] In this instance, Inès responded with sympathy, reciprocating Clothilde's laugh and telling her to take her time to answer her question:

> 20. Inès: *(rire) prenez votre temps* [(laughs) take your time]

Inès's empathic response is reflected in her post-interview comments:

> 21. Inès: *Alors voilà, je pense que c'est ça aussi qui m'a fait une assez bonne impression (rire) c'est quand elle a dit « excusez-moi, je suis très nerveuse ». … c'était sympathique, quoi, de, de couper ça et de faire une remarque un peu personnelle …, mais là, on sentait qu'elle avait été un peu déstabilisée, peut-être justement parce qu'elle pouvait pas vraiment répondre à la question de la façon qu'on attendait.* [So you see, I think that it was that that made a good impression on me (laughs) when she said "I'm sorry, I'm very nervous" … it was nice, I think, to stop and say

> something a little personal …, but just then you felt that she was a bit out of sorts, maybe it was precisely because she couldn't reply to the question in the way we expected.]

On the other hand, Clothilde's remark made a negative impression on her other interviewer:

> 22. Ingrid: Because she's working in French, I suppose those gestures and expressions of openness and frankness have almost become suggestions of uncertainty, lack of confidence in her French so, she's not… she wouldn't be able to convince me, from that, you know, that she's really going to be able to cope very well over there [in France] at her current level.

According to Béal, "the need to show emotions is … often allowed to supersede face wants in French culture".[19] In contrast, it has been claimed that in the Anglo-Saxon culture, public displays of emotions are disapproved of:

> The overtones which the word *emotional* has acquired in English are a good illustration of the disapproval of public display of emotions, characteristic of Anglo-Saxon culture. Frequently this word is used with negative connotations, but even when it is not it implies at least "an unexpected and somewhat embarrassing display of emotions."[20]

This would explain Inès's more favourable reaction to Clothilde's display of emotions. In the end though, Clothilde's comment played against her, as it attracted both her interviewers' attention to her lack of confidence (see "*elle avait été un peu déstabilisée* » [she was a bit out of sorts], "suggestions of uncertainty," "lack of confidence in her French," "she wouldn't be able to convince me, from that, you know, that she's really going to be able to cope very well over there"). Clothilde's lack of confidence during her interview was thus interpreted as a lack of confidence in her skills and this was damaging in terms of impressions.

Statements of Capability vs. Incapability

Twenty percent of all attitudes expressed were judgements. Most judgements referred to candidates' professional ability (as in examples 4 and 5 above), with a small number dealing with their tenacity (as in example 3). Clothilde, for instance, appraised her

students' progress as a way to highlight her teaching skills. This contributed to establishing professional co-membership with her interviewers.[21] Only one judgement was negative. Extract 23 shows the opening of Clothilde's answer about her professional and research projects while in France. It deals with her ability in French language. Intensifications are underlined.

> 23. Clothilde: *heu bon premièrement je* ***voudrais*** [AFFECT: desire] *améliorer mes connaissances de français et je* ***voudrais*** [AFFECT: desire] *pouvoir lire en français un peu mieux je suis assez* ***confortable*** [+JUDGEMENT: capacity] *avec les textes français mais pour écrire en français surtout ça je trouve très* ***difficile*** [-JUDGEMENT: incapacity] (well um firstly **I'd** like to improve my knowledge of French and **I'd** like to be able to read French a bit better I'm reasonably **comfortable** with French texts but it's writing in French that's really **hard** for me)

Both "améliorer mes connaissances de français" [improve my knowledge of French] and "pouvoir lire en français un peu mieux" (be able to read French a bit better), combined with the irrealis affect "je voudrais" [I'd like] point at a shortcoming in Clothilde's skills in French. Then, although she says that she is quite comfortable with reading French, she admits her difficulty with writing—a negative Judgement compounded by an intensifier. This answer made a negative impression on both Clothilde's interviewers:

> 24. Ingrid: Her frankness is in a sense drawing attention to her weaknesses because, to say that she writes very poorly is going to be a bit of a worry for us, isn't it, so … She's certainly *not* doing a great deal to *allay* our fears if we have them but her French isn't really quite up to … but it's not really a post to somebody to get their French up to that level. It's for somebody who's got French to a very good level already.

> 25. Inès: *Même si la personne ne parle pas très bien, je crois qu'on attendait quand même déjà une certaine facilité, tu vois, dans l'expression, quelqu'un donc heu… c'est un tout petit peu maladroit de dire que tu veux aller là-bas pour améliorer ton français … parce que c'est finalement, à la limite, un poste d'enseignement tu vois … mais pas nécessairement un poste pour que tu puisses améliorer.*

> [Even if the applicant doesn't speak very well, I think we were expecting a certain ease of expression, you know, somebody who um… it's a little bit clumsy to say that you want to go there to improve your French … because it's actually a teaching position, you know … but not necessarily a position where you can improve your French.]

Inès also felt that it was a bit awkward to point at a weakness as a first argument in her answer. Thus, Clothilde's negative judgements regarding her ability in French made a negative impression on her interviewers.

Conclusion

This appraisal analysis has highlighted how the ways in which candidates express their attitudes in the course of their job interviews influence their interviewers' impression of them. The interviewers' post-interview comments have shown that candidates' positive Attitudes such as their enthusiasm for their work contributed to inviting empathy and making a positive impression on their interviewers. On the other hand, they have shown how negative attitudes, such as candidates' judgements on their inability or expressions of affect highlighting their dissatisfaction or lack of confidence, made a negative impression. The analysis has also shown that bonding and a positive impression were more likely to occur when interviewers were prepared to share the candidates' feelings, whereas a negative impression was most likely when interviewers were not prepared to share their feelings and beliefs.

Transcription Conventions

==text== Simultaneous speech
==text==
? Rising intonation
italics Stressed syllable or word
xxx Inaudible speech (1 "x" per syllable)

NOTES

[1] See, for example, F. Niyi Akinnaso and Cheryl Seabrook Ajirotutu, "Performance and Ethnic Style in Job Interviews," in *Language and Social Identity*, ed. John J. Gumperz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 119–44; Celia Roberts and Pete Sayers, "Keeping the Gate: How Judgements Are Made in Interethnic

Interviews," in *Analyzing Intercultural Communication*, ed. Karlfried Knapp, Werner Enninger and Annelie Knapp-Potthoff (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987), 111–35; John J. Gumperz, "Interviewing in Intercultural Situations," in *Talk at Work*, ed. Paul Drew and John Heritage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 302–27.

2 See, for example, Viveka Adelswärd, *Styles of Success: On Impression Management as Collaborative Action in Job Interviews* (Linköping: Linköping Studies in Arts and Science, 1988); Celia Roberts and Srikant Sarangi, "'But Are They One of Us?': Managing and Evaluating Identities in Work-Related Contexts," *Multilingua* 14 (1995): 363–90; Julie A. Kerekes, *The Co-Construction of a Successful Gatekeeping Encounter: Strategies of Linguistically Diverse Speakers* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 2001); Caroline Lipovsky, *Negotiating Solidarity: a Social-Linguistic Approach to Job Interviews* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2005).

3 See, for example, Jann Scheuer Adelswärd, "Recontextualization and Communicative Styles in Job Interviews," *Discourse Studies* 3 (2001): 223–48.

4 See J. R. Martin, "Beyond Exchange: Appraisal Systems in English," in *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*, ed. Susan Hunston and Geoff Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 142–75.

5 M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar,* 2nd edition*,* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994).

6 See Lipovsky, *Negotiating Solidarity* for further description.

7 The participants' names have been changed in order to protect their identity. Names of institutions have also been omitted.

8 See, for example, Martin; P. R. R. White, "Appraisal" in *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, ed. Jef Verschueren, Jan-Ola Oestman, Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002), 1–27; J. R. Martin and David Rose, *Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the Clause* (London, New York: Continuum, 2003); J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White, *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

9 P. R. R. White, "Appraisal web site" (2005). 20 March 2007 <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal>.

10 Martin.

11 Susan Hood, *Appraising Research: Taking a Stance in Academic Writing* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Technology, 2004); Martin and White; Susan Hood and J. R. Martin, "Invoking Attitude: The Play of Graduation in Appraising Discourse," in *Continuing Discourse on Language: A Functional Perspective*, ed. Ruqaiya Hasan, Christian Matthiessen and Jonathan Webster (London: Equinox, 2006).

12 See, for example, Paul Stevens, *Win that Job!*, 6th edn., (Sydney: the

Centre for Worklife Counselling, 1991); DEET (Department of Employment, Education and Training), *Job Search for Adults* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994); Jim Bright, *Job Hunting for Dummies: Australian and New Zealand Edition* (Warriewood: Hungry Minds Pty Ltd, 2001).

13 Note that all the candidates who participated in this study were academically and professionally outstanding. Their answers, as quoted in this paper, do not call their skills or abilities into question in any way.

14 Craig used expressions of affect solely to highlight his interest in his work.

15 Attitudes and their subcategories are coded in the square brackets; "+" marks positive attitudes and '–' negative ones.

16 All examples are quoted in their original form.

17 See Caroline Lipovsky, "Constructing Affiliation and Solidarity in Job Interviews" (Manuscript submitted for publication) for further discussion.

18 Chris F. C. Jordens, *Reading Spoken Stories for Values: a Discursive Study of Cancer Survivors and their Professional Carers* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2002), 118.

19 Christine Béal, "'It's All in the Asking': a Perspective on Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication between Native Speakers of French and Native Speakers of Australian English in the Workplace," *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* (1990): 16–32 [28].

20 Anna Wierzbicka, *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction*, 2nd edition, (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 53–4.

21 See Lipovsky, "Constructing Affiliation and Solidarity in Job Interviews," for further discussion.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF GERMAN TEACHING

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Over the first hundred years of teaching German to the English, there were significant developments in the way German language and culture were perceived by learners and presented by textbook authors. I look at this change through work by two scholars, Thomas[1] and Blamires.[2] In his theoretical framework for linguistic purism, George Thomas (127) distinguishes between *vernacular bilingualism* and *literary bilingualism*. Vernacular bilingualism is provoked by need through contact, the "pressures of daily life," whereas literary bilingualism takes place as the learning of a prestigeous standard language. Literary bilingualism also implies widespread social acceptance. The traditional learning of French in England, and, indeed, Australia, is probably a good example of literary bilingualism. Blamires (110) makes a similar distinction as regards the position of German in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He suggests that during the seventeenth century, German was more or less a utility language, learnt haphazardly, but by the 1740s German had grown to a language of culture, learnt because of its prestige. This he connects intimately with the new presence of the House of Hanover on the English throne. So here, the learning of a language of culture can be seen as much the same thing as Thomas's literary bilingualism; prestige, in both definitions, is a critical factor. I expand this definition further to encompass the idea that vernacular bilingualism implies a high level of oral skills, not necessarily written skills, whereas literary bilingualism implies not only rule-based, formal learning, but also application of the language in cultural matters, such as the reading of literature[3]. In many regards, I agree with Blamires. In van der Lubbe (2007), I look intimately at the first German grammar for

the English, published in 1680. I agree that Aedler published this grammar during the period that German was subject to vernacular bilingualism, and its publication, I argue, was a legitimation strategy for the German language in England, as in the eyes of its author, it had yet to prove to the English that it was a language capable of standardisation and polish. However, I believe that Blamires's notion of adoption of literary bilingualism, or status as language of culture, does not smoothly fit the actual course of development of German grammars during the 18th century. While Blamires suggests the 1740s as a turning point in the public view of German (103), this time of critical mass is not exactly mirrored in the books people used to learn German.There is, for example, no explosion of text books at this time. We know that there was a definite demand, possibly a small one, for skills in German from the 1730s onwards; evidence of small classes of learners by Benedictus Beiler, the author of two editions of a German grammar (1731 and 1736),[4] appears from 1731, earlier than Blamires suggests. Beiler did indeed teach a small number of private scholars through his work first as teacher at the German School in London and then as Clerk of the German Church in Trinity Lane (Beiler, 2nd ed., preface). There is otherwise no special change in the texts until the 1770s, which is then a decisive change in how the language is taught, and then again another change about 1800, when who is taught, why they are taught, and what they are taught alters significantly. This critical mass might be measured in other ways, perhaps in terms of the number or scope of translations from German to English, but it is not evident from the textbooks.

This essay looks at trends across seventeen textbooks between 1680 and 1800 (Appendix I) for signs of a change in status of German from utility language to language of culture, and otherwise looks at the way the works do change. Topics considered will be the variety of German recommended, the approach to literary and cultural matters, any connection to Royalty, as this is suggested by Blamires to be a factor in the change of status; and the target readership. Through this it is hoped to be able to make some statements regarding if and how the notion of literary bilingualism in German gained ground in England.

The Variety of German Represented

German from the 1680s was presented to the English as an evolved language, capable of standardisation. Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact that German was not fully standardised, even in the eighteenth century, nor was it, or is it now, free of regional

colourings. Therefore, the variety of German was selected and presented by the teacher, or the textbook author, as the best version to learn, the most prestigious amongst German speakers. As such, it is an assumed part of the standard language that a, or the, prestige variety will be presented. In the late seventeenth century there was a debate between followers of the Saxon dialect, Luther's dialect, and the North German courts. Followers of the Saxon dialect recommended the pronunciation of well-spoken inhabitants of cities in Saxony, such as Leipzig or Halle, as most prestigious; but the North German courts were keen to be seen also as contributors to the establishment of a standard, even though, as speakers of Luther's German but with a different dialectal substrate, they could be criticised as non-native speakers of the prestige variety and therefore invalid as contributors. In the 1660s the grammarian Schottelius (1612–1676), the official appointee of the House of Brunswick-Luneburg, conceptualised an ideal German that stood above the dialects. It is made explicit in Aedler's grammar of 1680, that the Saxon dialect, more precisely, the Saxon spoken at Halle, is the prestige variety, as the head of the leading language society, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, resides there[5]. However, by 1898, Theodor Siebs[6] in his *Deutsche Bühnenaussprache* is largely credited with establishing the pronunciation of the prestige variety as the language spoken at North German Hanover.[7] Consistently throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the best variety is considered by Anglo-German grammarians to be Saxon. By 1758[8], learners are urged not to listen to regional pronunciations, but to copy the works of good authors—in other words, to use written guidelines for pronunciation, and draw vocabulary from credible sources. In 1786, the language of "Superior Saxony" (i.e. Upper Saxony), is still being endorsed by Albrecht[9]. However, when we get to 1800, we find that the comments change—instead of endorsing only the pronunciation of the Electorate of Saxony, or Upper Saxony, particularly Meissen and Dresden, Noehden[10] endorses also the pronunciation of several large North German cities, namely Hamburg, Brunswick, Hannover, Göttingen and some in the north of the Upper Saxon circle, such as Berlin and others. He points out that both Lower and Upper Saxony have undesirable dialectal features which are to be avoided (18–21), and so we can speak for the first time of the perception by these grammarians of a German spoken across a wide area, Schottelius's ideal, genuinely standing above the dialects.

Another feature of this change is the pronunciation of the letter *A*, which the grammarians rhyme with *all*, *ball*, *talk*, *war*, from 1680 until 1798. However, in 1800, both Noehden (26) and Crabb[11] start to rhyme *A* with *ah* and *father* and *aunt*, again signalling the beginning of an acceptance by Anglo-German grammarians of a pronunciation according to a different, probably North German, prestige variety. In this, the House of Hannover in England seems to play no part, as grammarians are oriented not towards the little German island in Britain as a yardstick, but towards greater Germany. Although Bachmair[12] joins the others in rhyming *A* with *all*, he is somewhat exceptional in that he presents some vocabulary which can be identified as south-western German—*die Kukumer* for cucumber and *die Erdapfel* for potato, and the use of *die Pomeranze* for orange, which also suggests a more southern orientation. Some grammarians do show dialectal features; some, like Aedler (57) and Offelen,[13] deliberately point out alternating genders of certain nouns according to the dialect, but do not specify these dialects. Bachmair gives alternatives for certain vocabulary items such as *Sonnabend* / *Samstag* and *Januarius* / *Jenner* [sic] (160), reflecting practice in different areas, but on the whole, a fairly unified front presenting first the language of Upper Saxony as prestigious is maintained until the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time North German pronunciation starts to be accepted as prestigious.

Although this is a significant change in the nature of the matter presented, the change in prestige variety is not a change which affects the perceived status of the language; in other words, it would not have acted as a motor for the learning of German, nor would it have made German seem more a language of culture for an English learner. Nevertheless the shape of what was being taught did change.

The Literary Canon

Far harder to summarise is the approach to literature, which is not as unified as the approach to a prestige variety. Of the earliest works, Aedler encourages neither reading nor speaking, through the presence only of rules in his compact, slim volume. But Offelen and Gonzaga[14] rely both on rules and dialogue, but offer little in the way of longer reading practice. While the use of literature, modern comedies, is first suggested to the learner by Beiler in the 1730s, and Bachmair uses moral passages and unattributed poetry (302ff) as reading or translation practice from at least 1771, the first to recommend modern German literature and works of all kinds to

the learner is Wendeborn[15] in 1774, who makes a serious attempt in his preface to explicitly portray German literature as worthy of attention as the French is, by not only using contemporary pieces but by affixing a long list of recommended works for the learner's private use (Appendix III). He continues this with a similar, longer list in the third edition in 1791.[16] Albrecht, in 1786, follows suit by using English and German drama (*The Beaux Stratagem* (216), and *Stella* (240)) as part of his repetoire of teaching tricks, and Berg[17] likewise has passages by J. C. Nachtigal, Schink, Jonathan Swift, M. de Florian's *Numa Pompilius*, and a number of epistolary examples. Noehden also uses examples by the contemporary writers Wieland (1733–1813), Herder (1744–1803), Goethe (1749–1832) and Schiller (1759–1805). Crabb does not use any attributed literature but instead has reading and translation passages for practice. So even the earliest eighteenth century grammars suggest the learner use plays and prose as part of their learning, but it is not until the 1770s that German is deliberately portrayed as a literary language—again another legitimation strategy—and from there grammarians earnestly aim to have learners read recognised German poets and playwrights.

Royalty

As mentioned above, Blamires sees German Royalty as having given the impetus to the study of German and for changing its status. Certainly, the first texts (Aedler, 1680, Offelen 1686/7, Beiler 1731, 1736) do mention various members of the Royal family—in Offelen's case Queen Anne's consort, a Danish member of the English royals—and Beiler does write at the time the House of Hannover ascended the English throne. Royal dedications were not uncommon in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, indicating a desire for patronage, and do not prove in themselves any impetus or stimulation on the part of Royalty. However, Beiler explicitly states that the House of Hannover's ascendancy, "has necessitated some, and induc'd others, of all Ranks and Degrees, reciprocally to study the British and German languages" (preface), and inspiring Beiler to write his grammar, although at the time of writing, his dedication had not attracted funding. However, by the time of Wendeborn's first grammar, 1774, the nexus between grammarian and princely subvention is much stronger. Wendeborn's dedication is with leave of the Prince of Wales (later George IV, 1762–1830), tending to suggest that even if the impulse for the grammar did not come from the Royal family, they may have actually subsidised the production of the grammar. By

Wendeborn's time, though, the Royal need for German must have been less acute. The last of the German-born of the House of Hannover in England was Frederick Prince of Wales (1707–1751), son of George II and father of George III (1738–1820).

But ultimately, did the factor of Royalty matter? It is suggested that it did: Beiler initially speaks of language learning born of utility, and of some who were "induced"— perhaps the first evidence of learning for reasons of prestige. Wendeborn, who was also aware of the factor of prestige, calls for royal backing as well. So again, Wendeborn's work gives impetus, or had the potential to give impetus, to a different view of German: having presented good, scholarly works of all kinds, including plenty of literature, and with Royal endorsement during a period where this is more unique, Wendeborn styles German differently to other grammarians: German is literate, scholarly, royal.

Crabb and Render[18] likely present a completely new perspective in teaching. It is most probable that all the other grammars we have seen are for the purpose of adult learners—there are dialogues to do with drinking, smoking and general adult pursuits, some of which (i.e. Beiler, Bachmair and Albrecht) focus on the merchant. Offelen has a slightly politico-legal bent in the information he supplies, and nearly all grammarians presuppose learning for the purpose of travel and genuine contact. The 1758 work *The true guide* even focuses on teaching learners to talk to German visitors to England. However, Crabb aims his work explicitly at the young learner, and very possibly the school market, without the notion of travel entering into the picture at all. After the model of contemporary French teaching texts, he divides the skills of composition, reading and conversation into separate works, the last of which does not even significantly make use of dialogues. Render, likewise, writing for university students, places great emphasis not on the use of dialogues, but on the application of intellect to internalising rules; dialogues he classifies as superfluous. Both are abstracted from any contact with Germans or German culture, and the intellectual exercise seems an end to itself.

So, to summarise, there is a definite upturn in the learning of German for prestigious utilitarian purposes in the 1730s, and perhaps a kick-on effect in learning at a similar time, but not until the 1770s is German explicitly presented as a literary language which should be high status, like French. From this time, original, attributed literature is a part of the teaching strategy of grammarians at least until 1800. But by 1800, there is also a change in the prestige variety of German at this time, and the language is, I

would argue, starting to be learnt as an intellectual exercise, as part of mass education, quite aside from literary purposes, which is another thing altogether.

Appendix I: Corpus of Texts in Chronological Order

Seventeenth-Century Texts (English-language titles only)

1680 [Aedler, Martin], *The High Dutch Minerva a-la-mode*. London: The Author.

1685 [Aedler, Martin], *Minerva. The High Dutch grammer*. [sic] London: W. Cooper.

1686/7 Offelen, Henry, *A double GRAMMAR for GERMANS to learn ENGLISH; AND FOR ENGLISH-MEN to learn the GERMAN-tongue* [...] London: The Author.

1693 Gonzaga, Luigi, *The eloquent master of languages*. Hamburg: Gedruckt und verlegt durch Thomas von Wiering ... und ... bey Zacharias Herteln zu bekommen.

Eighteenth-Century Texts

1731 Beiler, Benedictus. *A new German grammar ... To which are added several useful and familiar dialogues*. London: The Author.

1736 Beiler, Benedictus. *A new German grammar ... The second edition, with large additions and emendations*. London: J Brotherton.

1758 [Anon], *The true guide to the German language. In three parts. ... Together with a description of the city of London*, **...** London: J. Nourse.

1771 Bachmair, John James. *A complete German grammar. The third edition, greatly altered and improved*. London: G. Keith, etc.: (First edition 1751)

1774 Wendeborn, Gebhardt Friedrich August. *The elements of German grammar*. London: C. Heydinger.

1786 Albrecht, Henry Christopher. *A short grammar of the German tongue*. Hamburgh: B.G. Hoffmann:.

1797 Wendeborn, Gebhardt Friedrich August. *An introduction to German grammar... The third edition with additions and improvements*. London: The Author.

1797 Wendeborn, Gebhardt Friedrich August. *Exercises to Dr. Wendeborn's introduction to German grammar, written by himself*. London: Printed for the Author.

1798 Berg, Franz Christoph August. *A concise grammar of the German language*. Hamburgh: B.G. Hoffmann.

1800 Noehden, George Henry. *German grammar adapted to the use of Englishmen*. London: C. Whittingham and J. Mawman.

1800a Crabb, George, *A complete introduction to the knowledge of the German language; or, a translation from Adelung: arranged and adapted to the English learner. ... To which is affixed, a dictionary*. London: Printed for the author, by C. Whittingham.

1800b Crabb, George. *An easy and entertaining selection of German prose and poetry. With a small dictionary, and other aids for translating*. London :

printed for the author, by C. Whittingham and sold by J. Johnson; T. Boosey; C. Geisweiler; De Boffe, and Esher; and Wilson and Spence, York.

1800c Crabb, George, *Elements of German conversation; upon the plan of Perrin's Elements*. London: Printed by C. Whittingham, for T. Boosey.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Texts

1810 Render, Wilhelm. *A concise practical grammar of the German tongue*. 6th ed. London: Printed by C. Whittingham for H. D. Symonds (First ed. 1799)

Appendix II: Wendeborn's Literary Recommendations for Learners

Wendeborn's Catalogue (1774)	**Catalogue in *Exercises* (1797)**
Abbt (Thom.)	Abbt
Bibliothek (die Allgemeine Deutsche)	Bartels
Cramer (Joh. And.)	Beckmann
Cronegk (Fr. von)	Bürger
Dusch (Joh. Jac.)	Campe
Gellert (C. F.)	Carl von Carlsberg
Gesellige, der	Cronegg
Gesner (Salom.)	Dusch
Hagedorn (Fr. von)	Fischer
Haller (Alb. von)	Garve
Jerusalem (J. F. W.)	Gellert
Iselin (Isaac)	Gesner
Jüngling, der	Gleim
Kleist (Chr. Ew.)	Goethe
Klopstock	Hagedorn
Lessing (G. E.)	Haller
Meier (G. Fr.)	Hermes
Mensch, der	Kleist
Miller, (Joh. P.)	Klopstock
Moses (Mendelsohn)	Lessing
Mosheim (Joh. Lor.)	Meiners
Rabner (Gottl. W.)	Meisner
Ramler (Karl .W.)	Moses Mendelsohn
Reimarus (H. S.)	Posselt
Spalding (Joh. Joach.)	Ramler
Sulzer (Joh. G.)	Riesbeck
Unzer (Joh. Aug.)	Weber, Veit, Sagen der Vorzeit
Uzen (Joh. P.)	Schiller

Weise (Joh. W.)	Sulze
Wieland (C. M.)	Uz
Zachariæ (Fr. W.)	Voss
Zimmermann (J.G.)	Weisse
Zollikofer (G.J.)	Wieland
	Zacheriä
	Zimmermann
	Zollikofer

Dictionaries and Grammars	**Dictionaries and Grammars**
Aichinger (Crl. Frid.)	Adelung
Arnold (Theod.)	Ebers
Gottsched (Joh. Christ.)	Arnold
Ludewig (Christ.)	Ludwig

NOTES

1 George Thomas, *Linguistic Purism*. (London and New York: Longman, 1991).

2 David Blamires, "British Knowledge of German before the High Dutch Minerva," in *German Life and Letters*, 43:2, January 1990, pp. 103–112.

3 Fredericka van der Lubbe, *Martin Aedler and the High Dutch Minerva* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 31.

4 Benedictus Beiler, *A New German Grammar ... To which are added several useful and familiar dialogues*. (London: The Author, 1731).
Benedictus Beiler, *A New German Grammar ... The second edition, with large additions and emendations*. (London: J Brotherton, 1736).

5 [Martin Aedler], *The High Dutch Minerva a-la-mode*. (London: The Author, 1680), p. 35.

6 Theodor Siebs, *Deutsche Bühnenaussprache. Ergebnisse der Beratungen zur ausgleichenden Regelung der deutschen Bühnenaussprache, die vom 14.-16. April 1898 im Apollosaale des Königlichen Schauspielhauses zu Berlin stattgefunden haben*. – Berlin: Ahn, 1898. [New ed.: Theodor Siebs. *Deutsche Aussprache. Reine und gemäßigte Hochlautung mit Aussprachewörterbuch*, ed. Helmut de Boor et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969).]

7 For one discussion of this history, see for example, the explanation by Herbert Blume, in the article by Christoph Drösser, "Künstliche Sprache," *Die Zeit* 24/2000 (www.zeit.de/stimmts/ 2000/200024_ stimmts_hannover).

8 [Anon], *The true guide to the German language. In three parts. ... Together with a description of the city of London*, **...** (London: J. Nourse, 1758), pp. 27–28.

9 Henry Christopher Albrecht, *A Short Grammar of the German Tongue*. (Hamburgh: B.G.Hoffmann, 1786), pp. 12–14.

10 George Henry Noehden, *German Grammar adapted to the Use of Englishmen* (London: C. Whittingham and J. Mawman, 1800).

11 George Crabb, *A complete introduction to the knowledge of the German language; or, a translation from Adelung: arranged and adapted to the English learner. ... To which is affixed, a dictionary.* (London: Printed for the author, by C. Whittingham: 1800), p. 1.

12 John James Bachmair, *A Complete German Grammar. The third edition, greatly altered and improved.* (London: G. Keith et al, 1771). The first edition (1751) was not available to me.

13 Henry Offelen, A Double GRAMMAR for GERMANS to learn ENGLISH; AND FOR ENGLISH-MEN to learn the GERMAN-Tongue [...] (London: The Author, 1686/7), p. 33.

14 Luigi Gonzaga, *The eloquent master of languages.* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering und Zacharias Herteln, 1693).

15 Gebhardt Friedrich August Wendeborn, *The Elements of German Grammar.* (London: C. Heydinger, 1774).

16 Due to the rarity of these grammars, I was unable to view the second edition of Wendeborn's grammar. There are significant changes between his first and third grammar and doubtless viewing this second grammar would be an advantage.

17 Franz Christoph August Berg, *A Concise Grammar of the German Language.* (Hamburgh: B.G. Hoffmann, 1798).

18 Wilhelm Render, *A Concise Practical Grammar of the German Tongue*, 6th ed. (London: Printed by C. Whittingham for H.D. Symonds, 1810).

FINDING IDEOLOGY IN NARRATIVE: THE CASE OF DIASPORIC JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES

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In this paper, I am concerned with finding ideology in life story narratives told by three heritage language learners of Japanese in the United States. By drawing on discourse analytic perspectives, I analyse audio-recorded interview data as "cultural objects" and extract participants' "ideology" from the "objects." In so doing, I attempt to find widely circulating and relatively enduring values in the narrative discourses. By analytically focusing on situationally contingent aspects of language use, I make explicit the pattern of a "success story line," which is compared with another study on autobiographical narrative. While qualifying the generalisability of my findings, I argue that this study provides concrete evidence against the idea of "postmodern fragmented subjects" in proposing the hypothesis of the success story line widely circulating in society, which deserves a further investigation. In addition, I provide implications for heritage language education in the nation-states in which English is the dominant or "hegemonic" language.

Introduction

I shall be concerned with "finding ideology" in life story narratives in explicitly adopting and adapting the title from the book *Finding Culture in Talk: A Collection of Methods* edited by Naomi Quinn.[1] For my purposes, I conceptualise culture as circulation or "metaculture"[2] by drawing on a "discourse-centered approach" to culture.[3] By "metaculture," I refer to widely circulating and relatively enduring beliefs, values, and ideas in society, which consist of "judgments people make about similarities [between] and

differences [in]" material cultural objects.[4] In short, it is "a second order form of semiotic self-reflexivity that helps frame first-order processes."[5]

Metaculture widely circulates in society because of its "accelerative" forces, while it is relatively enduring because of its "inertial" character.[6] It is immaterial but extractable from material cultural objects, whether the objects are traditional Amerindian myths or modern Hollywood films. Specifically, the former is disseminated through exact replications (i.e., re-tellings of the "same" myth that one heard before) under a "metaculture of tradition."[7] In contrast, the latter moves through social space by the interest it generates or by its "newness" under a "metaculture of modernity."[8] Thus, film reviews as a metacultural commentary play a crucial role in disseminating the films under review. The dissemination of the films does not rely on replication, but on "the transmission of the kinds of *meanings* contained in or carried by the cultural object."[9]

In this study, I analyse audio-recorded and transcribed interview data as "cultural objects" and extract from the data my participants' "ideology" that frames their talk. As a case study, I concentrate upon how three diasporic Japanese narrate their personal life experiences in interviews conducted in the United States. The analysis of the interviews demonstrates how an often tacit metadiscursive frame is actually embodied in the ongoing processes as a form of "poetic structure," which is defined as an emergent interactional pattern in which a set of both linguistic and non-linguistic cues collectively presuppose each other so that it becomes a particular type of event or activity.[10]

More specifically, I illustrate a metadiscursive pattern, which is realised as a "success story line," by analytically focusing upon "indexical" or contextually-contingent aspects of language use and the personal pronoun *I* in particular. The major findings of the analysis can be summarised as follows: all the three heritage learners of Japanese implicitly used the metadiscursive frame of a "success story line" while telling their life story narratives in interviews. In so doing, they discursively constructed unsuccessful or struggling selves in the past, while contrastively constructing successful selves, who are spatio-temporally closer to the present story-telling self. I compare my findings with those of Wortham,[11] in which we see a comparable "two-part developmental metadiscourse" in a narrative told by a middle-aged woman in the United States. Thus, I present a hypothesis that the metadiscursive frame of the "success story

line" is a widely circulating one and represents a dominant or "hegemonic" ideology in society.

While qualifying the generalisability of my findings in distributional-statistical terms, I argue that this study presents the above hypothesis that deserves further investigation in providing concrete and clear empirical evidence against the notion of "postmodern fragmented subjects." Furthermore, I argue that the findings of the present study have implications for heritage language education in the nation-states in which English is a dominant or "hegemonic" language, including the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australasia.

What is the problem?

In this section, I discuss the problematics of research interviews that motivated the present study, and then situate them within a broader intellectual landscape, which is often characterized as "late modernity" or "postmodernity." After considering the wider issues, I set up three specific research questions that I will answer in the sections that follow.

Charles L. Briggs, in "Interviewing, Power/Knowledge, and Social Inequality,"[12] perceptively warns us against the danger of research interviews, which is the (re)production of knowledge that serves the interests of the dominant groups. Specifically, Briggs argues, research interviews are predominantly conducted in marginalised populations with asymmetric power relations between researcher and researched. Thus, we should be aware of the possibilities for "constructing a 'minority voice' that confirms the hegemonic status quo."[13] In other words, the uses of interviews in social sciences may contribute to (re)producing knowledge, power, and inequality in modern society. While recognising the danger, we should not abandon interviewing as a research method, as Briggs argues. Instead we should investigate "the *circulation* of discourse,"[14] rather than focusing only on interview settings themselves. It should also be noted that the shift of focus from the settings to the circulation of discourse is inspired by the work of Foucault and Bourdieu, among others, whose concerns are with power and inequality in modern institutions in late or post-modernity.[15]

Having situated the study within the larger context, we still do not know precisely how to identify "concretely the discursive and institutional means by which this circulation takes place … [and] trace it in particular instances."[16] In other words, while the analytic focus is on widely circulating discourses, how can we identify them in specific discursive interactions such as research interviews? I will

answer it by conceptualising interviews as situated social practice, and ask three specific research questions:

1. How do we know that a particular metadiscursive frame *is* operating in a given interaction?
2. How do we know that a particular metadiscursive frame is *widely* circulating in society?
3. What are the implications of the findings to "postmodernity," with particular reference to the notion of "fragmented postmodern subjects"?

I will provide tentative answers to these questions while analysing narratives which were taken from research interviews between three diasporic Japanese participants and this author (serving also as the interviewer) in the United States. In order to analyse the data, however, I need a theoretical lens through which to look at them, and my theoretical background is presented in the next section.

Theoretical Background

My theoretical background for data analysis mainly derives from two traditions: one is linguistics anthropology (LA), which is defined as "the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice."[17] The other is critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is primarily concerned with language, power, and ideology in late modern capitalist society.[18]

In LA, I particularly draw on a theoretical perspective designated as "Natural Histories of Discourse" (NHD),[19] which focuses on situated language use in relation to larger sociohistorical processes, and distinguishes three functions of language: referential-denotational, which is also called "propositional meaning," or the function of language that describes states of affairs; indexical-interactional, which is the meaning that derives from situations of language use or situationally-contingent meaning; and metadiscursive, which refers to the "meta" function and frames the situated language use as a particular type of event. It should be briefly noted that the tripartite scheme is similar to that of Fairclough in distinguishing three "dimensions" of discourse as text, discursive practice, and social practice.[20]

NHD can be situated within the broader framework of "a discourse-centered approach to culture" in US anthropology.[21] As Edward Sapir argued as early as in 1932 in the original publication: "the true locus of culture is in the interactions of specific individuals and, on the subjective side, in the world of meaning

which each one of these individuals may unconsciously abstract for himself from his participation in these interactions."[22] The idea is developed further by Joel Sherzer, who notes that "[s]ince discourse is an embodiment [and] … a transmitter of culture, then in order to study culture we must study the actual forms of discourse produced and performed by societies and individuals, … that constitute a society's verbal life."[23] Furthermore, from a semiotic-anthropological perspective, Greg Urban conceives culture as "[being] localized in concrete, publicly accessible signs, the most important of which are actually occurring instances of discourse."[24]

The discourse-centered approach directs our attention to situated interaction by highlighting indexical-interactional aspects of language use, as well as referential-denotational aspects. However, my concern is much broader—to investigate how power and inequality are (re)produced in and through discourse in late modernity.

In order to adequately conceptualise "metadiscursive" and macro-sociological aspects of discourse, I draw on critical discourse analysis (CDA) that has been concerned with language, power, and ideology from "top-down" perspectives. In this study, I am concerned with "ideology," which is defined as "a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view."[25] We should also recognise that ideology has contradictory characteristics. In other words, it presents different images of the world depending on the perspective of a "dominant" group (rulers, exploiters, etc.) or that of a "dominated" group (ruled, exploited, etc.). Thus, as Hodge and Kress argue, ideology should be seen as "an ideological complex" or "a functionally related set of contradictory versions of the world"[26] by recognising multiplicities of ideology.

Moreover, I am "sensitised" by an analytic focus on a particular ideology in CDA, which is Gramscian "hegemony." According to Fairclough, hegemony is "leadership as much as domination … through concessions or … ideological means to win [dominated groups'] consent."[27] For my purposes, however, the most important aspect of hegemony is its implicit and commonsensical character. By conceptualising ideology and hegemony in this way, I can direct my attention to a particular kind of "metaculture," which is a widely circulating and relatively enduring *dominant* ideology, but is not felt as "ideology" because of its *taken-for-granted* or hegemonic character.

More specific to the research context, I use the concept of life story narrative, which is defined as "the iconic match between a

sequence of narrative clauses and a sequence of events" about one's life.[28] The major purpose of using narrative is to reveal "the covert underlying presuppositions that organize the worlds"[29] of the narrators, which emerge in situated interactions. The presuppositions may be reflexively related to metaculture if there are systematic patterns in metadiscursive framing across the participants.

In the analysis, I look at two major points, both general and specific. The general point of focus is on "contextualisation cues" or "any verbal sign which … serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretations."[30] Some examples of these cues are prosody, paralinguistic signs, code choice, choice of lexical forms or formulaic expressions, and verb tense and aspect. Among them, I make special reference to lexical choice or collocation patterns of verbs with personal pronouns, verb tense and aspect. In addition, I pay attention to prosodic features and particularly what in the folk terminology is called "accent" in the situated contexts of interaction.

The specific point is personal pronouns, such as "I," "we," or "they." They are inherently indexical resources, the meaning of which is crucially bound up with the context of their use. Drawing on Emile Benveniste,[31] Michael Silverstein,[32] and Benjamin Lee,[33] among others, I particularly focus on the pronoun "I" since "I" is doubly marked in constituting "personhood" and "subjectivity": it indexes participants in the speech event while being reciprocally used with "you" in constituting "personhood." Furthermore, "I" constitutes "subjectivity" which is "the capacity of the speaker to posit himself as "subject"" in discourse, as Benveniste argues.[34] A concrete analytic strategy is taken from James Paul Gee's "I-statements analysis" by complementing it with a semiotic perspective, on which I elaborate later.

Research context

During the initial phase of a larger project entitled *A Critical Study of Discursive Practices of "Othering" in the Construction of National Identities: The Case of Learners of Japanese as a Foreign Language*, I conducted research interviews with two participants (Shoko and Marco). In addition, I interviewed one more participant (Yoko) during the final phase of the project. They all had the experience of studying Japanese as a heritage language. It should be noted that the first two participants (Shoko and Marco) were not born in the United States (Shoko in England, and Marco in Japan), while the third one (Yoko) was born in Atlanta, Georgia, and also had American

nationality at that time of interviewing. Though the names are pseudonyms, Yoko had a Japanese family name as did Shoko, while Marco had an Italian first name and a Japanese family name. Shoko and Yoko were around 20 years old, and Marco around 30 years old. This author as the researcher, born and brought up in Japan, was in his thirties and had lived in the United States for about five to six years when the interviews were conducted. All of the participants were recruited on a voluntary basis using my personal networks in a college community located in the southeast of the United States.

Their profiles are summarized in Table 1 below. I am aware that the representation of Marco is particularly problematic: he was born to a Japanese father and a German mother, and thus I put the labels of "Mixed" and "Euro-Asian" in the "ethnicity" section. Of course, I recognise that there is no such thing as "pure Japanese." However, as is often used in "ordinary" people's parlance, I use these terminologies from the necessity to describe the participants' profiles as a starting point:

Names of participants	***Shoko***	***Yoko***	***Marco***
Gender	Female	Female	Male
Ethnicity	Asian	Asian	Mixed (Euro-Asian)
Nationality	Japanese	American-Japanese	Japanese

Table 1: Profiles of the participants

Data Analysis

In this section, I first present Shoko's life story narrative in detail, which is divided into three segments, and analyse her narrative by focusing on the pronoun *I*, in combination with the predicate verb in each token, based on "I-statements analysis."[35] After the analysis, I recast the patterning of I-statements in terms of different "types of I's" from a semiotic-pragmatic perspective.[36] As Benjamin Lee nicely recaptures the insight of Silverstein, "the first-person pronoun 'I' … is a referential index presupposing the existence of the person who utters a token of it but …in referring to the speaker, also creates him [*sic*] as the topic of discourse at that moment."[37] I will show how different "I's" are instantiated in her narrative discourse, which, in combination with other indexicals,

constitutes a metadiscursive pattern of "success story." Then, I compare her pattern with that of Yoko and Marco in order to see whether there is any common patterning among the three, which can be hypothesized as "metaculture."

More specifically, three different "types of I's" are analytically separated in terms of "removal from every day situation": (a) indexical-referential *I* in which there is an actual contiguity between the type *I* and the producer of the token "I"; (b) anaphoric *I*, which is marked by a direct quotation; and (c) de-quotative *I* or "the 'I' of a quotation with no matrix clause, which is cued by the past tense in story-telling.[38] It should be noted that (a) is closest to "everyday self" while (b) is "quoted self," as in "He said, 'I am going'." Finally, (c) is the same as (b) except for having no matrix clause, and is used as "story telling self" in narrative, for example.

At the beginning of each interview I started it by asking each participant to tell a life story narrative, which was cued by "Could you tell me a story about your life?" Shoko started her story in the following way:

> "Uh well first I, I was born in England so and then uh so we moved from England to Japan when I was three. So then we we we uh moved to where our grandparents lived for a couple of years until we built a house in uh Kanagawa."

Then, Shoko continues as follows; I boldfaced I-statements for the analytic focus:[39]

> (1a) Shoko's schooling experience in Japan:
> 1 Shoko: And then, (0.5) First ah, first grade, um, **I didn't like school** be[cause=
> 2 Masa: [(laugh)
> 3 Shoko: =um
> 4 Masa: why? why not?
> 5 Shoko: because **I just didn't like it** (laugh) and, ah, (1.0) we had groups of
> 6 people going to school together=
> 7 Masa: =Uh huh you didn't like that
> 8 Shoko: and yeah **I didn't like that.** Ah, yes, **I didn't like the neighbors**, well
> 9 they were, they were my friends but they were very, ah=
> 10 Masa: =Mean? or
> 11 Shoko: Ni:ce?, I guess, they were kind of mean but I mean, they were so nice

12 but **I didn't really like them too much**, I don't know.
13 Masa: O.K.
14 Shoko: And then so **I didn't like that** so **I didn't want to go to school** so my teachers-(Shoko's talk continues)

Adapting James Paul Gee, I label the tokens of *I* in collocation with predicates as: "cognitive statement" (e.g. "I didn't know English"); "affective statements" (e.g. "I didn't like the neighbors"); "state and action statements" (e.g. "I was scared"); "ability and constraint statements" ("I had to go to middle school"); and finally, "achievement statements" or achievements that count as "mainstream" middle-class success at school, such as "I made lots of friends."[40] Data (1a) entitled "Shoko's schooling experience in Japan" is characterized by affective statements:

I-statements (number of tokens):	**Types/Grammatical Form**
I didn't like school (1):	Affective/Negative
I just didn't like it (1):	Affective/Negative
I just didn't like that (2):	Affective/Negative
I didn't like neighbors (1):	Affective/Negative
I didn't like them too much (1):	Affective/Negative
I didn't want to go to school (1):	Affective/Negative

Table 2: Shoko's I-statements for her schooling experience in Japan

Shoko goes on to narrate her first schooling experience in the United States, to which she immigrated at the age of thirteen in the sixth grade. I analyse I-statements in the segment that follows:

(1b) Shoko's first schooling experience in the United States:
1 Shoko: So, sixth grade **I didn't talk** one bit in school. [um,
2 Masa: [Oh really?
3 Shoko: First of all because I- I was **I didn't know English**, and then second of
4 all 'cause **I didn't want to:**? because **I was scared** what other kids were
5 gonna think of me. so [I =

6 Masa: [Oh
7 Shoko: =just **I just didn't say anything**. And then so, graduated from fifth
8 grade and **I had to go to middle school**, but the middle school that I
9 was supposed to go to, um, didn't have ESL-OL program, so **I had to**
10 **go to another school** where it had it-, had one.=
11 Masa: mmhm
12 Shoko: =so **I had to go probably like thirty minutes away from my house**.
13 Masa: mmhm
14 Shoko: out of the way. and then, um, so, brand new school brand new people, **I**
15 [**didn't know**=
16 Masa: [mmhm
17 Shoko: =any[thing?=
18 Masa: [mmhm
19 Shoko: =and then so **I was scared**, and, ah-, **cried** most of the time 'cause **I**
20 → **didn't want to go to school**. Um, and then *my English progressed* a:nd
21 [then=
22 Masa: [oh

I-statements (number of tokens):	**Types/Grammatical Form**
I was scared (4):	Stative/ Assertive
I didn't talk one bit in school (1):	Action statement/ Negative
I didn't know English or anything (1):	Cognitive/Negative
I didn't know English (3):	Cognitive/Negative
I didn't know anything (1):	Cognitive/Negative
I had to go to another school (1):	Constraint/ Assertive
I had to go to probably thirty minutes away from my house (1):	Constraint/ Assertive
[I] cried most of the time (1):	Action/ Assertive
I did not want to go to school (1):	Affective/ Negative

Table 3: Shoko's I-statements for her first schooling experience in the United States

The most frequently occurring I-statement is the stative "I was scared" (four times), which is causally connected with her lack of knowledge in English as instantiated by the cognitive I-statement "I didn't know English" (three times) in her narrative. However, the problem is logically resolvable if she acquires the knowledge of English. In fact, at line 20, it is resolved in Shoko narrating: "Then my English progressed," which is a turning point in her narrative. Now, I turn to the latter half of her schooling experience in the United States:

(1c) Shoko enacting successful "I's" in the United States:
23 Shoko: =**I graduated** from the program.
24 Masa: mmhm
25 Shoko: in sixth gra- end of- end of sixth grade. and the:n, seventh grade was
26 :very fun cause **I made lots of friends.** [and=
27 Masa: [mmhm
28 Shoko: =eighth grade was really fun too, [and=
29 Masa: [mmhm
30 Shoko: =high school **I did lots of extracurricular** [**activities,**
31 Masa: [mmhm. Mmhm
32 Shoko: =**I played soft[ba:ll=**
33 Masa: [yes
34 Shoko: =**and tra:ck** and, uh, **I played soccer? and like** (unintelligible) club and **all**
35 **that stuff** so, overall this experience here is- been a great [experience.=
36 Masa: [O.K.
37 Shoko: = 'cause **I succeed[ed**=
38 Masa: [mmhm
39 Shoko: = 'cause **if I was in Japan then I probably wouldn't have grown this**
40 **much**.
41 Masa: Oh.

I-statements (number of tokens):	**Types/Grammatical Form**
I graduated from the [ESOL] program (1):	Achievement/ Assertive
I made lots of friends (1):	Achievement/ Assertive

I did lots of extracurricular activities (1):	Achievement/ Assertive
I played softball and track (1):	Achievement/ Assertive
I succeeded (1):	Achievement/ Assertive
I probably wouldn't have grown this much (1):	Achievement/ Subjunctive Mood

Table 4: Shoko enacting successful "I's" in the United States

As can be seen above, Shoko successively makes achievement I-statements after the turning point, which ends with subjunctive mood at lines 39-40: "if I was [*sic*] in Japan then I probably wouldn't have grown this much."

Let me recast the I-statements analysis in semiotic-pragmatic terms. It can be seen that "four voices" as four different tokens of "I's" are enacted by Shoko. Three "I's" in the past are enacted by the de-quotative type *I* or "reported self" cued by past tense, and they are: (a) "unsuccessful 'I'" in Japan in (1a), (b) "struggling 'I'" before learning English in the United States in (1b), and finally (c) "successful 'I'" after learning English in US in (1c). The fourth voice is (d) "speaking 'I'" at the moment of interview as a token of indexical-referential type *I*. It should be noted that the successful 'I' is functionally and chronologically closer to the speaking 'I', while the unsuccessful 'I' in Japan is most remote and least related to the indexical-referential *I* at present.

By analysing Shoko's narrative in detail, the question that I need to ask is: what kind of metadiscursive frame is operating in the interaction? In other words, the indexical cues analysed above collectively presuppose each other to frame her telling narrative as a particular kind of event. What kind of event is it? What is going on in the interview? Following her evaluative utterance at line 37 ("I succeeded"), I interpret it as Shoko telling a "success story" to the interviewer, and thus I tentatively label the metadiscursive frame as "a success story line." Now I turn to Yoko's life story narrative, which is presented only partially below in order to save space:

(2) Yoko's life story narrative

1 Yoko: Um, Well? I was born in Atlanta Georgia?. in 1983. umm (0.5) lets see er,
2 I was born in (unintelligible) hospital [(hhhh).
3 Masa: [(hhhh)

(Several turns later)

42 →Yoko: =Um hum. **I applied for a couple of colleges** but unfortunately **I didn't**
43 → **get into any of them.**
43 (unintelligible) and my parents were pretty
44 → [thrilled that **I got into [X University]**, so **I can keep the scholarship**.=
46 Masa: [Um hum.
47 → Yoko: =So **I'm here right now studying finance.**

As I did in the above, I analyze I-statements for the lines 42-47:

I-statement (number of tokens)	**Types/ Grammatical Form**
I applied a couple of colleges (1):	Action/ Assertive
I didn't get into any of them (1):	Action/ Negative
I got into [*X* university] (1):	Achievement/ Assertive
I can keep the scholarship (1):	Ability/ Assertive
I am her right now studying finance (1):	Achievement-State/ Assertive

Table 5: Yoko's I statements in her life story narrative

In her narrative, Yoko first constructs two "unsuccessful 'I's" at lines 42-43 ("**I** applied for a couple of colleges but unfortunately **I** didn't get into any of them"), which are tokens of de-quotative *I*. However, at lines 44-46, she constructs two "successful 'I's" ("**I** got into [the name of the university she is attending]" and "**I** can keep the scholarship," which are tokens of de-quotative *I*, but functionally closer to the "speaking 'I'" at the moment. The speaking 'I' is enacted at line 47 ("**I**' m here right now studying finance") as a token of the indexical-referential type *I*.

By examining the metadiscursive patterning of Yoko's narrative, we can posit "a success story line," as in Shoko's narrative. Space prevents me from presenting Marco's narrative in detail,[41] but a success story line is also applicable to his narrative by examining his "I-statements." Thus, I posit the metadiscursive frame of "success story line" operating in the interviews among the three participants. If I am right in positing the aforementioned metadiscursive pattern in the local context, now I should ask *how widely* it is circulating in *society*. In order to answer the question with reliability, I need to conduct interviews with a statistically significant number of

participants, and/or conduct questionnaire surveys on a large scale in the relevant populations. However, for the purposes of the present study, which is an inductive and hypothesis-generating qualitative study,[42] I turn to another study of autobiographical narrative collected in the United States and analysed by Wortham[43] to see whether similar patterning is operating.

The crucial reason for the selection of Wortham's study derives from the social constructionist and anti-essentialist assumptions that identity or identit*ies* are not given or fixed, but flexible and multiple; and that Japanese nationality is not essentially or fundamentally different from other nationalities.[44] In theoretical terms, furthermore, the Bakhtinian concept of 'intertextuality' "radically questions the sociohistorical autonomy of utterances and the radical creativity of language,"[45] and thus, it is interesting to use the autobiographical narrative in Wortham for comparative purposes.

More specifically, Wortham[46] analyses a research interview between Jane in her mid-fifties and a psychology graduate student in the United States, and found that Jane recurrently represented and enacted herself from *passive and vulnerable self* to *active and assertive self* in the interview. As can be seen below, passive and vulnerable self is represented by non-agentive grammatical constructions while agentive self is represented and enacted by action verbs.

Non-agentive self (grammatical passive or the use of copula 'be')	**Agentive self (Jane as a grammatical agent with action verbs)**
I was regarded as other (117)	I ran away (131)
I was ostracized (118)	I went there (132)
I jumped from one space of being ostracized into another (122-123)	I ran away (132)
My mother thought that it would be best that I be placed in a private school (125)	I went to the drug store (132-133)
I was there for a year and a half (130)	I called my mother (133)
Evidently my character was being developed (130-131)	I refused to tell her (134) I negotiated with her (134-135)

Table 6: Part of Jane's I-statements

The numbers in the parentheses refer to the lines in the transcript, which is not to be presented in the present context. However, I point out the fact that on the one hand, non-agentive self in Table 6 is enacted by the de-quotative *I* in the pragmatic-semiotic terms, as well as by "stative" or "constraint" I-statements in Gee's framework; on the other hand, agentive self is also enacted by the de-quotative *I* cued by past tense, though agentive self is enacted by "action I-statements," which indicates more personal agency. Furthermore, according to Wortham,[47] the pattern in Table 6 *recurrently* occurred in Jane's narrative, and thus the metadiscursive frame is named a "two-part developmental metadiscourse," which is comparable to the "success story line" by Shoko, Yoko, and Marco. Now a crucial question that should be asked is: Can it be argued that the same metadiscourse is operating in all the interactions?

Discussion and Implications

By way of summarising the major findings of the study and at the same time raising crucial issues for discussion, I restate the research questions and briefly answer them. The first question was: (1) "how do we know that a certain metacultural frame *is* operating in a given interaction?" In order to provide an answer, I focused on indexicality in general and the personal pronoun *I* in particular in the data, and found the embodied pattern of "poetic" structure or set of indexical cues collectively presupposing each other to frame an interaction as a particular type of event. Based on the patterning of narrative discourse, I identified the metadiscursive frame as "a success story line" for my own data and as "two-part developmental metadiscourse" for Wortham's data.

The second question was: (2) "how do we know that a certain metacultural frame is *widely* circulating in society?" To tentatively answer the question, I compared my data with those of Wortham, following the Bakhtinian assumption of intertextuality. Arguably, the metadiscursive frame is the "same" in both cases, and the "success story line" may be "metaculture" in US society, if my metacultural judgment is correct.

However, I acknowledge two problems: first, my study and other studies do not share the standards for transcription for rigorous comparisons, as Duranti[48] points out; and secondly, there is the problem of lack of large corpora of narrative for comparative study.[49] Having acknowledged these problems, however, if Shoko and Yoko's narratives are compared with Jane's narrative, there is

reason to believe that my participants and Jane follow a comparable metadiscursive frame, since "identification cannot occur unless people presuppose more widely circulating categories and models of identity, [which are] often inflected in specific ways."[50] Thus, the success story line as a metadiscursive frame can be hypothesized as "metaculture," and exactly *how widely* circulating the frame is remains to be seen, which can be complemented by quantitatively-oriented research such as surveying on a large scale in the relevant populations.

Finally, the third research question was: (3) "what are implications of the findings of my study to "postmodernity," with particular reference to the notion of "fragmented postmodern subjects"? As we saw above, "postmodern" participants, whose national identity seems to have been extremely disrupted by the complex migration patterns in late modernity, demonstrated that they were able to tell coherent, "poetic," and even hegemonic narratives, rather than incoherent ones. In other words, the postmodernist argument that "it is impossible to construct an authentic 'voice' in our postmodern era in which people cannot appropriately represent their experiences"[51] is rather questionable. Therefore, I argue that we should assume the existence of patterns in data even if we deal with "postmodern" participants, at least in the area of life story narrative studies.

However, a question remains: Why were the narratives by my three participants not only "poetic" but also "hegemonic"? I speculate, perhaps rather paradoxically, that they were highly aware of the dominant or "hegemonic" values in US society because of their "marginalised" socio-political positionality in the modern nation-states of Japan and the United States. Thus, they (re)presented their self as a highly "successful self," particularly to the Japanese researcher, who was relatively a "new-comer" and spoke English with a Japanese "accent" in the situational contingencies. Needless to say, all my participants spoke native-like American English with 'no accent.' Shoko even had a distinctive American southern accent, which is rather stigmatised in US society.

In the light of the findings, I argue that heritage language education (HLE) should not be simply conceived as "one of *us* who forgot to speak *our* language like *us* trying to re-learn it." HLE might be seen as a "counter-hegemonic" practice in the English dominant nation-states. At the very least, we should have a more complicated understanding of the issue and not assume a one-to-one

relationship among language, ethnicity, and national identity in late modernity while pursing HLE in our daily teaching practice.

What remains to be seen, however, is exactly how to implement HLE, which needs to be explored and developed further in theory and practice. However, I argue that listening to the voices of heritage language learners is an indispensable first step if we wish to implement more effective and empowering language education, which needs to be at least relevant to their life experiences.

NOTES

A modified and longer version of the present paper, entitled "Finding Metaculture in Narrative: the Case of Diasporic Japanese in the United States," was published in *SITES: a Journal for Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* in 2007. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Alan Ramsey of the Australian National University, who provided many insightful comments, constructive criticisms, and editorial suggestions for an earlier version. I also thank an anonymous reviewer, who encouraged me to reflect on the linguistic peculiarity of the pronoun *I*. The present study is supported by a University of Otago Research Grant (UORG) and the Asian Studies Research Centre (ASRC), both at the University of Otago.

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1 Naomi Quinn, ed., *Finding Culture in Talk: A Collection of Methods* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). In particular, see Jane H. Hill, "Finding Culture in Narrative," pp. 152–202.

2 Greg Urban, *Metaculture: How Culture Moves through the World* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

3 Joel Sherzer, "A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture," *American Anthropologist* 89 (1987): 295–309.

4 Benjamin Lee, "Foreword," xi, In Greg Urban, *Metaculture: How Culture Moves through the World* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

5 See Lee (xi) in Urban, *Metaculture*.

6 Urban, *Metaculture*, 15–20.

7 Urban, *Metaculture*, 83–92.

8 Urban, *Metaculture*, 1–6.

9 Urban, *Metaculture*, 239, italics mine.

10 Stanton Wortham, *Narratives in Action: A Strategy for Research and Analysis* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001). Also see Michael Silverstein, "The Improvisational Performance of Culture in Realtime Discursive Practice," in *Creativity in Performance*, ed. R. Keith Sawyer (Greenwich, CT: Ablex, 1997), 265–312.

11 Stanton Wortham, "Accomplishing Identity in Participant-Denoting Discourse," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 13: 189–210.

12 Charles L. Briggs, "Interviewing, Power/Knowledge, and Social Inequality," in *Postmodern Interviewing*, ed. Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein (Thousand Oaks, CA & London: Sage, 2003), 243–254.

13 Briggs, "Interviewing, Power/Knowledge, and Social Inequality," 244.

14 Briggs, "Interviewing, Power/Knowledge, and Social Inequality,"246.

15 Briggs, "Interviewing, Power/Knowledge, and Social Inequality,"246.

16 Briggs, "Interviewing, Power/Knowledge, and Social Inequality,"248.

17 Alessandro Duranti, *Linguistic Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

18 Alessandro Duranti, *Linguistic Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); For CDA, see Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (London: Longman, 1989); Gunther Kress and Bob Hodge, *Language as Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1979) as two representative foundational works.

19 Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban, *Natural Histories of Discourse* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

20 Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), 63–100.

21 Edward Sapir, "Why Cultural Anthropology Needs the Psychiatrist," in *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*, ed. In David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949). Also see Greg Urban, *A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

22 Sapir, "Why Cultural Anthropology Needs the Psychiatrist," 515.

23 Sherzer, "A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture," 306.

24 Urban, *A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture*, 1.

25 Kress and Hodge, *Language as Ideology*, 6.

26 Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Social Semiotics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 3.

27 Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 92.

28 Jane H. Hill, "Finding Culture in Narrative," In *Finding Culture in Talk: A Collection of Methods*, ed. Naomi Quinn (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 157.

29 Hill, "Finding Culture in Narrative," 157.

30 John J. Gumperz, "On interactional sociolinguistic method," in *Talk, Work, and Institutional Order*, ed. Srikant Sarangi and Cecilia Roberts (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 461. For examples of contextualisation cues, see John J. Gumperz, "Contextualization and Understanding," in *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, ed. Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 229–252.

31 Emile Benveniste, "The Nature of Pronouns," and "Subjectivity in Language," In *Problems in General Linguistics* (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1971), 217–222 and 223–230.

[32] Michael Silverstein, "Metapragmatic Discourse and Metapragmatic Function," in *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*, ed. John Lucy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 33–58.

[33] Benjamin Lee, *Talking Heads: Language, Metalanguage, and the Semiotics of Subjectivity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997).

[34] Benveniste, "Subjectivity in Language," 224.

[35] I use "I-statements analysis," which is proposed by James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 124–130.

[36] Greg Urban, "The 'I' of Discourse," in *Semiotics, Self, and Society*, ed. in Benjamin Lee and Greg Urban (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989), 27–51.

[37] Lee, *Talking Heads*, 165.

[38] Urban, "The 'I' of Discourse"; It should also be noted that I am only concerned with these three types but Urban further distinguishes between (d) theatrical *I* speaking through the character on the stage in theatre and (e) projective *I* in the state of trance, possession, or similar states.

[39] Transcription conventions are as follows:

- abrupt breaks or stops (if several, stammering)
? rising intonation
. falling intonation
__ (underline) stress
(0.5) silences timed to the nearest second
[simultaneous talk by two speakers, with one utterance represented on top of the other and the moment of overlap marked by left brackets
= interruption or next utterance following immediately, or continuous talk represented on separate lines because of need to represent overlapping comment on intervening line
(...) transcriber's comment
: elongated vowel
, pause or breath without marked intonation

[40] In what follows, while presenting the life story narrative by Shoko in detail, I modified the I-statements analysis I made in: Masataka Yamaguchi, "Discursive Representation and Enactment of National Identities: The Case of Generation 1.5 Japanese," *Discourse and Society* 16 (2005): 269-299.

[41] I only present I-statements analysis made for Marco's narrative:

I-statements (number of tokens)	**Types / Grammatical Form**

I had a couple of Japanese friends in elementary school, actually Japanese people I knew (1):	State/ Assertive
I didn't look Japanese (2):	State/ Negative
I was like this foreigner kind of thing (1):	State/ Assertive
I didn't speak English too well (1):	Ability as constraint/ Negative
I didn't understand them [=Americans], either (1):	Ability as constraint/ Negative
I was very quiet, acquiescent (1):	State/ Assertive
I was very, not submissive but less flamboyant than I am now (1):	State/ Non-Assertive in Comparative Construction

Table 7: Macro's past experience in Japan

atements (number of tokens)	**pes of I-statement**
I feel like I am a very enriched person (1):	Cognitive/ Assertive
I come across as a very cosmopolitan (1):	State /Assertive
also come across as a very international, well-traveled (1):	State / Assertive
I am interested in a lot of things (1):	State / Assertive
I can see connections with everything else (1):	Ability / Assertive
bring in Eastern principles (1):	Action / Assertive

Table 8: Marco's articulation of the present self

42 See David Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook* (London: Sage, 2000) and Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (London: Routledge, 1995).

43 Wortham, *Narratives in Action: A Strategy for Research and Analysis.*

44 For example, see "Multiculturalism and Identities," in David Block, *Multilingual Identities in a Global City: London Stories* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 21–40.

45 John B. Haviland, "'Whorish Old Man' and 'One (Animal) Gentleman': The Intertextual Construction of Enemies and Selves," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15 (2005): 81. Also note that: "[A]n utterance is a link in the chain of speech communication, and it cannot be broken off from the preceding links that determine it both from within and without, giving rise within it to unmediated responsive reactions and dialogic reverberations," as argued by

Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 94, quoted in Haviland.

46 Wortham, *Narratives in Action: A Strategy for Research and Analysis*, 76–135.

47 Wortham, "Accomplishing Identity in Participant-Denoting Discourse," 199.

48 Alessandro Duranti, "Language as Culture in U.S. Anthropology," *Current Anthropology* 44 (2003): 334.

49 Hill, "Finding Culture in Narrative" 161–62.

50 Wortham, "Accomplishing Identity in Participant-Denoting Discourse," 206.

51 Hill, "Finding Culture in Narrative," 169.

THE WAFFEN-SS AND OTHER REVELATIONS IN GÜNTER GRASS'S *BEIM HÄUTEN DER ZWIEBEL*

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"Wer spricht hier, spricht und schweigt?
Wer schweigt, wird angezeigt."[1]

Günter Grass's (belated?) "confession" or revelation that he had been a member of the Waffen-SS created headlines and controversy in Germany even before the publication of his autobiographical memoir *Beim Häuten der Zwiebel* [Peeling the Onion][2] in August 2006. Whether it was a deliberate marketing ploy, or an innocent revelation of hitherto suppressed parts of his past, may perhaps be debated, but of importance is the impact this "outing" had on German society more than sixty years after the end of World War II. It is perhaps no coincidence in this context that four years earlier in February 2002 Grass's novella *Im Krebsgang* [Crabwalk][3] was "launched" in a similar manner, in that *Der Spiegel* published a cover story, including a detailed review of the novella, before the publication date, which was subsequently brought forward by several weeks. In a similar way *Beim Häuten der Zwiebel*, which was planned to be released surely not coincidentally on 1 September, was brought forward by several weeks following the controversial interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* on 12 August 2006, and like *Krebsgang* before it, immediately shot to the top of the *Spiegel* bestseller list (see *Der Spiegel*, 35, 28.8.06, where the book immediately attained first place). It remained in the top twenty for about eleven weeks. [4]

Grass's autobiographical account, including but not restricted to his long-hidden service in the Waffen-SS in the last phase of the war, must be seen in the context of the opening of the long suppressed, if not taboo, topic of "Die Deutschen als Opfer" [The Germans as Victims.][5] Many critics see the impetus for this debate arising from W. G. Sebald's essay *Luftkrieg und Literatur* [Airwar and

Literature],[6] which dealt with the alleged inability of post-war German literature to cope with the horrors of the Allied air attacks on Germany. And certainly Grass's 2002 novella *Im Krebsgang*, which dealt with the issue of German refugees, specifically with the sinking of the refugee ship "Wilhelm Gustloff" by a Russian submarine in the Baltic on 30 January 1945, was seen to be seminal in the full opening of this debate. Grass's *Krebsgang* drew in its wake not only the already mentioned *Spiegel* cover story "Die Deutschen als Opfer," but later in the same year the magazine also published a series entitled "Die Flucht. Spiegel-Serie über die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten" (25.3.2002) [The Flight. Spiegel Series about the Expulsion of the Germans from the East], and early in the following year "Als Feuer vom Himmel fiel. Der Bombenkrieg über Deutschland" (6.1.2003) [When Fire fell from the Heavens. The Air War over Germany]. Mention should also be made of other works on this topic which appeared around this time, such as Jörg Friedrich's *Der Brand. Deutschland im Bombenkrieg 1940–1945* (München: Propyläen, 2002) [The Conflagration. Germany in the Air War 1940–1945]. Anthony Beevor's *Berlin—The Downfall 1945* (New York: Viking, 2002) and the re-publication of the anonymous memoir *Eine Frau in Berlin* (Frankfurt/M: Eichborn, 2003) [A Woman in Berlin].[7]

As with *Krebsgang* in 2002, Grass with *Beim Häuten der Zwiebel* has once again in 2006 managed to focus public attention in Germany (and elsewhere) back on to the topic of "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" [coming to terms with the past]. An interview published on 12 August 2006 in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*[8] immediately led to headlines in the German and international media, focusing of course almost exclusively on the revelation of Grass's Waffen-SS membership. Intentionally or otherwise, this pre-publication reference led, initially at least, to an almost exclusive focusing on this one revelation, in an autobiographic account covering twenty years, from the outbreak of World War II in 1939 to the publication of *Die Blechtrommel* [The Tin Drum] in 1959.

The reactions to this event range from the accusatory to the understanding or indeed forgiving. The overall tenor of the *Spiegel* cover story was negative: "Die moralische Autorität des Literaturnobelpreisträgers hat Schaden genommen" [The moral authority of the Nobel Prize winner has been damaged].[9]

Probably the most rigid criticism comes from Evelyn Finger in *Die Zeit*, who comments: "Die Heuchelei fängt schon bei der Überschrift an" [The hypocrisy already starts with the title], and goes on to say:

> Das Skandalöse am Grass-Skandal ist nämlich nicht die Nachricht, dass ein 17-Jähriger kurzzeitig bei der Waffen-SS war und dass ein prominenter Schriftsteller zu feige war, diese fatale Zugehörigkeit einzugestehen. Skandalös ist die übertriebene Mea-culpa-Geste, mit der Grass jede wirkliche Auseinandersetzung verweigert. Unter dem pathetischen Vorwand einer Generalbeichte hat er allein seine Verteidigung organisiert.
> [The scandalous aspect of the Grass scandal is not really the news that a seventeen-year-old was in the SS for a short time, or that a prominent author was too cowardly to confess to this fatal membership. Scandalous is the exaggerated 'mea culpa' gesture, with which Grass refuses any real confrontation with the past. With the excuse full of pathos of a general confession he has merely organized his defence.][10]

Many commentators focused on the lateness of the revelation, and expressed surprise that this "outing" had been so late: "Die wenigsten haben sich an dem Faktum gestoßen, zumal da Grass eine frühe Nazibegeisterung niemals verhehlt hat. Die meisten haben sich nur über den verspäteten Schritt in die Öffentlichkeit gewundert" [Hardly anybody criticized the fact of the membership, especially as Grass has never concealed his youthful Nazi enthusiasm. But most were surprised about the delay in bringing this into the public arena].[11] The critic Fritz Raddatz also expresses surprise at the lateness of this revelation, but sees it as an extra-literary category which does not diminish the value of Grass's autobiographic narrative:

> Zwar neige auch ich zur Antwort: "Reichlich spät"—halte gleichwohl den impliziten Vorwurf für pharasäisch. Es ist eine außerliterarische Kategorie, geeignet für den Leitartikel, nicht für die Literaturkritik. Es geht um ein Werk, um bohrende Unruhe, die ihm zugrunde liegt. Also um Irrtum und Versagen als literarisches Material, nicht um Datierung. Das nämlich ist der Impetus der Grass-Memoiren: das Leben eine Werkstatt. Was hier vorliegt, ist ein gar seltsames, hochgemut trauriges Buch, Legende vom Erfolg durch Versagen, widerborstig-garstig, schockierend und (dadurch) zutiefst berührend.
> [I also tend to the response: "late indeed," but I nevertheless consider the implied criticism to be hypocritical. It is an extra-literary category, suited to the editorial pages, not to literary criticism. It concerns a work, it is about the penetrating disquiet which is at its core. It is about error and failure as

> literary material, not about dates. That is the impetus of the Grass memoirs: life as a work in progress. What we have here is a very peculiar, proudly sad book, a legend of success through failure, nasty, shocking and (therefore) deeply moving.][12]

It is important to differentiate between the writer Grass, whose fiction must (continue to) stand and fall on its own merits, and the public figure of Grass, the political commentator, whose credibility perhaps has been compromised by this all-too late revelation. It may well be that the lateness of this revelation was totally unnecessary, and therefore needlessly problematic. As has been pointed out, from the very beginning Grass had made it quite clear in many autobiographic statements that he had been an enthusiastic Nazi from childhood and adolescence until the end of the war, and indeed some brief time beyond that in the POW camp. And despite the (understandable) disappointment of his biographer Michael Jürgs,[13] most of the events in Grass's short career in the military forces had been told before, be it in Jürgs's biography, or in various interviews beforehand, with the significant and perhaps inexplicable omission of the fact that he had been in the Waffen-SS rather than in the Wehrmacht.

However, the case is made by a number of critics that, nevertheless, the revelation of mere membership of the Waffen-SS, could have had deleterious effects on careers such as the literary career of Günter Grass, including the speculation that the Nobel Prize would never have been awarded to a former Waffen-SS member. Berndt Wegner gives a possible explanation for this "Verschweigen" [silence]:

> Aber diese Aufregung entzündet sich meines Erachtens an dem Begriff Waffen-SS … Es hängt also schon an dem Begriff Waffen-SS, und das hat wiederum damit zu tun, dass die Buchstaben SS darin vorkommen und damit die Waffen-SS automatisch, geradezu reflexartig, mit Auschwitz und Völkermord assoziiert wird … Das heißt, wir in unserer öffentlichen Wahrnehmung haben selbst meines Erachtens wesentlich dazu beigetragen, indem wir eine kategorische Verkürzung der historischen Erfahrung auf eine Opfer-Täter-Dichotomie vorgenommen haben. Der Begriff Waffen-SS genügte zur Stigmatisierung.
> [But this concern was in my opinion inflamed by the term Waffen-SS … It has to do with the term Waffen-SS, and that is connected to the fact that the letters SS occur, and therefore

> the Waffen-SS in an automatic reflex is associated with Auschwitz and genocide … This means that we have ourselves contributed largely to this in our public perception, in that we have performed a categorical shortening of historical experience to a victim-perpetrator dichotomy. The term Waffen-SS by itself sufficed for stigmatisation.][14]

Gerrit Bartels also asks the question of why Grass had waited so long:

> Das Problem ist nun weniger, dass man Grass irgendwelcher damals begangener Verbrechen anklagen könnte oder müsste; und dass man ihm, dem damals 16-Jährigen, die freiwillig eingegangene Mitgliedschaft in der Waffen-SS aus einem Abstand von über sechzig Jahren und einer völlig anderen gesellschaftlichen und politischen Situation heraus vorwerfen wollte. Das Problem ist vielmehr, und darin ist das momentane mittelschwere öffentliche Beben als Reaktion auf diese Enthüllung begründet, das Problem ist der Zeitpunkt, an dem Grass mit seinem Geständnis aufwartet. Warum hat er so lange damit gewartet?
> [The problem is not so much that one has to accuse Grass of any crimes committed at that time, and that one should blame him, then as a sixteen-year-old, for volunteering for the SS, from a distance of over sixty years and in the context of an entirely different social and political situation. The problem rather is, and that is the reason for the present medium to heavy earthquake, the problem is the point of time in which Grass chose to present us his confession. Why did he wait so long before doing this?][15]

Bartels goes on to make the point that knowledge of this could have threatened the award of the Nobel Prize to Grass: "Ein ehemaliger Waffen-SSler wäre für diesen Preis wohl nicht in Frage gekommen." [A former member of the Waffen-SS would not have been considered for the [Nobel] Prize.] Apart from this reason Bartels also is of the opinion that the current Zeitgeist made such a revelation easier now than in earlier days:

> Zudem scheint es, als sei es nicht allein die Last seiner "Schande" (Grass) und der durch das Alter forcierte Prozess der Erinnerung, die Grass zu seinem Geständnis veranlassten, sondern auch das nicht zuletzt von ihm selbst (sein Gustloff-Vertriebenen-Roman *Im Krebsgang*) verstärkt geweckte öffentliche Bewusstsein dafür, dass die Deutschen selbst nicht

> nur Täter, sondern auch Verführte des Nazismus und Opfer des Zweiten Weltkriegs gewesen waren. In so einem Klima gesteht es sich leichter.
> [In addition it seems that it was not only the burden of his "shame" (Grass) and the process of remembrance caused by aging that led Grass to his confession, but also the growing public awareness, which had been initiated in part by himself (with his refugee novel *Crabwalk*), that the Germans had been not only perpetrators, but also seduced by Nazism and victims of World War II. In such a climate it is easier to confess.][16]

In contrast, some critics have expressed the view that an early admission of having served in the Waffen-SS, coupled with his well-known existing statements that he had been an enthusiastic and uncritical supporter of Nazism in his youth, would possibly have increased rather than decreased the impact of his anti-Nazi utterances:

> Denn hätte Grass früher von der SS gesprochen, es hätte die Wucht seiner moralischen Einmischungen, seiner Anklage unzureichender Vergangenheitsbewältigung nicht beschädigt, sie im Gegenteil gesteigert und durch den persönlichen Irrtum beglaubigt. Wie wäre es gewesen, wenn Grass bei seiner Kritik an Kohls und Reagans umstrittenem Besuch des Soldatenfriedhofs Bitburg gesagt hätte: Unter den jugendlichen SS-Leuten, die dort liegen, hätte auch ich sein können? Grass wäre einer gewesen, der wusste, wovon er sprach, wenn er den Deutschen ins Gewisen redete. Erst indem er das symbolisch-fatale Detail des doppelten S unterschlug, kann es heute so scheinen, als habe er sich seine Nachkriegsautorität erschlichen.
> [If Grass had spoken earlier about the SS, it would not have harmed the force of his moralizing interferences, his complaint of insufficient coming to terms with the past, on the contrary, this would have been increased and validated through his personal mistakes. What if Grass in his criticism of Kohl's and Reagan's controversial visit of the war cemetery in Bitburg had said: I could have been amongst these young SS members who are buried here? Grass would have been one who knew what he was talking about, when he spoke to the consciences of the Germans. Only by hiding the symbolically fatal detail of the double S, can it seem today as if he had illegitimately acquired his post-war stature of authority.][17]

And of course there has been not the slightest suggestion of Grass having been involved in any way in any war crimes. Grass's own explanation for this perhaps rather tardy admission seems to be a classic case of amnesia-like suppression:

> Also Ausreden genug. Und doch habe ich mich über Jahrzehnte hinweg geweigert, mir das Wort und den Doppelbuchstaben einzugestehen. Was ich mit dem dummen Stolz meiner jungen Jahre hingenommen hatte, wollte ich mir nach dem Krieg aus nachwachsender Scham verschweigen. Doch die Last blieb und niemand konnte sie erleichtern … Selbst wenn mir tätige Mitschuld auszureden war, blieb ein bis heute nicht abgetragener Rest, der allzu geläufig Mitverantwortung genannt wird. Damit zu leben ist für die restlichen Jahre gewiß. (Z 127)
> [So there were plenty of excuses. Yet for decades I refused to admit to the word, and to the double letters. What I had accepted with the stupid pride of youth I wanted to conceal after the war out of a recurrent sense of shame. But the burden remained, and no one could alleviate it … Even if I could not be accused of active complicity, there remains to this day a residue that is all too commonly called joint responsibility. I will have to live with it for the rest of my life. (O 110f.)][18]

The late, perhaps too late, admission by Grass that he was a member of the Waffen-SS, largely disposed of in two pages (pp. 126–27) of his 479 page autobiography, caused, as stated previously, a veritable flood of publicity in the German media, and proportionally in the world-wide media,[19] but it is revealing that another "outing" by Grass has evinced as good as no public or critical reaction. This was the telling by Grass, finally, that his mother, Helene Grass, had been repeatedly raped by Russian soldiers after the Soviet conquest of Danzig, and adding to that, that she had apparently "offered" herself to the Russian soldiers, in order to save her daughter, Grass's then fourteen-year-old sister Waltraud, from the attentions of the marauding soldiers:

> Während der wenigen Jahre, die ihr noch blieben, hat meine Mutter nie einen Satz auch nur begonnen, nie ein Wort fallenlassen, aus denen herauszuhören gewesen wäre, was im leergeräumten Geschäft, unten im Keller oder sonstwo in der Wohnung geschah, wo und wie oft sie von russischen Soldaten vergewaltigt wurde. Und daß sie sich, um die Tochter zu schützen, ersatzweise angeboten hatte, war erst nach ihrem

> Tod andeutungsweise von der Schwester zu hören. Es fehlten die Worte.(Z 321)
> [Not once during the few years she had left did my mother ever so much as drop a hint or utter a word that might indicate what had gone on in the empty shop, in the basement, or in the apartment, nothing that might indicate where and how often she had been raped by Russian soldiers. It was not until after she died that I learned—and then only indirectly from my sister—that to protect her daughter she had offered herself to them. There were no words. (O 285)]

This revelation was actually not totally new, but had initially been made in an interview in a French publication, which received little to no public or critical response at the time in Germany or elsewhere. In this interview, Grass stated: "she experienced—which I did not—the occupation of Danzig by the Soviet Army, she was raped by Russian soldiers—in part a matter of endurance, in part of her giving herself to them on a regular basis in order to protect my sister who was thirteen at the time."[20] With this 1979 revelation remaining largely unknown, Grass chose to once more unburden himself, again in the relatively unknown periodical *Literaturen* in 2002 following the publication of *Im Krebsgang*:

> Von meiner Schwester, die als14-Jährige dabei gewesen ist, weiß ich, dass meine Mutter von sowjetischen Soldaten mehrmals vergewaltigt worden ist, dass sie sich sogar nahezu angeboten hat, damit meine Schwester verschont bliebe. Meine Mutter hat mit mir nie ein Wort darüber gesprochen. Erst nach ihrem Tod 1954 habe ich es von meiner Schwester erfahren.
> [I know from my sister, who was there as a fourteen-year-old, that my mother was repeatedly raped by Soviet soldiers, that she had even almost offered herself, so that my sister might be spared. My mother did not ever speak a single word about this with me. Only after her death in 1954 did I hear about this from my sister.][21]

This repressed or tabooised memory, revealed for the first time in a French publication, then in a low-circulation literary magazine, then briefly and almost nonchalantly also related by his biographer Jürgs, and then finally repeated, like the SS confession, in a two page segment of the memoirs, obviously failed to get the same kind of publicity or critical attention as the former. The only reference that I have been able to find so far in the mainstream German press

is by Fritz Raddatz in *Die Zeit*, who alludes to it briefly and literally parenthetically: "da kann man Schüttelfrost bekommen (wenn angedeutet wird, die Mutter habe sich den vergewaltigenden Rotarmisten zum Schutz der Tochter angeboten)" [one can get the shivers (when it is suggested that the mother offered herself to the raping Red Army soldiers in order to protect her daughter.")]. [22] It is also mentioned, albeit again only briefly, in a review in the English-speaking press by Neal Ascherson in the *London Review of Books*: "only after her death, years later, did Grass'ss sister hint that their mother had been repeatedly raped, offering herself to the Russian soldiers in an attempt to shield her daughter."[23]

It speaks volumes that these events, which occurred in 1945, were unable to be communicated to the son until after the death of his mother in 1954, and that the son felt unable to talk about this to his German audience until the interview in *Literaturen* in 2002, and then in slightly more detail in his memoirs in 2006 (Z 320-321).

And of course it perhaps speaks volumes in the continuing "Täter-Opfer" [perpetrator-victim] debate that while the mere membership in the Waffen-SS of a seventeen-year-old caused uproar in Germany and around the world, the long repressed acknowledgement of Grass of these painful happenings in the family are virtually ignored by the public reception. Here I would like to refer to Aleida Assmann's article, "On the (In)Compatability of Guilt and Suffering in German Memory," which differentiates between official or public memories on the one hand, and family or private memories on the other hand:

> This communicative effect of family narratives, however, did not cross over into public discourse. It did not find a larger public resonance in the society as a whole. Thus the disconnection and divide between private memory and official remembrance, so characteristic for postwar German history, started already in the 1950s. [24]

I would like to conclude this paper by linking this traumatic (and long repressed) incident with a well-known scene in *Die Blechtrommel*, where the seemingly uninvolved narrator Oskar Matzerath refers to "[die] Russen…, die auf den Straßen überall Fahrräder, Nähmaschinen und Frauen ausprobierten" [Russians who were on the streets trying out bicycles, sewing machines and women].[25] Many readers and critics felt uncomfortable with this (at least outwardly) callous description, and more uncomfortable still with the more detailed description of the allegedly "enjoyable" rape of

Lina Greff by Russian soldiers in the cellar.[26] The autobiographical information now available puts this scene into another psychological light, and one can now perhaps understand better why Grass was impelled to depict these rapes in this mock-noncholant, grim manner: it was to distance himself (and his readers) from the very real horrors of these events also.

Without calling too much on Freud, Grass here is transposing the "offering herself" or making herself available of his mother (in order to save or protect the daughter) to Lina Greff, who in the novel drew away the attackers from Maria Matzerath, the Madonna-like mother with child, who was saved from these rapes perhaps not so much by Oskar's earnest but hardly credible assertion—"Schon bei Rasputin hatte ich gelesen, daß die Russen die Kinder lieben" [Already with Rasputin I had read that Russians loved children."][27]––but more so through Lina Greff's joyful or otherwise self-sacrifice.

Two revelations out of many in this book of nearly 500 pages (with both the SS and the rape accounts taking up less than two pages each), but the fact that the one revelation caused shock waves around Germany (and to a lesser extent around the whole world), while the other revelation was hardly noticed, let alone discussed,[28] shows that perhaps a full balance has not yet been achieved in this continuing perpetrator-victim debate.[29]

For me the illumination of this scene from *Die Blechtrommel* through the autobiographical confessions of Grass is perhaps the best example of how this autobiographic information—limited and incomplete as it may be—add to a better understanding especially of Grass's earlier works. There is still a lot of onion peeling to be done.

NOTES

1 "Who speaks here, speaks and is silent? / He who is silent will be indicted." Günter Grass, "Kinderlied", in: *Gesammelte Gedichte* (Luchterhand: Darmstadt und Neuwied, 1971), 78, originally published in *Gleisdreieck* (Luchterhand: Darmstadt und Neuwied, 1960).

2 Günter Grass, *Beim Häuten der Zwiebel* (Steidl: Göttingen, 2006). The novel has now also appeared in English translation: Günter Grass, *Peeling the Onion*, trans. Michael Henry Heim (Harcourt: New York, 2007). In this article I quote from the original novel, with the novel being identified as Z, with the translation added in parentheses from the English translation, identified as O. All other translations of

newspaper articles etc. are my own, and I am responsible for any inaccuracies or infelicities.

3 Günter Grass, *Im Krebsgang* (Steidl: Göttingen, 2002).

4 It could be mentioned that unlike *Krebsgang*, which was No. 1 in the "Jahresbestseller 2002" [best seller of the year 2002] list, *Zwiebel* only attained 11th place in "Jahresbestseller 2006" (*Der Spiegel*, 1, 2007), although allowance would have to be made that it was published later in the year, in August 2006, while *Krebsgang* had been published in February 2002.

5 This is the actual title of the *Spiegel* cover story of 4.2.2002, which discussed Grass's novel *Im Krebsgang* and its historical background.

6 W. G. Sebald, *Luftkrieg und Literatur* (München: Hanser, 1999).

7 For a discussion of the impact of Grass's *Krebsgang* on this debate see Herman Beyersdorf, "Günter Grass's *Im Krebsgang* und die Vertreibungsdebatte im Spiegel der Presse" [Günter Grass's *Crabwalk* and the Refugee Debate in the Press], in *Wende des Erinnerns? Geschichtskonstruktionen in der deutschen Literatur nach 1989*, ed. Barbara Beßlich, Katharina Grätz and Olaf Hildebrand (Erich Schmidt: Berlin 2006) [*Changes in Remembering? Historical Constructions in German Literature after 1989*]. For a more general discussion of these topics see inter alia "The End of a Taboo? The Experience of Bombing and Expulsion in Contemporary German 'Gedächtniskultur'", ed. Graham Jackman, Special Number, *German Life and Letters*, 62, 4 (2004) and *Victims and Perpetrators: 1933-1945. (Re)Presenting the Past in Post-Unification Culture*, ed. Laurel Cohen-Pfister and Dagmar Wienroeder-Skinner, (Walter de Gruyter: Berlin, New York, 2006).

8 Frank Schirrmacher and Hubert Spiegel, "Günter Grass im Interview. 'Warum ich nach sechzig Jahren mein Schweigen breche'" [Why I am breaking my silence after sixty years], *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 12.8.2006. This interview actually appeared on-line (FAZ.NET) a day earlier on 11 August 2006, allowing *Spiegel Online* and other media including the BBC (BBC News, 11.8.2006) to broadcast this from the same date.

9 Dirk Kurbjuweit *et al*, "Der Blechtrommler. Spätes Bekenntnis eines Moral-Apostels" [The Tin Drummer. The late confession of a moralistic apostle], *Der Spiegel*, 34, 21.8.2006, 46. This cover story is signed off by no less than 15 contributing authors.

10 Evelyn Finger, "Das Geständnis-Event" [The confession event], *Zeit online*, 04/2006.

11 Jens Jenssen, "Und Grass wundert sich" [And Grass is surprised], *Die Zeit*, 17.8.2006.

12 Fritz J. Raddatz, "Ich habe mich verführen lassen" [I let myself be seduced], *Die Zeit*, 17.8.2006.

13 Michael Jürgs, *Bürger Grass. Biografie eines deutschen Dichters* (Bertelsmann: München 2002). [*Citizen Grass. Biography of a German*

Writer.] See in this context *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 14.8.2006: "Grass-Biograf Michael Jürgs zeigte sich dagegen "persönlich enttäuscht". Es sei "das Ende einer moralischen Instanz" [The Grass biographer Michael Jürgs revealed his 'personal disappointment'. It was 'the end of a moral authority'."] See also the *Jerusalem Post*, 18.10.06, which makes the point: "Even Michael Jürgs, Grass's official biographer, complains that Grass did not confide in him—but seems to take no public responsibility for his own lack of research."

14 Bernd Wegner, "Die Reaktionen sind wie ein Fallbeil" [The reactions are like a guillotine"], *Die Zeit*, 17.8.2006.

15 Gerrit Bartels, "Die Erinnerung liebt das Versteckspiel" [Memory likes playing hide and seek], *Die Tageszeitung*, 14.8.2006.

16 Gerrit Bartels.

17 Jens Jessen, *Die Zeit*, 17.8.2006.

18 See also Günter Grass, *Dummer August* (Steidl: Göttingen, 2007) [*Dumb August*], for Grass's response to his critics: "Dann aber schnitt ein Jemand,/geschickt im Gewerbe der Niedertracht,/einen Satz aus dem weitläufigen Gefüge/und stellte ihn aufs Podest,/gezimmert aus Lügen. ("Was bleibt", 76). And: "Makel verpflichtet." ("Mein Makel", 59) [Then, however, a somebody cut/skilled in the industry of malice/a sentence from the large body/and put it in the dock/constructed of lies." And: "Imperfection leads to obligations."]

19 For a valuable and extensive collection of (German only) media reviews and discussion see: *Ein Buch, ein Bekenntnis. Die Debatte um Günter Grass's 'Beim Häuten der Zwiebel'*, ed. Martin Kölbel, (Steidl: Göttingen, 2007). [*One Book, one Revelation. The Debate about Günter Grass's 'Peeling the Onion.'*]

20 See Gunter Grass, *Ateliers des metamorphoses, Entretiens avec Nicole Casanova* (Paris: Belfond, 1978), 18, cited in Julian Preece, *The Life and Works of Günter Grass. Literature, History, Politics* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 12.

21 Hanna Leitgeb and Sigrid Löffler, "Folklore und erfundene Volkstänze. Ein Gespräch mit dem Nobelpreisträger Günter Grass und den Historikern Michael Jeisman und Karl Schlögel über die Mythen der deutschen Vertreibung und die Literatur als Vorreiterin der Geschichtsschreibung" [Conversation with Nobel Prize Winner Günter Grass and the Historians Michael Jeisman and Karl Schlögel about the Myths of German Expulsion and Literature as the Advance Guard of Historiography"], *Literaturen, das Journal für Bücher und Themen*, 5, 2002, 23. The same events are also briefly recounted in similar terms in Jürgs's biography (66), which appeared in the same year.

22 *Die Zeit*, 17.8.2006

23 Neal Ascheron, "Even Now", *London Review of Books*, 2.11.2006. Following the publication of the translation *Peeling the Onion* in

August 2007, there is also brief reference to this in Timothy Garton Ash, "The Road from Danzig", *The New York Review of Books*, 54, 13, 16.8.2007: "How his mother and sister refused to talk about what the Russian soldiers did to them at the moment of 'liberation,' but how he finally gathers, from one remark his sister makes, that the mother had offered herself in the daughter's place—as the object, we understand, of serial rape."

24 See Aleida Assmann, "On the (In)Compatability of Guilt and Suffering in German Memory," *German Life and Letters* (59: April 2006), 190.

25 Günter Grass, *Die Blechtrommel* (Luchterhand: Neuwied und Berlin, 13. Auflage, 1968), 478.

26 See Herman Beyersdorf, "Von der *Blechtrommel* bis zum *Krebsgang*. Günter Grass als Schriftsteller der Vertreibung" [From *The Tin Drum* to *Crabwalk*, Günter Grass as the Author of Expulsion], *Weimarer Beiträge*, 4, 2002, 569: "die Schilderung der Vergewaltigung Lina Greffs durch drei sowjetische Soldaten, die nach anfänglicher 'Überraschung' den 'zügigen Andrang' offenbar genießt, [ist] durchaus kein gültiges oder gelungenes Beispiel für diese massenhafte Greueltaten". [The depiction of the rape by three Soviet soldiers of Lina Greff, who, after initial 'surprise,' obviously enjoys the 'direct attention,' is not a valid or successful treatment of these mass atrocities."]

27 *Die Blechtrommel*, 325.

28 I am of course not suggesting that these two revelations should be given "equal time" so to speak in the critical discussion, as the revelation about membership in the Waffen-SS of Germany's greatest living writer is undoubtedly of greater public and critical interest than the rape of his mother by soldiers of the Red Army. I am merely trying to point out the asymmetry of the critical discussion of these events in the light of the ongoing "Opfer-Täter" debate.

29 For a general discussion of the mass rapes during the Soviet occupation of Eastern Germany (especially Berlin) see Laurel Cohen-Pfister, "Rape, War and Outrage: Changing Perceptions on German Victimhood in the Period of Post-Unification", in Cohen-Pfister and Wienroeder-Skinner. (See footnote 7.) The contribution does not deal with *Beim Häuten der Zwiebel* (which appeared in the same year), concentrating on the anonymous autobiography *Eine Frau in Berlin* (1959, re-published 2003) and Helke Sander's television film *BeFreier und Befreite* (1992). In the context of the ongoing "perpetrator-victim" debate, the article, however, contains to my mind one-sided and untenable assertions such as: "The defining question is, how much recognition should be accorded to the injury of the "assailants", or indeed, whether the raped who belonged to the wrong side are even victims." (317) And: "Scholars questioned whether German women

raped in Berlin in 1945 could rightfully be portrayed as victims irrespective of their complicity with the Nazi regime." (321f.)

US AND THEM: NOTIONS OF LANGUAGE AND COMMUNITY AMONG GERMANS IN MELBOURNE

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"No man is an island." (John Donne, 1684)

The phrase "German community" is widely used both by people of German and of Australian or other migrant origin, implying cohesiveness among an ethnic group.[1] This cohesiveness, however, cannot be defined in terms as simple as birthplace. Whether or not two German-born people do indeed relate to each other and whether or not they form part of a German community is part of a much more complex network of factors. Furthermore, the phrase "German community" can evoke widely different connotations among different groups of people. For my purposes, I will recur to the category of "Born in Germany" in my use of statistics in this paper. However, it needs to be emphasised that German-born residents of Melbourne cannot be understood as a homogeneous whole in the way that this ascription may seem to imply. A wide range of people from highly different socio-economical and cultural backgrounds fall into the category of "German born." It includes migrants who arrived under Assisted Passage schemes in the 1950s and 1960s as unskilled labourers with very little English; academics sent to university posts who may move on to another university in yet another country; senior level expatriates of German or international companies on a two-year contract with fluent English and generous relocation assistance; Germans who migrated because of their Australian-born partners; potential future "category jumpers" like working holiday makers intending to make Australia their home and so on.

The data underlying this paper was gathered as part of a qualitative study among German-born migrants living in Melbourne who arrived after migration regulations changed in 1982.[2] I recruited 60 participants by a variety of means in order to avoid a pure snowball system, 23 of whom were selected for detailed semi-structured biographical interviews. They were between 20 and 72 years of age, with all in either paid or volunteer employment at the time of the interviews. My criteria for selection were that the participants had arrived after 1982, had been living in Melbourne for at least six months, were intending to stay for at least another six months, were holders of a visa permitting them to work in Australia and were willing to meet with me on a number of occasions to conduct the interviews and also for follow-up questions. I conducted 40 to 90 minute interviews in German. The interviews and all field work were done with the approval of my university. Participants either chose code names for themselves or authorized me to invent a name for them on their behalf to protect their anonymity.

In contrast to what is commonly assumed about migrant groups, present-day German immigrants do not tend to engage in the same sort of formalised community activity that was characteristic of a significant number of migrants belonging to an earlier wave of German migration. To the contrary, it is characteristic of the focus group of the study underlying this paper that the forms of German "community" contact which were maintained were often highly informal, such as German-speaking Melbourne-based playgroups. These mirror an institution of the Australian host society, the mother's groups, and in these groups, a double integration takes place: not only do German-born parents find their way into raising children but they are doing so in an environment that is dominated by a language and culture that is different to the one the participants themselves were socialised in. As the majority of Germans who were parents whom I interviewed placed great value on their children's German language development, a peer group of others to share their successes and concerns with proved very important. Furthermore, playgroups provide children of bilingual backgrounds with an opportunity to speak a minority language outside the home, which is seen as a crucial factor in developing balanced bilingualism.[3]

A German book club that meets on a regular basis—about once a month—is an example of a different kind. The book club was originally formed by an all-female circle of German-born or German-speaking friends with an interest in German literature, and

over time only other friends and acquaintances have joined the group, as it is not formally advertised anywhere. While there was an ulterior motive to their meetings—the discussion of German books—the fact that the women in this club are all friends or acquaintances of the original group is far more relevant in the women's motivations for attending. For some, it is the only form of a structured German activity they engage in. Their professed ulterior motive of meeting to discuss literature is sometimes not kept up, as discussions about life in Australian society as well as general political and social issues take on a much greater portion of the time spent together. For instance, questions surrounding the acquisition of dual citizenship took up great prominence during a number of meetings I attended, thus serving as an important avenue for the exchange of information relevant to their daily lives.

Membership in a book club is but one of many forms of contact that modern German migrants may engage in. All individuals are surrounded by a network of contacts to others and make choices for a variety of reasons in finding peers who share with them similar needs or circumstances that help them establish a connection and maintain it over time. Some relationships to others are given: an individual is born into a family group, and his or her relatives will remain relevant throughout his or her life. In the migrant group that is the focus of this paper, this initial family connection has usually been disrupted, as individuals left Germany on their own, with their life partner, or sometimes in a core family group, to come to Australia. Thus, their family has been spread over two continents and is only reunited in rare circumstances for any length of time. The resulting lack of readily available family support is often compensated for by migrants in elevating friendships to a level of kinship in their new surroundings. To surround oneself with friends rather than with family is a trend that is not exclusive to migrant communities, but in the latter it can happen out of necessity as biological relatives are far away and cannot take on tasks such as child minding which grandparents would often perform. German migration experience seems to rank higher in this emotional connection to other migrants than general migration experience. Germans, in the words of one interview partner, "become a little bit of an *Ersatz* for the relatives we don't have."

Aside from these informal groupings, there are also formally registered German organisations in which Germans meet on a regular basis. There are a number of traditional German ethnic clubs in Australia. Some are post-war foundations, others

originated in the nineteenth century, when an earlier wave of German-speaking immigrants had come to Australia. During the times of Assisted Passages in the 1950s and 1960s, many of the German clubs that had been established during the nineteenth century, formed after a peak in German migration around 1860,[4] experienced resurgence in membership numbers.[5] Many more recently arrived migrants are aware of the clubs such as the Melbourne Club Tivoli, but they do not play a role in their social lives. While they recognise their value for an older generation of migrants in areas such as forming a social support network, Club Tivoli in particular seems to be a focal point of a collision between two parts of a German "community" in Melbourne. One is the sphere of migrants of the Assisted Passage years, usually from a working class background, and the other the sphere of expatriates on a short- to medium-term assignment, usually from a white-collar background. The latter have always been able to fly home to Germany regularly, their earnings have always been much higher, and they have always been able to maintain a network in Germany from which migrants who arrived under traditional Assisted Passage schemes were excluded. It is no wonder that expatriates and many more recently arrived Germans feel little connection to a club such as the Tivoli. Older migrants who arrived in the times of Assisted Passages often found it very difficult to come to terms with Australian society, and German clubs offered an avenue of escape that was very important for their sense of self and self-esteem. These older migrants often spoke little English, had travelled considerably less than their more recently-arrived counterparts and were not as well equipped to adapt to new surroundings. On the other hand, Australian society at the time was very much characterised by assimilationism with its high expectations of quick adaptation into the mainstream, and there was little tolerance for the maintenance of other cultures in the way in which it began to be encouraged under multiculturalism. German clubs helped to reinforce a sense of identity that was under threat.[6] However, by no means all Germans who migrated to Australia during the Assisted Passage years joined these clubs. Gisela Kaplan estimates that "[p]ossibly only one-quarter have had any ongoing contact or even loose ties with German organisations and clubs" (379).[7]

At different times, contact to German organizations and institutions takes on different roles for migrants. For instance, to one very recently arrived expatriate, institutions of the German community such as the Löwenbräu Keller, a German-inspired

restaurant he visited in Sydney or the Club Tivoli in Melbourne provide an attractive break from his everyday Australian environment. Under the policy and ideology of multiculturalism, these Australian surroundings are often portrayed as multi-faceted, a collage of different backgrounds in which everyone can find their ancestry and combine it to form a new whole. Yet their overall effect is still markedly different from a German environment, and while this recently-arrived expatriate feels comfortable in Australia most of the time, he does seem to crave a concentrated dose of elements of German culture from time to time. While he is aware that his placement in Australia has a definite end-date, he also feels that even if he was to stay longer, he would still appreciate the opportunity to have access to German food in a "German" setting. It needs to be said, however, that the place he refers to was not created with the German community as a primary target group in mind but rather catered to an Australian perception of German drinking culture.[8]

As a general tendency, it seemed to be highly important to at least have this option of exchange with others of the same cultural background. Markus and Sandra, expatriates on a two-to-three-year contract, who at the time of the interviews had only lived in Australia for a few months, both found it quite difficult to gain access to an Australian circle of friends and mainly mixed with other expatriates, though not exclusively German ones. As Markus put it, their contact with other Germans "comes about partly out of necessity." Like other migrants, they felt that the Australians they encountered had their friendships already made and were not interested in forming relationships that went beyond superficial contact with people like them who were in Australia only on a temporary assignment. Their attendance of the AGWS *Stammtisch* provided them with a group of people in a similar situation with whom they could try out new restaurants, meet for movies and discuss the frustrations and satisfactions of everyday life that they were presented with. These are all functions that traditional tightly knit migrant communities can fulfil for people from many ethnic backgrounds and the lack of which for the younger German community has left a vacuum that needs to be filled in a variety of ways.

The English word "community" translates to German *Gemeinschaft*. However, this German word is not generally used by many Germans in Melbourne, but rather the English *community*. Anthony P. Cohen's definition of community is only partly suited for description in this context. Cohen defines community as used

to describe "that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups."[9] However, the second part of his definition reads: "Community, therefore, is where one learns and continues to practice how to 'be social.' At the risk of substituting one indefinable category for another, we could say it is where one acquires 'culture'" (Cohen 15). This does not describe the function of a German community in Melbourne as such a role goes to the society in which these German migrants grew up in Germany. If there is such a thing as a German community in Melbourne, it does not have the function of enculturation but is based on the fact that the "members," whether they consider themselves to be such or not, were born in Germany, are entitled to German citizenship and have migrated to a different country, in this case Australia. Culture is not imparted here but reaffirmed.

While all of the interviewed had some connection to other Germans in Melbourne, they were at times reluctant to identify with such a "German community." There appeared to be a perception of what members of such a community may be like and that many did not wish to be identified with them. They maintained that they shared the same country of birth as the participants of these events but felt culturally and socially removed from them. For instance, the Melbourne Oktoberfest was of no importance to them, they even felt somewhat embarrassed by the boisterous, loutish celebrations associated with the event both in its German original and its Melbourne derivative. This contrasting image of "Germans you would find at the Melbourne Oktoberfest" was often drawn by my interview partners—even if they themselves had on at least one occasion attended it. However, they would point out that they only went to see what was sold to the Australian public as being typically German, that they went for a laugh and maybe to sample some German food. What they wanted to distance themselves from was the type of "loud," obnoxious German that is sometimes portrayed as a stereotypical tourist and in many of its connotations not too far removed from what is broadcast about the Oktoberfest in Munich in Germany itself. It is a similar reflex to distancing oneself from a group of tourists who are from the same country as oneself when one travels abroad and does not wish to be identified with a behaviour that is seen as rude, especially if one thinks of oneself as possessing a higher, more refined version of culture than the offending group. An Australian equivalent to this perceived type of uncultivated, noisy German would be "ocker,"

defined in the Macquarie Dictionary as "1. the archetypal uncultivated Australian working man. 2. a boorish, uncouth, chauvinistic Australian. 3. an Australian male displaying qualities considered to be typically Australian, as good humour, helpfulness, and resourcefulness."[10]

However, the German *Prolet*, a possible translation of "ocker," carries no positive connotations such as made above under 3. While Australian popular culture often sympathises with this Australian stereotype, for instance in advertising, there seems to be no such amiable identification with an archetype in German popular culture. Thus, in many an expatriate's lifestyle, there is no room for the Australian-German Oktoberfest, just as there was no room for the original Oktoberfest when they still lived in Germany. Therefore, their distance is the continuation of a way of life they had in Germany, and the fact that they moved to another country does not mean that they accommodate elements into their social life that have no relevance to them simply because they are somehow seen as "German."

There are a number of reasons for members of my focus group to feel removed from members of what they perceived to be "the German community" of Melbourne. Age was certainly a factor, yet age, in this context, refers to time and mode of arrival more than biological age. Furthermore, perceived class structures are also relevant.

Interestingly, no one from my focus group readily identified as a member of "the" German community; however virtually without exception, they would engage in some from of contact, formal or informal, with other Germans in Melbourne. While the overarching descriptions, be they "community," "German circles" or "other Germans," did not seem to fit their habitats of meaning in Ulf Hannerz's sense,[11] contact with others from the same country of birth was indeed valuable to the vast majority of them.

It stands to reason that the German community which the respondents described to me is imagined to be a sub-group of the Assisted Passage migrants—the migrants who frequent German clubs such as Tivoli, who are on the committee of the Oktoberfest society, who are looked after by the Australian-German Welfare Society, who listen to German community radio and buy the German-language newspaper *Die Woche*. Whether or not a group with all these markings actually exists, it is the contrasting image of "the German community" drawn by the focus group of the study underlying this paper, who predominantly arrived in Australia since the end of Assisted Passages in 1982. This perceived "German

community" was home to "the others" that many of my interview partners did not wish to be confused with and did not identify with, a group that was stranger to these recent arrivals than the mainstream Australians they encountered because to them, the members of this "German community" still lived a life based on a Germany that had gone out of existence decades ago.

Being German in Melbourne is a complex act of identification and distinction in a highly varied cultural landscape. The important difference seems to lie within the ability of living the life of a cosmopolitan as defined by Ulf Hannerz, who states that cosmopolitanism is an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other (Hannerz 103). Antoine Pécoud defines cosmopolitanism as "situations in which different cultures coexist and interact with one another without necessarily fully merging and in which some people manage to switch from one cultural milieu to another" (14).[12] In many ways, the experiences in the German community point to such a differentiation into a group of cosmopolitans and a group of locals. The locals, migrants from a different time, have not been able to maintain the close contact with their country of origin that their more recently arrived compatriots can. The cosmopolitans have had their postings to various countries and gathered the experience necessary to live such a life on the bridge between two countries. Furthermore, their surrender to new surroundings is not as complete as that of earlier arrivals. As Hannerz writes: "The cosmopolitan may embrace the alien culture, but he does not become committed to it. All the time he knows where the exit is" (Hannerz 104). It is in this, in the knowledge of exits and alternatives, that many distinctions among German-born residents of Australia may best be understood.

NOTES

1 See, for instance, Thomas Schindlmayr, *Community Profiles: Germany Born* (Belconnen, ACT: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2000).

2 Stefanie Everke Buchanan, *The Construction of Cultural Identity: Germans in Melbourne*. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007.

3 See Lenore Arnberg, *Raising Children Bilingually: The Pre-School Years* (Clevedon, Avon / Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1987); George Saunders, *Bilingual Children: From Birth to Teens* (Clevedon, Avon / Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1988).

4 See Josef Vondra, *German Settlers in Australia* (Melbourne: Cavalier Press, 1981), 104.

5 See Johannes H. Voigt, *Australia-Germany: Two Hundred Years of Contacts, Relations and Connections* (Bonn: InterNationes, 1987), 130.

6 Stefanie Everke, *Von Auswanderern zu Einwanderern: Ein Phasenvergleich deutscher Nachkriegsmigration nach Australien* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Institut für Europäische Ethnologie, Humboldt-Universität Berlin, 2001), 44; 96.

7 Gisela Kaplan, "Post-war German Immigration," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, ed. James Jupp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 377–79.

8 See Marc Llewellyn and Lee Mylne, *Frommer's Australia 2004* (Hoboken: Wiley Publishing, 2004), 32: "Renowned for celebrating Oktoberfest every day for the past 20 years, this is the place to come to watch Aussies let their hair down."

9 Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London / New York: Tavistock Publications, 1985), 12.

10 Arthur Delbridge et al, *The Macquarie Dictionary Third Edition* (Sydney: The Macquarie Library Pty Ltd., 1997), 1491.

11 Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places* (London / New York: Routledge, 1996), 48.

12 Antoine Pécoud, "Entrepreneurship and Identity: Cosmopolitanism and Cultural Competencies Among German-Turkish Businesspeople in Berlin." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30.1 (2004): 3–20.

TOWARDS A POETICS OF CONTEMPORARY PUBLIC RHETORIC: REPORTING PLATITUDE AND CLICHÉ

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Writing in *The Monthly*, Gideon Haigh offered a characteristically droll insight when he asserted that "the media is a platitude machine."[1] Could this be accurate? In the media's classic role, reporting public affairs to the general public, is it fair to say the media *generates* platitude, as distinct from amplifying it? This paper focuses on the reporting dimension of that question, rather than on the media as an institution or phenomenon in itself, because reportage allows us to evaluate the links between reporters of platitude or cliché and the public speakers who supposedly originate those forms. I aim to show that the source of platitude—the compositional formula—is itself a major generator of reportage.

In a previous article, I have argued that public speakers use platitude and cliché in a quasi-grammatical fashion.[2] That paper adapts analytical methods from oral-formulaic approaches to "traditional" poetry, showing that formulas are crucial to the rhetorical performer's compositional techniques, especially where a speech is given off-the-cuff or from outline notes. Reminiscent of the formulas that Milman Parry first identified in oral-traditional poems,[3] these formulas of public speaking are evident in both phrasing and topic selection. This paper aims to validate a related hypothesis, that rhetorical formulas are significantly reflected in journalistic reporting of comments made by public figures. It proceeds with particular reference to the reported comments of two sports stars. In short, this paper asks how we may assess the role of formulas in the process of reporting contemporary public rhetoric.

There are two strong reasons to look at the dynamics of reportage. One is that journalism is an important phenomenon in

its own right. A greater understanding of the dynamics underpinning media rhetoric is clearly worth aiming for. A second reason, somewhat closer to the theoretical mission of this paper, is that reportage tells us a great deal about our culture's practices around the interpretation of public rhetoric.

Voloshinov argued that the reporting of speech reveals deep ideological predispositions within a discourse: [4]

> How … is another's speech received? What is the mode of existence of another's utterance in the actual, inner-speech consciousness of the recipient? How is it manipulated there, and what processes of orientation will the subsequent speech of the recipient himself [sic] have undergone in regard to it?
>
> What we have in the forms of reported speech is precisely an objective document of this reception. Once we have learned to decipher it, this document provides us with information, not about accidental and mercurial subjective psychological processes in the "soul" of the recipient, but about steadfast social tendencies in an active reception of other speakers' speech, tendencies that have crystallised into language forms (Voloshinov 117).

Voloshinov then sheets this home to his Marxist case, that the nature of indirect speech is a function of social structure:

> The mechanism of this process is located, not in the individual soul, but in society. It is the function of society to select and to make grammatical (adapt to the grammatical structure of its language) just those factors in the active and evaluative reception of utterances that are socially vital and constant and, hence, that are grounded in the economic existence of the particular community of speakers (Voloshinov 117).

Later, he draws out the relevance to broader questions of rhetoric:

> Rhetoric requires a distinct cognizance of the boundaries of reported speech. It is marked by acute awareness of property rights to words and by a fastidiousness in matters of authenticity (Voloshinov 122).

Voloshinov's notion of grammar-as-ideology throws up several interesting lines of inquiry. One has been a widely discussed class-race-and-gender analysis of grammatical field, tenor, and mode,

made achievable by functional linguistics. Another has been the intersection between language and theories of social capital.[5] A third has been the cognitive link between metalinguistic "frames" and manifest language forms (after Goffman).[6] Lakoff has shown the relevance of that third line to this paper, by using framing as an angle to explore the rhetorical disposition and organisation of the Republican political machine in the United States during the first term of President George W. Bush.[7]

Voloshinov points to two modes of reporting speech, both of which are central to this paper's concerns:

- **Referent-analysing modification**—receives [from the direct source] an utterance on the purely thematic level and simply does not "hear" or take in whatever there is in that utterance that is without thematic significance" (Voloshinov 130). That is, referent-analysing reported speech focuses on the treatment of referents, rather than aesthetic categories of the language reported.

- **Texture-analysing modification**—"incorporates into indirect discourse words and locutions that characterize the subjective and stylistic physiognomy of the message viewed as expression" (Voloshinov 131). Thus, texture-analysing reported speech focuses on the treatment of aesthetic categories of speech, rather than questions of reference.

Goffman re-works these strands into a distinction between "reporting" (referential) and "replaying" (both referential and textural) the utterances of others, a dichotomy that substantially cuts across the form-content distinction in Voloshinov's original version. Otherwise, it is interesting to note how little-adopted the Voloshinov approach has been in research into rhetorical practice. Although it is clearly located in the philological tradition (and so inevitably privileges conventional grammar and high literature as data sources), its principles make excellent sense *a priori*.

The method for this paper tends towards media content analysis, albeit with an explicit focus on texture. At a practical level, this means observing how the news media adopt the speaking formulas of public figures in reporting on their pronouncements (in the forms of quotation and indirect speech). We can expect that referent-analysing reported speech will give us relatively less information about phrasing (except insofar as omitting to quote is fundamentally a decision not to quote), while both modes will give

us an insight into the recycling of topic formulas (themes). The examples I have chosen are either written news stories or transcripts of broadcast news reports. In each case, the story uses reported speech from a sports star as a central element of its textual strategy.

Louise Sauvage

I want to begin with a special liftout *the Age* recently published under the heading of "learning from legends" (Eales 2006).[8] It is a series of interviews focusing on the ideas that some leading sportspeople have about what "leadership" is. The pitch paragraph, accompanied by photographs of Liz Ellis, Ricky Ponting, Pat Rafter, Nathan Bourke, and Louise Sauvage, reads:

> John Eales, Australia's 1999 rugby World Cup winning captain, talks to some of the nation's most inspirational sportspeople (Eales 1).

At the outset, this is quite a revealing example of Goffman's notion of framing. It sets the predominant interpretative context for the descriptions and quotations to come. It establishes the primary lines of interest in the piece overall. In the same act, it also establishes lines of disinterest: we all know many people who immediately move on to the next section of the newspaper when a headline, author, and lead like that come together at the start of a lift out, because they assume it will bore them.

There are several literary and publishing formulas underlying these interview profiles. Each one is titled by the name of the interviewed "legend" and subtitled by a couple of lines about their most outstanding sporting credentials. Each one involves a large human interest photograph and a smaller moment-of-triumph shot. Each one includes a pull-out box containing a list of bullet points, titled "My Laws of Leadership."

In what I take as a subtle mark of respect, the last page of the Eales special is his profile of Louise Sauvage, the champion wheelchair racer. The first lengthy quotation from his interviewee is an appreciable high point of the article:

> "When I first started off I was in the human interest pages of the paper—the fact that I did a sport and the article was about my sport didn't matter—I had a disability and it was warm and fuzzy. It wasn't until I made it to where everyone else was, in the sports pages, where any elite athlete deserves to be, that I

> thought, 'OK they're taking me seriously now, this is good'" (Eales 7).

Sauvage has taken generic qualities of the back pages of newspapers, and her struggle to be reported there, as a synecdoche for her struggle to achieve mainstream recognition for her brilliance as an athlete by anyone's standards. This technique is a *formula*—a group of words used repeatedly, within certain specifiable contextual (*ie* framing) parameters, to achieve a more or less fixed meaning. Sauvage is not the first athlete to use this formula to describe her career, and we can safely assume she will not be the last. Like many formulas, this one works on levels both of topic and of phrasing (thus, after Voloshinov, we can say reference and texture are both captured):

- The idea that appearing in print on the back pages of national and metropolitan daily newspapers denotes a breakthrough moment in a sporting career is an epiphany *motif*, like "the great warrior appears on the beach with weapons and armour glinting in the sunlight," say, in traditional heroic epics across Europe.
- The "back pages" and the "sports pages" are phrases that can be used, needing remarkably little contextual information, to index the performance-appraising and career-confirming functions of the sports public. Their function is epithetic in this respect.

That is Sauvage's formula, then. A remarkable aspect is the way Eales has adopted it as the driving force for his story about Sauvage. He clearly sees its potential as the most powerful aspect of her speech that he can report, both in topic and in phrasing, or both in reference and in texture. This is his lead paragraph for the piece:

> Many think sportspeople look at the world from a skewed perspective. For starters, they read the newspaper starting at the back and only sometimes get to the front page. If they feature on the back page, they've probably made it; if they feature on the front page, they have probably done something wrong. Anywhere in between is likely to be a human interest story rather than a celebration of their mastery—and in the ambitious mind of an athlete that is a "nice to have" rather than a necessity (Eales 7).

In other words, this is a back-page story about an athlete whose goal is to make the back pages—a sports writer writing a sports piece about a sportswoman for the sports news.

Warnie

Just as Eales is (laudably) cautious in giving his reporting of Sauvage's comments a sympathetic frame, we can notice how public speakers often frame their words in anticipation of reportage. It is a mark of heightened self-consciousness, a technique media skills training prepares all kinds of celebrities to perform.

There were many examples during Shane Warne's retirement press conference, given at the Melbourne Cricket Ground on 21 December 2006. In the next example, describing Brian Lara as one of the two most difficult international batsmen he has bowled to, notice how Warne provides a sort of "executive summary" for his answer through the formulas of *placement* and *domination*, then recasts those through a series of grammatical and lexical aspects as though he were expanding on the original comment—Goffman would call these recastings "transformations," after Chomsky, but I do not think the scholarly rubric can be exclusive here. Note the unnamed AAP journalist has framed this answer-quote with an executive summary of her or his own: the names of the batsmen. If you share my view, that Warne's is not a particularly crafted example, it shows the depth to which "stay on message" techniques of media skills training must filter into the cognitive practices of public speakers:

> **Best International Batsmen He's Bowled to**
> Brian Lara and Sachin Tendulkar. "I think those two guys have been the toughest at international level. Brian Lara because of his domination and his placement. It's just amazing his placement in cricket, he can place the ball unbelievably well and can dominate. He can turn a game, as we've seen over the years, no matter who's bowling."[9]

Warne is a media celebrity, noted. When speaking in public, he consciously uses formulas for all the reasons that they are useful in public language (see Clark 2006a):[10]

- As an organising device, making his thoughts coherent;
- As a mnemonic device, a "technology" (after Ong)[11] that allows him to list and keep track of his thoughts;

- As a rhetoric-disciplining device, helping him to stick to topics and phrases that do not get him into trouble;
- As a device for poeisis, enabling him to generate words that fill broadcast time and newsprint space; *and*
- As a headlining and summarising device, enabling him to name the themes of his speech in ways that make explicit their lines of interest for news media.

For this paper, there is particular interest in the news media's take-up of the last two functions in that list, although actually all five are interdependent (and the third function has a distinctly vexed relationship with classic news values). In preparation for this paper, I surveyed six news-leading articles that came out in the Australian media within the first twenty-four hours of Warne's announced retirement. Those were the lead stories in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Age*, the Melbourne *Herald-Sun*, on the *ABC* website, the *Channel 9* website, and the *Baggy Green* website.

The "Warnie retires" reportage came up with four very common *motifs*, and no other formulas received comparable coverage within the six news-leading stories surveyed:

- **"It's been unbelievable—my journey and my ride in international cricket has [sic] been phenomenal."**
  Reported or replayed in every article. Warne reflects gratefully on the expanse of his cricketing career; incorporates the hackneyed metaphor of a "journey" because he knows that it will be understood as appropriate to a moment of biographical overview such as this; implicitly (unconsciously) indexes the quest narrative of heroes.
- **"I'll have a few quiet beers and a few smokes."**
  Replayed in every article. Warne indicates he will not be rushed into deciding what to do next in life; refers to the slightly notorious masculine practices of boozing and smoking because he knows that is the image of him that reporters want to portray.
- **"When you know it's your time, it's just your time."**
  Reported or replayed in all but one article (not Channel 9).

Warne reminds Australians that he is stepping down from the cricket team at a time of his choosing, not because retirement was thrust upon him.

- **"I don't think I could have written the script any better."**
  Reported or replayed in four of the articles (Not Herald-Sun or ABC, although the term "script" got discussed and creatively reapplied throughout the ABC radio commentary on the final Sydney test match, which began a week after Warne made his remarks).
  Warne views his career, in overview, as a dramatic sequence—much as Goffman (559) suggests people generally do.

In their convergence upon these formulas, the reportage shows something that I think we already knew: texture is an important criterion for a report's verisimilitude, alongside reference. My main caveat on Goffman's account is that his focus on the grammar of "transformation" is a focus on reference at the expense of texture—even though much of his descriptive writing suggests he knew better.

So why doesn't everybody simply replay everything verbatim? This (admittedly "rhetorical") question brings us back to the reporterly function of formulas: that they are useful. Just as speakers use formulas to generate and headline their remarks, *reporters use the very same formulas* to identify newsworthy copy within those remarks and to headline it for their own purposes.

A media studies approach to this paper's question would doubtless make much more of the third function for formulas listed above: rhetorical discipline and damage control. It points to a clear tension between speaker and reporter, at least in the conventional news media setting, since speakers use formulas to keep their remarks on safe ground, while journalists seek the unsafe aspect of the comments they cover. There is not scope in this paper to examine how that tension is negotiated. I hope to turn to it in the next year, as a part of the project that is driving this paper.

In the meantime, we have clearly identified a generative and quasi-grammatical role for the formula in rhetorical reportage. This builds on an earlier identification of the comparable role that formulas play in rhetorical composition. It remains an important task to identify whether formulas play any significant role in audience interpretations of rhetoric. This project of research moves on to that task next.[12]

NOTES

1 Gideon Haigh, "Everyone's Battleground," *The Monthly*, September 2006, 56.

2 Tom Clark, "Towards a Poetics of Contemporary Public Rhetoric: The Performer's Need for Platitude and Cliché," *International Journal of the Humanities* 4.2 (2006), 15–22.

3 Milman Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The collected papers of Milman Parry*, ed. Adam Parry, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

4 V. N. Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, trans. L Matejka and I Titunik, (London: Seminar Press, 1986). Note the widespread belief that *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* was actually written by Mikhail Bakhtin—eg. Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist, *Mikhail Bakhtin* (Cambridge and London: Belknap, 1984). This is not a question we need to resolve here.

5 Eg. James Farr, "Social Capital: A Conceptual History," *Political Theory* 32 (2004), 1–37; Tom Clark, "Language as Social Capital," *Applied Semiotics: Sémiotique Appliquée* 8.18 (2006), 29–42.

6 Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis—An Analysis on the Organisation of Experience* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1974).

7 George Lakoff, *Don't Think of an Elephant!— Know Your Values and Frame the Debate* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2005).

8 John Eales, "Learning from Legends," *The Age*, 15 December 2006, special liftout.

9 AAP (journalist unnamed), "From Colombo to Adelaide: The Highs and Lows," *The Age*, 22–24 December 2006, 35.

10 *Cf.* Clark, "Towards a Poetics of Contemporary Public Rhetoric: The Performer's Need for Platitude and Cliché," *op. cit.*

11 Walter J Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982).

12 This is the topic of a further article now under review, titled "Towards a Poetics of Contemporary Public Rhetoric: The Interpretative Processing of Platitude and Cliché."

THE DEVIL IN THE DETAIL: "NEW WORLD" APPROACHES TO AN "OLD WORLD" JULIAN OF NORWICH

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During the last decade, Julian of Norwich and her *Revelations of Divine Love* have generated a great deal of interest, not only in academic spheres but in a wider public audience searching for spiritual guidance in an increasingly complex world. Julian's emphasis on God's love and forgiveness, her frequent allusions to "God as Mother," and her positive approach to the tricky subject of "sin," for example, have found ready acceptance in a post-modern world. There are parts of the *Revelations,* however, that are frequently omitted from close analysis because, on superficial consideration, they threaten to disrupt a widely-held view that Julian, her experiences and her theology, resonate seamlessly with modern sensibilities. Two of these aspects are Julian's descriptions of her own experience of demonic assault and her use of the "body in the mud" image.

I argue, however, that the problematic aspects of the *Revelations* can be accommodated and their relevance reconsidered if they are examined in terms both of the illness that Julian was suffering at the time she received the *Revelations,* and of our current understanding of illness and its effects. Julian, in fact, has facilitated this task for us by making a careful and deliberate textual and thematic separation of that which occurred within the *Revelations* and that which was outside, thereby establishing a solid medieval *context* for the *content* of the *Revelations.*[1]

Julian tells us that on 8 May 1373, when she was thirty and a half years of age, she received sixteen "shewynges" of God's love (II.1:3). The receiving of these showings was associated with an illness that was, Julian says,

> a bodily sicknes in the which I ley iij daies and iij nygthes; and on the iiij nyght I toke all my rightes of holie church, and went not to haue leuen tyll day. And after this I lay two daies and two nightes; and on the third night I weenied often tymes to haue passed, and so wenyd thei that were with me (II. 3: 1–7).[2]

During that time there was some ebb and flow of the severity of the illness and its symptoms but, for the most part, when she is "inside" the *Revelations*, Julian experiences an alleviation of pain. Thus, when the symptoms return with a vengeance, and in a somewhat different presentation, after the fifteenth revelation and before the final sixteenth revelation, Julian is clearly "between" revelations. Here she explains that

> … my sycknes cam a3ene, furst in my hed, with a sownde and anoyse. And sodeynly all my body was fulfyllyd with sycknes lyke as it was before, and I was as baryn and as drye as I had nevyr had comfort but lytylle, and as a wrech monyd hevyly for feeling of my bodily paynes, and for fautyng of comforte gostly and bodily (II.66.10-15).

Soon after this, Julian "began to slepe" (II.66.35), the clear reference to "sleeping" signalling and reinforcing the "out-of-revelation" nature of that which she is about to elaborate. This is the first demonic visitation, a vivid experience in which Julian becomes aware not only of the devil's physical traits but also of the tactile sensation that his presence elicits. She says that

> in my slepe at the begynnyng me thought the fende sett hym in my throte, puttyng forth a visage fulle nere my face lyke a yonge man, and it was longe and wonder leen. I saw nevyr none such; the coloure was reed, lyke þe tylle stone whan it is new brent, with blacke spottes there in lyke frakylles, fouler than þe tyle stone. His here was rede as rust, not scoryd afore, with side lockes hanging on þe thonwonges. He grynnyd vpon me with a shrewde loke, shewde me whyt teth and so mekylle me thought it the more vgly. Body ne handes had he none shaply, but with hys pawes he helde me in the throte, and woulde a stoppyd my breth and kylde me, but he might not (II.67.1–12).

The style of the description is graphic, and full of discernibly contemporary medieval influences. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, for example, note that "many of the details in this account

of diabolic visitation … are enumerated in the *Speculum christiani,* in an extract attributed to Gregory."[3] Somewhat closer to Julian's own time, a similar description is to be found in the English *Horologium*,[4] while the reference to paw-like hands and the misshapen body picks-up on the medieval commonplace that the devil, when attempting to assume human form, always retained some aspects of his true self—some kind of bodily malformation––as an indicator of his sinister nature.[5] Furthermore, the descriptions reflect contemporaneous depictions of stage devils.[6] That is, Julian's description of the devil can be seen to be deploying medieval demonic stereotypes.

Her description of a subsequent demonic assault is no less stereotypical in its incorporation of auditory and olfactory components of demonic presence. In this instance Julian again establishes the "outside the revelation" context of the assault by textually positioning its elaboration immediately after her declaration that "[a]nd sone all was close, and I saw no more afftyr this" (II.68:74), thereby emphasising that God's *Revelations* to her have finished. In this second assault

> [t]he feende came agayne with his heet and with his stynch, and made me fulle besy. The stynch was so vyle and so paynfulle, and bodily heet also dredfull and traveylous; also I harde a bodily talking, as it had been of two bodyes, and both to my thyngkyng talkyd at one tyme, as they had holde a perlement with greate besynes, and all was softe whystryn (II.69:1–7).

When this second description is considered in combination with the first, Julian's overall depiction can be seen to be representing the devil as a potent force that attacks all the senses (with the exception of gustatory). In presenting the offence as all-encompassing, Julian highlights the devil's interest in the control of the human body and his desire for mastery of it. To our modern understanding, however, Julian's description of an attack that registers in multiple sensory modalities is more likely to suggest an underlying pathology of either physical or psychological origin.

In recent years some attempts have been made to diagnose Julian's physical illness, based on the symptoms that she details in tandem with her mystical experiences. James McIlwaine has observed that "the central feature of her complaints was a paralysis which began in her legs and ascended to her trunk, arms and neck. Four disorders causing ascending paralysis are advanced as leading

candidates for the diagnosis: diphtheria, inflammatory polyneuropathy, tick paralysis and botulism."[7] McIlwain's conclusion is that botulism was the most likely cause. Richard Lawes disagrees and argues that while "Julian's account may indicate a genuinely neurological paralysis … it is also quite possible that her extreme muscle weakness is no more than a general effect of a very serious, debilitating febrile illness, in which case more common causes of fever and breathlessness, such as pneumonia, must be considered more likely."[8] Here, Lawes's reference to febrile illness supports what many current readers of the *Revelations* might make of Julian's reports of demonic assault. That is, that the description is suggestive of hallucinations or nightmares triggered as a result of the acute, high fever associated with many illnesses.

For Julian, of course, the demonic attack is real and to cope with it she explains that

> Mi bodily eye I sett in the same crosse there I had seen in comforte afore þat tyme, my tong with speech of Cristes passion and rehersyng the feyth of holy church, and my harte to fasten on god with alle the truste and þe myghte … (II.70:1–5).

In Julian's context such a reaction is perfectly in keeping with the medieval view of the devil as a real entity that sought to distract good Christians from their faith in God and to turn them towards a sinful path. Julian shows that she was clearly aware of the devil's objective, by the way in which she confesses that she began to doubt all that she had experienced in the *Revelations* up to this moment of demonic assault, in the light of its intensity. Her resolve, then, in setting her eyes back upon the crucifix, represents, in the medieval religious context, a reinstatement of faith in God and an attempt to overcome her human frailty, here depicted in its two possible forms—weakness of the body (sickness) and of the will (sin). For Julian, too, the heat, dryness, and fever that she experiences are a result of the devil's attention and of her strenuous efforts to overcome him.

This is a perfect inversion of our modern-day interpretation which posits that visions of devils can be precipitated by a high fever. Perhaps the difference between the medieval and modern view is little more than one of perspective insofar as Julian interprets her experience as being the devil and therefore she overlays and expresses that experience in terms of her religious

enculturation; whereas, today, we view the experience as a febrile hallucination and interpret and express that experience in terms of our shared scientific and psychological enculturation.

Similarly, while Julian regards the dreadful stench that she perceives accompanying the demonic assault as being part and parcel of the devil's presence, in line with the medieval, religious associations of demons and the burning sulphur fires (fire and brimstone) of their hellish home, we now are more inclined to agree with McIlwain who, further to his consideration of Julian's symptoms, notes that

> Her fever was probably associated with an inflammation of the throat and the resulting pain and swelling produced a sense of strangulation, which she incorporated into the "ugly showing." Her infected mucus membranes became foul smelling and she attributed this first to smoke from an unseen fire and later to the devil's breath. Note that these attributions were both made while Julian was awake and that the foul stink persisted after the "ugly showing" ended.[9]

Sulphur/brimstone, too, was used in the shipping industry for both boat building and repair and, as Elizabeth Rutledge points out, "boat repair must have been carried on at Norwich and the building of small boats may have been a speciality among certain wrights or carpenters [with] Norwich cathedral priory regularly us[ing] carpenters for work on its boats [particularly] in the 1330s."[10] The explanation for Julian's olfactory perception here, then, is multi-facetted and represents a conflation, I suggest, of the unpleasant "infected mucus" of McIlwain's postulation, the medieval religious and cultural stereotypes of devils and demons, and the possibility of a background smell of brimstone associated with Norwich industry.

The descriptions of demonic assault follow closely after her reception of the "body in mud" image which Julian details as occurring when

> in thys tyme [she] sawe a body lying on þe erth, whych body shewde heuy and feerfulle and with oute shape and forme, as it were a swylge stynkyng myrre; and sodenynly oute of this body sprong a fulle feyer creature, a lyttylle chylld, full shapyn and formyd, swift and lyfly and whytter then the lylye, whych sharpely glydyd vppe in to hevyn (II.64:31–5).

This image is elaborated as part of the fifteenth of Julian's sixteen revelations. It is clear that this is an "inside the *Revelations*" occurrence: the image's significance is expounded in close association, textually and metaphorically, with the revelation's preceding assurance that "all [God's] blessyd chyldren whych be come out of hym by kind shulde be brought agayne in to hym by grace" (II.64:3–4) and by the balanced, following statement that "It is fulle blesfulle man to be taken fro payne, more than payne be taken fro man; (II.64:40–1). Furthermore it perfectly exemplifies Julian's summary of the fifteenth *Revelation*, given in her opening chapter. There she explains that

> The xv is that we shuld sodeynly be takyn from all our payne and from all our woo, and of his goodnes we shall come vppe aboue, wher we shall haue our lord Jesu to our meed, and for to be fulfilled with ioy and blisse in heauen (II.1:47–50).

The image also reflects, in miniature, the extensive "Lord and Servant" allegory of the fifty-first chapter. There, a servant hurries off, "redy to do his lordes wylle" (II.51:11). In his haste and willingness to serve, he stumbles and "fallyth in a slade, and takyth ful grett sorrow" (II.51:15).

On the metaphorical level the image can be understood to represent the human condition—we are all "in the mud," all earth-bound, and our true selves, our purity and perfection, are hidden from view. The metaphor draws its potency, however, from the aspects of everyday life with which Julian and her contemporaries would have been familiar. As Brant Pelphrey suggests, "[t]he body which she 'sees' may be more than a vision because she lived in a time when, because of the Plague and the filth which attended it, a body might well have lain in sight of her window."[11] That is, the body of a child or adult on the ground would not have been an uncommon sight, especially during the plague years of Julian's earlier life. Julian was born in 1342, which means that she was seven or eight years of age when the first and most devastating onslaught of the plague swept through England. Such a young girl could hardly have avoided being affected in some way by death from plague and its aftermath. Recurrences of plague, in 1369 for example, would have reinforced the effects while at the same time, perhaps, imprinting such images of death as something ordinary and familiar to Julian and most of her contemporaries. Therefore, Julian's vision of a dead body is certainly not the most unusual feature in her vivid revelations; in fact, in many ways, when the

turbulent events of the later fourteenth century are considered, it might be understood to be one of the most ordinary.

This use of the ordinary to represent and expound the extraordinary is an often-repeated feature of Julian's theological approach. Her well-known image of the Earth as being comparable in size to a hazelnut when seen from God's perspective (II.5:9–11) uses a common food item to propose a comparison that is both recognizable to a medieval audience, and profound in the vision of Earth that it proffers. Similarly, in likening Christ's copious bleeding to "droppes of water that falle of the evesyng of an howse after a grete shower of reyne" (II.7:22–5) and, further, the shape of those blood drops to "pelettes" and "the scale of herying for the roundhead" (II.7:28–9) Julian simultaneously demystifies and magnifies Christ's suffering.

The image of the body in the mud, though presented as originating within a revelation rather than functioning as a metaphor to expound a primary image, seems to reflect and reinforce the ordinary-extraordinary interplay that features throughout the *Revelations*. Textually, too, the image's close precedence of the demonic assault experience serves a particular purpose. That is, the textual closeness of the two incidents is more than merely coincidental; or, more accurately, it is peculiarly coincidental insofar as the one (body in the mud) can be seen to have left an impression that thematically influenced the demon experience insofar as the body's translation from mud to bliss prefigures Julian's own movement from the "dirt" of a demonic struggle to the bliss of ultimate alleviation from pain and the clarity of spiritual insight. Thus, in the same way that certain objects and/or incidents in Julian's material world precipitated her mystical experience, it seems that certain aspects of the mystical experience also impacted on the nature of the hallucinations that accompanied her illness in the material world.

In considering the stranger aspects of the *Revelations* as attempts by Julian to convey to her contemporaries the complex and profound nature of her experiences, we open the *Revelations* to a more rational interpretation and meaningful application in our present day, thereby ensuring a more vibrant, not a fossilized, view of medieval mystical experience in general and of Julian's experiences in particular.

NOTES

1 Within the *Revelations* Julian also distinguishes three reception modes, explaining that "Alle this blyssede techynge of oure lorde god was schewyd to me in thre parties, that is be bodylye sight, and be worde formede in myne vndyrstandynge, and be gastelye sight" (ST. vii, 1–3)

2 This and all subsequent quotes from Julian's texts are from Julian of Norwich. *A Book of Showings. I & II,* ed. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1978).

3 Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, 635 n2.

4 See K. Horstmann, ed. *Orologium sapientiae* or *The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom*, aus MS. Douce 114, *Anglia* 10 (1888): 323–89.

5 For a comparable example, in a medieval mystical text, see *The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Book of Privy Counselling*, ed. Phyllis Hodgson, EETS (London: Oxford University Press. 1944), 103.

6 For a thorough study of this topic see John D. Cox. *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350–1642*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007).

7 James T. McIlwain. 'The "Bodelye syeknes" of Julian of Norwich. *Journal of Medieval History*. 10.3. (1984): 167.

8 Richard Lawes. 'Pyschological Disorder and Autobiography,' in *Writing Religious Women: female spiritual and textual practices in late medieval England*, ed. Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 236.

9 McIlwaine 171.

10 Elizabeth Rutledge. "Economic Life" in *Medieval Norwich,* ed Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London, Palgrave, 2004), 161.

11 Brant Pelphrey. *Love Was His Meaning: the theology and mysticism of Julian of Norwich* (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1982), 286.

DIE NATUR DER STELLE
IN STIFTERS *NACHSOMMER*

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Die Stelle der Natur

„The nature of the following work will be best understood by a brief account of how it came to be written."[1] So beginnt der Naturforscher Charles Darwin sein Buch *The Descent of Man*. Darwin hat seinen Tropenhelm abgelegt. Er schreibt rhetorisch ungeschützt über die *Natur* seiner Arbeit. Und der kurze Bericht, der folgt, über das Wie Darwin *The Descent of Man* geschrieben hat, geht so: Über die Jahre habe er Notizen gesammelt über den Ursprung und die Abstammung des Menschen, mit der Absicht diese nicht zu publizieren. Seine „determination not to publish" begründet Darwin damit, nicht noch mehr Vorurteile gegen seine bisherige Arbeit zu schüren, seit den harschen Kritiken, die seine Publikation *The Origin of Species* von vielen Kollegen erfahren hatte. Die Lage aber habe sich seit 1859 dramatisch verändert. Eine Reihe von Kollegen insbesondere jüngere Kollegen haben dazu beigetragen seiner Theorie der natürlichen Selektion allgemeine Anerkennung zu verschaffen. Und deshalb habe sich Darwin entschlossen, die gesammelten Notizen zu veröffentlichen (1).

Darwin schreibt demnach nicht über das Wie, sondern über das Warum er seine Notizen veröffentlichte. Der Autor schützt sich vor der Kritik, nicht vor der eigenen Rhetorik. Der Text sagt nicht,

wie er aus den Notizen heraus entstanden ist. Vom Text aus führt auch kein Weg zurück zu den Notizen.[2] Der Text ist *unschuldig*, ordnet sich ein in die naturwissenschaftliche Forschung der Zeit und neben den häufigen Referenzen auf naturwissenschaftliche Texte, die Darwins Beobachtungen stützen, referiert der Text auch auf angrenzende Gebiete wie etwa die Philologie, wo sich Text und Natur scheinbar begegnen:

> As Horne Tooke, one of the founders of the noble science of philology observes, language is an art, like brewing or baking; but writing would have been a better simile. It certainly is not a true instinct, for every language has to be learnt. It differs, however, widely from all ordinary arts, for man has an instinctive tendency to speak, as we see in the babble of our young children; whilst no child has an instinctive tendency to brew, bake, or write. Moreover, no philologist now supposes that any language has been deliberately invented; it has been slowly and unconsciously developed by many steps.[3]

Die Sprache passt sich der naturwissenschaftlichen Theorie an, so sieht es aus im Kampf ums Paradies. Die Sprache wird zur ‚Natur der Sache' erklärt, denn auch die *Natur selbst* schreitet, wie man in den *Origins of Species* lesen kann, in vielen kleinen Schritten vorwärts:

> *Natura non facit saltum*. Wir finden diese Annahme in den Schriften fast aller kundigen Naturforscher. [...]. Warum sollte die Natur nicht plötzlich einen Sprung von Natur zu Natur machen? Nach der Theorie der natürlichen Zuchtwahl erkennen wir klar, warum sie dies alles nicht tat. Die natürliche Zuchtwahl wirkt nur, indem sie aus den geringen aufeinanderfolgenden Veränderungen Nutzen zieht; sie kann nie einen plötzlichen Sprung machen, sondern schreitet in kurzen und sicheren, wenn auch langsamen Schritten vorwärts.[4]

Das ist eine gut kalkulierte Ökonomie des Risikos im Reich des Lebendigen. Voranschreiten, nicht springen! Hermeneutik, nicht Stellenlektüre!

„Übrigens ist der Darwin, den ich jetzt gerade lese, ganz famos. Die Teleologie war nach einer Seite hin noch nicht kaputt gemacht, das ist jetzt geschehen. Dazu ist bisher noch nie so ein großartiger Versuch gemacht worden, historische Entwicklung in der Natur nachzuweisen, und am wenigsten mit solchem Glück. Die plumpe englische Methode muss man natürlich in Kauf nehmen."[5] Ähnlich

wie Friedrich Engels äußert sich auch Karl Marx später über Darwins Arbeiten: „Obgleich grob englisch entwickelt, ist dies das Buch, das die naturhistorische Grundlage für unsere Ansicht enthält".[6] Welche Form von Wahrheit bringt eine plumpe Methode ans Licht? Das, was Marx und Engels hier feiern, den Abgesang auf die Teleologie, war für viele zeitgenössischen Kritiker das eigentliche Problem mit der Darwinschen Theorie: weder Gott noch die Natur sollte dem Fortschritt ein Ziel vorgeben können? Der Kampf ums Dasein sei nur ums Dasein?[7]

Aber es geht hier nicht um Darwin- oder Daseins-Philologie. Marx liest Darwin, um weitere Bestätigung für seine Theorie des historischen Materialismus zu finden. Und Darwins Gegner lesen den *gleichen* Text und trauern um den Verlust der eigenen Theorie. Lesen beide Parteien gleich, zielen sie auf die gleichen Stellen? Zu vermuten ist, das sie genau das tun. Zumindest lesen sie *The Descent of Man* als die Wahrheit der Natur und die Natur der Wahrheit, selbst da noch, wo das Wort Philologie sich einstellt. Die Verschränkung der Tranzendentalsignifikate Natur und Wahrheit ist zu verführerisch:

> Eine neue wissenschaftliche Wahrheit pflegt sich nicht in der Weise durchzusetzen, dass ihre Gegner überzeugt werden und sich als belehrt erklären, sondern vielmehr dadurch, dass die Gegner allmählich aussterben und dass die heranwachsende Generation von vornherein mit der Wahrheit vertraut gemacht ist.[8]

Liest die Philologie anders als die Biologie oder die Politische Ökonomie? Ist die wissenschaftliche Wahrheit der Philologie *zweite Natur*, die Natur der Zeichen, die sich in ihrem Objekt, der schönen Literatur, verschlossen hat: "Die Wahrheit des Don Quijote liegt nicht in der Beziehung der Wörter zur Welt, sondern in jener kleinen und beständigen Beziehung, die die Sprachmarkierungen zwischen einander weben ... Die Wörter haben sich über ihrer Zeichennatur verschlossen."[9] Und Stifters *Nachsommer*? Schöne Literatur/Schöne Natur oder philologischer Text? Gegenstand der Interpretation oder Theorie der Interpretation? Paradies oder Belehrung? Setzt der *Nachsommer*, wie Hebbel meinte, nur zwei Leser voraus, denen das Geschilderte unbekannt sein könnte: Adam und Eva?[10]

Ich möchte im Folgenden zeigen, dass da, wo Darwin Natur zu schreiben meint und Marx Natur zu lesen meint, Stifter eine Natur des Lesens (be)schreibt. Bevor ich aber zur Lektüre des

Nachsommers komme, möchte ich kurz das Problem von Stellenlektüren im Kontext der philologischen Theorie verorten: „Es ist noch recht viel übrig; aber das Lesen ist schwer."[11]

Die Beschreibungssprache der Literaturwissenschaft[12]

Auch der Literaturwissenschaftler sammelt Notizen, Stellen. Das scheint mir die *Natur* der Philologie zu sein. Die Stelle ist Synekdoche, Emphase des literarischen Textes, der zur Interpretation ansteht. Die Stelle sagt, hier lauert die Bedeutung am auffälligsten. Der *ganze* Text auf einer Stelle. Sie sagt auch, hier liegt die eigene Autorität der Literaturwissenschaft offen wie ein Buch. Man kann nicht ohne Theorie lesen, die Selektion von bedeutenden Stellen ist erkennbar. Man kann aber auch nicht nur mit Theorie lesen, so als gäbe es die Stelle nicht. Was hier auf dem Spiel steht ist das Verhältnis von Theorie und Literatur.

Wie ist es möglich eindeutig über Literatur zu schreiben, wo doch der Wert der Literatur in ihrer Mehrdeutigkeit behauptet wird? Das *Dilemma* der *Literaturwissenschaft* ist die Nahtstelle, die die *literarische* Sprache mit dem Kommentar verbindet:

> Nicht nur die Gewinnung der Untersuchungsergebnisse, sondern auch die angemessene Form ihrer Mitteilung wirft in dieser Arbeit Probleme auf, die über das gewohnte Maß hinausgehen. Ich habe in den 80 analysierten Aufsätzen genau 16858 Stellen gefunden, an denen in der Sprache der Literaturwissenschaftler typische Elemente der Dichtungssprache im definierten Sinne verwendet werden.[13]

16858 Stellen, 13,8 poetische Sprachelemente pro Druckseite, die *genaue* Vermischung von Objekt- und Metaprache in literaturwissenschaftlichen Kommentartexten: aus diesem Untersuchungsergebnis hat Fricke den Schluss gezogen, dass die Literaturwissenschaft nicht „wahrheitsfähig" sei.[14] Aber hat die Literaturwissenschaft nicht auch immer gesagt, die Literatur selbst sei wahrheitsfähig. Der Kommentar parasitiert! Dieser Paradoxie zwischen Objekt- und Metasprache korrespondiert die Paradoxie der Stelle. Die Stelle verbindet in der Lektüre die Theorie der Literatur mit dem literarischen Text, wenn man nur wüsste wie.

Die Philologie des 19. Jahrhunderts hat die Lektüre als besondere Operation in Differenz zu einem geistigen, auf Urheberschaft abzielenden Verstehen in der Philosophie etabliert. Lektüre wurde als ein Verfahren des Wiedererkennens beschrieben.[15] Man kann diesen Lektüremodus in systematischer

Absicht spezifizieren. Lektüre ist Wiedererkennen in zwei Modalitäten: erstens als Reduktion auf Identisches, zweitens in der Wiederholung als Differenz. Im ersten Fall kann man das die Wörtlichkeit der Semantik, im zweiten Fall die Rhetorizität der Sprache nennen.

Die Stelle ist der blinde Fleck dieses Verfahrens. Die Stelle ist weder 'nur' Reduktion auf Identisches, noch ist sie 'nur' die Wiederholung als Differenz. Sie ist nicht mehr die „dunkle Stelle" der älteren Hermeneutik, von deren grundsätzlich möglichen Erklärbarkeit man ausging, sie ist auch nicht die 'vergessene' Stelle der modernen Hermeneutik, die an die Stelle der Stelle die Unterscheidung von Teil und Ganzem setzt(e). Nur in einer Form zeigt sich die Stelle scheinbar als ganze: im Zitat. Aber schon die Forschung und *Lehre von den Citaten und Noten (1892)* hat gezeigt, daß die wörtlich zitierte Stelle nicht auch schon die glaubhafteste ist.[16] Die Stelle ist beides: Zitat und Kommentar. Die Stelle endet nicht mit dem Ende des Zitats, weil die Herstellung der Bedeutung nicht mit dem Zitat endet oder beginnt. Was mit der Stelle auf dem Spiel steht ist die Kontrolle der Deutung, der Bedeutung.

Die Philologie als wissenschaftliche Disziplin verpflichtet sich zur Semantikkontrolle. Sie tut dies etwa im kritischen Editionskommentar, im fachspezifischen Lexikon oder in Handbüchern. Diesen Textformen gelingt etwas ganz Unwahrscheinliches. Sie stellen aus, daß man sie nicht lesen, sondern 'nur' begreifen muß. Fachbücher oder Aufsätze dagegen geraten in ständige Versuchung gelesen zu werden, zumal sie in ihrer Lektüre von Texten zu deren Lektüre auffordern. Die Philologie ist hier näher am Widerstand der Semantik als andere Disziplinen. Sie sollte es zumindest gerade deshalb sein, weil der Widerstand der Semantik das behauptete Paradigma ihres 'Gegenstands'—der Literatur—ist. Zugleich ist Philologie als wissenschaftliche Disziplin generalisierten Beschreibungsmodellen verpflichtet. Sie hat demnach ständig Übersetzungsleistungen zwischen einer irritierenden und einer geregelten Semantik zu erbringen. Und es ist zu vermuten, daß sie das in versteckten Analogien getan hat. Generalisierende Kommentare zur Literatur jedenfalls verhalten sich oft zur Unterscheidung von wahr/falsch in Analogien: Schöne Kunst/Auftragskunst, Bildung/Broterwerb, ethisch verpflichtend/ethisch verwerflich, politisch relevant/politisch irrelevant, wertvoll/wertlos, geistreich/witzlos, gesellschaftskritisch/modisch, starke Lektüre/schwache Lektüre. Die positiven Seiten der Liste in dieser Reihe korrespondieren mit dem wissenschaftlichen Wert 'wahr', die negativen mit 'falsch'. Die

Philologie hat ihre Analogien nicht transparent gemacht. Daß die schöne, geistreiche, kritische Literatur die Wahrheit der Literatur ist, hat sie immer zugleich behauptet und verschwiegen. Als Schema sind die einzelnen Begriffspaare ersetzbar, sie stehen nicht 'über' der Lektüre. Aber in der Lektüre, wenn sie jeweils ein Schema mitliest, sind sie das Kriterium für eine erste Selektion, die Stelle wird sichtbar. Der Trick der Philologie scheint der zu sein, sich bei dem Zustandekommen der Übersetzungsleistungen zwischen einer 'formalen' und einer 'literarischen' Sprache nicht in die Karten sehen zu lassen. Die 'Analogie' kommt in der Fachterminologie im engeren Sinne nicht vor. Als *eigene* Stelle ist Analogie zum Beispiel im „Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft" nicht lesbar.

Die Natur der Stelle.....

Liest die Philologie anders als die Biologie oder die Politische Ökonomie? Liest die Stifter-Philologie die Stelle der Natur oder die Natur der Stelle? Wie lese ich *Stellenlektüre*?

Die Natur in Stifters Texten ist nicht zu überlesen, so wenig wie es die häufige Verwendung des Wortes Stelle sein sollte. Die Forschung hat aber nur ausgiebig die Frage der Natur gestellt. Sie hat das nach der Formel Natur plus n getan, etwa aus der Perspektive von Gesellschaftstheorie Natur und bürgerliche Gesellschaft, oder Natur und Kultur, Natur und Sittengesetz; oder aus kunsttheoretischer Perspektive Natur und Ästhetik, oder in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten immer häufiger auch Natur und Semiotik; und selbstverständlich auch Natur und Naturwissenschaft.[17] Natur wurde gelesen als Fetisch bürgerlicher Innerlichkeit,[18] oder allgemeiner als Entfremdungsparadigma,[19] oder einfach als Symbolisierung der Figurenempfindungen.[20] Im Kontext von Ästhetiktheorie wurde Natur mit dem Konzept der Totalität kurzgeschlossen[21] oder schlichter als „poetische Landschaft" zementiert.[22] Aus Sicht semiotischer Theorietraditionen ist Natur auch als Zeichenmodell[23] oder Schriftmodell[24] gelesen worden.

Was allen Interpretationen, auch noch den subtilsten Lektüren genmeinsam ist, ist nicht nur die Suche nach einer symbolischen Bedeutung der Naturdarstellung, dieses Verfahren scheint in der Natur der Interpretation selbst zu liegen, sondern die Beschränkung der Lektüre durch die theoretischen Annahmen, die die Lektüren anleiten. Stifters Texte bleiben im Rahmen der Theorie: „Diese Stelle, die Form dieser Stelle ist von großer Wichtigkeit."[25]

Ich möchte nun der unausweichlichen Liste *Natur plus n* ein weiteres Glied hinzufügen: Natur plus Lektüre. Aber im Gegensatz zur bestehenden Liste ist die Verbindung von Natur und Lektüre *theoretisch* nicht beschreibbar.

....im *Nachsommer*

„Wie ist überhaupt an einer Stelle gerade dieser Stoff entstanden und nicht ein anderer?“[26]

Fragt Drendorfs Frage, warum ein Stoff an seiner Stelle entstanden ist, oder warum an dieser Stelle im Text diese Frage gestellt wird? Die Stelle kann wörtlich als geographische Referenz gelesen werden—entsprechend wäre Stoff als materielle Substanz der Dinge in der Welt zu verstehen— oder figurativ als Textstelle und ihre Bedeutung. Lesen wir ein wenig um diese Stelle herum. Bevor Drendorf die unentscheidbare Frage stellt, vermißt er einen See, die „Tiefe des Wassers an verschiedenen Stellen“ (288); diese Tätigkeit lenkt ihn zur Betrachtung der Erdgestaltung. Über die Felsenschichtungen mutmaßt Drendorf vielsagend: „An manchen Stellen ist die Neigung diese, an manchen ist sie eine andere“ (289). Und da ihm diese Gestaltungen eine „unbekannte Geschichte“ sind, die er nicht „enträtseln“ kann, wirft Drendorf eine Reihe von Fragen auf. Die erste fragt nach der Stelle. Die zweite fragt, woher die „Berggestalt im großen gekommen“ ist? Und die abschließende Frage gilt der „Gestalt der Erde selber“ (289). Diese Serie führt Drendorf in das Schriftengewölbe der Erde, wo er das Lesen lernen will:

> Wenn eine Geschichte des Nachdenkens und Forschens wert ist, so ist es die Geschichte der Erde, die ahnungsreichste, die reizendste, die es gibt, eine Geschichte, in welcher die der Menschen nur ein Einschiebsel ist, und wer weiß es, welch ein kleines, da sie von anderen Geschichten vielleicht höherer Wesen abgelöset werden kann. Die Quellen zu der Geschichte der Erde bewahrt sie selber wie in einem Schriftengewölbe in ihrem Inneren auf, Quellen, die vielleicht in Millionen Urkunden niedergelegt sind, und bei denen es nur darauf ankömmt, daß wir sie lesen lernen, und sie durch Eifer und Rechthaberei nicht verfälschen. Wer wird diese Geschichte einmal klar vor Augen haben? (291)

Ersetzen wir das Wort Erde durch das Wort Archiv und lesen noch einmal:

> Wenn eine Geschichte des Nachdenkens und Forschens wert ist, so ist es die Geschichte des Archivs, die ahnungsreichste, die reizendste, die es gibt, eine Geschichte, in welcher die der Menschen nur ein Einschiebsel ist, und wer weiß es, welch ein kleines, da sie von anderen Geschichten abgelöst werden kann. Die Quellen zur Geschichte des Archivs bewahrt es selber auf, Quellen, die in endlosen Texten niedergelegt sind, und bei denen es nur darauf ankommt, daß wir sie lesen lernen und sie durch Eifer und Rechthaberei nicht verfälschen. Wer wird diese Geschichte einmal klar vor Augen haben?

Man muß die Stelle entscheiden. Handelt es sich hier um die ehrgeizigen Pläne eines Naturforschers, der für sein Unternehemen die philologische Metapher des Schriftengewölbes wählt, oder um einen Diskursanalytiker, der zur Beschreibung seines Vorhabens organologische Metaphern benutzt. Und wenn man sich an dieser Stelle nicht entscheidet, dann doch immerhin dafür, eine doppelte Lesart anzunehmen und gegenüber dem *Nachsommer* zu vermuten, daß die Natur in einer Metaphorik der Lektüre verdoppelt ist: daß man zweimal Lesen muß.[27] Man weicht der Stelle nicht aus.

Im *Nachsommer* ist der Begriff der Stelle systematisch mit Lektüre verbunden.[28]

Es wird permanent penetrant behauptet, dass gelesen wird. Was zum Beispiel Drendorf auch unternimmt, wird von Lektüren angleitet. Seine Klassikerlektüren (Shakespeare, Cervantes und Homer) leiten ihn in Liebesdingen an. Auf seinen wissenschaftlichen Wanderungen trägt er den „Homeros Äschylos Sophokles Thukydides" mit sich.[29] Wenn der *Nachsommer* Denkmäler zum Thema macht, liest Drendorf Bücher zur Baukunst (467), und er liest Bücher über Meistermaler, wenn man Bilder diskutiert (396). Aber auch wenn allgemein, Wasser oder Luft als „bewunderungswürdig" stilisiert werden, bestätigt das die Lektüre der Griechen und Römer (485); wenn dagegen die Natur besiegt sein will, so kann auch das der „Dichter des Achilleus" bestätigen(422). Kurz: „Am förderlichsten im Verstehen war aber das Lesen selber" (292). Was gelesen wird ist offensichtlich, wie gelesen wird ist dunkel. Das Wie von Lektüren wird dort zum Thema, wo von Stellen, denen ich mich nun zuwende, die Rede ist.

Ich beginne noch einmal mit den unverdächtigen Stellen, die auf nichts als eine geographische Deixis schließen lassen könnten.

Als die Kinder im Reisealter sind, kauft Vater Drendorf eine Kutsche, um bequemer „an jede beliebige Stelle des Landes außerhalb der Stadt gelangen zu können" (18). Auf Drendorfs

erster eigener Reise besteigt er „auch einige hohe Stellen“ im Gebirge (34). Und als Drendorf erstmals im Rosenhaus eintrifft, bemerkt er dort im Garten eine „Lilie an einer einsamen Stelle“ und Blütengesträuche „am Wege oder an ihren Stellen“ (53). Und nach einem Rundgang über das Anwesen Risachs resümiert Drendorf: „Endlich hatten wir die höchste Stelle erreicht, und mit ihr auch das Ende des Gartens“ (55). Genau am Ende des Gartens wird man den Verdacht nicht los, daß es mit der geographischen Deixis allein nicht getan ist. Als Drendorf auf dieser höchsten Stelle des Gartens steht, steht „auf diesem Platze“ ein Kirschbaum, „vielleicht der größte Obstbaum der Gegend. Um den Stamm des Baumes lief eine Holzbank, die vier Tischchen nach den vier Weltgegenden vor sich hatte, daß man hier ausruhen, die Gegend besehen, oder lesen und schreiben konnte. Man sah an dieser Stelle fast nach allen Richtungen des Himmels. Ich erinnerte mich nun ganz genau, daß ich diesen Baum wohl früher bei meinen Wanderungen von der Straße oder von anderen Stellen aus gesehen hatte. Er war wie ein dunkler ausgezeichneter Punkt erschienen, der die höchste Stelle der Gegend krönte“ (55). Eine Stelle, zwei Perspektiven: von der höchsten Stelle des Gartens, die Drendorf beschreibt, müßte man den ganzen Garten überblicken können. Die höchste Stelle bietet das ganze An-wesen Risachs auf einen Blick. Sie ist, in Begriffen der Ästhetiktheorie formuliert, der entscheidende Beleg dafür, daß der Garten und das Anwesen Risachs ‘einen’ Sinn haben, eine Totalität beschreiben, ein Lehrgebäude, das den klassischen Topos ‘Bildung durch Kunst’ beschreibt.[30]

Aber trotz impliziter Totalitätsannahmen, die diese Stelle vermuten lässt, eröffnet sie zugleich eine Gegenperspektive. Drendorf hatte diese Stelle auch bereits von anderen Stellen aus gesehen, und erinnert sich nun „ganz genau“ an seine damalige Beschreibung dieser Stelle: der Kirschbaum, ein „dunkler, ausgezeichneter Punkt,“ der diese höchste Stelle krönt. Aber als Krönung ist sie nur von anderen Stellen aus zu sehen. Anders als in der Theorie, die die Bedeutung von Stellen aus eigener Perspektive vorschreibt, findet man im *Nachsommer* die Stelle auf der Stelle. Und es sind besonders zwei Lektüreverfahren, die explizit um das Problem der Stelle kreisen, und die der *Nachsommer* in Naturmetaphorik überführt. Technisch gesprochen sind dieses die dunkle Stelle und die unterstrichene Stelle.

Erstens, die dunkle Stelle: Drendorfs Lektüre-Sozialisation beginnt mit der dunklen Stelle. Der Vater zieht ein Buch aus dem Regal, liest und stellt das Buch zurück an seine Stelle, die in der Zeit, da Vater liest, dunkel bleibt. „Das Buch, in dem er gelesen

hatte, stellte er genau immer wieder in den Schrein, aus dem er es genommen hatte, und wenn man gleich nach seinem Heraustritte in das Bücherzimmer ging, konnte man nicht im geringsten wahrnehmen, daß eben jemand hier gewesen sei, und gelesen habe. Überhaupt durfte bei dem Vater kein Zimmer die Spuren des unmittelbaren Gebrauch zeigen, sondern mußte immer aufgeräumt sein, als wäre es ein Prunkzimmer ... Dieser Zug strenger Genauigkeit prägte sich uns ein, und ließ uns auf die Befehle der Eltern achten, wenn wir sie auch nicht verstanden."[31] Wir erfahren weder, was noch wie der Vater, das Gesetz, liest. Was wir von Drendorfs Sozialisation qua Lektüre erfahren, stiftet unbefragt die Autorität der Väter oder alter Männer. „Ich fragte Männer um Rat, welche einen großen wissenschaftlichen Namen hatten, und gewöhnlich an der einen oder anderen Anstalt der Stadt beschäftigt waren ... Meistens betrafen die Anfragen Bücher, und die Folge, in welcher sie vorgenommen werden sollten" (19).

Das gleiche Autoritäts-Modell gilt auch für die zu lesenden Texte. Über Gustav, Risachs Ziehsohn, heißt es: „Gustav las bereits in den Büchern von Goethe. Sein Ziehvater hatte ihm Hermann und Dorothea ausgewählt, und ihm gesagt, er solle das Werk so genau und sorgfältig lesen, daß er jeden Vers völlig verstehe, und wo ihm etwas dunkel sei, dort solle er fragen" (229).

Anders als die dunkle Stelle bei Chladenius, zu deren „vollkommenen Verständnis" die Autoritäten „Vernunft" und „Seele"[32] herbeizitiert werden, etabliert der *Nachsommer* nach antiker *auctoritas* Lehre die Person, deren Ratschlag man vertraut, um die dunkle Stelle zu „vollkommenem Verständnis" zu bringen.[33]

Aber dieses Vertrauen auf die Person verliert in der Natur-Metaphorik der dunklen Stelle seine Bedeutung. Denn als Drendorf und Risach auf der höchsten Stelle des Gartens sind, und sich Drendorf erinnert, den noch höher stehenden Kirschbaum als Krone der Umgebung gesehen zu haben, heißt es über den Himmel über ihnen: „Dieselbe Wolkendecke stand da, und wir hörten denselben Donner. Nur da die Decke dunkler geworden zu sein schien, so wurde jetzt zuweilen auch ein Blitz sichtbar."[34] Und ein wenig später: „Da die Wolken über den ganzen Himmel stehen, so weiß man nicht, wann überhaupt ein Blitz auf die Erde niederfährt, und an welcher Stelle er sie treffen wird" (66).

Die Autorität verschwindet im Blitz. Es steht zu befürchten, daß mit dem Blitz nicht mehr kontrolliert werden kann, was da auf die Erde niederfährt: Jesus oder Satan. „Denn wie der Blitz oben vom Himmel blitzt und leuchtet über alles, das unter dem Himmel ist, also wird des Menschen Sohn an seinem Tage sein. „Ich sah den

Satan vom Himmel fallen wie einen Blitz."[35] Hier kann nicht mehr die Autorität Gottes, sondern nur noch Bibellektüre helfen.

Zweitens die unterstrichene Stelle: Als Gustavs Mutter Mathilde ihrem Sohn ihre mit Unterstreichungen und Randnotizen versehene Goetheausgabe schenkt, erwartet sie, daß Gustav zugleich das „Herz des Dichters" und das der Mutter in den Texten liest. Mathilde selbst sieht ihre Rolle so: „Wenn ich an Stellen lesen werde, die ich unterstrichen habe, werde ich denken, hier erinnert er sich an seine Mutter ..."[36] Was hier *verschenkt* wird, ist eine Lektüre. Nicht verschenkt dagegen wird die Lektüre im regelmäßigen Lesezirkel, den die Fürstin unterhält:

> Sie wollte nicht bloß das wissen, was jetzt noch auf den geistigen Gebieten hervorgebracht wurde ...; sondern sie nahm oft ein Buch von solchen Personen in die Hand, die in ihre Jugendzeit gefallen, und dort bedeutsam gewesen waren, sie ging das Werk durch, und erforschte, ob sie auch jetzt noch die zahlreichen mit Rotstift gemachten Zeichen und Anmerkungen wieder in derselben Art machen, oder ob sie andere an ihre Stellen setzen würde." (311)

Die Lektüre der Fürstin beschreibt das Gegenmodell zur Lektüre Mathildes. Die Fürstin liest (mindestens) zweimal und ist sich weder sicher, ob sie ihre erste Lektüre noch erinnert—sonst würde sie keine zweite beginnen—noch, ob die erste Lektüre dem heutigen Wissensstand noch angemessen ist. In beiden Fällen aber ist die unterstrichene Stelle, negativ oder positiv, an eine Memoria-Funktion und an eine Wiederholungs-Lektüre gebunden. Aber in beiden Fällen geht die Hervorhebung der Stelle nicht auf ein Ganzes, wie die dunkle Stelle, sondern auf unterschiedliche Formen der Lektüre. Technisch sind Unterstreichungen Hervorhebungen, *Emphase* von Textstellen gegenüber anderen. Diese Hervorhebungen als Techniken der Lektüre haben als Erhebungen ihr Pendant in der *Natur* des *Nachsommers*.

Die erste Erhebung war die höchste Stelle in Risachs *Nachsommer*-Garten. Die zweite wird der Echerngipfel sein, den Drendorf im Winter besteigt. Beide Stellen geben eine unterschiedliche Lektüreanweisung.

Im Garten Risachs geht man auf bereits vorgetretenen Wegen. Alles ist in der Ordnung, die vorgetretene Wege suggerieren. Risach wird porträtiert als ein „Ganzes mit seiner Umgebung" (182). Oder anders ausgedrückt: In sein Haus kommen nur solche Stücke, die er selbst ausgewählt und in seine Sammlung integriert hat. Geschenke,

auch wenn sie in die bestehende Ordnung passen, lehnt er ab (205). Die erste Lektüre-Anweisung heißt: sammle und verwandle in Eigenes. Und der Vergleich der Schriftsteller, „die etwas 'Erlesenes' aufnehmen, sich aneignen, verwandeln oder neugestalten, mit den blütenlesenden, honigfertigenden Bienen ist einer der ältesten, wenn nicht der älteste dieser Vergleiche."[37] Die Metapher der Bienen, die für diese Lektüreform steht, findet ihren Ort im *Rosenhaus*. Das Bienenhaus steht an einer Stelle im Asperhof, die gegenüber der Genauigkeit, mit der andere Stellen beschrieben werden, nur en passant erwähnt wird. Das Bienenhaus steht in der „Nähe" der großen Linden.[38]

Das Gebirge dagegen widersteht der *imitatio*. Hier gelten andere Wege. Das Gebirge bildet kein Ganzes. Einerseits glaubt Drendorf, gelenkt durch die Lektüre von Büchern, deren Verfasser das Hochgebirge kennen, daß es zur Nachahmung reizt (507). Andererseits wird er feststellen, daß die "Wesenheit der Hochgebirge" undarstellbar ist, sondern die Kunst ihrer Darstellung nur in der Form von Annäherung bestehen kann.[39] Und mit dieser Erkenntnis reift der Entschluß, den Gletscher der Echernhochebene zu besteigen. Dort oben „im flimmernden Schnee," in der „blendenden Hülle" gelten andere Lektüreanweisungen. Zunächst muß man das Wetter sorgfältig „auslesen," die Zeichen am Himmel verstehen können (573). Und anders als Drendorfs Fehleinschätzung über das ausgebliebene Gewitter, die seinen Weg in das Rosenhaus lenkt, wird die Einschätzung der Wetterlage während seines Gletscheraufstiegs richtig sein. Der Echernaufstieg beschreibt das Gegenmodell zum Asperhof. Wie Drendorf feststellt, ist die Echernhochebene nicht nur eine einzige Erhebung, sondern besteht aus vielen Gipfeln und „unzähligen Felsblöcken" (577). Ihre ganzen „Gestaltungen" sind sich einander „ähnlich" und „ein ausgetretener Pfad" ist nicht vorhanden (577). Alles ist farblos, das Weiß des Schnees ist kaum vom Nebel zu unterscheiden (581). Die einzigen markanten Stellen sind nicht dunkel, sondern schwarz: einzelne hervorstehende Steine, Felsblöcke, Felswände. In dieser Umgebung fällt Orientierung schwer. Anders im winterlichen Garten des Rosenhauses, wo der Schnee kein Hindernis darstellt: „Ich [Drendorf, Hinzufügung, A. F.] ging in dem Garten meinen gewöhnlichen Weg zu dem großen Kirschbaume hinauf. Aus dem in dem Schnee wohl ausgetretenen Pfade sah ich, daß hier häufig gegangen werde" (589). Auf dem Gletscher dagegen muß man seinen Weg selber machen. Drendorf und Kaspar benutzen zur Orientierung die eigenen Fußspuren, die sie im Schnee beim

Aufstieg hinterlassen haben (587). Nur indem sie den Weg zweimal gehen, Aufstieg und Abstieg der gleiche Weg ist, und nur wenn das Wetter mitspielt und *ihre* Spuren nicht verwischt, ist Orientierung möglich. Die schwarzen Stellen alleine reichen nicht aus. Im Gletscher sind sie nicht dunkel, sondern einzigartige Lichtblicke.

Die zweite Lektüre-Anweisung heißt: aus sich selbst heraus 'spuren'. Der klassische Topos für diese Anwendung ist die Metapher der Seidenraupe oder der Spinne.

Während also bei der dunklen Stelle die Autorität des Subjekts sich in der Naturmetaphorik der Wolken auflöst, taucht sie in der Naturmetaphorik der unterstrichenen Stelle wieder auf. Die Frage der Autorität ist nur an der jeweiligen Stelle entscheidbar, das macht der *Nachsommer* lesbar.

Bisher ging es darum systematisch zu zeigen, dass die Darstellung der Natur mit dem Problem des Lesens verbunden ist: Regenwetter wird im *Nachsommer* „zum gemeinschaftlichen Lesen eines Buches benützt" (641). Neben diesen auf explizite Lektüreverfahren beruhenden Stellen bleibt die Frage offen, ob der *Nachsommer* auch die Lektüre als einheitliches Verfahren beschreibt? Ein Verfahren, das die losen Enden der Stellen in eine Art *sanftes Gesetz* der Lektüre überführt. Aber hier sind die Wege zur Natur abgeschnitten. Der *Nachsommer* streift die Lektüre als Einheitsverfahren nur im Bild, im gemalten Bild.

Es gibt zwei hervorgehobene, unterstrichene, oder anders gesagt, unterschriebene Abbildungen im *Nachsommer*. Die erste ist eine Landschaftsmalerei von Drendorf. Von Beginn an in seinen Zeichnungen bemüht, das Wesentliche von einzelnen Gegenständen durch den „Schwarzstift" zu erfassen (88) bemerkt er später, wie schwer es ist, die „Seele des Ganzen" in einer größeren Landschaftsabbildung zu treffen. Seine Versuche werden wohlwollend aber kritisch im Hinblick auf das künstlerische Gelingen beurteilt. Seine Bilder seien nicht mit Augenmaß gemalt, sondern aus „entfernten Stellen" in seinem Bewußtsein gekommen (294). Das Gegenbild wird der Maler Roland abliefern. Er malt eine südliche Landschaft von Beginn an aus „dem Gemüte" (591). Roland ist Maler mit Bild, Drendorf ist die Schrift ohne Autor, der „Schwarzstift."

Einmal hatte Drendorf auch vergeblich versucht, das dargestellte Lesen als Ganzes in einem Bild nachzuzeichnen: „Mein Vater hatte ein Bild, auf welchem ein lesendes Kind gemalt war. Es hatte so eine einfache Miene, nichts war in derselben als die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesens, man sah auch nur die eine Seite des Angesichts, und doch war alles so hold." Nach den gescheiterten

Versuchen diese „Aufmersamkeit des Lesens“ nachzuahmen, wird er vom Vater erlöst. „Der Vater sagte mir endlich, daß die Wirkung dieses Bildes vorzüglich in der Zartheit der Farbe liege, und daß es daher nicht möglich sei, dieselbe in schwarzen Linien nachzuahmen“ (174).

Über die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesens kann man nicht schreiben. Aber die schwarzen Linien des *Nachsommers* soll man aufmerksam lesen. Das ist es, was der *Nachsommer* zu schreiben aufgibt: suche die Stellen, die noch nicht mit der Aufmerksamkeit gelesen wurden, die sie verdienen.

Es gibt keine Theorie der Lektüre, die sich vor der Lektüre schützen könnte, so wenig wie es eine Theorie der Stelle gibt. In diesem Sinne läßt sich der *Nachsommer* auch als eine Antwort auf die von der Theorie nicht gestellte Frage zur Stelle lesen. Während die Literaturtheorie nach der Wahrheit der Literatur fahndet, ließe sich mit dem *Nachsommer* nach der Wahrheit der Theorie fragen, aber nicht so, als müsste man die Theorie aus Sicht der Literatur retten, sondern so, als hätte die Theorie schon immer ihre Stelle in der Literatur gehabt.

An „unauffälliger Stelle“ nennt Stifter die „Existenzbedingung der Dinge“ heisst es an einer Stelle in der Stifter-Forschung.[40] Ich hoffe gezeigt zu haben, dass aber gerade die „unauffällige Stelle“ im *Nachsommer* die auffällige ist und dass die „Existenzbedingung der Dinge“ eine Lektüreanweisung ist, die man eher in Darwins Texten vermutet:

> A great stride in the development of the intellect will have followed, as soon as the half-art and half-instinct of language came into use; (...) language,—that wonderful engine that affixes signs to all sort of objects and qualities, and excites trains of thought which would never arise from the mere impression of the senses, or if they did arise could not be followed out.“[41]
>
> „Holz lautet ein alter Name für Wald. Im Holz sind Wege, die meist verwachsen jäh im Unbegangenen aufhören. Sie heißen Holzwege. Jeder verläuft gesondert, aber im selben Wald. Oft scheint es, als gleiche einer dem anderen. Doch es scheint nur so. Holzmacher und Waldhüter kennen die Wege. Sie wissen, was es heißt, auf einem Holzweg zu sein“.[42] „Tatsächlich erinnert mich Stifter immer wieder an Heidegger, [...].“[43]

NOTES

1 Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex [1871]* (London: Gibson Square Books 2003), 1.

2 Ob ein Weg von den Notizen zum Text führt, ist eine andere Frage: „Nature is never extravagant...". Vgl. Paul H. Barrett et.al.(Eds.) *Charless Darwin's Notebooks, 1836-1844. Geology, Transmutation of Species, Metaphysical Enquiries* (Cambridge University Press 1987), Notebook C, 86/87.

3 Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex [1871]* (London: Gibson Sqaure Books 2003), 86.

4 Charles Darwin, *Die Entstehung der Arten durch natürliche Zuchtwahl*, (3. Aufl. Leipzig: Reclam) 207f; „...she can never take a great and sudden leap, but must advance by short and sure, though slow steps." Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life. Sixth Edition, with additions and corrections to 1872* (London: John Murray 1880), 156.

5 Engels an Marx, 11. oder 12. Dezember 1859, in: Karl MarxMarx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 29 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag 1963), 524.

6 Marx an Engels, 19. Dezember 1860, in: Karl MarxMarx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 30 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag 1964), 131.

7 Vgl. dazu Thomas Kuhn, *Die Struktur wissenschaftlicher Revolutionen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Tb 1976), 183.

8 Max Planck, zit. nach Thomas Kuhn, *Die Struktur wissenschaftlicher Revolutionen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Tb 1976), 162.

9 Michel Foucault, *Die Ordnung der Dinge. Eine Archäologie der Humanwissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Tb 1989), 80.

10 Friedrich Hebbel, "Das Komma im Frack (1858)", in: Friedrich Hebbel. *Sämtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, besorgt von Richard Maria Werner, Bd. 12* (Berlin: Behr 1903), 189-193, hier 193.

11 Adalbert Stifter, „Die Mappe meines Urgroßvaters", in: *Stifters Werke in vier Bänden, Bd. 1* (Berlin und Weimar: Aufbau Verlag 1988), 131-342, hier 339.

12 Das folgende ist eine Kurzfassung von Axel Fliethmann, *Stellenlektüre. Stifter. Foucault* (Tübingen: Niemeyer 2001), die Emphase hier liegt aber anders als in *Stellenlektüre* auf dem Konzept der Natur.

13 Harald Fricke, *Die Sprache der Literaturwissenschaft. Textanalytische und philosophische Untersuchungen* (München: Beck 1977), 47f.

14 Vgl. Ibid., 158 (13,8 Elemente), 212f (zur Wahrheitsfähigkeit).

15 Vgl. dazu Nikolaus Wegmann, "Was heißt einen ‚klasssischen Text' lesen? Philologische Selbstreflexion zwischen Wissenschaft und Bildung", in: Jürgen Fohrmann und Wilhelm Voßkamp (Eds.) *Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Germanistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart und Weimar: Metzler 1994), 334-450, hier 382f.

16 Vgl. dazu Michael Bernays, „Zur Lehre von den Citaten und Noten (1892)“, in: ders., *Schriften zur Kritik und Litteraturgeschichte, aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von Georg Wittkowski, Bd.4* (Berlin: Behr 1903), 253-347, hier 257ff.

17 Stellvertretend Martin Selge, *Adalbert Stifter. Poesie aus dem Geiste der Naturwissenschaften* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1976).

18 Horst Albert Glaser, *Die Restauration des Schönen. Stifters 'Nachsommer'* (Stuttgart: Metzler 1965), 7.

19 Hans Dietrich Irmscher, *Adalbert Stifter. Wirklichkeitserfahrung und gegenständliche Dichtung* (München: Fink 1971), 98ff.

20 Alfred Doppler, „Schrecklich schöne Welt? Stifters fragwürdige Analogie von Natur- und Sittengesetz“, in: Roland Duhamel et al. (Eds.) *Adalbert Stifters Schrecklich Schöne Welt. Beiträge des Internationalen Kolloquiums zur Adalbert-Stifter-Ausstellung* (Universität Antwerpen 1993), (Brüssel, Linz: Adalbert-Stifter-Inst. des Landes Oberösterreich 1994), 9-15.

21 Marianne Schuller, „Das Gewitter findet nicht statt oder die Abdankung der Kunst“, in: *Poetica* 10 (1978), 25-52, hier 38.

22 Johannes Kersten, *Eichendorff und Stifter. Vom offenen zum geschlossenen Raum* (Paderborn: Schöningh 1996), 7.

23 Christian Begemann, *Die Welt der Zeichen. Stifter-Lektüren* (Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 1995), 357.

24 Vgl. Die hervorragende Arbeit von Thomas Keller, Die Schrift in Stifters 'Nachsommer'. Buchstäblichkeit und Bildlichkeit des Romantextes (Köln, Wien: Böhlau 1982).

25 Jacques Derrida, *Die Wahrheit in der Malerei* (Wien: Passagen Verlag 1992), 75.

26 Adalbert Stifter, *Der Nachsommer. Vollständige Ausgabe nach dem Text der Erstausgabe von 1857* (München: Winkler 1987), 289.

27 Vgl. Zum Moment der Wiederholung aus philosophischer Tradition als Wieder-erkennen Cornelia Blasberg, *Erschriebene Tradition. Adalbert Stifter oder das Erzählen im Zeichen verlorener Geschichten* (Freiburg: Rombach 1998), 336; zur Wiederholung als Signatur der Moderne allgemein Eva Geulen, *Worthörig wider Willen. Darstellungsproblematik und Sprachreflexion in der Prosa Adalbert Stifters* (München: Iudicium Verlag 1992), 140.

28 Die Stifter-Kommentarliteratur hat den Begriff der Stelle, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, bisher nicht auf der Rechnung. Ausnahmen sind die Arbeit von Geulen (s. Anm. 32). Sie beschreibt die 'Stelle' als möglichen Ausgangspunkt eines „ganz anderen Textverständnisses“, führt dieses dann aber nicht vor. Die 'Stelle' wird eher allgemein dargestellt: „In den Stellen [...] tritt das Inkommensurable des Sprechens *als* inkommensurabel in Erscheinung.“ Ibid., 155. Am Rande auf den Begriff der Stelle bei Stifter aufmerksam gemacht, haben auch Isolde Schiffermüller,

"Stifters deskriptive Prosa. Eine Modellanalyse der Novelle *Der beschriebene Tännling*", in: *DVjs* 67, H. 2 (1993). S.267-301, und Martin Swales, "Litanei und Leerstelle. Zur Modernität Adalbert Stifters", in: *Adalbert-Stifter-Institut des Landes Oberösterreich. Vierteljahreszeitschrift* 36. Folge 3/4 (1987), 71-82.

29 Adalbert Stifter, *Der Nachsommer. Vollständige Ausgabe nach dem Text der Erstausgabe von 1857* (München: Winkler 1987), 292.

30 Stellvertretend für viele Lektüren, die an dieses Thema anschließen, vgl. Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "Die gebildete Gemeinschaft. Stifters 'Nachsommer' als Utopie der ästhetischen Erziehung", in: Wilhelm Voßkamp (Ed.) *Utopieforschung Bd. III* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1985), 333-356; Uwe-K. Ketelsen, "Adalbert Stifter. 'Der Nachsommer' (1857). Die Vernichtung der historischen Realität in der Ästhetisierung des bürgerlichen Alltags", in: Horst Denkler (Ed.): *Romane und Erzählungen des Bürgerlichen Realismus: Neue Interpretationen* (Stuttgart: Reclam 1980), 188-202.

31 Adalbert Stifter, *Der Nachsommer. Vollständige Ausgabe nach dem Text der Erstausgabe von 1857* (München: Winkler 1987) 8 f.

32 Vgl. Johann Martin Chladenius, *Einleitung zur richtigen Auslegung Vernünftiger Reden und Schriften* (Düsseldorf: Stern-Verlag 1969), 86, Paragraph 155.

33 Vgl. zum Unterschied von *auctoritas* (im Sinne von Ratschlag als 'indirekter Macht') und *potestas* (im Sinne von Amtsgewalt) Theodor Eschenburg, *Über Autorität* (Frankfurt am Main 1976), 15f.

34 Adalbert Stifter, *Der Nachsommer. Vollständige Ausgabe nach dem Text der Erstausgabe von 1857* (München: Winkler 1987), 56.

35 Luk. 17,24; Luk. 10,18.

36 Vgl. Adalbert Stifter, *Der Nachsommer. Vollständige Ausgabe nach dem Text der Erstausgabe von 1857* (München: Winkler 1987), 217.

37 Jürgen von Stackelberg, "Das Bienengleichnis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen *Imitatio*", in: *Romanische Forschungen*, Jahrgang 68 (1956). 271-293. hier 272.

38 Adalbert Stifter, *Der Nachsommer. Vollständige Ausgabe nach dem Text der Erstausgabe von 1857* (München: Winkler 1987), 67; genauer wird es nicht. Vgl. dazu Ibid., 102, 425.

39 Seine Erkenntnis bezieht sich auf eine Zeichnung des Gebirges von seiner Schwester Klothilde. Ibid., 573.

40 Marie-Ursula Lindau, *Stifters 'Nachsommer'. Ein Roman der verhaltenen Rührung* (Bern: Francke 1974), 121.

41 Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex [1871]* (London: Gibson Square Books 2003), 610.

42 Heidegger, Martin, *Holzwege* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann 1963), 3.

43 Bernhard, Thomas, *Alte Meister* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Tb 1988), 87.

THE SPIRITUAL COLLISION BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW IN MALORY'S *SANGREAL*

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The sixth book of the Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur, the Tale of the Sangreal*, can be read as a critical meditation on the justification of violence in a Christian society.[1] The *Sangreal*, Malory's version of the Grail legend, introduces the knights of the Round Table to a new world of chivalry and challenges them to reform the knightly practices of Arthurian society at the fundamental level. Whereas in the earlier books of the *Morte Darthur* the knights fight battles to increase their individual honour and to win prestige and privilege at the court of Arthur, in the *Sangreal* they must learn to use violence only when a community is under threat. The issue underlying the new paradigm is whether or not the community is being forced to move away from its Christian values, or, as it is put in the *Sangreal*, "right custom."

How violence was used in a Christian society was a question that had long concerned many thinkers in the Christian era, arguably from the apostle Paul, through St Augustine, to St Bernard of Clairvaux. Furthermore, the issue was complicated by the pacifism preached by Christ in the Gospels. In Matthew 5.38–9 Christ preaches in the Sermon on the Mount that those who follow him should turn the other cheek in response to a violent act against them:

> audistis quia dictum est oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente ego autem dico vobis non resistere malo sed si quis te percusserit in dextera maxilla tua praebe illi et alteram [2]
> [You have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you not to resist evil: but if

> one strikes thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other.][3]

Paul elaborated on this in Romans 12.19, explaining that all vengeance lay in the hands of God.

But, despite the Christian call to pacifism, a Christian society still had to maintain law and order as well as protect itself from those who would destroy its fabric from both inside and outside its own society.[4] In particular, the activities of the warrior or knight had to be regulated in order to protect all members of society so that violence did not become the means by which the few oppressed the many for their own personal enrichment.[5] Consequently the violence of the knights had to be channeled into constructive, rather than destructive, activities.[6]

New social codes began to emerge in the eleventh century in order to define when and how knights could use violence and what the purpose of this violence would be in response to the threat of unregulated knightly violence to the church and to the Christian community.[7] A Christian code of the correct use of violence by the monk Gratian in the *Decretum*, written about 1140, defined the boundaries of knightly activities in official canon law.[8] The decision to use violence in any situation was required to meet the following criteria. First, although God was the ultimate authority for violence, the church or the church-anointed sovereign was to direct justified violence on his behalf. Second, the purpose of the violence was to redress an injury to a right, a person, or a possession. Third, the ultimate outcome of any situation that demanded a violent response was to uphold and maintain peace, thereby returning a community to Christian principles.[9] In short, violence was no longer to be a private matter conducted by individual knights for their own profit, it was to be a public matter that was officially sanctioned and regulated under the authority of the church for the benefit of the entire community.

This was, of course, a grand vision that did not match reality. Those who were endorsed by any given society to conduct violent actions did not always adhere to the tenets of this code, and therefore chivalric literature and romance was employed to market these reforms to the knightly classes. An example of this is, in fact, Malory's direct source for the *Tale of the Sangreal*, the French *Queste del Sainte Graal*. This version of the Grail legend was written about 1220 and, although there is still some disagreement, many scholars believe that its author was either a member of the Cistercian monastic order or was inspired by the mystical teachings of St

Bernard of Clairvaux, the most famous member of the order.[10] The author's purpose in writing this romance version of monastic thought was to illustrate spiritual truths in a fictional form to produce morally edifying literature.[11]

The printer William Caxton makes it clear that he believed the *Morte Darthur* to be morally edifying literature. Furthermore, he writes in his preface to the first printed edition of 1485 that Malory's compilation could indeed teach moral behaviour in a chivalric and knightly setting:

> And I, according to my copye, have doon sette it in enprynte to the entente that noble men may see and lerne the noble actes of chyvalrye, the jentyl and vertuous dedes that somme knyghtes used in tho dayes, by whyche they came to honour, and how they that were vicious were punyssed and ofte put to shame and rebuke.[12]

Soon after, he urges his readers:

> Doo after the good and leve the evyl, and it shal brynge you to good fame and renomee (cxlvi).

And so how is violence justified in the *Sangreal*? I will argue that the successful Grail knights, Galahad, Bors, and Perceval, have proven that they are worthy to join the exclusive Grail fellowship because they have placed their primary allegiance into the hands of Christ, rather than the court, and in doing so, they devote their lives as knights to the protection of the Christian community. They are set apart from the failed knights of the Grail quest because they are willing to place the needs of the community above their own needs. Ultimately, the Grail knight is secure in the knowledge that, as a knight of Christ, his true reward is salvation.

The model of chivalry described in the *Sangreal* was well known in medieval treatises on knighthood. St Bernard of Clairvaux, whose treatise, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, was written as an open letter in support of the Templars in 1135, described the function of the knight devoted to the service of Christ and the community thus:

> The knight of Christ, I say, may strike with confidence and die yet more confidently, for he serves Christ when he strikes, and himself when he falls. Neither does he bear the sword in vain, for he is God's minister, for the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of the good. If he kills an evildoer, he is not a

> mankiller, but, if I may so put it, a killer of evil. He is evidently the avenger of Christ towards the evildoers, and is rightly considered a defender of Christians.[13]

Although any association between the Grail knights and the Templars is pure conjecture,[14] examples of this willingness to lay all of one's knightly activities in the hands of Christ, even if it means that the knight must face death, can be found in the *Sangreal*.

Throughout the various knights' journeys through the wilderness of the Grail quest, each knight is tested by seemingly supernatural forces to determine whether or not he measures up to the exacting requirements expected in any knight who hopes to give his full allegiance to Christ. When these tests are examined in detail, it is possible to discern the qualities that do indeed mark the Grail knight by examining how he uses his knightly skills in violent situations. The ultimate Grail knight is, of course, Galahad, whose knightly exploits are always interpreted as the work of Christ. But to understand the qualities of a Grail knight fully, it is important to examine them in context of their opposite. Therefore the first episode to be discussed demonstrates why a young knight dubbed by Galahad, Melyas, fails in his quest of the Grail.

Melyas de Lyle is the son of the king of Denmark, and Galahad sets high expectations for this young knight when he demands that Melyas should be a "myrrour unto all chevalry."[15] In other words, Galahad, the paragon of knightly virtue in the *Sangreal*, is instructing Melyas to follow his example and prove that he is worthy to become a Grail knight. To become a Grail knight Melyas must show that he can put aside his own needs and desires to attain the earthly rewards of honour and glory in order to use his knightly skills to perform the work of Christ. Melyas is soon tested to see if he can live up to this standard when the two knights reach a fork in the road beside which is a cross with instructions presenting the two companions with a stark choice. The right hand path is for those who desire to live a good and worthy life, that is a Christian life, but there is no promise of gaining any individual honour or earthly glory. The left hand path tempts Melyas to show his physical prowess as a warrior because it promises adventure in which any rewards of individual honour and earthly glory found along this path will be difficult to attain (883.24–30). [16] Melyas demonstrates that his desire for individual honour and earthly glory is greater than his desire to live a Christian life when he says he will take the left hand path.

The adventure Melyas encounters on the left hand path tests his

inner motivations rather than his purely martial skills. In a clearing Melyas makes another decision as he is confronted with a rich, gold, and subtly wrought crown and a delicious meal (884.6–9). What both these choices present to the young knight is an appeal to his appetites. If he chooses to take the crown he demonstrates his desire for either worldly power or wealth, whereas to consume the meal would demonstrate his desire for sensual delights. Either choice shows that Melyas is ruled by his own passions and is therefore unable to surrender himself to the will of Christ. Melyas takes the crown because he is not hungry and is soon knocked to the ground by an unidentified knight. Later, after he is rescued by Galahad and taken to a nearby abbey, an old monk explains his fault. Melyas had refused to take the right hand path at the fork in the road, which represented the path of Christ. In his pride, Melyas had sought to increase his worldly honour, which made him susceptible to temptation by his own appetites (886.9–19). He demonstrated how his concern for his own needs is far greater than his desire to follow the will of Christ. His flawed understanding of a knight's duty has shown he is not worthy to join the exclusive fellowship of the Grail.

In direct contrast to the Melyas episode, whose own passions and desires have excluded him from the Grail quest, the next episode to be discussed acts to educate Lancelot in the correct use of violence and it demonstrates how the knight of Christ should react when he is required to make a decision about the use of violence. During his journey through the wilderness landscape of the Grail quest, Lancelot comes to a chapel where a religious man is examining a dead body. The religious man believes that the dead man has died in a state of sin because he has broken a rule of the order by wearing a shirt made from fine cloth, which accordingly seems to suggest that the dead man placed his desire for the things of the world above his devotion to God (925.14–17). The dead man should have been wearing his religious habit. The religious man summons a demon to ask whether the dead man has been saved or whether he is damned. The demon answers that man has been saved because of his reaction to a violent situation.

The dead man, who came from a noble family and was, by inference, a knight, was forced to leave the hermitage and his religious life in order to help his nephew defend himself against an earl who was raiding his lands. Because of the dead man's great wisdom and prowess the earl was defeated, peace was restored, and he returned to his holy life (926.3–15). And so the dead man had used his knightly skills to restore peace to the community.

But the episode continues as it examines how the dead man reacted to a threat of violence against himself. In retaliation the earl instructed his nephews to seek out the man who was responsible for his defeat. The young knights arrived at the chapel while the man was celebrating the mass and they attacked him after he had completed the ritual. The power of the man's belief in Christ was shown when the earl's nephews set about their grisly business and found that their swords could penetrate his body (926.18–3). In frustration, they removed his holy vestments and his hair shirt and dressed him in the shirt of fine linen before throwing him alive into a fire. Even though the man remained in the fire all night, his body and shirt remained intact (926.31–6). At no stage, during this attack, had the man attempted to resist his murderers and the demon states that they left the hermitage in great fear. The contrast between the holy man's resort to violence to defend his nephew's right to his lands and his refusal to use violence to save himself is a striking confirmation of the chivalric virtues valued in the Grail legend.

Having now examined two examples that define a Grail knight in terms of his willingness to forgo his needs and desires in order to defend the community and to fight for Christ, I turn to an adventure of one of the knights of the Round Table who does, in fact, prove his worthiness to join the exclusive fellowship of the Grail. From his first appearance in Malory's *Sangreal* Bors is described as being "so mervales a lyff and so stable" that he had only once strayed from the path of Christ, when he fathered a son (956.2–4). But Bors's final temptation in the wilderness landscape of the Grail quest does demonstrate that he can put the needs of the community before his own desire to help those whom he loves. This test demands that Bors abandon his beloved brother, Lionel, to possible death to save a maiden from being raped.

To prepare for this dilemma, Bors is given a spiritual vision. This vision is set in a chapel where Bors sees a chair. On the left of the chair he sees a feeble and worm-eaten tree and on the right of the chair he sees two lilies that lean and almost touch each other. A good man appears and separates the lilies because any contact between the two would lead to the loss of their whiteness and when they are separated both lilies produce much fruit (958.12–20). Bors's only instruction occurs when the good man says that it would be folly not to allow nature take its course by propping up this old and rotten tree while allowing the two white lilies to die (958.22–4).

Soon Bors encounters his brother, Lionel, on a fork in the road,

signalling that he faces a choice designed to test his willingness to follow the path of Christ. Lionel is lying naked, bound and wounded on a small saddle horse (960.21–31). But before Bors can rescue his brother he sees a young gentlewoman carried by a knight into the thickest part of the forest (960.33–961.3). Bors is faced with an agonizing dilemma: he must choose either to save his brother's life or to save a gentlewoman from the loss of her virtue. Bors's celebrated faith in Christ allows him to read the spiritual signs contained in his vision. Lionel has been represented as the feeble and worm-eaten tree and his alienation from Christ is highlighted because this tree is placed on the left side of the chair. Like Melyas, who refused to take the right hand path of Christ, Lionel has chosen to follow his own passions and appetites. Bors intrinsically understands this and prays that Christ will preserve Lionel from death as he proceeds to save the gentlewoman from her knight abductor.

This particular episode is crucially important in discerning the justification of violence in the *Sangreal*. If the decision to become involved in a violent incident must be made on the basis of its positive effect on the community, Bors's decision to abandon his brother, possibly leaving him to face death, in order to prevent the rape of the gentlewoman is correct. The outcome of this episode is explained both in the physical or worldly sphere by the gentlewoman herself and in the spiritual sphere by the abbot who interprets Bors's visions later in the chapter. First, as the gentlewoman explains, if Bors had abandoned her to rape, the casualties of the resulting civil war would have been five hundred men (962.7–9). Second, as the abbot will explain to Bors, the gentlewoman and the knight abductor were the two lilies of his vision that denoted that they were both virgins. If both could be returned to the correct path of Christ, their lives would be of great benefit to their community (968.15–20). Bors's willingness to abandon his brother who had chosen to place his own needs above the needs of the community, to save two virgins so that they might remain on the Christian path, most certainly makes Bors "a verry knight and the servaunte of Jesu Cryste" (968.21–2).

The final episode to be considered shows that if a knight has truly placed himself in the hands of Christ even the death of his opponent can be justified in a violent action. The three Grail knights, Galahad, Bors and Perceval arrive at a castle called Carteloyse in the marshes of Scotland. The ensuing battle between the Grail knights and the inhabitants of the castle results in many inhabitants of the castle being killed. Having witnessed the

destruction they inflicted upon this community, the three Grail knights console themselves by saying that if God had loved these people, they would not have been able to kill them (997.3–4). This point of view is confirmed when a religious man comes to the knights and describes the killings as "almys-deed" (997.22). Those who had been killed were not christened and were not God's people. Furthermore great evil had occurred at the castle when three knights, whose lust for the daughter of the earl of the castle burnt so fiercely, that they placed the earl in prison and murdered his three sons. They had also killed the clerks and the priests of the community, and burnt down the chapel so that mass could no longer be performed (997.28–998.3). The actions of these knights had effectively alienated the people from Christ. Therefore the Grail knights' acts of violence were most certainly justified because this community was restored to Christ.

What each of these examples highlights is that the ultimate outcome of any act of violence must be the restoration of peace and the return of a community to the principles of the Christian faith. At all times the knight must act as a vessel of God's will and place the needs of the community above his own needs. This is often in direct contrast to the ideals of the knights of the Round Table, whose acts of violence are motivated by their own desires and passions. Although, in the earlier books of the *Morte Darthur*, the pursuit of individual honour and glory by the knights of the Round Table is glorified, the destructive nature of a chivalry based upon individual, rather than communal, gain is examined when the civil war between Lancelot and Gawaine splits the Round Table fellowship into two factions. This civil war creates the necessary conditions in which Mordred can attempt to usurp the throne from Arthur and the glorious civilization is swept away in the final battle on Salisbury Plain. Perhaps, if the knights used their skills to work for the benefit of the community rather than their own gain, this final fate could have been avoided.

NOTES

1 I would like to thank Dr Diane Speed and Dr John Scott for their generous support and helpful comments during the writing of this paper.

2 *Biblica Sacra Iuxta Vulgata Versionem*, ed. Robert Weber (Stuttgart: Bibelgesellschaft, 2005).

3 Douay-Rheims, *The Holy Bible: Translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin: Gill, 1846).

4 David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, C. 300-1215* (Woodbridge and Rochester: Boydell, 2003). This volume discusses the development of Christian Just War Theory from late antiquity to the Fourth Laternan Council.

5 Stephen C. Neff, *War and the Law of Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 47. Neff argues that Augustine's writings on the purpose of Just War state that the Gospels only forbade the use of force for egotistical ends. Good men could use force to subdue the "unbridled lusts of men" and to remove vice from the community. In the mid twelfth century Gratian incorporated these ideas into his *Decretum* and thereby presented a de facto official canon code for the medieval church.

6 Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 45–50. Keen gives a concise and clear history on knightly violence and the church's response to this problem.

7 Alex J. Bellamy, *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq* (Cambridge: Pollity, 2006), 31–2.

8 Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 66.

9 M. H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 66–7.

10 In 1921, Albert Paupilet in his study of the *Queste* argued that the inspiration and perhaps authorship of the romance was monastic and Cistercian. He argued that the Grail legend, as it was presented in the *Queste,* was an allegory of man's search for God. His work is still considered valid although subsequent critics have examined and modified his view that the authorship was Cistercian. See Karen Pratt, "The Cistercians and the *Queste Del Saint Graal*," *Reading Medieval Studies: Annual Proceedings of the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies in the University of Reading.* 21 (1995): 69–96, 72. Other commentators such as Etienne Gilson argued that the theology of the *Queste* was connected to the mystical theology of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. Gilson argued that the *Queste* presented its audience with *"la recherché de l'extase"* or a search for the end product of Bernard's mystical theology, an ecstatic union with God. See F. Bogdanow, "An Interpretation of the Meaning and Purpose of the Vulgate *Queste del Sainte Graal* in the Light of the Mystical Theology," *The Changing Face of Arthurian Romances in Memory of Cedric E. Pickford: A Tribute by the Members of the British Branch of the International Arthurian Society*, ed. Alison Adams, Armel H. Diverres, Karen Stern and Kenneth Varty (Cambridge: Boydell, 1986), 23–46. 24.

11 Pauline Matarasso, *The Redemption of Chivalry: A Study of the Queste Del Saint Graal* (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 242.

12 William Caxton, "Caxton's Preface," in *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugene Vinaver; revised by P.J.C. Field (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), cxlv.

13 Bernard of Clairvaux, "In Praise of the New Knighthood," in *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1977), 134. This text of Bernard was translated by Conrad Greenia.

14 Pratt, "The Cistercians and the *Queste Del Saint Graal*,"(1995). Although Pratt's article is primarily concerned with the French *Queste Del Sainte Graal*, this is Malory's source for his version of the Grail legend in the *Morte Darthu*, and when the text is examined from a historical view of the justification of violence, her comments about the textual links to the Templars are relevant to Malory.

15 Sir Thomas Malory, *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugene Vinaver: revised by P.J.C. Field, 3 ed., 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 883.9. All further references will be to this version of the text cited and will be in the body of the paper to page and line number.

16 Kaeuper, R. W. and Montgomery Bohna, "War and Chivalry," in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c.1350–-c.1500*, ed. Peter Brown. (Malden: Blackwell**,** 2007), 273–91. 274–5. Kaeuper and Bohna describe the particular left hand path in terms of being prowess, because it is this particular physical quality that allows the knight to win honour in battle.

FRANCE'S NEWER "NEW WORLD": AMERICAN CULTURAL HEGEMONY IN THE FRENCH CRITICAL RECEPTION OF AUSTRALIAN CINEMA

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In the thirty-five years since the "revival" of the Australian film industry in the early 1970s, Australian cinema has sought to represent a national cultural identity that would distinguish itself, both locally and internationally, from the relatively familiar cultural framework of British and American cinema. Australian cinema, like all national cinemas, would represent "the other side of the coin,"[1] as Thomas Elsaesser has described it, in a cultural space, and, importantly, in a market place dominated by Hollywood film production. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Australia's artistic communities lobbied the national government for funding to launch the revival of the Australian film industry after decades of near dormancy. It was envisaged that Australian cinema would come to represent, albeit problematically, what Tom O'Regan has described as a cinematic "monument"[2] to Australian cultural identity: Australian filmmakers telling Australian stories to Australians, and to the world. To facilitate the task, the official government organisation for the development and promotion of the Australian film industry, the Australian Film Commission (AFC), was created in 1975.To this day, the AFC upholds that its primary function is "to enrich Australia's national identity."[3] Despite the best efforts of Australian filmmakers and the industry that supports them to represent a cultural specificity in Australian film, this study will argue that French perceptions of Australian cinema, as represented in French critical writing on Australian films, reveal that an Australian cultural specificity has struggled to emerge in France from what is perceived and in many cases resented by the French critics as an American cultural hegemony in Australian cinema.

This analysis is informed by comprehensive research into thirty-five years of French critical writing on Australian cinema, from

1971 to 2006.[4] From this research, it has emerged that French critical responses to Australian cinema typically fall into two distinct frameworks of cultural interpretation. On the one hand, French critics have tended to place Australian cinema and its cultural reference within an orientalist ethnographic framework of a distant "other," within which Australian films, even at their most contrived, are interpreted as offering a realist "window" through which the French spectator might gaze upon the exoticism of the "Antipodes," and in many respects upon the *antithesis* of Europe. On the other hand, many French critics read sameness in Australian filmmaking and in its cultural reference where Australian directors sought to show difference—a misperception indicative of a conflation of Australia's cultural identity with that of Britain and, particularly, America. This second perceptual framework represents a double subordination of Australian cinema and its cultural reference; firstly, in that Australian films are consistently read in the context of American, and particularly classic Hollywood filmmaking, with frequent reference to the cultural hegemony of the "New World"; secondly, in that Australian cinema is perceived within that framework as an inferior and anachronistic imitator of American culture and classic Hollywood film genres. In considering both frameworks established by the French critics, one should bear in mind the fundamental subordination in French critical circles of genre filmmaking in relation to the relative mastery of the cinematographic art form deemed as evident in what Robert Stam has described as "the hierarchical and authoritarian assumptions of auteurism."[5]

It is not the intention of this study to prescribe a "correct" reading of the films that the French critics somehow failed to interpret. Such an intention would suggest that the representation of a national cultural specificity in film is something other than the problematic concept that it is, despite the stated intentions of such bodies as the Australian Film Commission. Susan Hayward, in her work on French national cinema, argues that the existence of the nation in terms of cultural identity, with its confused and blurred "boundaries," is tantamount to *myth*: "The national cinema is the mobiliser of the nation's myths and the myth of the nation."[6] The conceptual framework for the present analysis will extend this theory to incorporate the notion that "the myth of the nation" is in fact a *multiplicity* of myths, and that national identity is constructed as much from beyond is it is from within perceived national "boundaries." In this study, it will be argued that many French critical constructions of Australian national identity, as interpreted

through the medium of Australian film, draw upon national myths that belong to another nation entirely, namely the United States of America. This study will seek to demonstrate the extent to which the perceptual framework of Australia as the new "Frontier," the new "Far West" and indeed the new "New World" permeated French critical writing on Australian films in the decade following the revival of the Australian film industry, and will cite the examples of the French critical reception of Ken Hannam's *Sunday Too Far Away* (1975), Fred Schepisi's *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith* (1978), Gillian Armstrong's *My Brilliant Career* (1978), and Ian Barry's *The Chain Reaction* (1981).

Despite the emblematic status of Ken Hannam's *Sunday Too Far Away* as a monument to the Australian cultural icon of sheep-shearing, and particularly to the working life and conditions of Australian sheep shearers in South Australia in the months leading up to the nine-month shearers' strike in 1955, the French critics interpreted the film, in the absence of other cultural reference points, almost entirely within the framework of an American cultural hegemony. The film was selected for screening in the Directors' Fortnight at Cannes in 1975, and subsequently released commercially in France in 1977. The "newness" of the film, for an increasing number of French critics turning their attention to Australia for the first time, was in its outback Australian location—at once exotic, in terms of its geographical representation, and familiar, to the extent that many French critics read the landscape as what *Le Nouvel Observateur* terms "the red earth of an Australia that is as beautiful and familiar as the set of a western."[7] The desert landscape of the film determined the manner in which the French critics would interpret the film—as a familiar "western" transposed into an otherwise unfamiliar Australian context. François Forestier gives further evidence of this reading of the film in *L'Express*, asserting that the film is "reminiscent of the mythology of the Far West: friendship, fights and drinking binges,"[8] and that "*Sunday Too Far Away*, is [George Stevens'] *Shane* [1952] in the Antipodes: without the Colt 45 duels and without the horses" (Forestier).

Fred Schepisi's *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith*, another icon of Australian "national" filmmaking in its depiction of the problems facing Australia's indigenous population, also failed to escape the familiar framework of interpretation established by the French critics in their writing on Australian film. As a half-caste Aborigine, Jimmie embodies the complex conflict of cultural identities at the heart of the geographical coexistence of Australia's Aboriginal and European communities. "Tainted" as he is by the physical and

cultural markings of what are presented in the film as two diametrically opposed sections of Australian society, he struggles to be assimilated into either group. In the end, the racial oppression he suffers from the dominant white population of the town becomes too much for him to bear. When his dignity is threatened by the refusal of his employers to pay his wages, he retreats into the Aboriginal community, only to return and respond with chilling violence: the massacre of an entire white family.

Once again, in order for French critics such as Henry Chapier of *Le Quotidien de Paris* to "place" the film culturally, recourse is taken to the familiar American cultural framework: "those legendary Aborigines that were politely massacred at various stages of Australia's colonisation are the equivalent of the tribes of Indians who, in westerns and in Yankee mythology, have always played the role of the 'bad guys'."[9] In many instances, including Chapier's review of *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith*, American film genres served not only to decode the narrative structure of Australian films, but also to explain their geographical and historical context. Jacques Siclier provides another illustration of this tendency in his discussion of the film in *Le Monde*: "Fred Schepisi has adapted the style of the Hollywood westerns of the 1950s, criticising the attitude of the American pioneers in their colonisation and their wars with the Indians."[10] Vincent Amiel, in a discussion of the film in *Positif* in 1983, highlights the extent to which the broad readability of familiar American genres facilitated the French spectator's understanding of specifically Australian cultural and historical paradigms:

> These exemplary characters, of whom we see only one or two per film elsewhere, in westerns for example, are, by their sheer numbers, symptomatic of a didactic tendency—at the very least. This is not without interest, and particularly when it illuminates or explains the history of a country of which we know very little.[11]

Gillian Armstrong's 1979 film *My Brilliant Career* is widely regarded as one of the seminal works of the Australian film revival. Described by Brian McFarlane as "archetypal 1970s 'prestige' Australian cinema,"[12] the film embraces several elements of "classic" Australian filmmaking of the era: the adaptation of a work of Australian literature (Miles Franklin's essentially autobiographical tale of her emancipation from the life of an outback girl to her career as an independent female writer at the turn of the twentieth

century), a richly layered depiction of Australian life in a precise historical context, a protagonist-driven period drama, and the coming to international recognition of two celebrated actors in Judy Davis (as the protagonist, Sybylla) and Sam Neill. The film was selected for the Competition at the 1979 Cannes Film Festival, and was released nationally in France on 1 October 1980.

In the Cannes 1979 edition of *Positif*, Olivier Eyquem provides a particularly lucid discussion of the state of Australian cinema at the time of the Cannes screening of *My Brilliant Career*, in which he argues that "the strength of contemporary Australian cinema is largely attributable to an unusual rhythm, (except in cases of the patent imitation of American cinema)."[13] Eyquem's clearly stated position illustrates the extent to which certain French critics demonstrated a developing resentment of what was seen as an attempt by the Australian industry to "copy" American filmmaking. Many French critics were eager to draw (sometimes tenuous) comparisons between Miles Franklin's autobiographical tale (and Armstrong's adaptation of it) with the work of Jane Austen, Emily Brontë and Margaret Mitchell. Didier Decoin of *VSD* saw much of Victor Fleming's *Gone With the Wind* (1939) in Armstrong's film, leading him to the conclusion that *My Brilliant Career* is not particularly (and perhaps not *usefully*) representative of Australian national cinema:

> There is a touch of the Margaret Mitchell in this *Brilliant Career*: the dresses, the hats held in place with one hand, the old house slowly falling into ruin, the green hills, the light and shade of the interiors. And also—why refuse this most honourable reference?—Gill Armstrong's direction: she puts into her depictions of people and places, a kind of lyricism that has a delicate "retro" flavour.[14]

Decoin's concluding statement, highlighting the fact that many French critics read *My Brilliant Career* as not "authentically" Australian, is particularly noteworthy, given the film's status in Australia as another of the Australian film industry's national cultural "monuments." At the same time as he seeks to flatter Armstrong and her film with comparisons to *Gone With the Wind*, Decoin displays a familiar condescension towards what he sees as anachronistic or "retro" Australian filmmaking, going as far as to suggest that the protagonists "are as destined for each other as Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler in *Gone With the Wind*" (Decoin).

Robert Benayoun begins his review of *My Brilliant Career* in *Le Point* with the observation that the film is "a bit like Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* in the Antipodean colonies of 1890."[15] Benayoun acknowledges the status of *My Brilliant Career* as a national icon of Australian cinema, but does so once again within the framework of an American cultural hegemony, arguing that "the depiction of this society, as exquisite as it is quaint, offers Australian cinema one of its most prestigious works. It is its own *Gone With the Wind*" (Benayoun).

At the other end of the scale of the French critical reception of *My Brilliant Career*, Pierre Bouteiller, in his review for *Le Quotidien de Paris* subtitled "Atmosphere but no guts,"[16] fails to see the relevance of the film both in terms of its representation of Australian cultural identity, and also of its potential interest to French audiences. The result is an exercise in the use and abuse of stereotype as a means of condescension:

> Having not seen the film a second time since its presentation at the Cannes Film Festival in 1979 (because it's not worth it), I fail to remember if there are a few shots of kangaroos in full flight to remind the viewer that we are well and truly in Australia and not in the countryside of New England, but the atmosphere is the same (Bouteiller).

In perhaps the most flattering appraisal of the talent of the film's star, Judy Davis, in the eyes of the French critics of the early 1980s, Pierre Murat of *Télérama* observes: "Many at Cannes, where the film was presented last year, had compared her performance to that of a young Katharine Hepburn. But Judy Davis has no need for references, as flattering as they may be."[17] Over and above the comparison to an actor of the calibre of Hepburn is the suggestion that the talent of Judy Davis should ultimately speak for itself, without the need to define her in relation to an internationally established (and American) actress. In any event, regardless of whether one concurs with Murat that Judy Davis needs no references, reference to a comparable American actress is nevertheless made. Annie Coppermann of *Les Echos* was clearly of the opinion that an American frame of reference was indeed necessary to describe Sam Neill to her French readers as "a very seductive cross between Jack Nicholson and Robert de Niro."[18]

When, in the eyes of the French critics, there is a failure to deliver on the "promise" of originality and exoticism suggested by the "young Australian cinema," as many French critics described it

throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, but rather an attempt to boost market share by duplicating the style of more readily consumed American films, the Australian industry comes in for particularly harsh criticism. Claude Baignières of *Le Figaro* leaves no doubt as to his impression of cultural homogenisation in Ian Barry's *The Chain Reaction*, released in France in 1981, which depicts a catastrophic accident at an atomic waste repository in central Australia: "*The Chain Reaction* resembles one of those mass-produced series made for American television, which has to fill its schedules with whatever it can into the early hours of the morning. This is the rock bottom of international production. Forget it."[19] In *Le Monde*, the ambivalence the reviewer demonstrates towards the film's narrative style is also attributable to what is perceived as a deliberate watering-down of Australian cultural specificity into an Anglo-American hegemony, with "a composure that is not quite British, and with violence that is not quite American."[20]

Michel Pérez is of the opinion that the end result for an Australian cinema attempting to suffocate its cultural specificity for international commercial gain is a second-rate imitation of Hollywood filmmaking—already held in disdain by those critics keen to assert the perceived artistic superiority of *auteur* cinema. Pérez's review of *The Chain Reaction* for *Le Matin* is a sustained condemnation of the deliberate internationalisation of the Australian industry in the early 1980s:

> The exoticism of Australian cinema is fascinating in so far as it perverts the structures that are extremely familiar to us. In a film such as *The Chain Reaction*, we immediately recognise the narrative processes of mass-produced American cinema …
>
> What's more, the director seems to outlaw any reference to local colour, for fear of not being universal. Not that he cheats as deliberately as the director of the recent *Harlequin* [Simon Wincer, 1980] whose barely hidden intentions aimed to have us believe that Sydney and Melbourne are no different to Washington or Los Angeles, but it is clear that [the Australians] don't intend conquering the world market by imposing their regional differences, and that they aim to persuade the widest possible audience that an Australian product offers the same guarantees of solidity, comfort and security as a conventionally manufactured American product.
>
> The charm (or the irritation) lies in the metaphysical impossibility that is inherent in substituting, without us feeling the least bit disoriented, an Australian landscape for an

> American one, or an Antipodean actor for one from across the Atlantic.[21]

Pérez demonstrates remarkable contempt for the Australian industry's adaptation of genres, referring to the more successful (i.e. "exotic") Australian genre productions as a "perversion" of "extremely familiar" structures. Films such as *The Chain Reaction* continue, as Pérez would see it, to "swindle" the international audience by trading Australian specificity for the commercial malleability of "universal" cultural anonymity. This is indeed a serious charge against the Australian cinema industry, a charge that is at odds with the previously stated aims of the Australian Film Commission, and yet it represents a point of view that is, as we have seen, shared by many French critics writing on Australian cinema.

Writing this time in *Positif*, also in 1978, Pérez argues that American influence in the Australian industry, both in economic and creative terms, has been such that it would be "unreasonable" to expect a "dazzling originality" in the early Australian films of the revival period, influenced as much by practical and historical considerations as by more dominant cultural forces:

> Submerged, in the early 1930s, by the wave of Hollywood sound films, Australian cinema, which had flourished and had been more than promising in the silent era, has emerged only recently from its long period of dormancy. Subjugated for years by the rules imposed by the American market, it would be unreasonable to expect today that it should distinguish itself with a dazzling originality or a radical aesthetic autonomy. On the contrary, it is within the framework of the classic structures put in place by the great storytellers of Hollywood that the Australian filmmakers are from now on attempting to establish a discourse that takes into account the political, social and historical realities of their country.[22]

Despite the concession to the cultural and aesthetic influence of American cinema in the Australian industry, Pérez clearly maintains the place of Australian film at the margins of world cinema. In a somewhat contradictory article for *Le Matin*, Pérez judges the "originality" of Australian films such as Fred Schepisi's *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith* (1978) to be linked to a commercial as well as a cultural marginality—an assessment that further subordinates an overly "ambitious" Australian cinema within the context of an already derided filmmaking "system":

> It would seem he was wrong to want to make a film worthy of Hollywood productions, to want to imitate the big successes of the western and the adventure film. The true originality of Australian cinema unquestionably lies in its less ambitious works, which don't claim from the outset to want to conquer the international market.[23]

The issue of the "conquering" of world markets is a particularly sensitive one for the French critics. In associating the Australian industry with the Hollywood "machine," in a relationship of derivation, and indeed subordination, Australian filmmaking is seen as taking its place in the hegemony of Anglo-American culture in world cinema. In the end, the ever-increasing scale of the Anglo-American cultural hegemony, from which the pioneers of the Australian film industry of the 1970s attempted to extract an Australian specificity, may well render the cultural reference of Australian film even more problematic for the French audience than it proved to be in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Given the difficulty, if not the impossibility, facing the cultural identity of Australian cinema in France—in terms of its ability to "mature" out of a perpetually marginalised status as a young and increasingly Americanised industry—the words "Australian" and "cinema," as François Forestier declared in *L'Express* in 1977, may well remain in the eyes of some French critics as incongruous as "Californian" and "beaujolais."

NOTES

1 Thomas Elsaesser, quoted in Tom O'Regan*, Australian National Cinema* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 48.

2 Tom O'Regan*, Australian National Cinema* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 35.

3 Australian Film Commission, "AFC Profile: About Us", at <http://www.afc.gov.au/profile/about_us/default.aspx>. Article accessed 10 February 2007.

4 Some of the findings from that research have been published in: Andrew McGregor, "Merging and Emerging Images: French Critical Interpretations of Australian National Identity in Film." *Australian Journal of French Studies* 39 (2002): 400–12; Andrew McGregor, "French Film Criticism and Cultural Hegemony: The Perpetual French 'Discovery' of Le Cinéma des Antipodes." *French Cultural Studies* 15 (June 2004): 158–73.

5 Robert Stam, "The Author", in *Film and Theory: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Stam and Toby Miller (Malden Mass.: Blackwell, 2000), 5.
6 Susan Hayward, *French National Cinema* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 9.
7 "Sunday Too Far Away", *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 17 January 1977.
8 François Forestier, "L'enfer en Australie," *L'Express*, 10 January 1977.
9 Henry Chapier, "La culture du carnage," *Le Quotidien de Paris*, 29 May 1978.
10 Jacques Siclier, "Les 'enragés' d'Australie," *Le Monde*, 29 May 1978.
11 Vincent Amiel, "Le sauvage qui n'avait pas été enfant", *Positif* No. 264 (February 1983): 22.
12 Brian McFarlane, "My Brilliant Career", in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Film*, ed. Brian McFarlane, Geoff Mayer, Ina Bertrand (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1999), 337.
13 Olivier Eyquem, "*My Brilliant Career* de Gill Armstrong," *Positif* 220–21 (July-August 1979): 59.
14 Didier Decoin, "Ma brillante carrière," *VSD*, 23 October 1980.
15 Robert Benayoun, "Romantique : *Ma brillante carrière*," *Le Point*, 6 October 1980.
16 Pierre Bouteiller, "*Ma brillante carrière* de Gill Armstrong : de l'atmosphère , mais pas de gueule," *Le Quotidien de Paris*, 7 October 1980.
17 Pierre Murat, "*Ma brillante carrière* : La fringale de vivre," *Télérama*, 1 October 1980.
18 Annie Coppermann, "Ma brillante carrière," *Les Echos*, 3 October 1980.
19 Claude Baignières, "*Réaction en chaîne* de Ian Barry : Niveau zéro," *Le Figaro*, 10 February 1981.
20 "*Réaction en chaîne* de Ian Barry," *Le Monde*, 7 February 1981.
21 Michel Pérez, "*Réaction en chaîne* de Ian Barry : Made in USA via Sidney [sic]," *Le Matin*, 11 February 1981.
22 Michel Pérez, "*The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith* de Fred Schepisi," *Positif* 208–09 (July-August 1978): 81.
23 Michel Pérez, *Le Matin*, 27 May 1978.

"IS THERE NO MEAT ABOVE?": THE STORY OF STARVATION, CANNIBALISM, CORPSE DRUGS AND DIVINE MATTER IN *THE SEA VOYAGE*

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The Sea Voyage performs the story of meat in which the imagery of meat is repeatedly literalized. The play's preoccupation with meat and how it should be understood draws our attention to the role of stories in our lives and their ideological possibilities. Fletcher and Massinger remind us that how we understand our place in the world, our histories, and our beliefs, have to do with stories.[1] A story of shipwreck and survival, complete with the predictable hardships of starvation and deprivation, provides the figurative energy for what unfolds in the play. Within this frame meat constitutes the essential food for the starving castaways. The story of meat that the play performs is underpinned by that much older story of meat that, for centuries, provided hope and salvation for believers: the story of Christ's body as meat in the Eucharist sacrament. This is reinforced by the numerous references to Roman Catholic accoutrements and rituals in the play. However any attempt to read meat as divine matter is repeatedly denied by the play's insistence on a purely culinary reading of meat. In this paper I argue that, if we consider the ingested Eucharist sacrament as divine meat for the shipwrecked soul, then *The Sea Voyage* performs an alternative story in which meat becomes simply food for the shipwrecked body. In these terms then the story of meat in *The Sea Voyage* is an overwhelmingly Protestant one.

In the play the story of meat as restorative is underpinned by the threat of cannibalism. This is highlighted when Morillat tells Lamure, "I have read in stories…" (3.1.99), and Lamure continues:

> Of such restoring meates, we have examples;
> Thousand examples and allow'd for excellent;
> Women that have eate their Children,
> Men their slaves, nay their brothers: but these are nothing;
> Husbands devoured their wives (they are their chattels,)
> And of a Schoolemaster that in a time of famine,
> Powdered up all his Schollers.
>
> (3.1.100–06)

As well the power of stories in general is reinforced when Sebastian talks about, "the stories of mens miseries" (1.3.9); and when Nicusa describes his and Sebastian's experiences as, "this sad story" (1.4.162). Furthermore the story of shipwreck survival draws attention to the larger cultural and historical role of stories. Thus the play draws our attention to the powerful role of narrative—to the fact that our lives are "bound up with the strategies and effects of narrative."[2] Yet within this narrative of marine survival the play's urgent metaphorics of thwarted appetite and desire offer a more compelling tale: the story of meat. In the desolate meatless world in which the survivors find themselves, meat is a complex term that connotes matter, food, and flesh, as well as the Catholic Eucharist, corpse medicine, and the cannibalistic desire that Lamure's words reveal.

In a play in which the term "meat" appears at least thirty times—at one point we hear the collective shout, "Where's the meat?" (1.5.56)—the story of meat resonates with the rhetorical strategies of Reformist diatribes against the Eucharist sacrament as a savage act of cannibalism. As well, in its engagement with the story of the Eucharist, the play frequently deploys Eucharistic imagery—there are numerous references to the ritual and trappings of the sacrament—while persistently denying the possibility of meat as the real body of Christ. Thus it would be easy to read this play in terms of Protestant nostalgia for the Catholic Eucharist, but the play rejects any such yearning for the past; rather, in a form of parody, it insists upon imbuing the term "meat" with a new, purely secular, meaning. In a process of secularisation the efficacy of meat, the play insists, is not spiritual but culinary and medical: without meat, Albert declares, the survivors will "…perish here remediless" (2.1.74). And Albert's plea, "Is there no meat above?" (1.4.139) is not an appeal for divine flesh but rather simply a starving man's appeal for food.

In his discussion of the theatre as a secular and secularising institution, Anthony Dawson makes the point that "part of the

entertainment value of theatre is its capacity to engage thought as well as feeling, to give life to the play of ideas."[3] We see this happening in *The Sea Voyage*. In what constitutes a new story of salvation meat is imagined, not as divine nourishment for the shipwrecked soul, but as medicine for the starving shipwrecked body. The play's self-consciousness about its own narrative form and its ideological role represents what Elizabeth Hanson calls "a specific instance of cultural mediation."[4] In this way the play engages with the Protestant rhetoric of Catholic cannibalism and its ideological implications: it deconstructs the historical narrative of the Catholic Eucharist and its sacramental drama to offer a new secular plot structure with a new set of actions.

Cyrus Hoy describes *The Sea Voyage* as a poorly organized, hastily conceived play in which the action antecedents to the play are so extremely complicated that "extended feats of narration" are required to give "credence to the events of a dramatic plot that have not been coherently dramatized."[5] I suggest that what Hoy sees as the play's structural sloppiness and narrative scrambling has something to do with the fact that Fletcher and Massinger are playing with the story of meat in the Eucharist which not only has a long, complex, and often confusing, history—the account of the conversion of bread and wine into meat and blood is an example of this—but also in this revised form is new to the telling. Throughout the play we are given elements of the complicated history of events that help us make sense of the action on a need to know basis, suggesting the adaptability of stories: they can be told at different times and in different ways depending on the circumstances. In a sense this reflects the narrative characteristics of the miracle of the Eucharist where the story of transubstantiation has shifted over time to give credence to the dramatic action occurring on the altar that is not coherent otherwise. The *ad hoc* manner in which stories are conveyed in the play, that jumbles events and distorts linear time, defamiliarises our expectations of a chronological relating of events and is crucial to the play's preoccupation with reinscribing narrative significances to suit new cultural contexts. In this way the play offers a challenge to historical narrative, in particular to a religious narrative that has for centuries insisted on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist to be ingested by the communicant.

The controlling story of shipwreck survival—that reeks with the possibilities of cannibalism—forms the narrative frame within which the play's tale of meat unfolds. Early modern British literature is saturated with narratives of cannibalism revealing, as

Gananath Obeyesekere has argued, that a "preoccupation with stories of cannibalism existed in British fantasy."[6] Among the many stories of cannibalism circulating in the day, accounts of maritime survival cannibalism were common and were associated, as are the representations of cannibalism in *The Sea Voyage*, with processes of imperial expansion: a process which, as many have argued, is itself a form of cannibalism.[7] But historically cannibal narratives have also offered writers effective ways to mediate troubling cultural practices. Thus the rhetoric and imagery of meat that Fletcher and Massinger deploy in a shipwreck scenario is already infused with ideological and metaphorical significances to do with fantasies of cannibalism as well as Reformist propaganda: it is, to borrow a phrase coined by Deborah Burks, "a durable form of cultural currency."[8] Throughout the play starvation fantasies of meat that inevitably cross over into cannibal desire—for example in one scene the men drool over the idea of the sleeping Aminta as meat, "Just like young Porke"—are deeply implicated in the play's engagement with the story of the Eucharist.[9]

The play does much with the anti-Roman Catholic propaganda of the day. Fletcher and Massinger mobilise rhetorical attacks on Catholic behaviours and beliefs and imbue the terms of the debate with a different set of meanings. We see for example the Reformist rhetoric that attacked episcopal power and constructed priests as greedy devourers of the body and blood of Christ, deployed against the shipwreck survivors: "… shew 'em a crust of bread," says Juletta, and "Theyl Saint me presently, and skip like Apes / For a sup of Wine" (5.2.43–5). Here the desperately hungry and suffering crew are cast as greedy priests who not only have the power to turn bread and wine into flesh and blood, but also to confer sainthood. The irony here lies in the fact that these men are captives of the Amazon-like women who inhabit the nearby island and who, as controllers of all food and drink, hold the power. In this figuring masculine priestly power is negated; instead a group of powerful women, who control the administering of sustenance as they see fit, hold the key to salvation.

The new narrative of meat in the play is carried along by the relentless reiteration of the rhetoric and imagery of the Eucharist debate. Early on we witness the startling image of Albert's wounded body represented in imagery frequently used to describe the sacrificed body of Christ. This is probably the most provocative moment in the play's preoccupation with squeezing Christ's

presence out of the Eucharist sacrament. Gazing on Albert's injuries Aminta cries,

> O! but your wounds,
> How fearfully they gape? And every one
> To me is a Sepulchre; if I lov'd truly,
> Wise men affirm that true love can doe wonders,
> This bath'd in my warme teares, would soon be cur'd,
> And leave no orifice behind; pray give me leave
> To play the Surgeon, and bind 'em up."
>
> (2.1.10–6)

The uncanny resemblance here to descriptions of Christ's penetrated body and its exposed stigmata brings to mind the familiar physical and highly sexualised, mediaeval and counter-Reformation representations of Christ's tortured body. This description of Albert suggests the image of Christ in Catholic poet Richard Crashaw's poem, "On the Wounds of Our Crucified Lord":

> O these wakeful wounds of thine!
> Are they mouths? Or are they eyes?
> Be they mouths, or be they eyne,
> Each bleeding part some one supplies …
> O thou that on this foot has laid
> Many a kiss and many a tear,
> Now thou shalt have all repaid,
> Whatsoe'er thy charges were."
>
> (1–12)[10]

The similarities between the suffering Albert and the suffering Christ are clear. As well, several of Crashaw's lines are addressed to Mary Magdalene who has tended and wept over Christ's body. In the process of reinscribing the story of the Eucharist in *The Sea Voyage*, Albert plays Christ and Aminta a Mary Magdalene figure who will cure Albert's wounds with her tears. "The bleeding part some one supplies" of Crashaw's poem registers the Eucharist sacrament in which the bread and wine, consecrated by a priest, transubstantiates into the real flesh and blood of Christ. But in *The Sea Voyage* there is no priest and the possibility of consecration and transubstantiation are elided by Aminta's practical, and slightly humorous, proposal that she play Surgeon to the wounds and "bind 'em up." In this scene there is no mystery of the Eucharist: Albert is simply a man being tended to by a caring woman.

The denial of the consecratory power of the priest and the miracle of transubstantiation is reinforced throughout the play. When the Surgeon asks Tibalt to seek out some herbs, Tibalt replies, "Here's Hearbe gracelesse; will that serve?" (1.5.53–4). The point here being that, in order to have healing power, matter does not need to be consecrated. The point is made more strongly later in the play when Franville addresses the Surgeon as a priest who can offer comfort. "Here comes the Surgeon:" he cries "Smile, smile and comfort us." And the Surgeon replies, "Here's nothing can be meate without a miracle. / O that I had my boxes and my lints now, / My stupes, my tents, and those sweet helps of nature, / What dainty dishes could I make of 'em." Here and elsewhere in the play the Surgeon is cast in the terms of Protestant descriptions of simpering Catholic priests who claim to perform the miracle of transubstantiation. For the Surgeon, while he has nothing with him that could be turned into meat, healing miracles could be performed if he had his pharmacological arsenal: the simples, dressings and instruments of his medicine box. Then he could concoct, not divine matter, but a different form of dainty dish: the healing remedies for the ailing shipwrecked body. In the desperate fantasies of the starving survivors any kind of medical matter, even waste, could be food: an old suppository; wafer-like paper in which pills or potions had been wrapped; old poultices; even the boil cut from a sailor's shoulder would, as Franville observes, "serve … for a most Princely banquet" (3.1.36–54). In this parody of transubstantiation matter does not change into meat. It is what it appears to be: the discarded waste of sick and ailing bodies. The point that the substance of things should be consistent with their appearance is brought home later in the play when Tibalt asks, "Is not this Bread, Substantiall bread, not painted." Substantial bread is bread: it is not bread masquerading as something else.

Throughout the play a metaphorics of medicine repeatedly pushes meat in the direction of remedy. The most compelling instance of this occurs when the fantasies of cannibalism and meat come together. When Tibalt discovers the survivors' plot to eat Aminta he threatens, "You shall grow mumey rascals; / I'le make you fall to your brawnes and your buttocks, / And worry one another like keen bandoggs …You shall know what tis to be damnd Canibals" (3.1.168–72). The threat to turn the men into mummy registers an interesting Eucharist alternative, one that offers real human matter for consumption. In early modern medicine "mummy" describes both mummified corpses from the Middle East and recently dead corpses preserved according to

special recipes. Mummy frequently appears in early modern European pharmacopoea, which subscribe to medicinal cannibalism: the therapeutic ingestion of specially-prepared human flesh. Mummy was a common ingredient on the apothecary shelf and constituted an important ingredient in medical concoctions. It was prescribed and ingested for a whole slew of ailments.[11]

In a play that repeatedly denies the possibility of the real body of Christ as food, the pharmacological corpse offers a viable alternative of salvatory edible human matter. There is much contemporary evidence suggesting that a connection was made in early modern culture between divine matter and mummy. One of the most compelling examples can be seen in a 1630 record of a debate between the Catholic Richard Smith and the Protestant Daniel Featley, Doctor of Divinity, about the true nature of the Eucharist. Here Smith defends the sacrament against the charges of cannibalism on the grounds that "… it was no horrible, nor wicked thing to eat mans flesh, since we vsually eate it in Mummy."[12] For Smith the charge of Catholic cannibalism is a moot point because of the cultural consumption of mummy. In the play it is not the body of Christ, but mummy that is proffered as a possible option for those who, like the Catholics, want to be cannibals. In the absence of divine matter to heal the soul, the ingestible corpse drug hovers as a tantalizing alternative; but it is, as the play asserts, a barbaric one.

In the end, the story of meat that the play performs distances itself from any taint of cannibalism—Eucharistic or medical—to imbue the religious story of meat with new meaning. Meat has no mystery: it is simply the remedy for physical salvation, the cure for starvation, the food that is essential to our well-being. In this way the play gives a comprehensible plot structure that reinforces the Protestant belief in the symbolic, rather than the real, presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

NOTES

1 John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

2 Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle, *Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory* (Harlowe: Pearson Education Ltd., 2004) 53.

3 Anthony Dawson, "Shakespeare and Secular Performance," unpublished paper, 3.

4 Elizabeth Hanson, "There's Meat and Money Too: Rich Widows and Allegories of Wealth in Jacobean City Comedy," *ELH* 72 (2005): 211

5 Cyrus Hoy, *The Dramatic Works*, vol. 8, 7.

6 Gananath Obeyesekere, " 'British Cannibals': Contemplation of an Event in the Death and Resuurrection of James Cook, Explorer," *Critical Inquiry* 18.4 (1992) 630–54.

7 See A. W. Brian Simpson, *Cannibalism and the Common Law* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

8 Deborah G. Burks, *Horrid Spectacle: Violation in the Theater of Early Modern England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003) 25.

9 This moment is analogous to the scene in Book 5 of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* where, in an allegory of the Catholic communion, the "salvage nation" cannibals drool over the sleeping figure of Serena, fantasizing her as meat. See Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche Jr. (London: Penguin, 1987) 5.8.38.

10 Richard Crashaw, "On the Wounds of Our Crucified Lord," *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: The Sixteenth Century, The Early Seventeenth Century*, gen. ed. M. H. Abrams, vol. 1B (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), 1634.

11 See my discussion of corpse pharmacology in, Louise Noble, " 'And make two pasties of your shameful heads:' " Medicinal Cannibalism and Healing the Body Politic in *Titus Andronicus*, *ELH* 70 (2003): 677–708.

12 Daniel Featley, *The grand sacrilege of the Church of Rome* (London: 1630) STC (2nd ed.)/10733, 293

"ON A FOREIGN SHORE": GALLIPOLI AND THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL IMAGINATION

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In the influential collection of articles edited by Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition,*[1] six historians and anthropologists argued that traditions which appear or claim to be ancient can be quite recent in origin and were sometimes literally invented in a single event or over a short period of time. In his introduction, Eric Hobsbawm defines invented traditions as

> a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past … However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of "invented" traditions is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition. (1-2)

The use of tradition is always about the needs of the present, not the past; invented traditions can legitimise institutions, foster group solidarity, justify current policy (12). They are also of great value to historians as indicators of "developments that are otherwise difficult to identify and date" and are particularly relevant to an understanding of the "exercises in social engineering" that characterise modern nation building (12–13). While there is probably no time or place that has not seen the invention of tradition, Hobsbawm argues that it occurs more frequently during

periods of rapid social change. He therefore expected an especially large number of such traditions to have been invented over the last two centuries and his own article focuses on the period 1870–1914.[2]

If Hobsbawm draws attention to an upsurge in such invention in the period 1870–1914, Pierre Nora, in the conclusion to *Les Lieux de mémoire*,[3] identifies a more recent period in which local, regional and national organisations and institutions have revived or revised, certainly intensified, the celebration of tradition. Nora describes the beginning of this period—which he names the "era of commemoration"—as around 1980 for France and lists both the world-wide and the country-specific reasons which explain the upsurge of memorialism in that country. I will suggest a slightly different time-line and context for the rise in commemorialism in Australia, but clearly Australia too has been touched by the general developments that Nora identifies as having sparked this upsurge world-wide: the collapse of ideologies of progress and teleological interpretations of history, particularly those offered by communism and socialism; the acceleration of history which has cut us off from the past and which has rendered the future uncertain and unknowable; the fading of community-based memory with the destruction of traditional communities. The present is no longer a bridge between past and future and so it is all we have to try to understand who we are, and the frenzy of commemoration reflects, argues Nora, this search for self-definition.[4]

This article explores an example of the reinvention of tradition in this recent period: the commemoration of the Gallipoli landing of 1915 as a national day in Australia. It examines the intensification and contemporary modification of this commemoration and also explores the significance of the fact that it is rooted in events which occurred in a distant and distinctly foreign land, whose access is beyond the reach of most Australians, in a country once the enemy of Australia. Situated moreover on a "remote peninsula,"[5] it is a site whose remoteness, isolation, difficulty of access and forbidding aspect are integral aspects of its representation.

The association of the national imagination with particular sites has been widely canvassed, amongst others by Tim Cresswell[6] and by the contributors to Nora's *Lieux de mémoire*. The sites may be natural: the white cliffs of Dover; apparently natural: the green hills and rolling English country side; man-made but ancient: Stonehenge; man-made and relatively modern: the Eiffel Tower. And they may be the sites of battles: the Battle of Hastings; Drake

playing bowls as the Spanish Armada approached; the Battle of Britain. But all these examples of national places have in common the fact that they are located within the nation itself or on its frontiers. If Australians were asked to name such a national place then it is likely that they would refer to Anzac Cove, Gallipoli, the Dardenelles, Lone Pine—in other words to parts of the landscape which marked the scene of the attack by the Allies against Turkey in 1915—and they would do so even though it is almost certain that few would be able to identify where this site is located on a map. As Peter Costello declared at the annual ceremony held at Gallipoli in April 2003: "(But) this site is, in our imaginings, its home," that is, the home of the Anzac spirit; our national home. He continued:

> Until ANZAC, the story of Australia had been the story of settlement, of colony and federation. Federation provided the constitutional basis for a nation. But ANZAC gave that nation a consciousness of itself—the knowledge that Australians were distinct and different, and now proud: with their own feats of courage and their own history on the international stage.[7]

As John Howard declared in his address at Anzac Cove in April 2005: "they bequeathed Australia a lasting sense of national identity."

The Gallipoli landing very quickly acquired a special place in the national imagination, particularly because of the writings of the war correspondents who accompanied the troops. In fact it could be argued that the journalists had already forged a powerful narrative in anticipation of this first outing for Anzac troops, that it was a legend in search of a site. Britain's Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett filed his story under the heading "Australia's Glorious Entry into the War. Historic Charge; Brilliant Feat at Gaba Tepe." Former *Sydney Morning Herald* journalist and Australia's official war correspondent Charles Bean—who landed with the troops and stayed with them through the eight long months[8]—filed his report of the assault, published on May 15th, under the title "Imperishable Fame." This article is "credited with fanning, if not lighting, the fires that forged the Anzac legend."[9] These correspondents highlighted from the very beginning what they represented as the symbolic and historic significance of the action of the Anzac troops. Politicians were not slow to take up the legend: Prime Minister, Billy Hughes—the "Little Digger"—addressed Australian soldiers in London on the first anniversary of Anzac Day:

> On the shining wings of your glorious valour you have inspired us to a newer and better and nobler concept of life; and the deathless deeds of the valiant dead will yet be sung in sagas to generations of Australians to the end of time.[10]

The impact on the public and families back home of such a major loss of Australians soldiers was profound, and spontaneous expressions of grief began to develop: "By the spring of 1915, Honour boards, plaques, crosses, obelisks and other memorials began to dot the suburbs and towns, schools and workplaces."[11] The Mayor of Brisbane's proposal on 10 January 1916 to commemorate the anniversary of the landing was adopted by shires and councils in Queensland and promoted by organizations such as the Australian Natives Association and national journals such as *The Bulletin*, which since the late nineteenth century had fostered national sentiment (Luckins 84). The portrayal of the heroism of the Anzac troops in army posters of the time reveals that the Anzac legend was used to promote recruitment.

No bodies of soldiers were ever brought home, but in 1920 the bereaved families received a booklet, "Where the Australians Rest," issued by the Department of Defence, edited by Charles Bean, showing photographs of war graves and the landscape of Gallipoli. It used pictures, metaphor and descriptions of various landscapes to tell readers that "the bodies were as peaceful as the landscape in which they were buried—or were presumed to be buried." These could be imagined therefore not as "bodies mangled and bloodied" but, metonymically, through the representation of peaceful place and landscape, as idealised figures "pure and unsullied by war" (Luckins 153).

Named as Anzac Day in 1916, by 1927 all Australian States had declared the day a public holiday.[12] However McKernan and Stanley note that by the end of the 1950s and into the early 1960s Anzac Day was "as lifeless as Good Friday."[13] Its meaning and relevance underwent a certain questioning in the 1950s—Alan Seymour's play *One Day of the Year*, 1959, expressed this disenchantment—and wider criticism in the 1960s when the Vietnam war divided the nation and caused many to question the legacy and message of Anzac Day. The decline can also perhaps be explained by shifts in Australia's cultural profile of that period: after the Second World War, Australia experienced high levels immigration from Europe. In 2001, Les Carlyon wrote that, until the past decade or so, "hardly anyone visited the Gallipoli

cemeteries." He recalls that "even as late as 1984 the dawn service at Ari Burnu (near Anzac Cove) attracted only 300 people."[14]

The day has revived remarkably in recent years, however, despite the death of the last of the Anzacs, or perhaps because of their death, which liberates the event for new interpretations and new purposes. Anzac Day commemorations in Australia are now attracting increasingly large numbers of attendees, many of whom are young. And in Turkey too: attendance numbers at the 2005 commemorations at Anzac Cove were estimated to be about 20,000,[15] the largest number of attendees since commemorations began in 1923. More generally, young Australians undertaking the traditional back-packing year round the world have begun to include a visit to Gallipoli amongst their essential stops.

During this current stage of (re-)growth of Anzac Day and its commemorations, Anzac Day events have been the object of considerable government organisation and media attention: the newspapers bring out special issues, publish programmes of events in advance of the day, and there is massive press and media coverage of the dawn services, parades and ceremonies. This was the case for the seventy-fifth anniversary in 1990, and again for the ninetieth anniversary in 2005. Hobsbawm notes that the late nineteenth century discovered jubilees, centenaries and anniversaries in general (Hobsbawm, "Mass-producing Traditions" 281). Ninety years is a rather unusual anniversary to choose. Part of the justification was no doubt that the few surviving Anzacs were unlikely to still be alive for the centenary. But the extent of the celebrations for the ninetieth anniversary can also be understood in light of the contemporary political and national frame of mind.

Why might this particular invention or extension of tradition have taken place in the last fifteen to twenty years? The period from the late 1980s corresponds to the social and economic decline of the Bush and to the resistance of sections of the white Australian community to the influx of migrants from a wide range of (non-European) countries. The pace of social change provoked a number of right-wing and nationalistic movements such as Jo Bjelke Petersen's bid for Canberra and Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, which captured a considerable portion of the Australian electorate. This period has also seen considerable debate over the role of Australia in the world and in its region; the question of continuing ties with Britain, and specifically the monarchy; and closer ties to America, including military commitments and the controversial free trade agreement. All these issues provoked divisions within the population that quickly

became focused—whatever the particular issue—around the question of national identity. These divisions have forced, I would suggest, mainstream politicians to adopt nationalistic rhetoric in an attempt to rally the bulk of the electorate behind them. But each prime minister has used the Gallipoli legend to slightly different ends.

When the Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke went to Gallipoli on the seventy-fifth anniversary in 1990, his speech emphasised the national importance to be attached to Anzac Day and asserted that the soldiers epitomised the values of courage, good humour, ingenuity and comradeship that are constitutive of the national character. But Hawke's closing words are not nationalistic: they express the hope that the world will move "in the sunlight towards peace." Moreover, Hawke's particular emphasis on the solidarity and the dependence of the soldiers on one another, and his claim in his speech later in the day at Lone Pine that in this commitment to one another lies the enduring and exclusive meaning of Anzac Day for Australians[16] offer a very different interpretation of Gallipoli to that which will be put forward by John Howard.

Paul Keating, Labor prime minister from 1992, addressing a ceremony in Port Moresby in 1992 to honour the seventy-seventh anniversary of Gallipoli, spoke of the "indissoluble" relationship of Gallipoli and the history of the Australian nation. But he extended the Anzac legend beyond sacrifice and warfare to harness it to values of peace and democracy:

> It is a legend not of sweeping military victories so much as triumphs against the odds, of courage and ingenuity in adversity. It is a legend of free and independent spirits whose discipline derived less from military formalities and customs than from the bonds of mateship and the demands of necessity. It is a democratic tradition, the tradition in which Australians have gone to war ever since.[17]

Elsewhere he compared it to the independent stand taken by John Curtin who, in the Second World War, insisted, against Churchill's orders, on the return of Australian troops to defend Australia.[18] It is relevant to note that Keating is from an Irish Catholic family, a background that makes him no doubt less open to the Anzac myth, with its links to King and British Empire. It was Keating who encouraged Australians to see the battle along Kokoda Track (1942) as the first true expression of Australian national independence, because it was fought on our own initiative, in our

own part of the world, against the direct threat of invasion by the Japanese.[19]

However Keating and the Labor Party lost power in 1996. Since then, John Howard and his government ministers have identified themselves closely with the Anzac legend. They have emphasised the timeless moral and spiritual national values that the attack embodies: Costello's address in 2003 and Howard's in 2005 underlined the quasi-religious significance of the site, using terms such as "sacred," "sacrifice," "eternal" values.[20] Historical memory is not totally malleable—certain myths and figures lend themselves better than others to particular narratives of nationhood. For Keating, the Anzac legend was of little relevance to his vision for Australia. But it offers a highly suitable field for the expression of the values which underpin the Howard government's political and ideological position: Howard's internal and external policies have, although it is impossible to make this argument in detail here, oriented Australia towards traditional allies, notably the UK and the US, and promoted a conservative interpretation of the essential values on which Australia is built. His representation of Anzac Day is encapsulated in a language of unity which in fact conceals a very restricted definition of what constitutes the national community. For the space of Gallipoli was of course exclusively masculine and white European: the Anzac soldiers were in their huge majority British in origin. And although nowadays the term Anzacs is used, they actually signed up to fight for King and Empire in—though it is a term rarely recalled today—the AIF, the Australian Imperial Force.

The significance attached to Anzac Day as it is currently celebrated thus offers a rather limited conceptualisation of the nation. This legend cannot reflect the multiculturalism of modern Australia and the diversity of the origins of contemporary Australians. It excludes women: no nurses are recorded as present at Anzac and thus no women inhabit the imaginary landscape of Gallipoli. The handful of aborigines who fought have not been registered in the representation. Moreover the soldiers who have become the metonymic representatives of the young nation are closely associated with the Bush, rather than with the towns and cities in which in fact most Australians already lived by that time. To bushmen and soldiers were attributed the same resourcefulness, egalitarianism, practicality, larrikin spirit with its disrespect for authority, above all the same mateship—these were the qualities which, according to the legend, were carried onto the front lines of the Great War, where they underwent some development: the lack

of respect was turned against the British officers; the larrikin spirit revealed itself in a certain indiscipline in non-military matters. More generally, the Anzac legend glorifies war and sacrifice, whereas other countries involved in the Great War such as Britain and France remember the trenches more ambiguously, not only for the heroism of the soldiers but as the epitome of pointless and inhuman suffering.

What paradoxes are created by the fact that our national origin is situated in a site that is under the control of another country, a situation which does not seem to hold for any other nation. What are the effects of this situation - practically? And symbolically? Practically, the problem of access gave rise to one of the more curious political ideas of 2005. The Minister for Veterans' Affairs, Dana Vale, suggested that as part of the coast of Victoria - the Mornington Peninsula - looks very like the Dardanelles a substitute site should be constructed there, to which Australians could have access for commemoration by veterans, and for the education of schoolchildren. Her suggestion provoked a wave of criticism,[21] and yet she was right, perhaps, to recognise the disadvantages of a national site that is inaccessible to the vast majority of Australians.

Secondly there was the issue of the road and car parks built at Anzac Cove in 2005 to improve access. They were requested by the Howard government—critics said it was to increase the numbers at the ninetieth anniversary which he was to attend—but in the process of construction some major landmarks were destroyed. Howard turned the blame onto the Turkish government and pointed out that the land was not under Australian control. In doing so, however, he only highlighted the paradox of attaching such importance to this site as the birthplace of the nation, a point not lost on critics of Howard.[22]

Thirdly, what are the appropriate forms of commemoration at this site? And of behaviour? The behaviour of young revellers (loud and inappropriate music; drunkenness) has provoked controversy in recent years. But clearly it is an ambiguous space, part sacred site of death and burial, part affirmation of the larrikin, digger spirit and part the supposed birthplace of the nation, a cause therefore for celebration. It is a wild unbounded space, not a man-made, defined space, not closed off as a parade ground or a war memorial might be, where correct behaviour can be laid down and regulated.

Symbolically, the fact that our origins are located overseas perhaps reflects the difficulty that Australians have traditionally had in claiming this vast continent as their own: the difficulty of justifying white ownership of the land, because of the low numbers

of settlers compared to its huge size. Moreover a fear of the untamed land, of the vastness of the forbidding continent are recurrent themes in film and literature. These unresolved issues make the expression of national identity through local topography particularly problematic. What landscape in Australia could be mobilised as a national icon that escapes from the shadows of Australia's past?

In the end what difference does it make to the nature of Australian society, that this has become the central myth of nationhood? Are women any less free or active in Australian society because of it? Do Australia's ethnic minorities feel any less a part of the Australian community? These are questions that are difficult to address, since so many variables enter into such an assessment. Certainly currents of opposition to aspects of the legend and cynicism about the motivations of the leaders involved in promoting it, can be found in Australian minority media and certain political and intellectual circles; for example an article by Denis Glover in the *Australian Financial Review* questions the values represented by the current interpretations of the Anzac legend.[23] Nevertheless, the saturation coverage and unquestioning reproduction each year in the popular media of the iconic pictures and story of the Anzac landing support a certain view of the world and of Australia's place within it; it is of a piece with a reorientation of the understanding of Australia's past in terms of the political and military necessities of its present. The representation is symbolic but also pragmatic: it creates national ideals which form an implicit justificatory framework, a backdrop to particular political decisions as well as an overall vision for Australia.

The commemoration of war has been central to John Howard's conservative identity politics. In a recent article, Professor Marilyn Lake of La Trobe University has shown how the Federal Department of Veterans Affairs has supported government-driven memorialism by sponsoring the teaching of war history in schools through teaching packs and resources and selective publishing subsidies.[24] Through his policy of alternating the Prime Ministerial Anzac Day address between Australian and overseas sites, Howard has wedded his memorialism to a geography of remembrance: the National War Memorial (Canberra) or Melbourne, on one hand, on the other Hellfire Pass (Thailand) in 1998, Turkey twice, for the eighty-fifth and ninetieth anniversaries of the Gallipoli landings in 2000 and 2005, and, dramatically, Baghdad in 2004, to commemorate Anzac Day with Australia's armed forces in Iraq. The key sites have been the object of government expenditure and

expansion : in 2005, the memorial in Anzac Cove was extended to accommodate the ninetieth anniversary celebrations; on Anzac Day 2006, Howard announced that the War Memorial on Anzac Parade had been placed on the National Heritage List.

In the wake of the 2002 Bali bombings and the dispatch of Australian forces to Afghanistan and Iraq, Howard's discursive association of the sacrifices of the past with the security issues of the present has grown more explicit and insistent, from the pre-9/11 declaration that "Anzac Day should not only be about the past … We would be foolish if we felt our own safety assured by the service and sacrifice of earlier generations,"[25] to the post-invasion speech on Anzac Day 2003 which bestowed the mantle of the Gallipoli tradition on Australian troops serving in Iraq:

> And especially we give thanks for the safety of those who've recently taken part in the war in Iraq. They went in our name in a just cause to do good things to liberate a people. They are part of a great tradition of honourable service by the Australian military forces.[26]

A majority of Australians opposed the invasion of Iraq, but the "amalgame," as the French say, between the Anzac legend and the dispatch of troops to Iraq makes it difficult for critics of the policy to avoid accusations that they are failing to support the troops and are indeed "un-Australian."

The commemoration of war necessarily involves the reinterpretation of its history and of the implications of the past for the present. The Vietnam War, the "forgotten" war in Korea, the Gallipoli landings, are so many sites of struggle in the on-going "History Wars" in Australia, involving left and right, intellectuals, think-tanks and historians, in a contest over the the geography of remembrance and the narratives of the past.

NOTES

1 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

2 Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," *The Invention of Tradition*, 263–307.

3 *Les Lieux de mémoire,* ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1986).

4 Pierre Nora, "Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory," *Eurozine*, April 2002, http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-04-19-nora-en.html. Accessed 08/09/06.

5 The description given by Bob Hawke in his speech for the Dawn Service, 25 April 1990. References to Hawke's speeches in this paper are taken from the Hawke archives on-line : www.unisa.edu.au/hawkecentre.

6 Tim Cresswell*, Place: a Short Introduction* (Malden MA: Blackwell Pub, 2004) 72–3.

7 Report of the speech by Peter Costello, 25 April 2003 at www.australianpolitics.com/news/2003/04/03-04-25b.shtml. Accessed 13/06/06.

8 The Anzac Book, written by the troops at Anzac in November 1915, and edited by Charles Bean, can be consulted on the web site: http://www.firstaif.info/anzac-book/page/site_map.htm, for a glimpse of the myth in the making.

9 Jonathan King, "The Story breaks," *Sydney Morning Herald*,Ninetieth Anniversary supplement, 25 April 2005, 5.

10 Sushi Das, "Battles come and go but the legend soldiers on," *The Age*, 25 April 2005.

11 Tanya Luckins, *The Gates of Memory* (Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2004), 82.

12 In New Zealand, in 1922.

13 Michael McKernan and Peter Stanley, *Anzac Day seventy years on* (Sydney: Collins, 1986), 7.

14 Les Carlyon, *Gallipoli* (Sydney: Macmillan, 2001), 534.

15 Until 1999, the Gallipoli dawn service was held at the Ari Burnu war cemetery at Anzac Cove, but the growing numbers of attendees resulted in the construction of a more spacious site on North Beach, known as the "Anzac Commemorative Site."

16 In answer to a question from a journalist on the plane home, Hawke summarised his message thus: "if there was one message that came out of Gallipoli in 1915 and the spirit of ANZAC, as I said at Lone Pine, it was the understanding and the dependence of one another, the men there knew that they depended on each other or their very survival and I hope that in Australia today we have some of that sort of understanding."

17 Remembrance Day speech at the funeral for the Unknown Soldier, 11 November 1993.

18 Liz Reed, *Bigger than Gallipoli:War, History and Memory in Australia* (Crawley WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2004), 121–22.

19 Hank Nelson summarises this orientation in "Gallipoli, Kokoda and the Making of National Identity, » Australian Public Intellectual network: http://www.apinetwork.com/articles/index.php?jas53_nelson. Accessed 23/08/06 .

[20] "ANZAC Cove: A Sacred Place In Australian History." Report of the speech by Peter Costello, 25 April 2003, 5.30am: www.australianpolitics.com/news/2003/04/03-04-25b.shtml. Accessed 13/06/06.

[21] "RSL bags Gallipoli 'theme park,'" 18 October 2005, ABC news online: www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200510/s1484445.htm. Accesssed 13/6/06.

[22] "Howard's symbolism sinks on Gallipoli's broken beach," *The Sun-Herald*, 24 April 2005.

[23] Dennis Glover, "History of Forgetting," *Australian Financial Review*, 22–25 April 2005, Review section.

[24] Marilyn Lake, "Independent Histories," *Dissent* 23, (2007): 6–9.

[25] John Howard, "Address at the Anzac Day Parade, Canberra," 25 April 2001. http://www.pm.gove.au/media/speech/2001/speech960.htm. Accessed 05/05/07.

[26] John Howard, "Address at Anzac Day Parade, Canberra," 25 April 2003, http://www.pm.gov.au/media/Speech/2003/speech94.cfm. Accessed 05/05/07.

SURREAL ENCOUNTERS: RIVERA MEETS CORTÉS, MARX, AND BRETON IN MEXICO CITY[1]

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Mexico City is a megalopolis; estimates put its population today at 20 million2, which in Rivera's lifetime was that of the entire country3. The traffic that crawls through the broad boulevards is chaotic—six to twelve lanes of vehicles, bumper to bumper, hooting constantly. And the smog that hangs day-in, day-out over the rooftops bites into the membranes of your mouth and nose, inflaming them like a heavy cold. It's best not to take a taxi to the historic centre of the city. If you do, you'll find yourself in an ancient green or yellow Volkswagen progressing at less than beetle's pace through the congestion for an exorbitant fare. Better to leave your valuables behind and take the metro, which will transport you in a few minutes to the Zócalo—plus the transistor radio or pair of socks that an itinerant dealer may have planted on you for a flat-rate of 5 pesos, and with the shrill echo in your ears of a musician whose blindness did not seem to impede his exit when the train stopped at a wayside station.

Leaving the subway at Zócalo, the vast central square of Mexico City, you are immediately immersed in the life of the people, with Mariachi groups and *concheros* performing their traditional music and dance, and goods on display all around, from fresh fruit and hand-sewn caps to figures of the Aztec gods in stone and plastic—here anything and everything is for sale.

The Zócalo itself has a long history. The name means stone floor, and the square was paved by Hernán Cortés in 1520, the year of the Spanish conquest, with the ruins of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlán—in particular of its *Templo Mayor*. Along with the palace of the priest-god Montezuma II, it stands at what was the

centre of the former kingdom. In place of the palace Cortés erected a great house whose inner courtyard was large enough to stage bullfights. Later purchased from the conquistador's family by the Spanish crown, it now serves as Palacio Nacional, the residence of the Mexican president, currently President Felipe Calderón.



With the exception of the government and parliamentary offices, the palace is open to the public—or those of them who are prepared to undergo a search by heavily armed soldiers.

Painted History: Diego Rivera's "Historia de México"

Mounting the marble staircase to the first floor, the visitor enters a picture, participating, so to speak, in the pageant of life-sized figures that covers the rear wall and both side walls of the stairway. Only on reaching the balustrade, however, can one view Diego Rivera's "Historia de México" in its entirety. The mural presents a chronicle of Mexican history from the Aztecs to the present day: [4]



on the right of the staircase the Aztec kingdom ,



in front from the Spanish conquest to the Revolution of 1910, and to the left the period since the Revolution. As such, the work



belongs broadly to the genre of historical painting, with the proviso that it depicts not a single historical event but the five-hundred-year history of a people.

Aesthetically that is of some significance. Rivera's mural presents history in the form of a temporal sequence, or as Carlos Fuentes has put it, a development approximating to an historical narrative. His analysis, printed in the Mexican government's magnificent brochure on the painting,[5] sees Rivera as dissolving the antinomy of time and space ("problema de tiempo y otro de espacio," 21) by presenting Mexican history in the personae of its leading protagonists ("historia de los grandes hombres," 21). This contrasts with the official view of the mural—in the words of the director of the 'Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes'[6]—as the attempt to portray the history of the country from the perspective of a single moment, the Revolution ("un testimonio de la interpretación de nuestra historia en uno de sus momentos claves: la Revolución"[7]).

Fuentes did not elaborate the reasoning behind his diagnosis, but if we look at an individual scene from the painting—for example Cortés, the director general of the new Spanish crown colony, and his soldiers fighting the Aztecs—we will see that the events are presented dynamically, not statically. They unfold in successive scenes of dramatic action, each of which encapsulates an historical episode that in real time took several years, or indeed decades, to complete. The result is a national epic contained in a single iconic,



spatial moment, creating what Fuentes calls a "pictorial narrative" of Mexican history:

> a linear narrative, presenting to the eyes of the spectator a spatial and temporal simultaneity that elevates the simple succession [of scenes] to a truly poetic level („ese espacio … desarrolle una narrativa lineal, va a darse, a los ojos del espectador, tanto instantánea como simultaneamente ... una instantaneidad y simultaneidad espacial que elevan la mera sucesión a un plano propiamente poético (*Los murales*, 23)

Rivera's mural is thus both text and image, and its elements are in constant interplay, the images interpreting the historical documents and reinterpreted in the contemporary texts that explicate them.

The procedure is not new. The aesthetic frontiers of painting and literature have been debated from the time of antiquity ('ut pictura poesis') to contemporary research into image-as-text. The words of Lessing's *Laokoon* essay may serve as an example:

> Bodies with their visible properties [are] the proper subject matter of painting … action the subject matter of poetry. But bodies exist in time as well as space … It follows that painting can imitate actions … In its coexistent compositions painting can make use only of a single moment of action, and must

> therefore choose the most pregnant, the moment that illustrates what precedes as well as what follows it.[8]

Presented as a sequence of crucial, defining moments, Rivera's reading of Mexican history verifies Lessing's thesis. Aesthetically it stands on the borders of literature: it is in essence not painting at all but the illustration of a written history of his country.

Rivera's technique clothes in Mexican dress a pre-modern allegorical form of painting. The native god Quetzalcóatl stands for the Golden Age, Cortés for the brutality of the Spanish conquest, Zapata for the Mexican Revolution and "Carlos" Marx for the utopia of Communism. Rivera takes the aesthetic fusion of image and text to the point that he inserts written commentaries into the mural itself, with the Mexican declaration of independence explicating the scene of the republic's foundation and strikers' banners the discontent of pre-revolutionary workers. But this is not only a matter of detail; the artist uses the same technique to provide an overall interpretation, this being inscribed on a placard, held aloft by Marx , bearing the words "lucha de clases." In Rivera's



socialist vision the Mexican Revolution was to clear the way for a modern, industrialized country whose enterprises, factories and banks would be common property and in whose schools children would pledge the truth of socialism on Marx's *El Capital*. The history of Mexico is, therefore, to be understood in terms of class conflict, and conversely Rivera's mural is to be understood as an illustration of this thesis. Painting and commentary are bound

inseparably to one another: the age-old concept of emblematic art has been given a new lease of life.

Painted Ideology: "México de hoy y mañana"

The chronological order of Rivera's mural runs from right to left across the staircase walls, beginning with the Aztec kingdom and ending with post-revolutionary Mexico; to this is added a vision of the country's future. Rivera shows how the Revolution began with the simultaneous and widespread protest of the oppressed against their oppressors. On the *haciendas* of the great landowners, where the peasants laboured under extreme conditions for a minimal wage, they demanded that they too should have a share in the land they tilled. Only the fear of the landowners' guns and executions held them in check. In the cities striking workers rose up despite the police brutality that threatened them ("Huelga!"), and the scene culminates in Rivera's mural with the image of a worker calling on the Mexican people to unite against their oppressors behind the red flag with its hammer and sickle. For the artist, the Revolution is a movement of the entire nation, whose combined forces defeat the ancien régime. Hand in hand a peasant, a worker and a soldier lead the people out of the revolutionary struggle, and the figure pointing the way into the future is Karl Marx. His message is inscribed on a pamphlet as in a comic speech-bubble: the necessity of the socialist revolution as the forerunner of a classless, communist society.

But Rivera's "revolution of the whole people" did not take place. The uprisings against the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz stemmed from quite disparate groups: first the rural population around Villa and Zapata, secondly the industrial workers in countrywide strikes, and thirdly the political opposition—both in exile in the USA and around the figure of the liberal Francisco Madero, who had announced his candidature for the presidency and could only be stopped by imprisonment. These groups had no common goal; on the contrary, they were virulently hostile to each other, engaging in public fights, denunciations and even liquidations. Carlos Fuentes comes to the conclusion that "the Mexican Revolution of 1910–21 was at least three revolutions … that of the rural workers, of the industrial proletariat and of a handful of reform-minded politicians." It was this latter that finally asserted itself over the agrarian and industrial movements.

Villa and Zapata did not survive the Revolution, and the first presidents of post-revolutionary Mexico were Álavaro Obregón (1920–24) and, after his assassination, Plutarco Elías Calles, whose party continued—with the help of a number of puppet

governments—to steer Mexican affairs right up to our own day, indeed till 1994. It was Calles's government that commissioned Diego Rivera and many other Mexican artists (among them David Alfaro Siqueiros and José Clemente Orozco) to decorate public buildings with educational and cultural scenes. Historians of the country agree that the regime had long since made its peace with capitalist politics; even landownership on the model of the past had been relegitimated, often in the persona of government ministers. The ruling party ("Partido Nacional Revolucionario," PNR—later "Partido Nacional Institucionario," PRI) practised a politics that ran clean counter to the aims of the Revolution—which suggests that the real intention of the people who commissioned Rivera's mural was to invest their anti-revolutionary intentions with an aura of socialism.

It must, then, have been a welcome gift to the Calles government when Rivera depicted Mexican history as culminating in a socialist utopia. He was, according to Fuentes, convinced that the Revolution truly represented the Marxist dialectic of class struggle: "Rivera, a good Marxist, presents us with a dialectical development progressing from stage to stage" (21). There are, however, some difficulties here. In the first place Marx's thesis applied to industrial societies, and that is something Mexico had (and has) never been. To get round that problem Rivera saw the class struggle as a conflict between the indigenous population and their European overlords and for this purpose presented Aztec society as a form of proto-communism destroyed by the conquistadores. The new masters, in his interpretation, exploited the Mexican population and revealed their capitalist credentials in their lust for gold (another painting in the Palacio Nacional shows Cortés as a gold-crazed, syphilitic merchant). They stole the people's cattle, forced them into slavery under the sign of the Christian cross, and tortured and hanged all who resisted. From such oppression only a revolution could free them, and four hundred years after the fall of the Aztec empire the people (Rivera maintained) threw off the foreign yoke. Significantly, his utopia entirely omits the stage of capitalism, presenting the industrialization of Mexico as a purely communist phenomenon.



The ideological history that Rivera creates for his country is as hybrid as Mexican society, in which ninety percent of the population are mestizos, a blood-mix of indigenous, European and African races.[9] It was in the native element of contemporary mestizo society that the artist recognized the heroic strain he was looking for;[10] its European antecedents he condemned as brutal, cold-hearted, greedy and sick.

The Aztec kingdom of Rivera's imagination was, however, precisely that, its reality far removed from the pre-communist agrarian state depicted in the mural. From Tenochtitlán, a lagoon-city many times greater than any Spanish city of the time, the Aztecs of the early sixteenth century ruled a kingdom that extended into present-day Honduras and Guatemala. They were an extremely warlike people, who in century-long campaigns had subdued, and continued to exact tribute from, other indigenous tribes. Without the help of those elements traditionally hostile to the Aztecs, Cortés would never have been able, with his diminutive Spanish army, to defeat them. And the Aztecs ruled with fearsome violence, enslaving their subject peoples long before the Spanish did—the huge pyramids of Tenochtitlán, Chitchén Itzá etc. bear witness to the fact. Aztec society, based on a system of castes, was presided over by a priest-god and ruled by cult. Its chief means of placating the gods and averting imminent danger was human sacrifice. With knives of obsidian the Aztec priests tore out their victims' hearts

and threw them onto the sacrificial dish. The scale of such sacrifice escalated with time; a late fifteenth century report speaks of a four-day ceremony at the *Templo Mayor* in which the victims "waited in four rows, each three miles long, for their slaughter. At least twenty thousand human hearts were offered to the gods ...."[11] The Spanish soldier Diaz, a member of Cortés triumphant army in Tenochtitlán, describes how his general, visiting the Templo Mayor in the company of the Aztec ruler Montezuma, was struck by the stench of human hearts—"worse than in any ill-ventilated slaughterhouse"[12]—smouldering inside the temple.



One must, then, bring a certain scepticism to Rivera's picture of peaceful, innocent "Indians"—a product less of historical veracity than of the desire to debase the Spanish conquest still further as the violation of a harmonious natural order. Pride in their indigenous ancestry is, however, a characteristic of contemporary Mexican society as well. Thousands of people still visit the ruins of the ancient cities, while in the Palacio Nacional classes of primary-school children learn national history from Rivera's mural.

Painted Salvation: Historical Distortion as *Heilsgeschichte*

Some light can be thrown on the interpretation of Rivera's murals by a glance at his biography. The commission to paint the walls of the national palace came towards the end of a lengthy sojourn in Europe, and was part of a national programme to decorate public buildings with motives from Mexican history and culture, with a view to providing the largely illiterate citizens of the country with an awareness of their national identity and heritage.

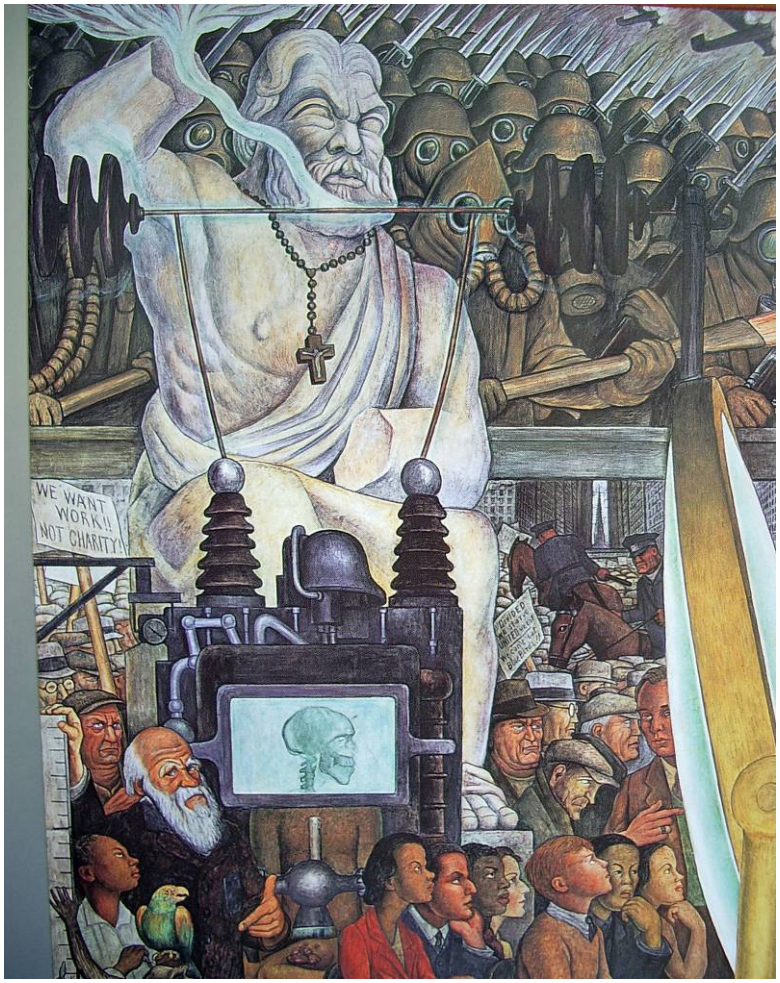
Rivera wanted to return to Mexico, but with this new commission in mind he asked for a government scholarship to travel to Italy. This was granted, and the artist spent nine months journeying through Florence, Siena, Arezzo, Assisi and Padua to Rome, Naples and Sicily. What was he looking for? What did he learn? Is there a link between his Italian journey and the work at the Palacio Nacional? Rivera's brief was to decorate a three-storey building three blocks long and one block wide, and to do so on his own, with little assistance from anyone. The first wall, with a surface of 1500 sq. m., is said to have cost him a nervous breakdown.[13] He was paid the princely sum of $2 for it.

For an artist tasked with such an enterprise the best examples to study would have been the late medieval and Renaissance frescoes of the Italian cloisters and churches. There is indeed a widespread supposition in writing and research on Rivera that his own wall-paintings are also frescoes. This is mistaken. The term "fresco" refers to a technique in which paint was applied to wet plaster—a difficult art to master. Rivera painted with wax colours on dry walls—not "al fresco," therefore, but "al secco." It is not, then, in technique but in style and intention that his work reveals its debt to Italy. The Italian frescoes are narrative paintings, illustrating in a universally accessible medium the bible stories read in church, but read in Latin and therefore inaccessible to the illiterate majority. As a form of public visual instruction Rivera's murals have a similar function. In their spatial ordering of temporal sequences (whether stories or events) they re-deploy in twentieth century Mexico the aesthetics of the quattrocento (and the term "Mexican Renaissance" is used today of the period inaugurated by this art form). The historical hybridity of Rivera's approach is, moreover, emphasized by the fact that he used photographs (a nineteenth century technology) as a medium for paintings based stylistically on fifteenth century Italy.

The comparison can be taken still further. There is the lack of perspective common to both forms but, more importantly, I would argue, there is the profound sense of history as the story of

salvation—a different salvation in the case of Rivera's Mexico and medieval Italy, but one that reveals striking parallels. Christian iconography sees world history through the lens of the bible as hinging on certain moments and motives: the garden of Eden, the fall, life in the vale of tears, the apocalypse and last judgment that separates good from bad and allots to each a place in eternal paradise or in hell. Rivera's triptych transposes this sequence into a different system of belief, that of communism, but the elements remain clearly visible. The Aztec kingdom replaces Eden, from which the Mexican people are expelled by the avenging angel in the shape of Cortés. The suffering pilgrimage of colonial exploitation endures until the revolution, when Carlos Marx guides his faithful towards the paradise of a future communist state. The Christian motives of redemption and chiliastic expectation are united in the concept of a Marxist utopia; indeed the near perfect fit of the one system upon the other may account for the wide appeal of Marxist thought within Mexican society.

Perhaps that is what made Luis Buñuel call Mexico a surreal country and Rivera a surrealist. The profound hybridity of his Christian-Marxist "frescoes" endows them—as André Breton also realized when he visited Mexico City—with the same supranatural aura as Rivera's statue in the Rockefeller Center of a pseudo-Greek god bearing the features of Karl Marx and wearing, to crown the motley, a cross around his neck .



If we step back for a moment from the paintings and browse through some of the photographs that are still extant of Diego Rivera's Mexico, we may be lucky enough to come across a snapshot of symbolic import: Diego Rivera, Léon Trotsky and André Breton taken in 1938 in Rivera's house in Mexico City. One could mistake this for another of Rivera's collage-like juxtapositions of famous personalities; but the meeting of Rivera, Trotsky and Breton did in fact take place. At Rivera's instigation Trotsky had been granted political asylum in Mexico and lived in the house the artist shared with Frida Kahlo. In 1937 André Breton travelled to Mexico to meet him, thus bringing together the leaders of three revolutions—the October Revolution in Russia, the



surrealist revolution and the artistic revolution in Mexico. Together the three published a "Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art" (*The Partisan Review*, 1938), but Rivera seems not to have felt at home in the company of the two other men. He was not familiar with surrealism (he had not visited Breton during his time in Paris), and his French was not good enough for him to join in their conversation. His earlier admiration for Trotsky had ebbed—he had discovered that his wife had had an affair with him under his own roof. It was not, however, Rivera but the fanatical Stalinist Siqueiros who attempted to assassinate Trotsky shortly after Breton's departure, forcing an entry into the house and spraying the rooms indiscriminately with machine-gun fire from the central courtyard. Trotsky survived, only to fall victim a few months later to the henchmen of Stalin's secret service.

Mexico 2007

What became of Rivera's dream of a new Mexico, a Mexico where the whole people would enjoy the fruits of economic prosperity, a Mexico without distinction of class or race? This much is certain, that the Mexican people's enduring pride in the heritage of the Aztecs is in flagrant contradiction to the discrimination practised against Indios in the mestizo society of the present, where Indios constitute only ten per cent of the population. Thus Fuentes writes:

> We have always congratulated ourselves in Mexico on our extraordinary Indian culture. We say we are proud of being descendants of that culture … In actual practice, we have treated the Indians with more cruelty, perhaps, than Cortez.[14]

His comments were inspired by the uprising of Indios in Chiapas province that exposed the split running through Mexico's multicultural society. Calling themselves "Zapatistas," the rebels took up arms in the cause of justice for their people, and in 1994 assumed control of the town of San Cristobàl de Las Casas; their negotiations with the Mexican government have, however, to this day achieved no settlement. In 1995 President Zedillo ordered the arrest of the rebel leader Marcos, who was, however, able to escape with his followers into the hill country of that region. From his mountain hideout he began the correspondence with Carlos Fuentes (whom he described as his favourite author) that led to the appeal for a national conference to end the Chiapas conflict: "we felt we couldn't take this step without at least trying to take it together with Mexicans like Carlos Fuentes."15 In his reply Fuentes expressed his understanding for the anger of the rebels but at the same time rejected the concept of armed resistance. Fuentes demanded that the Mexican government pass new anti-discrimination laws for the Indios on the model of US legislation for Native Americans: "The draft settlement between the Mexican government and the Chiapas rebels calls for new anti-discrimination laws, like those in the U.S., for the Indians."16 Fuentes' appeal, however, fell on deaf ears, and Chiapas province remains a no-go area to this day.

Rivera's dream of a communist state has been equally ineffective. Mexico since the Revolution has consistently modelled itself more on the American economy than on communism: "we wanted to become just like … the United States as quickly as possible."17 The visitor to Mexico today witnesses the virtual sellout of the country to American interests. There is not a yard of seafront left in Yucatan, for instance, that is not contained within high walls and barbed wire, and in these fortified enclosures whole towns have arisen, consisting of nothing but hotels, supermarkets, boutiques, golf courses, beaches and amusement parks. This is a holiday playground for the masses, above all from North America, but not for Mexicans, although it is they who, armed to the teeth, stand watch at the gates, they who dig the roads that bear the tourists in comfort to the country's sights, they who construct the buildings

and airports, and they who work in them. The coast is still an oasis of calm, of which the present government is immensely proud. But when the construction work is done, most of those who have done it will stand on the outside of these artificial pools of luxury, looking in, unemployed, without a future.

NOTES

1 Research for this paper has been undertaken at the University of Adelaide, Australia. The paper presents is interdisciplinary, based in literature and art history. It is meant to make a new, interpretive and creative contribution to research.

2 *Mexico* (Melbourne, Oakland, London, Paris: Lonely Planet Publications, 2000), 146.

3 The present-day population of Mexico is more than 100 million.

4 There were some interruptions in the work: the right wall was painted in 1929, the centre wall in 1929-30, and the left wall in 1935.

5 *Los murales del Palacio Nacional.* (Milan: Américo Artes, Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1997).

6 Gerardo Estrada, *Un gran libro abierto.* In: *Los murales del Palacio Nacional*, op. cit., 15.

7 Carlos Fuentes, *Diego Rivera y los murales de Palacio.* In: *Los murales del Palaci o Nacional*, op. cit., 21–25.

8 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laokoon.* In: *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*, ed. Wilfried Barner (Frankfurt a.M.: Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker), Vol. 6, 103.

9 The Spaniards brought black Africans into the country when it became evident that the native people were unable to do the heavy work in the silver mines and died in their thousands.

10 Rivera did the same thing with his own autobiography, *My Art, My Life*, where the figure of his mother is replaced by that of his native nursemaid.

11 Michael M. Meyer, William Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 426.

12 Bernal Diaz de Castillo, *Geschichte der Eroberung von Mexico. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen*, ed. Georg A. Narciss, with an afterword by Georg A. Narciss and Tzvetan Todorov (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1988), 217/219.

13 Patrick Marnham, *Dreaming with his eyes open. A life of Diego Rivera* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 2000), 169ff.

14 www.indians.org/welker/carlosfu.htm (June 5, 2003)

15 Fuentes. *A New Time for Mexico*, 124.

16 www.indians.org/welker/carlosfu.htm (June 5, 2003)

17 *Fuentes:* A New Time for Mexico, 18.

A GENEALOGY OF POST-COMMUNIST ETHICS: RE-APPRAISALS OF THE PAST AND FUTURE IN RUSSIAN POSTMODERN CULTURE

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Throughout the 1990s postmodernism[1] came to play an increasingly important role in Russian society, by fostering cultural diversity in the public domain and through an ever increasing number of voices—artistic and academic—engaging in open dialogue or critique about Russia's past and present. Despite the high human cost of Russia's transition into a capitalist system, which still lacks the sophisticated social support structures of advanced Western societies, postmodern culture as a mark of Western-style capitalism has touched Russian society *en masse*. As an umbrella term, postmodernism covers as many –isms of the second-half of the twentieth century as Modernism did in relation to the end-of-the-nineteenth and beginning-of-the-twentieth century. The most "democratic" spread of postmodernism is manifested in contemporary Russian life in mass media culture, offering the Russian public new TV entertainment programs, popular sit-coms and TV soaps along Western lines. Popular entertainment genres like the detective novel and the blockbuster movie also form part of "new" Russia's mass culture. But literary and cinematic works reminiscent of the classical culture of the nineteenth century or the avant-garde of the 1920s are also making their mark in Russian postmodernism. Young writers and cinema directors (the generation born in the 1960s) are appearing with sophisticated analyses of Russia's Soviet heritage and the impact of the change of values on the country's future, and, beyond that, the question of the survival of the postmodern cultural values of Western civilization as a whole. Aleksei Varlamov's prose pieces, collected under the title *The Sunken Treasure [Zatonuvshiy kovcheg]* are

a vivisection of the problems of Russia's low birth rate, the implosion of its aimless intelligentsia in the 1970s, and the absence of a *terra firma* in the new belief systems which leaves the masses open to manipulation by false prophets and sects trading off the myth of old Russian religiosity as well as late Soviet asceticism.

Reappraisals of the past appear in many forms on the contemporary Russian cultural scene. These forms belong to what can broadly be summed up as the cultural paradigm of postmodernism, which is a global if not even a "transcultural" (trans-ethnic) phenomenon. Amongst the most high-profile and globally recognisable promulgators of postmodernism in Russia is the writer turned film director Vladimir Sorokin. His literary texts and film scripts make up a genealogy of the postmodern Russian "human condition," using hyperbolic, excessively violent and even pornographic subjects.

The post-Soviet Russian public has been scandalised by Sorokin's literary texts, which transgress all taboos. For example, his 1992 novel, *Serdtsia Chetirekh* [Four Stout Hearts] is a parodic treatment of Kant's notion of the categorical moral imperative and the conflict that arises between morality and human desire.[2] His novels *Roman* and *Norma,* among others, are deconstructions of the nineteenth century Russian canon, and literally bring the Russian grand narrative to a grinding halt. Having dealt the classical Russian canon a *coup de grace*, Sorokin has tuned to film scripts and opera libretti.

Sorokin's libretto, *Rosenthal's Children,* staged at the Bolshoi Theatre in March 2005, with music composed by Leonid Desyatnikov, turned into a cultural scandal on account of its confronting theme of human cloning.[3] Cloning as a metaphor is used also with considerable success in Sorokin's latest film script *Four* (2004)*,* directed by Ilya Khrzhanovsky.

Four is a representation of early twenty-first century Russian social and cultural life through the prism of the "real." The "real" is more than reality: it is the unrepresentable, that which is beyond the transparent and the logical world of ideology; that which is on the other side of reason yet not in the sphere of the irrational. The unrepresentable demarcates a limit: the limit of language that Ludwig Wittgenstein pointed to, or the limit on which death and finitude find their measure, as Michel Foucault has stipulated. The "real" is confronting yet not necessarily destructive. Without it, the phenomenological world would lose its *point de caption* (anchoring point), and ethics would soar into Soviet metaphysics. The "real" is

thus a corrective for ideological delusion and belongs to the phenomenology of the Freudian unconscious.

The "real" sets the stage in the opening scene of the film, with a deafening harsh sound of metal machinery splitting the icy asphalt surface of a Moscow night street, to the accompaniment of the howling of hungry stray dogs. The dogs and the machinery elaborate on the "real" as limit zone between the human, animal and mechanical. This twilight zone of reason and consciousness makes up the *diegetic* space of the film's plot, which thus demands a deconstructive rather than a linear reading of its near "mythical" structure.

As with all myths, the film's plot is simple: a "new Russian" city girl, Marina, goes to the Russian countryside to attend her sister's funeral - and comes back. Before she sets out on her journey, her walk home from work leads to an encounter with two men in a late-night bar. These three characters provide a cameo of the legacy of the old Soviet social structure in its "new Russian" mutation: the simple Russian girl ("komsomolka") is a professional prostitute; the artistic intelligentsia (the pianist who is living out the parody of scientific communism) is now a piano tuner; and the would-be Kremlin bureaucrat is a mafia boss dealing in illegal meat supplies and selling refrigerated meat reserves frozen since 1947 and none less than twenty-eight years old. The concept of the modern consumer society's "use-by-date" is here subverted by a system in which supply and demand are not those of an open market but of a black economy. Over drinks at three o'clock in the morning, the three post-Soviet "workers"—the ex-artist, the ex-bureaucrat and the ex-simple-Russian-girl—engage in a rambling conversation about what kind of work they do. All three tell myths about themselves: the prostitute says she is in advertising and spins a story about a new Japanese product which can influence the mood of people; the mafia boss boasts of how his "new" KGB section of the Kremlin is in charge of supplying the President with fresh spring water from a pure Russian stream—something that is wishful thinking in the polluted environment of the post-industrial, post-Soviet ecological wasteland; and the piano tuner pretends that he is a geneticist, engaged in a human cloning project. The story about cloning has ramifications for the rest of the story. It provides the central metaphor of the film's narrative through which the present meets the past.

Degeneracy of the Russian Village and Atrophy of Cultural Memory

The young prostitute's journey to her native village provides glimpses into the "new Russian" city and country life. This "new Russian" woman (who would have been of "komsomol" age in the Soviet system) lives in a free social order and relative material affluence. She occupies a flat in a new development on the outskirts of the city and while the infrastructure is primitive, everywhere there are signs of a developing economy as the entire city periphery appears to be a construction site.

What is portrayed as a grotesque reality is not in the first instance the "new Russia" but its Soviet heritage. The rampant ecological and material degradation of the Russian countryside is the historical setting into which the plot action projects. The heritage of the recent Soviet past contrasts starkly with the nineteenth century rural Russia that inspired a populist ethics of *narodnost'* amongst the Russian intelligentsia, its writers and artists. Rural Russia and the natives of the Russian village were foundational to the ideology and ethics of *narodnost'*, considered the hallmark of a Russian national identity. By contrast, the contemporary post-Soviet Russian village is represented as a perverse community, literally bogged down in inauthenticity and formlessness. This is captured in the image of the communal village activity of chewing bread as raw material for the making of giant carnival dolls. What might be conceived of as a pre-Soviet pre-kolkhoz traditional Russian community or *mir* is here represented in a grotesque distortion of use value of traditional artifacts and peasant labor. Instead of productivity, promoted particularly during the Soviet era as official policy but hiding the grim reality of a failed centralized economy, the community of women in Marina's village is engaged in the production of bread dolls. While on a mimetic plane, it is difficult to see how this sustains the "new Russian" village economy, there are obvious signs of a basic stone-age prosperity: one of the peasant women has a new fur coat, all eat well and drink vodka in great quantities, all are housed well in the communal hut with adequate heating. The production of bread dolls is closer to a metaphoric than a mimetic reality. As metaphor, the bread dolls are reminiscent of "dead souls"—an inter-textual allusion that would escape very few Russian viewers. It was Gogol's vision of the nineteenth century Russia as a land whose economy ran on the speculating spirit of a pseudo-gentry class of unproductive landowners. Gogol captured this pseudo-economy in the metaphor of buying and selling "dead

souls"—deceased serfs whose existence on paper conferred status and power on the purchaser.

Sorokin's "new Russia" is similarly a phantom economy which runs on its own version of "dead souls"—an invisible, grotesque system of exchange, powered by a "degenerate" populace reduced to basic instincts and deprived of dignity by an almost total *atrophy* of cultural memory. The women in Marina's village can barely remember the traditional keening chants which custom obliges them to trot out at Marina's sister's funeral. Their "folksy" attributes are reduced to crude carousing (the drinking and bearing of breast by women who are long past their prime) while their sense of community easily flips into a dog-fight over a pig. The only man in the community—Marina's sister's lover—is a pale echo of a *narodnik*—an intellectual who has "gone into the people," whose efforts to preserve the remnants of a Russian village ethos end in suicide. While Alexander Sokurov's film *Russian Ark* (2003) paints a positive picture of Russian culture as a museum—one that is lovingly preserved through war and Revolution by a caring intelligentsia—Sorokin's *Four* paints a dark picture of a "new Russia" *beyond* the cultural museum, in a denuded landscape that resembles the surface of the moon or of a rubbish dump. This is made visible in the shots of industrial debris and building slosh on Marina's walk from the rural Saratov train station to the village funeral. This ugly post-industrial landscape alternates with images of neatly ploughed fields, sown with lush green grass—indicating the potential of the vast Russian lands for growth and proper development. However, while the natural potential is there, the Russian "folk" or *narod* is represented as a race of degenerates, whose national heritage of ancient *Rus'* glimpsed in fading remembrance of songs and funeral wails—has been erased[4] by the *kolhoz* culture that dominated the rural psyche in the recent Soviet past. Even the half-remembered, halting funeral ritual and traditional funeral banquet degenerate into virtual cannibalism and lewd carousing by an unsightly group of older Russian peasant women. The film's diagnosis of the state of culture in the "new Russia" is: there is no peasant culture left—the peasant huts are in disrepair, rotting, the old Russian village churches are in ruins! Vodka remains the only feature that creates some form of aberrant continuity between the "old" and the "new" in the Russian countryside!

The Ethical Prostitute

With an intelligentsia deprived of its role of leading the people, emasculated by the struggle for basic survival without state sponsorship, and with a Russian "narod" whose moral resources are at rock bottom, who is left in the "new Russia" who could become the source of a "new Russian" ethics? It is the ethical prostitute.

Marina is not degenerate, despite her profession. She is in fact ethical, as is the Russian youth in general, which includes Marina's sisters and her co-workers. The prostitute has been the carrier of an ethical attitude in Russian literature, from Dostoevsky's Sonia Marmeladova to several "new Russian" novels, including Sorokin's own *Tridsataia Liubov' Mariny* [Marina's Thirtieth Love] and Viktor Erofeev's *Russkaia Krasavitsa* [Russian Beauty]. The difference is that in postmodern Russia the prostitute is not an accursed outsider: Marina is a part of a new exchange economy, in which everything is for sale—legitimately. While appearing to be the embodiment of a cloning experiment of the 1970s, invoked as a joke by the piano tuner, Marina and her three sisters (the "four" of the film's title) constitute a multi-layered metaphor.

On the one hand, they represent the culmination of seventy years of Soviet scientific social experimentation, focused on fashioning a new Soviet man and woman. The social engineering of the Soviet years ranged from forced collectivization to forced relocation of entire peoples (like the Kazakhs) into new homelands, as well as the eradication of "false consciousness" in the Soviet citizenry by way of political and cultural purges which were at their height between 1928 and World War II. However, since this Soviet experiment produced nothing but a stagnant culture, whose official production in the 1970s appeared infantile to the Western observers, the piano tuner's joke is in fact the truth: the Soviet regime did carry out a kind of ideological "cloning" experiment, which seen in retrospect was a failure ("a joke"), but this "joke" underscores a historical truth. Thus the robust beauty of the siblings (played by three actual sisters) is more the product of the present social conditions of freedom and prosperity than of any defunct Soviet legacy.

However, the cloning metaphor also relates to Russia's potential development and future as a capitalist society. The symbolism of the "four" sisters, as opposed to three or a pair of siblings, points to the concept of the multiple as an organizing structure, as distinct from a ternary or binary principle. In postmodern cultural theory, the multiple is identified as the organizing principle of all capitalist

social formations. The multiple, with its endless permutations and repetitions, grounds the structures of heterogeneous, non-hierarchical social systems. As symbols of the multiple, Marina and her sisters carry the seed of a new community to come.[5] This new community finds its ultimate bonding and ethical expression through commemoration of a dead sister. This indicates a radical change in the ethics of "new Russia." Instead of observing the traditional values of a social hierarchy headed by a father (for example a leader like Stalin, who was popularly called "Batiushka" or "Father"), Russia's new civil society is prepared to honor "new gods" who are not gods at all. Marina's dead sister is an indexical sign pointing to this new value system, which is grounded in acts of personal sacrifice (or engagement) and individual as well as community enterprise. Marina's dead sister remains the prime driver behind the village's bread doll industry. Even in death, she directs the community's productive labor as an absent presence. As an entrepreneur with mythical proportions, the dead sister also elicits ethical action on the part of Marina, who cancels a lucrative appointment with a client in order to attend her sister's funeral. Thus the new myth of private entrepreneurship constitutes, according to the film's genealogy of the "new Russian" condition, the new capitalist ethics of postmodern Russian society.

Having received moral sustenance from her dead sister and the dead sister's mythical enterprise culture, Marina returns to the city to continue her trade—in an honest and ethical manner—that is, by being professional and disengaged, just as she was in the opening scene of the film following a night with clients. Sorokin's film does not advocate a return to an idyllic Russian rural past. Such a return would lead to nostalgia of the kind practiced by ultra nationalist sub-culture groups, such as *Nashi*, or the even more marginal old communists. But the way into the future, according to Sorokin's film, is also fraught with problems. What "new Russia" offers its younger generation in the way of opportunities is various forms of prostitution or bondage. There are no more rules, not even those of a hated closed ideological system. There is only the "real" of capitalist enterprise, of a crude and unregulated "take-over" mentality, verging on criminality and lawlessness. For example, the Army seeks recruits amongst the prison population to run Russia's post-colonial wars, including the war with Chechnya. The pianist-turned-piano-tuner is arrested on a trumped up charge and press-ganged into this army.

This is the dangerous historical context of contemporary Young Russia, symbolized in the film by the well-formed and resilient

young female heroine, reminiscent of the nineteenth century peasant ideal of beauty, and embodied here by the well-endowed "new Russian" girl. While this buxom, sexually active Russian beauty is the epitome of the "new Russian" desire—the desire for capitalist prosperity and the market economy (symbolically evoked in Marina's imagined career in advertising)—the reality of the historical situation of the "new Russian" capitalism is the restricted economy of a shadowy underworld of dealing and wheeling, which has the potential of becoming a fiasco as social experiment, just like the Soviet one, through its excesses of consumerism (symbolized by the breeding of a new species of round pig).

Sorokin's works do not have mass appeal although the sales of his works did soar following the scandal caused by the staging of his opera *Rosenthal's Children*. This indicates that despite their negative, violent, transgressive or pornographic content, Sorokin's postmodern works are performing an essential function in forming a new public taste. Whether his readers and viewers like it or not, Sorokin's works are holding up a mirror to contemporary Russia and furnishing contemporary Russians with essential aesthetic tools of self-examination and critique. Such social and psychological vivisection through art has been an established aesthetic practice in European culture since the earliest manifestations of Modernism, embodied in various national literary canons of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including the Russian canon. However, for the post-Soviet Russians, this heritage has been erased from the collective memory by seven centuries of barbarization under the restrictions of Soviet ideology. Sorokin's *Four* goes some way in restoring this heritage of art as critique of life to the "new Russian" capitalist consumer of culture.

NOTES

1 The breadth of topics or issues covered by the term "postmodernism" can be inferred from the contents of a standard reference text such as The *Icon Critical Dictionary of Postmodern Thought,* ed. by Stuart Sim (Duxford, Cambridge: Icon Books, 1999). In his introduction, the editor states that "postmodernism will be taken to encompass figures and debates within poststructuralism…" (Sim, ix). The question of how postmodernism departs from the tenets of Modernism or any other preceding trend in European thought has received extensive critical treatment but it does not relate specifically to the theme of the present essay.

2 Sorokin was one of the finalists for the 1992 Booker Prize but lost to his more conservative contemporary, Mark Kharitonov, whose fairly

conventional novel *Lines of Fate: Milashevich's Trunk* was the winning entry. *Four Stout Hearts* was first published in Zurich"s Haffman Verlag, in 1993, under the title *Die Herzen der Vier*. It was published in Moscow only in 1994. Sorokin's earlier novel, *Marina's Thirtieth Love,* was also published in German as *Marinas dreissigste Liebe* (Zurich: Haffman-Verlag, 1991) and in French (Paris: Lieu Commun, 1987) as *La trentième Amour de Marina.*

[3] Compare various press reports, including "Genetically modified Mozart," *The Guardian,* Wednesday 16, 2005; also www.newsru.com/cinema/23mar2005/libretto_print.html

[4] The diagnosis of the loss of cultural memory made by Sorokin in his film *Four* is confirmed in a recent academic study by the American Slavist, Laura J. Olson (University of Colorado, Boulder). Her monograph, *Performing Russia: Folk Revival and Russian Identity* (New York and London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), finds repeated evidence of the absence of knowledge of folk customs and ritual songs, such as Christmas carols among Russian village people. For example, Olson writes about the inhabitants of the village of Vladykino, near Saratov: "no local carols actually remain in Vladykino. Village inhabitants born in the 1920s said they never witnessed any actual carol singing in the village" (Olson 214). Olsen also points out that while adults and children of Vladykino were observed to dress up in mummer's costumes on Christmas eve and go door-to-door, all drinking alcoholic beverages, including the children, the "carolers … used no sung or spoken texts appropriate to Christmas. In fact, at one house when prompted by a radio reporter and television director to 'sing something,' a rather drunk 'caroler' in his 30s sang a song from prison folklore instead of a carol" (Olson 214).

[5] Compare Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia,* trans. Brian Massumi. (London: Athlone Press, 1987). Multiplicity underlies a sense formation which is distinct from metaphor. Deleuze and Guattari call this formation "the rhizome." "Unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point … It constitutes linear multiplicities with *n* dimensions having neither subject nor object, which can be laid out on a plane of consistency… The rhizome is an a-centred, non-hierarchical, non-signifying system … defined solely by a circulation of states" (Deleuze and Guattari 21). Multiplicity which engenders this atypical trope (the rhizome) underlies a free and multidimensional circulation of meanings. It provides an ideal model of the free market as a space of self-regulated exchange.

REVERSING THE REMAKE: JACQUES AUDIARD'S *DE BATTRE MON CŒUR S'EST ARRETE* [THE BEAT MY HEART SKIPPED] (FRANCE 2005) AFTER JAMES TOBACK'S *FINGERS* (USA 1978)

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Remakes have a bad reputation, particularly in France. Ever since André Bazin opened the debate in the early 1950s,[1] critics and filmmakers on both sides of the Atlantic have claimed and indeed proclaimed that remake rhymes with fake. The polemic raged anew in the early nineties, fuelled by Hollywood's escalating use of the trans-cultural remake, drawing particularly on French originals.[2] During the 1980s and 1990s there were a total of thirty-four trans-cultural Franco-American remakes, compared with only three in the two preceding decades.[3] Until the late nineties, practically every discussion of the remake constitutes a two-pronged attack that is highly revealing of the economic stakes underpinning its expansion.

On the one hand, the remake is held up as further evidence of Hollywood's aesthetic poverty, its lack of creative inspiration.[4] Like the series and sequel, the remake is primarily used as a means of cashing in on a past commercial success, recycling a proven formula, and/or saving time and money required for the development of new ideas: story line, screenplay and script. As well as being labelled an aesthetically poor imitation, the economics of the remake leads to its dismissal as a debased form, a morally repugnant mercenary ploy, part and parcel of the shameless plundering of national cinemas. To the French and Francophile members of the Anglo-American critical establishment, the remake becomes an indexical signifier of Hollywood greed, one of the cornerstones of its Machiavellian plan for global market monopolization, the most insidious form of cultural cannibalism. Along with financial enticement of talented overseas film-makers (actors, directors and cinematographers), the remake is one very visible way that Hollywood is seen to extend its tentacular grip on

world film markets to the detriment of other national industries, via the wholesale appropriation of national cinemas for its own commercial gain.[5] A few facts and figures suffice to explicate this position. During the eighties and nineties, American market share in France rose to almost sixty per cent while French share of the American market stood at a mere one per cent (half the total share for foreign/European films). In the mid eighties Disney's Touchstone cashed in on the success of *Trois Hommes et un Couffin* (Serreau, France 1985) which had earned $3.5 million in the United States in its subtitled French version, by remaking it as *Three Men and a Baby* (Nimoy, USA 1987) which went on to earn $170 million. Later in the decade, Touchstone and other American production companies sought to make even bigger profits by withholding the release of the French originals to which they had purchased the American distribution and remake rights, to the understandable rage of the French camp. As Sharon Waxman points out, there is little incentive for Hollywood producers to release a foreign original if they can safely assume more money is to be made by remaking it with American stars and according to American tastes.[6]

These facts demonstrate why the trans-cultural remake has become emblematic of the souring of the Franco-American relationship and why it has served to focalize France's incessant struggle for survival as a film-making nation. Conversely, over the last decade, a growing number of academics looking at the phenomenon have also pointed out the sociological value of the trans-cultural remake as privileged site for examining representations of national identity, cultural difference and intercultural dynamics.[7] The discussion that follows will attempt to address both sides of this vexed, fascinating and crucial question.

Up until very recently, the Franco-American remake was an exclusively American strategy. Until 2005, when Jacques Audiard directed *De battre mon cœur s'est arrêté*, (hereafter *Beat*) the first French language remake of an American production.[8] Despite its modest budget even by French standards (5.3M euros) and equally modest distribution (210 copies on first release), *Beat* did very respectably at the box-office, with over a million ticket sales (1,072,837 to be precise) and was a huge critical success, inspiring a plethora of positive press reviews and winning a host of awards at the 2006 Césars, including best director and best film.

The low budget, seventies independent production *Fingers* provides Audiard with *Beat's* central concept. Shot in three weeks on the streets of New York by first time director James Toback, *Fingers* is the story of Jimmy "Fingers" Angelelli (Harvey Keitel),

the only son of a small-time Mafia hood (Michael V. Gazzo), who attempts to escape his father's world of greed and violence through classical music. Seeking to follow in the footsteps of his concert pianist mother, now in a psychiatric clinic, Jimmy appears in the opening shot, practising Bach's Toccata in E-minor for a make-or-break audition at Carnegie Hall (with his mother's ex-impresario, Mr Fox). But the obstacles facing him prove insurmountable. Jimmy's own insecurities, which include a clear suggestion of repressed homosexuality, lead him into a destructive relationship with an alluring sculptress (Tisa Farrow, sister of Mia) and render him incapable of resisting the pull of his father and his violent, materialistic world. Almost in one breath, the audition is a failure, he doesn't get the girl and his father is shot dead by a Mafia boss. Though in the next scene Jimmy runs to avenge his father, it is a hollow victory. He has lost everything and is still no closer to discovering who he really is.

Resituated to present-day Paris, *Beat* centres on twenty-eight-year-old Thomas Seyr (Romain Duris), a dealer working the sleazy, criminally ruthless end of the high stakes property market, with his associates and mates, Fabrice and Sami (Johnathan Zaccai, Gilles Cohen). The trio specialise in trading old or derelict buildings, using a combination of live rats, baseball bats and demolition crews on the poor tenants or squatters who occupy them. As in *Fingers*, Tom's profession is a paternal heritage: his father, Robert, is in much the same game. Despite being recently engaged to a young photo-model and aspiring actress (Chris / Emmanuelle Devos), the father is too old now to play the heavy and increasingly calls on his son to lean on creditors. Then, eighteen minutes into the film, a chance meeting sees Tom rethink his life options. He bumps into Mr Fox, impresario to Tom's deceased mother, a successful concert pianist who committed suicide after a long mental illness. Mr Fox remembers Tom as a promising young talent and invites him to audition. Wishing to refresh his skills (having abandoned the piano after his mother's death) but turned away by the Conservatoire, Tom is introduced to Chinese pianist Miao-Lin (played by Vietnamese actress Lin-Dan Pham), recently arrived in France on a music scholarship and who is happy to act as tutor. His father is not impressed. Likewise, business partner Fabrice, who regularly uses Tom to provide alibis for his extra-conjugal escapades. Fabrice's wife, Aline, guesses what's going on; she and Tom become lovers. With daily lessons from Miao-Lin, Tom's playing improves though his associates complain his mind is not on the job. Robert calls Tom: this time he needs Tom to "deal with" a

Russian gangster, Minskov (Anton Yakovlev), who has cheated him and had him beaten up. Tom goes to Minskov's hotel and, in one of the few scenes taken directly from *Fingers*, spots him by the swimming pool, heavily guarded. After verbally threatening him over the phone, Tom follows Minskov's young mistress into the changing rooms and charms her into having sex with him in a toilet cubicle. Again, his father is not impressed! The night before the audition, Tom's associates drag him off to a building site to close an important deal. Predictably, the building has been overtaken by squatters and the two employ the usual methods to evict them. This time, Tom watches on, no longer having the stomach to join in the "fun." The next day the audition is a failure. Seeking solace, Tom goes to Robert's flat and finds him shot dead. Cut to two years later: Tom is Mao Lin's partner and agent, managing her concert career. Driving to a concert, he spots Minskov in the street, follows him and a violent fight ensues. Tom gains the upper hand but can't bring himself to finish the gangster off. Bloodied and dazed, he staggers back to the concert.

In transposing *Fingers* geographically, Audiard wisely recontextualises his film culturally, modifying the Mafia underworld setting, inexistent in Paris. The little Italy crime world of *Fingers* is replaced by the shady though officially legitimate world of Parisian real estate brokerage. Though less overtly criminal, the dealer milieu is equally dubious in moral terms, sharing the strong arm, extortionist tactics and official bribery aspects of organized crime, and increasingly infiltrated by real gangsters, often of Eastern European origin as evidenced by the Minskov character.

The most striking similarity between the two films consists in the father-son relationship as a painful but necessary Oedipal trajectory. This narrative and thematic strand is what drew Audiard to *Fingers* initially and he makes it both more central and more explicit. *Beat* opens with an expository prologue in which one of Tom's business associates describes his passage to adulthood in terms of the gradual role reversal that took place between himself and his father. Sami tells Tom how he began reluctantly responding to his father's requests for advice, then progressed to making decisions on his behalf before finally caring for him physically when he fell terminally ill. And of course, *Beat* will see Tom go through an almost identical process.

In both films the father figures are aging patriarchs. Though both are strangely likeable in their vulnerable masculinity (both are engaged to much younger women but desperately need their sons' approval) and clumsy expressions of paternal affection, both are

arch manipulators, ruthless in their use of rejection and emotional blackmail to persuade their sons into doing the dirty work that is part and parcel of their world and of which they are no longer capable. Tom's father resorts to getting himself beaten up to force his son to act on his behalf. And in *Fingers*, when Jimmy refuses to confront head-on the Mafia boss who has cheated his father, the latter's retort and chilling last words to his son are: *I shoulda strangled you in yer crib.*

But what interests me most in *Beat* is that, despite hewing quite close to the original in terms of broad characterization and plot, on several levels, it is a creative reversal of *Fingers*. Firstly, though Tom is in a similar situation to that of Jimmy Angelelli, his narrative trajectory is reversed, so that *Beat* becomes a story of redemption while Jimmy's is a no-exit downward spiral, a living nightmare. The crucial difference introduced by Audiard and his co-writer Tonino Benacquista, and which drives the plot of *Beat* in the opposite direction to *Fingers*, centres around Tom's relationships with women. Not called for in terms of cultural transposition, this is clearly a personal authorial choice. Tom still has idyllic memories of childhood, presumably before his mother's illness: in his father's flat he gazes fondly at an old photo which has him happy and smiling within a warm, protective triangular family unit. Because his mother is dead, and despite clear suggestions of her madness and suicide, she can and does remain a fond memory. Her recorded voice and piano playing continue to serve as inspiration and emotional support. In stark contrast, Jimmy's mother is alive but can provide no such solace: the one scene he has with her brings him face to face with her mental illness and reinforces his sense of abandonment. After the failed audition he goes to her for support but of course she is in no position to help anyone. When Jimmy needs her most, his mother pushes him away in horror.

Both Jimmy and Tom are complex characters for whom a love of classical music represents a deeply lyrical, poetic side with a spiritual aspiration for transcendence. Jimmy Angelelli, as his name suggests, is a dark angel, a loner, friendless despite his easy charm, unable to face his own repressed homosexuality, ultimately rejected by both parents and by the woman he falls in love with. Jimmy is clumsy as a lover, uncomfortable with women despite chasing them; desperately wanting love and approval, capable of playing the macho heavy but, as James Toback's DVD commentary explains, not yet a man.[9] This fact is made cruelly evident when Tisa, the object of his desire, ultimately prefers a "real man": ultra-macho Black night-club owner "Dreems" played by ex-football star Jim

Brown as the quintessential slash stereotypical Black Stud. Toback's film stages a mise en scène of white masculinity in crisis, upstaged and rendered impotent by a disturbingly triumphant and sadistically misogynous Black male sexuality.

Both films present conventional masculinity as marked by an overriding will to power that manifests itself in violent, ruthless materialism and a misogynistic acquisitive-exploitative attitude to women. But *Beat* offers the possibility of an alternative: the redemption of masculinity through a positive encounter with feminine agency. Like Jimmy Fingers, Audiard's protagonist also goes through a type of identity crisis, but one which is resolved by a process of learning and metamorphosis enabled by the presence of a strong, positively coded femininity.

Unlike Jimmy, Tom's relationship with the piano involves a learning process (with his mother and Miao Lin as teachers) which extends to the whole of his existence. Being forced into the position of student, he is able to learn and therefore to change, to outgrow his old skin, to find himself and finally to grow up, become a man. The film's ending clearly implies that it is because Tom's relationship with Miao Lin has enabled him to finally enter the world of music and high art that he is able to leave behind his father's world of base materialism and violence.

This all sounds rather trite and pompous, if not downright soppy, and certainly not very French. In less expert hands the film might easily have gone this way but Audiard avoids the trap in two moves that constitute the Final Act. He begins by setting up the classic fairy-tale ending, only to dismantle it and reveal a quite different and revolutionary scenario. The scene opens in a concert hall, with Tom at the piano as if for a recital. But we subsequently discover he is not here to perform but to set the stage for the real star who is then revealed to be Miao Lin. We cut to the penultimate sequence in which Tom will confront the demons of his past in the form of the Russian gangster, Minskov. In a stairwell scene which mirrors that of *Fingers*, the two are locked in a brutal, bloody fight to the death. In both films the protagonist (Tom/Jimmy) finally gains the upper hand by emasculating his adversary (crushing the masculine power of the father's world) and holding a gun to his head. But while the two scenes are identical thus far (both in terms of mise en scène, lighting and framing), the outcomes diverge totally. Where Jimmy pulls the trigger and remains psychologically trapped, Tom's inability to kill paradoxically enables him to walk free, shakily reaffirming his will to live a different life, according to different values. The final scenes of the two films are reverse mirror

images: in the final shot sequence of *Fingers*, Jimmy sits naked at his piano, staring bleakly out into the street then at the camera, like a caged animal, while Bach plays on without him. In *Beat*, Tom sits in the concert hall, bloody and bruised yet enraptured as Miao-Lin plays, his fingers tapping out the notes. The final shot of Tom's face captures a look that has finally encountered the sublime.

This brings us to Audiard's second reversal: his masterful construction of the Miao Lin character, beautifully played by Lin-Dan Pham. Firstly, in making Tom's piano teacher Chinese, the film-makers introduce a language barrier which paradoxically adds emotional depth and dramatic interest to the interaction between the two characters by forcing them to communicate sensually rather than intellectually, through music, sight and touch. The Word of the Father, associated with materialism and violence, can have no currency in their relationship.[10] More importantly perhaps, Audiard and Benacquista reverse the classic race-gender matrix where the exotic(ised) other (whether Asian, African, Indigenous, or simply Woman) is reduced to a sexualized body of power (Jim Brown as Dreems in *Fingers*) or placed in a subservient position of mistress, lover, wife, servant or pupil to the Western protagonist. Despite the language barrier, Miao-Lin's agency is asserted from the outset. She refuses to occupy the subordinate position that might be implied by the commercial and gendered nature of their relationship: he is paying for her services. Instead, she is quietly assertive, as evidenced by her first words to Tom (in hesitant English): *No smoking!*

Any incipient exoticism is countered by the fact that Miao Lin's professional status and talent gradually make her an object of respect and admiration that is not primarily sexual. Tom not only shows no sexual interest in her initially, he is disinterested in her as a person and irritated rather than fascinated at her lack of French and prissy health concerns ("*Pas fumer, pas parler, elle commence à me faire chier…"*). However we see their interaction evolve from purely instrumental to more personal as Tom grows to admire and respect her professional expertise and understated authority (reinforced by simple costuming and Pham's expertly directed performance). Audiard appears to have considered including explicit signs of a developing sexual attraction before subsequently discarding the possibility: amongst the many deleted scenes is a single shot framing Tom as he casts a furtive glance at Miao Lin's underwear hanging in her bathroom. By resisting the temptation to cater to audience expectations for the conventional mise en scene of male desire, Audiard both maintains a level of dramatic tension which

borders on the erotic, and situates the relationship on a more equal level, above and beyond the purely physical. Miao Lin's startled look when Tom kisses her on both cheeks before leaving for the audition is emblematic here. In this way, Audiard sets up their relationship as having the potential to become the true partnership we witness in the final act, which reveals that Tom has realized his dream vicariously, through her, by becoming her manager and partner. This is a revolutionary relationship and one that is perhaps revealing of changing cultural dynamics and geopolitical shifts: an unambiguously heterosexual Western male finds personal and professional fulfilment by serving the career of a woman whose beauty and ethnic otherness is eclipsed but not occulted by her personal qualities and artistic talent.

Reversal Three has to do with the broader context of the remake. After extremely positive reception in France, as mentioned, the film was subsequently released in New York and Los Angeles to similar critical acclaim. The American distributor, Wellspring, even ran successful back to back screenings of the film with *Fingers*, followed by discussion sessions with James Toback comparing the two films. The question which immediately springs to mind, one which a number of critics and commentators on both sides of the Atlantic indeed posed, is whether *Beat* will prove the first in a line of successful French remakes, and whether such a prospect might assist in reversing local and global market trends, helping to stem the tidal wave of Hollywood and swing the balance of the long-standing love-hate Franco-American romance back in a more positive direction.

> could we just possibly be looking at the first frisky sparks of a rekindling of the traditional Franco-American love affair? Are we witnessing a daring re-eroticising of the tired old transatlantic bedroom routine of decades past? Instead of flabby Hollywood retreads of Gallic box-office hits, can we anticipate fresh revivifyings of those seminal but flawed movie classics of the US counterculture, all modishly spruced up in smart new *gilets*?[11]

I hope to have demonstrated that Audiard's film is indeed a *fresh revivifying* of its source. And although one swallow does not a summer make…, it appears to this author that *Beat*'s reversal of the long-standing American monopoly of the trans-Atlantic remake also introduces the enticing possibility that the ongoing Franco-American film story might again come to resemble a true exchange.

NOTES

1 André Bazin, "A propos des reprises," *Cahiers du cinéma*, (September 1951): 52–56; André Bazin, "Remade in USA," *Cahiers du cinéma* (September 1952): 54–9.

2 Roger Cohen, "Aux Armes! France Rallies to Battle Sly and T. Rex," *New York Times* (2 Jan 1994).

3 It must be noted that the French had some involvement in a number of these projects. *And God Created Women* (Vadim, USA 1987) and *The Three Fugitives* (Francis Weber, USA 1989) were both directorial auto-remakes (*Et dieu créa la femme*, Vadim, France 1956; *Les trois fugitifs*, Weber, France 1986) while Gérard Depardieu re-played the title role in *My Father the Hero* (Miner, USA 1994), the American remake of *Mon père ce héros* (Lauzier, France 1991). The American remake of *Somersby* (Amiel, USA 1993) after *Le retour de Martin Guerre* (Vigne, France 1982) was co-produced by Le Studio Canal Plus.

4 But of course there is nothing intrinsically "bad" about remakes, which figure in many official canons of world cinema. To cite but one example, Tay Garnett's noir classic, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (USA 1946), remade by Bob Rafelson (USA 1981), was in fact the third screen adaptation of Cain's novel. Pierre Chenal had been the first to adapt *Postman* as French poetic realist *Le dernier tournant* (France 1939), followed by Visconti's neo-realist *Ossessione* (Italy 1942).

5 Jennifer Forrest and Leonard R. Koos, *Dead Ringers: The Remake in Theory and Practice*, *Suny Series, Cultural Studies in Cinema/Video* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 6–7.

6 Sharon Waxman, "A Matter of Déjà View: French Cry Faux over Us Film Remakes," *Washington Post*, (July 15, 1993). In Forrest and Koos 6.

7 Carolyn A. Durham, *Double Takes: Culture and Gender in French Films and Their American Remakes*, *Contemporary French Culture and Society* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth: University Press of New England, 1998); Forrest and Koos, *Dead Ringers: The Remake in Theory and Practice*; Lucy Mazdon, *Encore Hollywood: Remaking French Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 2000); Jacqueline Nacache, "Comment penser les Remakes américains ?," *Positif* (June 1999): 76–80.

8 Audiard's producer, Pascal Cocheux, had just completed an English language remake of John Carpenter's *Assault on Precinct 13*, filmed in the US with an all American cast but directed by French *banlieue* film-maker, Jean François Richet.

9 James Toback, *Fingers*, 1978 (USA: Turner Home Entertainment, 2002), DVD.

10 The language barrier also serves to contain the matriarchal element inherent in the teacher role.

11 Philip Kemp, "Shoot the Pianist," *Sight & Sound* (November 2005): 45.

ACCOUNTS FOR REFUSALS IN JAPANESE AND ENGLISH

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It is not easy to refuse an invitation offered by friends. You have to pass on a "no" message, but at the same time you must be careful not to damage your friendship. This is awkward enough even in a native tongue and it is more difficult still when you have to use a foreign language.[1]

Here is an example of miscommunication which was probably caused by an unsuitable excuse:

Conversation Example 1: telephone conversation

A: Hello?
B: Hi, my name is [a person's name] ringing from [a company name]. How are you?
A: I'm fine.
B continues talking and…
A: I am busy right now.
B: Oh shall I call you back in an hour or so then.
A: … … …

Person A was Japanese, the author of this paper. She was puzzled by B's offer to call back again later. This was not something she expected to receive and it made further conversation awkward. This example suggested that this type of excuse such as "I'm busy" would not work in English.

The present study aims to shed light on this type of cross-cultural miscommunication by looking into excuses offered as refusals in Japanese and English.

Context and research questions

When people receive an invitation and want to decline it, they often explain why they might not like or could not accept the invitation. The present study refers to this type of explanation as an excuse.

This study puts special emphasis on the excuse simply because this provides an important strategy in declining an invitation. There are many ways to turn down an invitation. These ways are known as semantic formulas,[2] and Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz listed 13 types of strategies, including excuse (58–59). Their study showed that excuse was one of the frequently used strategies in Japanese and English.

Goffman also studied excuses as a key strategy in mending human relationship.[3] Goffman employed a framework called *remedial work* and explained that this would "change the meaning that otherwise might be given to an act, transforming what could be seem as offensive into what can be seen as acceptable"(109). There are three ways to carry out remedial work: "accounts," "apologies" and "requests." Accounts, which correspond to excuses in the present study, are a very important and useful strategy since they give a "no" message indirectly as well as helping the friend understand and accept your difficult situation.

Despite its importance, there is very little research on the nature of the excuse. Some studies have revealed whether or not people use an excuse to refuse an invitation,[4] but we need to know the content of excuse as well; obviously some excuses may not be effective. The content of excuse must be good enough for your friend to accept your refusal. The excuse has to be emphasized also in terms of cross-cultural perspectives as Kumatoridani and Nishimura suggest that there might be differences between Japanese and English.[5] These two studies investigated an apology, which is another way to carry out *remedial work* (Goffman, 109), and showed differences between Japanese and English.

To find out differences in the usage of the excuse between Japanese and English, I explored the following three questions: what types of excuses do decliners offer; how do inviters respond to the excuses; how does conversation develop?

First I needed to know the types of excuse, and then secondly, to see what sorts of responses the excuse elicited. These two aspects should enable us to see how the whole conversation of refusal is likely carried out in Japanese and English. To see the way of development of refusal conversation clearly, I also looked into one further aspect, namely the decliners' responses to the inviters' reaction to the decliners' excuses.

Data and findings

This study collected conversational data using a role-play technique. The rationale for this is that a role-play technique is the best possible option to obtain the whole dialogue of refusal in two different languages under identical conditions.

Cooperation from 32 Japanese pairs and 30 New Zealanders pairs at University was obtained. These conversations average 48 and 67 seconds respectively. The details of the participants are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Details of the participants[6]

	Gender			Age Average	Gender of pairs			
	M	F	Total		M-M	F-F	M-F	Total
Japan	14	50	64	21.90	7	25	0	32
NZ	21	39	60	24.28	5	14	11	30

The participants of Role A were instructed to ask B to go to a tavern that evening and the Role B participants were to decline A's invitation.[7] All conversations were recorded on an audiotape and then transcribed using the transcription conventions shown in *Approaches to Discourse* by Schiffrin.[8] These transcriptions were used for analysis.

Every explanation of the situation offered by Role B, which prevented Role B from going to the tavern, was coded. After being listed, these excuses were classified according to the categories of Table 2. All replies to those excuses given by Role A were also coded based on the nature of their responses. Finally Role B's responses to those A's response were classified in a similar manner.

Most of the participants, who played Role B gave an excuse after Role A's initial invitation. Table 2 shows the nature of each excuse in both data sets.

Table 2 Excuses offered by decliners

	Japan	NZ
Prior engagement	8	9
Physical reason	11	5
Busyness	3	1

Assignment	2	5
Wanting to have a relaxed night at home	3	4
No money	1	2
Others	4	4
Total	32	30

I will present one each of the English examples for all categories (the parts with double underlined are excuses).[9]

Conversation Example 2: prior engagement

<NZ Pair 26 – at the beginning of conversation>
A: I was thinking about doing something tonight
B: Are you (.5)=
Um [actually])
A: [Come on] Come on come on
(.5)
B: Ah so:rry I already I already have something planned well

Conversation Example 3: physical reason

<NZ Pair 13 – at the beginning of conversation>
A: We want to go to the pub. What do you reckon
(1)
B: U:m no I'm a bit tired

Conversation Example 4: busyness

<NZ Pair 5 – at the beginning of conversation>
A: I really wanted to go out tonight, eh
B: Oh I've actually I'm=
quite busy tonight I've actually got pilates tonight

Conversation Example 5: assignment

<NZ Pair 12 – at the beginning of conversation>
A: I was wondering if you wanted to go out tonight
B: Oh (1) oh=
no I've still got assignments and stuff so

Conversation Example 6: wanting to have a relaxed night at home

<NZ Pair 1 – at the beginning of conversation>
A: We should go out tonight to a pub or something for some drinks
(.2)
B: Um(.2) um I really kind of wanted a nice night at home

Conversation Example 7: no money

<NZ Pair 4 – at the beginning of conversation>
A: We should go out tonight
B: Oh yeah u::m I could but I don't=
really have any money eh?

We can see in Table 2 that all types of excuses were used in both sets of data, but the number in each type of excuse varies. This suggests that the tendency of usage of excuse may be different between these two sets. Another pattern we could see in Table 2 is that the top two favorites in the Japanese data, namely "Physical reason" and "Prior engagement," dominated almost two thirds of the whole. This tendency was not shown in the New Zealand data.

Next, Role A participants' responses to these excuses are examined. Table 3 below shows the nature of As' responses to Bs' excuses. The total number shown at the bottom of the table was the number of the cases in which A did not accept B's refusal. For example, 21 out of 32 As' in the Japanese data did not give up having B for the tavern after hearing Bs' excuse.

Table 3 Inviters' responses to those excuses

	Japan	NZ
Refutation to the excuse[10]	7	1
Double checking	6	4
Asking details	5	2
Telling the reason to go to the pub	2	2
Inviting repetitively	1	1
Offering an amended plan	0	6
Suggesting another day	0	1
Saying "It would be great"	0	2
Total	21/32	19/30

There are three points we should look at here. First, the top five reactions appeared in both sets of data, but the number in each category was quite different between the data sets. Also, the bottom three did not appear in the Japanese data at all. It suggests that the preference on the responses to those excuses is different between the two countries.

Second, the distribution of responses was different between the two sets. In the Japanese data, the most popular strategy—"refutation to the excuse"—dominated one third of the cases that A's attempted to get B. The second, "double checking," and the third, "asking details," which both demand further information,[11]

were also chosen by a certain number of people. The number of these top three added up to occupied more than a half of the total number of As' second attempts. This propensity was not seen in the NZ data.

Thirdly, the cases in which A did not make a second invitation-attempt showed differences. One third of Role A in both data did not make a second attempt. One case each in both data sets met an agreement to go to the tavern on another day and three cases only in the NZ data had a phrase like "please come along if you change your mind" later in the conversation. Thus the percentage that Role A gave up on Role B after one attempt differed: Japanese people gave up more easily than New Zealanders.

The differences on Role As' responses now might be the results of influence by the nature of Bs' excuses. Table 4 shows the matrix of these two.

Table 4 The matrix between Bs' excuses and As' responses

B's excuses / A's responses	Prior engage-ment		Physical reason		Assign-ment		Wanting to relax at home		Busy-ness		No mon-ey	
	JP	NZ	JP	NZ	JP	NZ	JP	NZ	JP	NZ	JP	NZ
Not asking again	5	3 *	4	2#		1	1	1	1	1		1
Refuta-tion to the excuse			3	1	2							
Double checking	3	1	1			1	1	1	1			1
Asking details			3					1				
Telling the reasons to go to the pub		1				1	1		1			
Simply asking again											1	
Offering an a-		2		1		2		1				

mended plan												
Suggest-ing another day		1										
Saying "it'd be great"		1		1								
TOTAL	8	9	11	5	2	5	3	4	3	1	1	2

*2 out of these 3 cases ask B to come if s/he change his/her mind at the end of the conversation. #1 of them does the similar request.

Table 4 does not show us any strong connections between the types of excuses and the ways of responses. Particularly "offering an amended plan," appears in four different columns of the New Zealand data, but not in the Japanese data at all. Thus "offering an amended plan" could be a preferred way of response of New Zealanders regardless of the type of excuse. "Refutation to the excuse," on the other hand, appears in two different columns in the Japanese data and this might be the preferred response for Japanese. "Double checking" might be another one as it appears in four different columns and the total numbers of this is not negligible.

In sum, the matrix in Table 4 suggests that there are preferred ways of proceeding refusal conversations in both Japanese and English and their tendencies are different.

Finally, Table 5 shows the results of summarizing the Role B's second attempt of refusal: how they responded to Role A's second attempt of invitation. There is no similarity between two data sets here either.

Table 5 Bs' responses to As' second attempts

	Japan	NZ
Saying "another time"	4	1
Giving an explanation in detail	4	1
Giving a same excuse	3	4
Giving another excuse	2	5
Giving a simple "yes" answer	1	1
Refuting the persuasion	2	0
Agreeing to A	1	0
Saying "no" to the amended plan	0	3

Saying "not today"	0	1
Recommending going with another person	0	1
Total	17	17

Discussion

We saw that there were different tendencies between Japan and New Zealand on the type of excuses, the way of responding to the excuses, and the ways of handling those responses. Popular excuses for Japanese were "prior engagement" and "physical reasons," and the same for New Zealanders were "prior engagement" and "assignment." Then Japanese people preferred "refutation" and demanding more information (= "asking details" + "double checking") after Role Bs' excuses. New Zealanders often chose to "offer an amended plan" or to do "double checking." Causal connections between the type of excuses and the ways of response were not found. Moreover, the distribution of choice of strategies was markedly different: the Japanese data showed dominant strategies at any stages of conversation more than the NZ data. Lastly, more Japanese people gave up inviting people only after receiving one initial refusal.

These differences can be interpreted by assuming that Japanese inviters focus on the refusal itself, regardless of the content of the excuse. New Zealand inviters, on the other hand, pay more attentions to the content of an excuse and readily negotiate an arrangement with the decliners. In Japanese, giving an excuse means showing an intention of refusal, and it basically allows no room for negotiation. A decliner has to make sure to pass a refusal message using an expression from a catalogue of fixed phrases; that's why many Japanese participants in this study chose similar excuses, which were guaranteed to deliver the message. The inviter then takes an excuse merely as a sign of refusal. If the inviter wants to persuade the decliner, he or she should not attempt to change the original plan of invitation and must just push hard or ask more questions to find out whether or not there is an option to change the decliner's mind. If the inviter finds the situation too hard, she or he simply gives up. In New Zealand, on the contrary, excuse provides a platform for further negotiation. The acceptable excuse in this study seemed to be prior engagement.[12] But no matter what sort of excuse is offered, the inviter has to be prepared to show the respect to the decliner's situation and try to persuade him or her based on what he or she said.

Summary
This study showed how conversations involving refusals would proceed in Japanese and English. The implication is that an excuse can function in different ways depending on the type of excuses. In addition, the ways of responding to the excuse differ between these two languages. We still need further studies to make firm generalizations, but at least the findings here help us understand why the telephone conversation cited early in this paper would not go smoothly in English. We have got to be aware of these differences to have fruitful communication in cross-cultural situations.

Appendix: Role cards given to the participants
Role A

- You are walking towards a café on campus now.
- You had been busy recently, but you just completed the things you had been working on, and want to go out tonight.
- You just noticed your friend XXX at the café. You just got a good idea, going to the pub together. You believe that both of you will have a great time.
- Let's talk to XXX now!

Role B

- You are at a café on campus now. It is not lunch time anymore and the place is not crowed.
- You have been busy recently and you are thinking a quite night at home tonight like watching TV or something.
- So you do not have any particular plan for tonight.
- You just noticed that your friend XXX is walking toward you now. S/he looks happy and one idea crossed your mind now that is s/he may ask you to get together or something.
- Even if s/he asked you such a thing, you will **MAKE UP SOMETHING** and decline it. You are not in the mood to be with XXX tonight and do not think "having a quite night at home" would work.

NOTES

1 The following two studies mentioned difficulties which foreign language learners tend to face: Are Hajikano, Tetsuo Kumatoridani, and Hiroko Fujimori, "A Study of Complaint Strategies Used by Native and Non-Native Speakers of Japanese," *Journal of Japanese language teaching,* 88 (1996): 128–39; Kanokwan Laohaburanakit, "Forms of Refusals: A Comparison of Refusal Forms Used by Learners of Japanese and Japanese Native Speakers," *Japanese-language education around the glove,* 7 (1997): 97–112.

2 A semantic formula is a strategy to carry out a certain act. Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz gave a good example of semantic formulas of refusal: see Leslie M. Beebe, Tomoko Takahashi and Robin Uliss-Weltz, "Pragmatic Transfer in ESL Refusals," *Developing Communicative Competence in a Second Language,*" eds. Robin C. Scarcella, Elaine S. Anderson, and Stephen D. Krachen (Boston, Mass.: Heinle and Heinle, 1990). If somebody said "'I'm sorry. I have theater tickets that night,' this was coded as: [expression][excuse]" (57). There are two semantic formulas used in this example. The present study focused on cases like the latter formula.

3 Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public*, (London: Penguin, 1971).

4 For example, the following studies analysed preferred semantic formulas in certain languages: Beebe et al. (1990), which was cited above; Susan M. Gass and Noel Houck, *Interlanguage Refusals*, (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999); Gayle L. Nelson, Joan Carson, Mahmoud Al Batal, and Waguida El Bakary, "Cross-cultural pragmatics: Strategy used in Egyptian Arabic and American English Refusals," *Applied Linguistics*, 23 (2002): 163–189.

5 Tetsuo Kumatoridani, "An integrative approach to contrastive speech-act analysis: A case of apologies in Japanese and English" *Journal of Japanese language teaching* 79 (1993): 26–40; Fumiko Nishimura, "An error analysis of letters of apology written by intermediate-level students: From viewpoint of appropriateness," *Journal of Japanese language teaching* 99 (1998): 72–83.

6 Thanks to useful questions and comments about the type of participants and task by Dr Anderson and Dr Hashimoto at the congress site. This data was collected from a certain type of people as shown in Table 1. All generalizations made here should be limited regarding to these types of people and the situation given for this study. I believe that however, the findings in this study reflect their general tendency to some degrees.

7 See Appendix to find more details of the instructions given to the participants.

8 Schiffrin, Deborah, *Approaches to Discourse* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).

[9] Symbols used for conversation transcription indicate as follows:
? rising intonation
: lengthened syllable
= the continuity from the previous line uttered by the same person
[ ] overlap
(.5) pause of ½ second and also (1) and (.2) indicate respectively pause of 1 second and pause less than a half second.

[10] An example of "refutation the excuse" is indicated with → below:
B: Um no I'm a bit tired.
→A: Oh, man. We can never go. What is it, you are young. Let's go. I want to go for a dance. Come on. (cited from a conversation provided by New Zealander Pair 13)

[11] The typical expression of "double checking" was "are you sure." This phrase often functioned to lead another inquiry. Therefore, "double checking" could be described as a similar sort to "Asking details."

[12] By his cross-cultural studies, Neustupny explained that the only acceptable excuse to decline an invitation in English speaking societies should be a prior engagement (73): Neustupny, Jiri Vaclav, *Gaikokujin to no komyunikeshon (= Communication with foreigners)* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten: 1982).