

Carnival

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Association



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Editorial

Dear reader,

The newest issue of Carnival is in your hands now (or on your screen, in case of the online edition). For the first time in as long as most of us can think back, it has been possible to release Carnival in due time, that is within half a year of the Annual Conference, ISHA's main academic event. No one is to blame for these delays, as publishing the journal has always been depending on the commitment of volunteers. Sometimes, personal matters interfered, or bad luck stroke – e.g. as has been the case with the previous edition which was only finalised this spring.

But Carnival is on a good way, and so is ISHA (cf. the president's letter right after this introduction). The previous edition already introduced a more professional layout to the publication, and many efforts have been taken by last year's editors to ensure a high level of academic quality as well. In order to take this good work one step further, during the last several months an informal workgroup within ISHA has formed which is currently debating the future of Carnival; basically, that means how to improve the journal even more. Personally, I am convinced that publishing this journal is a very important and rewarding task because it forms a great (and rare) opportunity for students to present their work and also receive feedback by their colleagues from many countries. Let us, therefore, continue working together in order to overcome the last of the difficulties that have been limiting Carnival's success in the past.

But back to what you are reading at the very moment. This issue of Carnival takes its major theme from the topic of the Annual Conference of

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ISHA 2010 in Helsinki: “Integration Throughout History”. We have collected many interesting papers which have been presented during the conference, or which have been written on the occasion of other ISHA events during the course of the academic year 2009-2010. They are complemented by two articles that have been written independently of the present issue’s topic.

The previous edition of Carnival already saw the introduction of a new kind of contribution: an interview with a specialist. It is my firm belief that such interviews can significantly benefit the journal’s ultimate aim – broadening students’ horizons by showing them different points of view and varied ways of interpretation. Therefore, I am very grateful that in the issue at hand a specialist from a different field of study has shared some of his thoughts about his primary field of interest – language – and about ours – history, on the background of J.R.R. Tolkien’s life and works.

As I said before, both ISHA and its journal are on a good way. Many tasks lie before us, but some very good foundations have already been laid, especially during the past academic year. This is why I do not only wish to thank Katharina, Robert, and Rasmus, who have helped me considerably with putting this edition of Carnival together, but also the members of the very committed and hard-working International Board of 2009-2010.

Hoping that this issue of Carnival will find its readers’ appreciation,
Viva ISHA and all the best!

Sven Mörsdorf

Editor-in-chief, 2009-2010

Council, 2009-2010

A Word from the President

Dear reader,

It is with much pleasure that I present to you this new edition of *Carnival*, the journal of the International Students of History Association. This edition contains the academic work of students throughout Europe who are connected to our association. Last year we held many activities, bringing our members together at a number of seminars and a large annual conference. Please allow me to point out some of the highlights of the year.

Natural highlights are the seminars that ISHA sections organise year-round. We had a full agenda this year, including not only the traditional seasonal seminars, but also a first-of-its-kind weekend seminar. After discussing multiculturalism in Pisa at the autumn seminar, we travelled to cold Vilnius to celebrate New Year while pondering manipulation through history. ISHA Marburg decided to dedicate a small seminar to the Bologna system, which fit in well with our newly-acquired associate membership in the European Students' Union. Just as the summer holiday began, Nicosia served as the venue for a beautiful summer seminar on the concept of war. Never has an ISHA seminar been witnessed by so many palm trees.

A special highlight was the annual conference. This is the main event every year, and every section tries to be present. Finland showed its best side, as the spring clearly set in during our visit, giving us the chance to see Helsinki melting down from the icy winter. The theme of the conference was 'integration throughout history,' touching nicely upon the seminar topics.

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We have taken a new step in making ISHA more visible to the outside world. Together with Euroclio (the European Association of History Educators) and The Europaeum, an association of ten leading European universities, ISHA contributed to the project ‘Connecting Europe through History.’ In several joint meetings we held roundtable sessions on the topic of migration as a common feature throughout European history. In Helsinki, the ISHA annual conference very successfully accommodated such a session together with Finnish history teachers and teacher trainers.

As already mentioned, ISHA was accepted as an associate member of ESU, the European Students’ Union. Being the most influential student-run body in Europe, it is a great advantage to have a formal relationship with them and thereby be close to the European student movement. This year ISHA was represented at their 57th Board Meeting in Kraków. An ISHA delegation was also present at the European Student Summit in Vienna, where the participants combined a critical assessment of the EU plans for higher education with a celebration of ten years of the Bologna process in action. Contacts made during these conferences have led to several groups of students around Europe becoming interested in what ISHA does and may result in more members joining our association.

An invaluable force behind ISHA’s advance is the Erasmus Academic Network of Clíoh-world. This project focuses on the coverage of world history and EU history in European curricula. Prof. Dr. Ann Katherine Isaacs, coordinator of this network, should be specially thanked here for her ongoing efforts in supporting ISHA and its mission of bringing together students of history. We have been invited to Clíoh-world confer-

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ences in Bochum, Pisa, Brussels, and Oulu this year and have been asked to continue attending their conferences.

This just briefly sums up the main achievements of this year, proving that ISHA is a vibrant community, becoming continuously more active and working together with more and more organisations which share ISHA's aims.

I would also like to thank all those, and there are many of you, who in one way or another have supported ISHA this year. You may have helped organise a seminar or the conference, you may have been active as a council or treasury committee member, or you may have worked to put this *Carnival* together. I am equally thankful to those who told their friends about their experiences in our association, contributing to greater awareness of what we are doing. To all of you a big thank-you. You made this a great year for ISHA, and I am confident we will have many more. Viva ISHA!

On behalf of the International Board – the Secretary, Elsa Mäki-Reinikka, and the Treasurer, Marko Smokvina –

Frerik Kampman

President of ISHA 2009-2010

Cairo, 3rd of July, 2010

Integration Through ART

On Russian-Finnish Interactions of Art at the Turn of the 20th Century

Anastasia Guzanova
St. Petersburg

“Art is like a border of flowers along the course of civilisation.”

Lincoln Steffens

Knowing the culture of another country allows a better understanding of this country *ab intra*, of its values, ideas and ideals. It provides many advantages in respect of better communication and further successful integration among two countries. In each historical period and in countries throughout Europe, the arts mirror societal, technological and political events and developments. As surely as ripples emanate from a stone thrown into a pond, these influences are reflected in the artistic and cultural output. It is a fundamental inevitability, as well as one of the glorious aspects of art, that the fine arts – as well as the performing arts – frequently offer insights into the historical process and human nature.

My article will illustrate examples of this integration between art, culture and history which provide us with fascinating windows through which we can better learn and understand more about past times. The language of art – is a universal language that all people can understand. Art could act as a perfect possibility for helping people to iron out misunderstandings and to integrate.¹ Examples can be found throughout history.² Among the exam-

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ples to be cited, I will consider Russian-Finnish art at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. I will show how art helped people overcome political difficulties at that time, and how art became a vehicle for unification. Below I will examine the unique ability of art to integrate by means of joining people in a shared vision.

Key events were two exhibitions held in St. Petersburg in 1898 and in 1917. Following the chronological order, the first event that I will consider is a joint exhibition of Russian and Finnish art in 1898.

This exhibition was organised by Sergei Diaghilev (1872-1929) – a future founder of the *Ballets Russes*, which for twenty years, between 1909-1929, was one of the most famous ballet companies in the world. But in 1898, Sergei Diaghilev was just at the beginning of his career. He graduated from the faculty of law of St. Petersburg University and was thinking about what to do with his life. All of his friends were involved in creative work: Konstantin Somov and Leon Bakst both were artists; Dmitry Filosofov was a philosopher and critic; Alexander Benois was multi-talented and working as an artist, art critic, historian, and stage designer. They met regularly and eventually formed a group which monitored the ways of modern art. Later, in 1899, this same group organised an official artistic movement and published a magazine called “*Mir Iskusstva*” or “The World of Art”.

But before 1886, Sergei Diaghilev attended the meetings with his friends without great enthusiasm. It was Alexander Benois, his university pal, who encouraged Sergei Diaghilev to cultivate his knowledge of Russian and Western Art. At first, Diaghilev was bored with this idea, but he changed his mind after having made several trips to Europe. He came back to Rus-

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sia full of new ideas and with a great determination to make them real.

His first efforts in the field of art were the “Exhibition of British and German water-colour drawings” in 1896 and the “Exhibition of Scandinavian artists” in 1897. They were fine and interesting events but still quite conformist. The real breakthrough occurred with the exhibition of Russian and Finnish art in 1898. It took place in the Stieglitz Museum of Applied Arts in St. Petersburg and lasted from January 16th to February 21st. The opening of the exhibition was rather pompous. Hothouse flowers were placed throughout the museum and several members of the Imperial Russian family – among them Emperor Nicholas II with his wife Alexandra Feodorovna and dowager empress Maria Feodorovna Dagmar – were invited, the orchestra struck up a salute upon their entrance. 296 different exhibits were displayed: paintings, graphics, sculpture, theatrical scenery, applied and decorative art.

Thirty-nine artists participated, twenty-one of which were Russian, and ten of which were Finnish.

The Russian artists and their works included:

- M.A. Vrubel (1856-1910) – “Morning”;
- V.A. Serov (1865-1911) – “Girl with peaches”;
- Alexander Benois (1870-1960) – “Versailles. Promenade of the King”;
- Levitan (1860-1900) – a sketch to the painting “Above the Eternal Rest”.

The Finnish painters included:

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- Albert Edelfelt (1854-1905) – “A Child's Funeral”;
- Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865-1931) – „Lemminkäinen's Mother“ and “The Defence of the Sampo”;
- Eero Järnefelt (1863-1937) – „Playing Children” and “Portrait of Gunnar Berndtson”;
- Pekka Halonen (1865-1933) – “Snow landscape”.³

The reaction to this exhibition was twofold. On the one hand, it was a scandal – the public, used to realism, found these works strange and shocking. The press and the supporters of realism commented: “corrupting youth, breeding ugliness, morbidity, and depraved tastes”.⁴ The most negative reaction was pointed towards two paintings: „Lemminkäinen's Mother“ by Akseli Gallen-Kallela and “Morning” by Mikhail Vrubel. But on the other hand, the exhibition was a great success. Every piece of art was sold. For instance, one of them – Konstantin Somov's painting “Rainbow” was immediately bought by the Finnish National Gallery, the Art Museum Ateneum.

At the end of the 19th century as well as today, St. Petersburg had an active cultural life and there were around ten or twelve different exhibitions each season. Now, what was so special about this one, which lasted a bit more than a month and saw around 12, 000 visitors?

This exhibit set the stage for new artists and their radically innovative works which became known as the Art Nouveau style. In the turn of the centuries, this style replaced realism and, with this exhibition, Russian and Finnish art passed through enormous changes. Old artistic standards were now denied – these included the depiction of subjects only “in accordance with secular empirical rules”, and an obligatory plot in the painting with a

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A. Gallen-Kallela: "Lemminkäinen's Mother" (1897)



M.A. Vrubel: "Morning" (1897)

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certain technique. New ideas of “pure art” came instead. Artistic individualism and a quest for new techniques became the corner-stone of the new movement.



In this poster, created by the Russian painter Konstantin Somov, the figures of two women personify the two nations: Finland and Russia.

The main intention of the Russian-Finnish exhibition was to provide a cosmopolitan outlook and to emphasise the close collaboration between all European arts. After St. Petersburg, the exhibition travelled to Munich, Düsseldorf and Berlin with great success.⁵ One of the participants and an initiator of these exhibitions, Alexandre Benois, wrote:

“We appreciated the idea of united mankind. This was especially brightly represented in our attitude towards art. Any piece of art which had «a mark of the genius» on it was precious to us – no matter which nationality made it”.⁶

The whole exhibition proclaimed the cosmopolitan views of its partici-

pants. Even in small details, it was possible to see that. The surnames of Russian painters were written in Russian and in French – the language of the capital of art in those days. Names and surnames of Finnish painters were written in Finnish and Russian.

A brief glance at history. In 1809, after the war between Russia and Sweden, Finland was separated from Sweden and became an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire. Finland was granted autonomy (which it did not have under Swedish rule), received its own currency and a new capital, Helsinki. But by the end of the 1890s, Finland faced a political policy of intense russification which of course caused complaints – not only from the Finnish side, but also on part of Russian intellectuals. In 1898, leading Finnish and Russian artists decided to organise a joint exhibition. They wanted to show how two peoples can support each other in a way of appropriate integration, without force – just mutually respecting each other. And the ideal way to do this was by means of this collective art exhibition.

A similar situation occurred in 1917, when big changes took place after the revolution in Russia that lasted throughout World War I. It was a period of chaos, political instability and economical stagnation. But positive change was also taking place and, during this period, Finland became an independent country. In the middle of all these events, again, as a gesture of Russian-Finnish mutual understanding and support despite all difficulties, an exhibition devoted to Finnish art was organised. Of course, art had changed a lot since 1898, but the main idea of this event remained: using art as an efficient mode of integration.

In April 1917, an exhibition of Finnish art was opened in Nadezda Do-

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bitchina's art gallery in St. Petersburg. Young modern painters participated: Yrjö Ollila (1887-1932), Tyko Sallinen (1879-1955), Eero Neli-markka (1891-1977), Ragnar Ekelund (1892-1960). Unfortunately, there aren't enough sources at the moment in order to say which paintings exactly were presented. This topic is still waiting for proper research.⁷

In the same year, an exhibition of modern Russian art was planned in Helsinki, but soon borders were closed as the revolution had reached Finland. Soon afterwards, a civil war broke out both in Finland and in Russia. This way, connections through art were interrupted. However, this short "art partnership" had been very fruitful for each country despite its brevity. It is with good reason that this period around the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries later received names speaking for themselves: In Finland this period is called the Golden Age of Finnish culture, in Russia, the Silver Age of Russian culture. In memory of this period, and in anticipation of future successful artistic interaction, another exhibition was organised in the Ateneum museum at the one hundredth anniversary of the Russian-Finnish exhibition, in collaboration with the Russian State Museum in St. Petersburg, in 1998.

I conclude this article by affirming that the existence of cultural interaction and integration through art, in today's time of globalisation, is undeniable. By examining similar events in the past, as I have done above, I believe it is possible to improve the whole human condition. Such exercises help us to learn from history – its successes and its failures – and to recognise the importance of art and culture in all societies. Armed with the ability to integrate various elements, we can better understand the past, nurture a

richer artistic environment and make processes of integration more effective in the present, and thereby create a more peaceful world for the future.

Notes

¹ I would like to specify that, like every other topic, it is possible to use art in different purposes. See for example: Gombrich 1939, 1118-1120; Fujimura/ Keller 2009; Campbell 1999. But in my article I would like to consider art as an effective way of integration.

² For instance: Ancient Greek Art, School of Paris (*École de Paris*).

³ Russian painters: M.A. Vrubel "Morning" ("Utro"), 1897. The State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg. V.A. Serov "Girl with peaches" ("Devotchka s persikami"), 1887. The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. A. N. Benois "Versailles. Promenade of the king" ("Versal'. Proglyka korolja"), 1897. The State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg. I.I. Levitan a sketch to the painting "Over Eternal Peace" ("Nad vechnim pokoem"), 1894. The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. A.P. Ryabushkin "A XVII-century Moscow Street on a Holiday" ("Moskovskaja ylisa XVIII veka v prazdnichny den"), 1895. The State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg. K.A. Korovin "Hammerfest. Aurora Borealis" ("Hammerfest. Severnoe sijanie"), 1894-1895. The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. Finnish painters: A. Edelfelt "A child's funeral" ("Lapsen ruumissaatto"), 1879. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki. A. Gallen-Kallela „Lemminkäinen's Mother“ („Lemminkäisen äiti“), 1897. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki. "The defense of the Sampo" ("Sammon puolustus"), 1896. Turku Art Museum, Turku. E. Järnefelt „Playing children“ ("Leikkiviä lapsia"), 1895. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki. "Portrait of Gunnar Berndtson" ("Gunnar Berndtsonin muotokuva"), 1894. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki. P. Halonen "Snow landscape" ("Talvimaisema Myllykylästä"), 1896. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

⁴ Stasov 1952, 221.

⁵ A rave review of these exhibitions held in Germany can serve as a proof for their success; featured in "Die Kunst für Alle" in the last issue of this magazine of 1899.

⁶ Benois 1990, Vol. 1, 489-490; my translation.

⁷ See for example Soili Sinisalo, the former director of the Ateneum mu-

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Images

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Cultural Integration in Early Modern European Courts

Valentina Caldari
Rome

The word *integration* calls to mind something extremely recent, but it is quite clear that the current global society, based on similar needs, is a result of processes that have roots in the past. Culture is probably the field of integration where the inheritance of the past is most evident. My paper will deal with the integration that started in the European royal courts of the early modern age, especially with regard to the educations of crown princes.

Introduction

In general people, literacy, and education are influenced by the outside world, depending on social class, gender and background. What someone learns and the way this knowledge is taught is also influenced by the surrounding context and by well-established social conventions (Stone 1976).

Clearly the majority of children in the early modern age had an education based exclusively on learning how to read and write, if any. For example Bernard de Mandeville, in his “Essay on Charity and Charity Schools (1723), asserts that “reading, writing and mathematics are extremely dangerous for the poor.” Since peasants were destined to a life of pain and hard work, they might as well get used to it from an early age.

But it would be wrong to over-generalise: women were less educated than men and lower social classes were obviously less educated than higher

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ones (this had been so since medieval times and continued in the modern age because children had to work in order to help support their families).

If we pay attention to gender studies, we can see that women had less chance of improving their knowledge, since their instruction was limited to religion, sewing, and home economics and only rarely focused on reading and writing. The low chances that women had to get a proper education were mainly due to two reasons:

- 1) The idea of a female weakness and inferiority
- 2) The use of marriages of convenience as a way to create or strengthen family alliances and the consequent basically limited possibility of a normal childhood for women.

Before analysing in detail the education of princes and princesses, it is useful to make further clarifications: as a matter of fact, during the modern age we can notice a huge rise in the number of people able to read and write, thanks to an increase in population and economic development but most of all to the ideals typical of the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation. Moreover, universities flourished all over Europe; the printing process invented by Johannes Gutenberg revolutionised cultural life and means of communication (Houston 1988).

But the early modern age was also the period in which, according to Ariès (1962), the concept of childhood as a particular “feeling for childhood” originated. In fact in medieval society the idea of childhood was not deemed necessary, as is evident from the fact that there was no knowledge of the characteristics that distinguished children from adults.

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These two elements combined—cultural growth and the new idea of childhood—made possible, during modern age, the resurgence of interest in education and the creation of a widespread and homogeneous culture that was similar in all higher levels of society in Europe.

In fact, if there is a kind of education that we can consider as a symbol of integration, it is clearly the princes and princesses' educations in European courts. Quite often these courts were different in language, ceremonies, or religion, but they were fairly similar in the way their heirs were educated. This small minority was the only one which had access to knowledge beyond reading and writing. My paper will deal with this small and privileged élite.

Princes' and Princesses' Educations

Talking about the princes' education means dealing with all the problems that characterised Europe during the *Ancien Régime*.

Life in European courts required a particularly refined and complete cultural preparation. We can see therefore that differences in education between men and women, typical of the early modern age, did not apply to princes and princesses destined to rule: their instruction was an element that united and integrated European courts in the modern age. As a matter of fact the ruler—whether male or female—had to possess an extremely vast knowledge in order to overcome the difficulties of maintaining the wellbeing of his or her subjects and kingdom.

In fact, in high-ranking families as well as royal families, even a woman had to have the means to govern a country or inherit a title.¹ She had to possess the same capacity of good sense, refinement, and confidence, plus

the same cultural background of a man (based on the classics). Princes and princesses from all over Europe were often educated by the same tutors, who taught them Latin, classical Greek, mathematics, history, foreign languages, music, and dance. During the early modern age it was common to consider a *manly* education for women (for example in the case of Elizabeth I, Queen of England). This cultural integration in modern Europe is clearly valid only for these elites, mostly because only great women had access to an exceptional preparation in order to reign: these women had to combine moral and social qualities together with a wide cultural background.

A great variety of people was involved in the prince's education and the organisation of his time: doctors, tutors, governesses, dancing or fencing teachers, and friends (rigidly selected). It is clearly not easy to teach a child how to rule a country: the heir had to be conscious of his role and status—the young prince or princess was considered much more intelligent than the other children—and he had to have a proper education in order to become a merciful and generous monarch (Elias 1983).

Among the subjects commonly studied in various European courts, history had a special place. The young prince had to use it as an example of the best of what his country's past had to offer. The future ruler particularly had to know his country's history for the purpose of governing correctly. In order to do so, images and paintings were fundamental to the child's education. These children had to confront themselves with glorious kings of the past, who acted as guides because of their *auctoritas*; images were useful to capture the heir's attention, since his young age did not allow long hours of concentration (Ferrari 1996).

***Institutio Principis* as a Literary Genre**

The *institutio principis* is a genre that had huge success during early modern age. The recipient of this genre is obviously the prince, but quite often the *Institutiones*—written by doctors or tutors—became proper manuals on how to rule, useful to all court members. Moreover, the *institution* genre not only deals with the future king's education, but also takes into consideration the role of his advisers and, in general, of all the people that stand beside the king during his reign. The idea of the prince that stands out in the *institutiones* is that of a regal body that, even though so young and childish, is already harmonic and perfect, complete in his power and dignity (Kantorowicz 1957).

The *Institutio principis*' structure has, almost always, these three elements:

- The duty of a Christian king towards God;
- the duty of a king in political affairs;
- the behavior he must have in his private life.

The most famous *Institutiones*, which influenced European princes' educations in the *Ancien Régime* for many years, were *Institutio principis christiani*, written by Erasmus of Rotterdam in 1516, and *De institutione feminae christianae*, written by Juan Luis Vives in 1523. Both of them are fundamental works in order to fully understand the cultural integration regarding heirs' education, typical of European courts.

Erasmus dedicates his work to Charles V² and he writes what he intends to be the perfect manual for princes, articulating every step of his education. He uses classical and biblical models, suggests how much time should be

dedicated to each subject, and advises the principles for choosing the best teachers.

Vives dedicates his work in honor of Catherine of Aragon, Queen of England from 1509 to 1536, in the hope that she can use it for the education of her daughter, Mary Tudor (until that moment she was the only heir to Henry VIII's kingdom).³ The objective of Vives's work is to train the female personality in every phase of her life. Vives's describes specifically female education, the virtue of chastity, the way a woman should behave in public, and a proper work schedule for princess Mary's education.

Case-studies

In order to fully understand what has been said up until now, I would like to focus briefly on two different cases: the education of Henry VIII's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, and the education of Louis XIII of France.

There are many historical documents available for both these cases, for example the *De Institutione feminae christianae* regarding Mary Tudor's education and the *Journal*, written by Doctor Héroard and dedicated to Louis XIII.

A) Mary's and Elizabeth's educations

As in other European courts of the time, Mary and Elizabeth's educations at the English court were handled by great humanists and were similar with regard to the subjects studied. However it is evident that the educations received by the two sisters had completely different outcomes. To understand the reasons, we must observe several important differences in their respective educations.

Carnival XII (2010)

1) The relationships with their mothers

Mary Tudor (1516 – 1558) had a very strong relationship with her mother, the Spanish Catherine of Aragon, from whom she inherited her Catholic faith. Mary felt very strongly her Spanish roots and the obedience to her mother's religion, which plays a constant and important part in her life. As a result of her Catholic and Spanish roots, as soon as Mary became queen of England in 1553 she wanted to avenge her mother⁴ and married the Catholic King Philip II of Spain.⁵

Elizabeth (1533-1603) on the other hand, due to the fact that her mother, Anne Boleyn, was executed when she was only two years old in 1536, had neither such a strong bond nor any memory of her mother. Furthermore, Elizabeth grew up hearing the constant rumors surrounding her mother and the feeling of hate that the people and the court felt for Anne Boleyn, defined as “the kingdom's biggest prostitute.” For these reasons, when Elizabeth became queen she never spoke about Anne in her speeches in Parliament, quoting only her Tudor roots: she was Henry VIII's daughter and did not consider her mother an important part of her ancestry.⁶

2) Tutors

Mary's most important tutor was Juan Luis Vives, a great humanist appointed by Catherine of Aragon to handle her daughter's education. Vives – as mentioned previously – dedicated his most important and original work, *De Institutione feminae christianae* to Princess Mary. The Spanish humanist wanted to teach Mary how to defend herself from temptations thanks to her education and culture: for this reason he chooses pages from the Bible or the Church Fathers. In his work, Vives focuses on the way a

young Christian woman should behave. For this reason he starts writing chapters about virginity, describing the examples to follow and the way to behave on public occasions. Then Vives explains the way in which a girl should be educated. He outlines a working plan that Mary must follow, beginning with the study of the Latin language (first with grammar, than syntax, without forgetting to exercise her memory).

Elizabeth's tutors came from the humanist entourage of Cambridge and were all Protestants. They were important scholars such as Roger Ascham, who believed that culture is fundamental to outline the identity and personality of a human being (Erickson 1983). Elizabeth's studies were focused on foreign languages and history, including such authors as Tacitus, Demosthenes, and Cicero. Henry VIII's second daughter was highly admired from childhood on for her extraordinary and precocious skills; what actually impressed people the most were not her abilities per se, but the fact that a woman had such impressive knowledge. An intelligent and educated woman in the early modern age was considered an exception, a *freak of nature*.

3) Religion

Mary was a Catholic from birth: she felt the trouble surrounding her parents' controversial divorce and the conversion to Anglicanism; it was a very upsetting experience for Mary, which scarred her for life (Erickson 1998).

Elizabeth, on the contrary, was born in an Anglican context, without any influence from the Church of Rome; she would soon become the champion of Protestantism. There was obviously a political motivation behind

her choice to be an Anglican, since her religion allowed her to be the queen (because it legalised the divorce between Catherine and Henry VIII and her right to the throne).

We must refer to these three differences to understand why similar educations could result in such a different outcome in a culturally integrated Europe.⁷

B) Louis XIII' s education

In France, Louis XIII (1601-1643), son of Henry IV and the Italian Marie de' Medici, had an education that is a fitting example of a prince's formation. We have a detailed record of it, thanks to his doctor, Héroard, who wrote down the most relevant news on the French king every day for 27 years. The *Journal* is clearly part of a pedagogical strategy which should accustom the young prince to a life of total and absolute visibility: for this reason every move of the future king had a special meaning and importance, highlighted by the words of his doctor. Héroard deals with every aspect of the Dauphin of France: for example he gives great importance to the way Prince Louis dresses, showing how important a child's clothes were in his growth and transformation from child to adult. This transformation happened quite early, when the prince was seven, an age considered right all over Europe to allow the child to participate in adult life. This was especially so in young princes' lives, since they had to learn before everyone else the responsibilities that their future role required.

In fact when Louis XIII was seven years old he abandoned children's clothes (Ariès 1962); according to Héroard he was meanwhile required to stop playing children's games so that he could start to learn fencing and

horseback riding. The key subjects in his education at the French court were history, geography, the art of war, and good manners. Louis XIII received the same education that the aristocratic class had and took fencing and horseback riding lessons from the same teacher, De Pluvinel.

The resemblance in the heir's education to that of other members of court was a constant factor in all European courts; this ended in France in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the worship of the king typical of absolutism created a deep separation between the prince and all other human beings, even members of the nobility.

Conclusions

We can safely say that cultural integration in Europe started and flourished in European courts during the modern age, since they spoke the same language, read the same books, and followed the same rules of etiquette. Education in European courts became the expression of a reality which included very different nationalities, so that courts can be considered the expression of cultural and social unity in Europe. The sons and daughters of Europe's aristocracy had the same tutors who taught them the same subjects: Latin, sometimes classical Greek, mathematics, history, French, Spanish, music, dancing, painting.

When the idea of the nation-state was born, especially in France, those features belonging to European courts – with proper adjustments – were converted into national characteristics (Elias 1978). In fact, many countries found guidelines in the heritage of its manorial past to define its identity of nation-state.

Notes

¹ Clearly not in countries where the Salic law prevailed, where it was impossible for a woman to inherit the throne.

² Charles V (1500 – 1558) was ruler of the Holy Roman Empire beginning in 1519 and, as Charles I of Spain, of the Spanish realms from 1506 until his abdication in 1556. His realm has been described as "the empire on which the sun never sets."

³ Mary was the only child of Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, to survive infancy.

⁴ When Pope Clement VII refused to annul the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, Henry defied him by assuming supremacy over religious matters. Catherine refused to accept Henry as Supreme Head of the Church of England and considered herself, as did most of England and Europe, the king's rightful wife and queen until her death.

⁵ Philip (1527-1598) was the son of Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire and his consort Isabella of Portugal.

⁶ For example in the speech delivered by Elizabeth to the land forces assembled at Tilbury to repel the anticipated invasion of the Spanish Armada, 1588: "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too."

⁷ The fact that the educations of the two sisters led to such different results should not be considered a sign that Europe was not culturally integrated

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Old Believer Women's Functions in the Novgorod Diocese in the Second Half of the 19th Century

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Debrecen

The famous American cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead, having studied different primitive traditional groups, elaborated a hypothesis stating that in any group, community or society, gender roles are determined by social and cultural conditions rather than by biological factors. (Pushkareva 2007, 351) In this context anthropologists, ethnologists and ethnopsychologists claim that the prevalent culture as well as social exercises (meaning different spheres of social activities) mutually influence gender stereotypes.

The hypothesis mentioned above can be connected with most religious communities and groups. Even though Church as such is one of the most conservative institutions, scientists suggest that roles of men and women in a particular religious community are constantly changing. (Bapuchina 2006, 182)

To understand the reasons of changes in male and female roles in any religious society, we need to consider society as a whole organism. For this, functionalism is the magic key. According to functionalism, any culture, in this context the culture of Old Believers' ethno-confessional groups, is a single organism consisting of various interrelated parts. Each part has its specific role, its specific function. According to the functionalist school of ethnography, function is the satisfaction of an organic need in any given cultural organism.

In the case of Old Believers communities, which were being built up in Russia in the 17th century, scientists say Old Believer women had a different status than the one Pravoslavian women generally had (Kerov 2006, 14). In this regard, P. S. Smirnov, one of the leading researchers of the history of Old Belief, in his book "The Women's Significance in the History of Russian Old Belief", says:

„Among the researchers there is an interest in women's situation. In the situation of the Old Believer women researchers found the “ancient Slavic equality of the two sexes” and a kind of liberal women's emancipation.” (Smirnov 1902, 14)

In this article we are going to consider P. Smirnov's views on the following functionalist and gender issues: Under what conditions could women play an important role in Old Believers Communities? What functions were performed by women in the Old Believers' ethno-confessional group? What were the requirements for the women's functions?

Answering the first question, it can be said that it is already a well known fact that women could participate in the spiritual life of the Old Believers. Ethnographic material shows that Old Believer women could participate in the holy service and that they taught and trained children to read and to learn about their own religion.

For example, in 1907 the ethnographer Abramov wrote about the Old Believers women in Vetke:

„Lay-sisters/converts devote themselves to being unmarried women, most of them are middle-aged, they call themselves "the bride of the Christ". They live in a cellule (*keleika*). Many of them are teaching holy hymns and reading prayer-books to children.” (Abramov 1907, 14)

Old Believer women could take various functions, for example: *Psalomshik* - psalmist, one who sang during the holy services; *Keleinik* – lay-sister, convert, who lived in a little cell, called *keleika*, she read and studied holy texts, occupied herself with crafts and educated children; *Ustavshik* – head chorister, pious and literate lay-woman, who knew well the church's charter and a lot of holy songs. She conducted the reading and singing in the choir during church services (Staroobriadchestvo 1996, 286).

However, we can say that the abovementioned functions that women could perform in the spiritual life of the Old Believers still did not prove that women played a special role in the community of the Old Believers as such. After all, in other religious groups, women were able to participate in and perform different functions during church services as well. This, for example, applies to Catholicism, where the institute of diaconia already existed at the time of the Fathers of the Church (Ber-Sizhel 2002, 163); or in Protestantism, where it was still widespread.

On the other hand, it has to be mentioned that old believer women could be *nastavnik* - minister as well. The *nastavnik* was the spiritual leader of the priest-less Old Believers, rector of the church or chapel, head of the church, performing rites (Staroobriadshestvo 1996, 181). They were lay-people, elected by the members of the community.

This phenomenon has its own dogmatic reasons: after the Russian Schism at the end of the 17th century, Old Believers argued there was the kingdom of the Antichrist in the Russian Church. Accordingly, Old Believers declared the priests of the Church of the Antichrist could not be accepted. Therefore, Old Believers introduced the function of the *mentor*, which

could be performed by both men and women. As can easily be seen, depending on the Old Believers' needs, different functions were created and performed by women throughout the centuries (Zenkovskii 2007, 466-468).

In this regard, from the point of view of the institution's functions and needs, it can be established that women in the Old Believers' ethno-confessional groups could be mentors in order to fulfil a need that had developed due to lack of priests.

In what follows, we will have to consider in detail the conditions under which women could perform functions that have been formed due to a lack of priests in the Old Believers' community. For this purpose, we are going to analyse archival documents of the Novgorod Province from 1853 which are now stored in the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA).

Analysing material about the distribution of Old Belief in Russia (having been prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs) we can determine the following data: How many chapels were located in residential peasant huts? How many of them were owned by women? In how many peasant huts being owned by men could women take different functions? (See Table 1 in the appendix to this article.)

In connection with table one, we first have to emphasise that the Russian Government limited the Old Believers's right to create places for public prayer, cemeteries, houses of worship and to celebrate holy services at private houses until 1905 (Ershova 1999, 130).

In the Novgorod province, in 1853 the number of Old Believers amounted

to 57,702 people, 33,507 of which were women. The number of chapels located in residential peasant huts added up to 50, *ten* of which belonged to women. Unfortunately, from these materials, we cannot find more information about life in these 10 peasant huts.¹

However, there is no doubt that in some peasant huts, owned by men instead of women, the latter could also take different functions. In this case, women could take different functions under the guidance of a mentor, but, as can be seen from the table, the number of such women was small. Hence, despite there having been relatively few of them, some women could play a significant role in the life of the Old Believers' community. This observation is confirmed by an article in the journal *Tserkovnij Vestnik* of the Novgorod region in 1877. The article was about the Old Believers in the town of Krestcah in the Novgorod diocese.

„Krestetskie fedoseevtsy [one of the Old Believers groups] were preparing to pray in the settlement, in the house of Dmitry Pershin. Their mentor, *nastavnik*, was Ivan Kuzmin. The holy service was guided by an old woman, Maria Yakovleva Haricheva, about whom was mainly said that she led this Old Believer community." (Svashiennik 1877, 9)

Thus, women could take different functions not only because of the above-mentioned doctrinal reason having developed primarily due to lack of priests, but because of some other reasons, as becomes clear when reading the journal *Tserkovnij Vestnik*. Thus Old Believer women could perform their own function and played a significant role in the Old Believers' ethno-confessional group, due to, for instance, the mentor's illiteracy.

We shall now continue asking what kinds of important roles women could actually play in the life of Old Believers. From the abovementioned Nov-

gorod material, we can retrieve data about women taking at least one of the functions. In order to do this, we are going to examine Novgorod material displaying details of the key/important persons having had a particular impact in maintaining the split in the Novgorodskiy, Krestetskiy, Kirilovskiy, Danilovskiy and Tikhvinskiy counties. Now we are going to analyse data about the following issues: what is the proportion of the important persons in the Old Believers groups? What age are the important persons of the female sex? What is the marital status of the principal important persons of the female sex? (See Table 2.)

Concerning the first of these questions, it has to be mentioned that in these five counties the number of Old Believer women amounted to 22,865, among which only 40 women were considered to belong to the main Old Believer persons.²

With regard to the age composition of women, we only have data about 37 Old Believer women. Table 3 shows the age composition in the five abovementioned counties of the Novgorod Province. As can be seen, most often mature Old Believer women could be key persons in the Old Believers' ethno-confessional groups.

If we want to examine the marital status we only have data about eighteen women: four of them were widows, the others girls/ virgins.³ It is obvious that much more often than not, unmarried women were principal persons among Old Believer women. Talking about the Old Believer women's marital status, we have to explain why so many unmarried women, and, on the contrary, so few widows were to be found among the most important persons in the Old Believers' community. The reason for this is that unmarried women had no family and children, accordingly, they had more

time to deal with other issues, which in this case were religious ones. Incidentally, in this context we can highlight the fact that, before women's emancipation took place, in most of the cases religion was the area where women could play a significant role outside the family and household life (Paert 2003, 26-30).

To get the answer to the question concerning which Old Believer women could take what functions in the Old Believers' ethno-confessional group, we need to analyse the relationship between their age composition and marital status.

If some unmarried women could fulfil the needs that had developed due to the lack of priests, can we then perhaps conclude that this was a function performed only by unmarried women in the Old Believer groups? Apparently, this is not exactly the case because, considering the age composition and marital status of the main female Old Believer persons, we can see that it is impossible to clearly define that only unmarried women were main persons in Old Believer groups. Besides, widows have to be taken into consideration as well. Thus, combining data about the age composition and marital status of Old Believer women, on the one hand we can see that many of the important Old Believer women were fairly old. On the other hand, of course, the relationship between age and marital status can be interpreted in many different ways.

This raises an important question: what do single women and widows have in common? They have, although for differing reasons, neither family nor children. Therefore, if we consider this issue from the perspective of women's functions, the data presented indicates that in addition to meeting the needs of the situation in the absence of priests, another function of

women did exist. This function was children's procreation, reproduction from generation to generation.

Thus, we can conclude that in the Old Believers' ethno-confessional group, as a cultural unit, women had two functions, one of them being the fulfilment of various religious needs and the other being the satisfaction of the most natural need: the birth of children.

We will now come back to Margaret Mead's thesis, stating that in any group, community, or society, gender roles are determined by social and cultural conditions rather than by biological factors. In consideration of what has been mentioned above, it can be argued that from the functionalist point of view, this thesis is not entirely fair since the function of the birth of children is biologically determined and primary. Accordingly, it is only after the satisfaction of this need that another one can be fulfilled. This also applies to the Old Believers community, where unmarried and older women could fulfil other needs that developed due to lack of priests.

However, this is only one side of the coin. With respect to the reverse side, we cannot agree with Margaret Mead's stressing the important role of the various spheres of social and cultural activities having an impact on gender stereotypes. As can be seen from another function of women in the Old Believer group, the solving of the problem arising from the lack of priests, women could indeed take different social and cultural functions.

All in all, on the one hand women were integrated into the Russian Old Believer society because of the Russian State and the Russian Schism in the 17th century. These can be called external factors. On the other hand, there were also internal factors such as Old Believer traditions that

evolved over several centuries, in different territories, and in different Old Believer groups. But it is the task of the author of another article to take these factors into consideration.

Notes

¹ RGIA. f. 1661. op. 1. d. 455. and f. 796. op. 136. d.512.

² RGIA. f. 1661. op. 1. d. 455. and f. 796. op. 136. d.512.

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County	Valdaiskiy	Novgorodskiy	Krestetskiy	Kirilovskiy	Danilovskiy	Cserepovskiy	Tikh- vinskiy
Houses of worship	3	10	14	5	5	6	7
Women's own houses of worship	0	1	3	1	2	1	2
Women ta- king at least one function	2	1	„A few old virgins“**	0	0	0	0

Table 1: Women's houses of worship and functions

Compiled on the basis of aggregated data: RGIA, f. 1661, op. 1, d. 455, and f. 796, op. 136, d.512.
*RGIA f. 796, op. 136, d.512. l. 128.

County	Novgorodskiy	Krestetskiy	Kirilovskiy	Danilovskiy	Tikhvinskiy
Total population	26	28	22	7	29
Proportion of se- xes (m-f)	21-5	22-6	14-8	4-3	11-18

Table 2: Populations and male-female ratios

Compiled on the basis of aggregated data: RGIA, f. 1661, op. 1, d. 455, and f. 796, op. 136, d.512.

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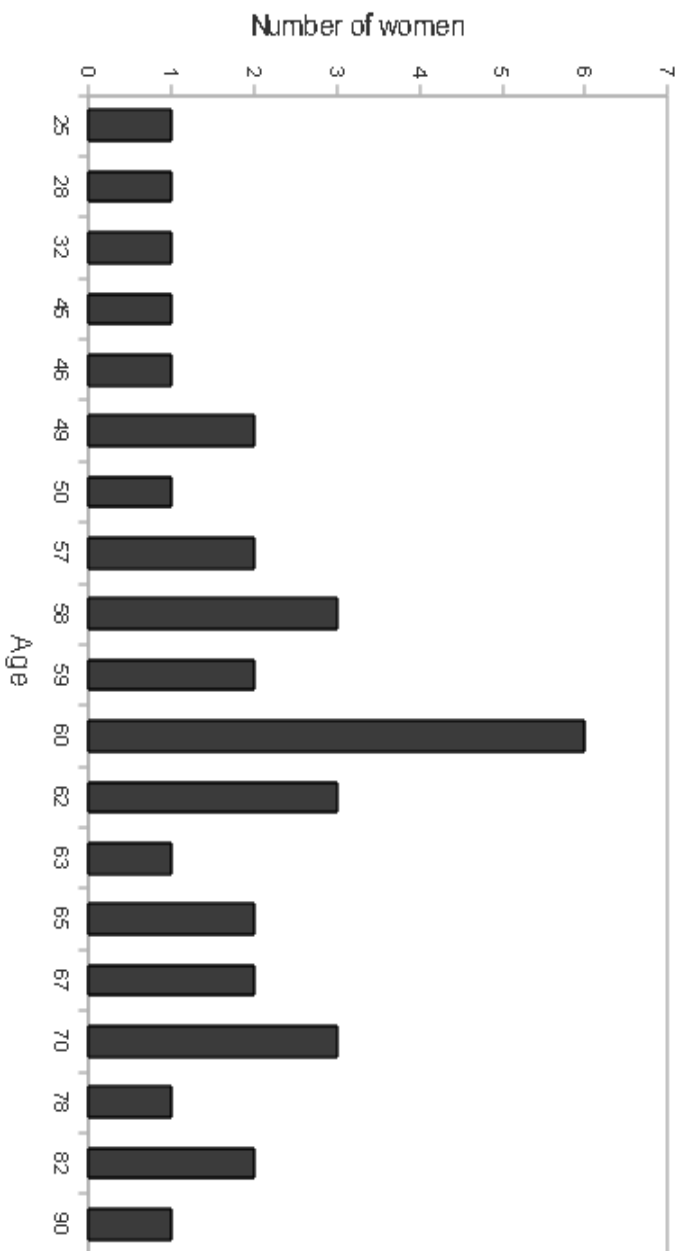


Table 3: Age structure

Compiled on the basis of aggregated data: RGIA, f. 1661, op. 1, d. 455, and f. 796, op. 136, d. 512.

Changing Street Names – Changing Identity

Anita Buhin

Pula

Introduction

The 20th century was turbulent for the city of Pula. Periods of poverty and periods of prosperity were alternating. The creation of a stable identity proved difficult mostly because few families would continuously live in Pula. Croatians, Serbs, Slovenians, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, Poles, Romanians, and many other nations passed through Pula, leaving their mark on its history. For more than a hundred years, fugitiveness can be read on everyone's faces: "No, we are not from here. We are here just because ." ¹ Every new government tried to invent identity. One of the ways was renaming streets.

Identity

The identity of the city comes out of the identity of its inhabitants. National identity is particularly important. To belong to a national community covers emotional emptiness, a result of disintegration, disappearance or non-existence of real communities (Hobsbawm 2003, 53). National identity is built on culture, language and customs. The present is justified with chosen and appropriate parts of history (Nora 2007, 141). Historical science is used for the geographical, political and cultural determination of nations, and it simultaneously becomes a part of national ideology (Blagoni 2004, 11). It is the most important tool used to establish (an often false) continuity with a heroic past so that a new tradition should be invented. Hobsbawm defines *invented tradition* as a "set of practices, normally

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governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm 2008, 1). At the same time, mental focus on certain objects erases particular historic events from collective memory (Zerubavel 2007, 170-171). Community becomes homogenous because every member has the same experience and the same postulates (Connerton 2004, 8). Further cohesion of a group is achieved by the creation of new symbols and rituals, flag, anthem and coat of arms. There are also invisible symbols with which we are faced in everyday life, namely stamps, banknotes, names of streets and squares, schools and institutions, and so on. These social souvenirs also represent an attempt to save the memory of important individuals and events of collective history for next generations (Zerubavel 2007, 182).

Political rituals and symbols, the construction of new “old” history and tradition become important and visible when one authority is dethroned and replaced with another (Auguštin Rihtman 2000, 10). It especially becomes obvious if governance and regimes are changed rapidly. Memory detraction is a result of fast transformation of society (Connerton 2004, 23). The resulting emptiness is attempted to be filled with “fake memories”. Hence, there is a need for visual and material signs, such as boards with street, square and park names. Citizens get used to street names that are becoming part of their identity, so it is difficult to accept new names, even if modern anthropology explains identity shifting as something not uncommon (Auguštin Rihtman 2000, 229). The example of the city of Pula, which changed four completely different authorities over the last 150 years, is perfect for research about collective identity construction and deconstruction.

History of Pula (1848-2008)

Revolutionary events in Venice in 1848 put Pula in the centre of strategic and economic interest of the Habsburg Monarchy. The former auxiliary arsenal was slowly transformed to the main naval base of the Monarchy. New workplaces were opened, so that many workers settled in Pula with their families. For the first time in its rich history, Pula was spreading out of its city walls. The poorest part of the town was the so-called *barracks*, mostly inhabited with Croats employed in the arsenal. The area above the amphitheatre with its mixed population of Italians and Croats had Mediterranean spirit, in contrast to the newly built St. Polikarp district, the Austrian and German elite part of town. The historical core retained its Venetian character, although Central European influences were slowly appearing thanks to new shops and entertainment resorts, such as the Marine Casino (Duda1999-2000, 109). Separation of public space was a sign of intolerance between different nations. Even though it had often been emphasized that Pula was a cosmopolitan town, it was obviously Italian because of culture and language, so everyone wanted to assimilate (Balota 2005, 79). With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Pula became the centre of military training. In 1918, the Croatian national board ruled the town for a week, but in the end Pula was given to Italy with the international peace treaty (Buršić 2005, 230-231).

During the Italian rule, Pula was not the main naval base anymore, and the arsenal was converted to a private shipyard of merchant ships, *Cantiere navale Scoglio Olivi* (Dukovski 1998, 87). Pula was of marginal interest for Italy, and it went through a slow decay. In the first few years of the Italian reign, approximately 20,000 residents of Pula left their hometown for political and economic reasons (Dukovski 1998, 140). Those were

mostly Croats, especially after the triumph of fascism. The main characteristic of fascism in Istria was violent and forcible Italianisation together with the negation of Croatian and Slovenian identity. The capitulation of Italy in 1943 caused mass euphoria in Pula, but German troops soon occupied the town (Buršić 2005, 265). The allies started to bomb the town in 1944 and 40% of all residential objects were destroyed (Buršić 2005, 274). At the same time, the People Liberation Movement (*Narodnooslobodilački pokret – NOP*) spread rapidly and fought against the occupants every day. On 7 May 1945, the partisans entered Pula (Buršić 2005, 266-272). Once again, foreigners were deciding about Pula's destiny. The following two years passed in anticipation of a union with its homeland; for one party it was Croatia, i.e. Yugoslavia, for the other Italy. When Istria was ceded to Croatia in 1947, the second exodus of population started, but this time, it was the Italians. Reasons were different, from fear of communism and revenge to intense Italian propaganda. Over the following few years, around 28,000 Italians left Pula (Dukovski 2004, 71).

The new public governance strove to reform the school system and to educate people, but for the entire decade, the Istrovenetian dialect was still the bourgeoisie language (Bertoša 2007, 42-43). The disappearance of the Istrovenetian dialect in the late 1950s was a result of natural acculturation, but the many newly-arriving Serbian officers also had an important role because they did not understand the specific situation in Istria (Bertoša 2007, 48-49). Pula had once again become a military town, often called "little Yugoslavia" (Orbanić 2005, 349). The liberalisation of political life in Yugoslavia in the 1960s was felt in Pula, too. Tourism started to develop, but it never reached its maximum because it was impossible to be military, industrial and tourist centre at the same time (Dukovski 2005,

335). While the 1970s were characterised by industry, economy, culture, health and education development, in the 1980s a financial crisis occurred together with political turmoil.

In the year 1990, the situation drastically changed; Yugoslavia was disintegrating and a multiparty system replaced totalitarianism. War started and Pula became one of the centres for refugees. Once again, drastic simultaneous depopulation and repopulation occurred, at the same time identities and mentalities were changing (Orbanić 2005, 356-361). In Istria, the Istrian Democratic Assembly (*Istarski demokratski sabor – IDS*) was founded and it became controversial because of its regional autonomy program. Politics of separation continued and the antagonism between Istria and the political centre Zagreb deepened until a new, liberal government came to power in 2001. In 2008, Pula was still searching for its identity.

Architexture of Pula²

The spreading of town and the immigration of thousands of workers during the Austro-Hungarian period made it necessary for the authorities to give names to more streets (Krizmanić 2008, 98). Even though they were mostly in the Italian language, derived from Italian culture and history (Via Dante, Via Carlo Franceschi, Via Petrarca), the streets in the city centre were named after Austro-Hungarian monarchs (Corsia Francesco Giuseppe I, Via Massimiliano, Via Francesco Ferdinando, Molo Elisabetta). The Germans wanted to implant a strong military mark on town (Piazza Tegetthoff, Via Sterneck, Via Radetzky), but it is doubtful if they really succeeded because even the names of monarchs were italianised.

Only a month after the takeover of Pula, the Italian administration re-

named the streets (Krizmanić 2008, 104). Many remained unchanged because they could be related to the Italian past more than to the Austro-Hungarian. Special concern was focused on important dates of recent Italian history, such as the entry of Italian troops in Pula (Via V Novembre), the March on Rome (Via XXVIII Ottobre), etc. In 1938, fascism was culminating and there were further changes in nomenclature. Some of the leading fascists got their own streets (Via Ettore Muti, Via Italo Balbo). Italian colonial pretensions were evident (Via Eritreia, Via Libia), as well as Italian irredentism (Via Thaon di Revel, Via Nazario Sauro). In August 1943, after the fall of fascism, five street and two square names were immediately changed, but as soon as the Germans occupied Pula, the old fascist names were restored (Krizmanić 2008, 105).

In 1948, when the communists took power, they decided to wipe out the memory of fascism, so streets were renamed again. Street nomenclature was deeply involved with communist ideology (Trg Crvena zvijezda, Trg Bratstva i jedinstva, Park Marksa i Engelsa, Ulica Vladimira Iljiča Lenjina) (Auguštín Rihtman 2000, 421-429). The Italian identity of town had to be deleted, so Italian historical persons were replaced with Yugoslav and Croat (Ulica Petra Preradovića, Ulica Ruđera Boškovića, Ulica Petra Petrovića Njegoša, Ulica Svetozara Markovića). The main characteristic of the period of socialism was the memory of the People's Liberation War (*Narodnooslobodilačka borba – NOB*). About 1,300 persons were designated as national heroes, and streets, schools, factories, etc. were named after them (Auguštín Rihtman 2000, 182). Numerous Yugoslav antifascists Pula's were honoured (e.g. Vladimir Gortan, Anka Butorac, Rade Končar). This example also shows complex Istrian ethnicity because even those with Italian roots were respected (e.g. Aldo Negri, Mario Lussi,

Giulio Revelante).

In the end of 1991, the first wave of street renaming was completed because of the new political situation (Krizmanić 2008, 117). All communist and Yugoslavian symbols were removed (Trg AVNOJ-a, Trg Bratstva i jedinstva, Trg Jugoslavenske mornarice). The final renaming occurred in 1993 after serious discussions. For the first time, names did not have to be ideologically marked. Albeit 49% of the old names in Pula were left unchanged, almost the entire historical centre was renamed in the way that older street names, those in use before 1947, were returned. Experts thought that the historical centre had to be named after prehistoric, ancient, medieval and early modern events and persons (Nezakcijska ulica, Flanatička ulica, Ulica Castropola) (Bertoša 2008, 11). Attilio Krizmanić, the coordinator of the team for new nomenclature, explained that Pula had to “get a recognisable identity and abundant tradition through renewed urban nomenclature and a kind of historical portrait, in which its multi-millennium cultural-historical stratification will be expressed” (Krizmanić 2008, 116).

Symbolism of street names

Some streets are strongly marked with ideology. They are usually situated in the centre of town, followed in the first place by the biggest roads which connect certain neighbourhoods with the centre, and in the second, by parks with monuments.

One of the most important streets of every coastal town is the one by its seafront. In Pula, this street was one of the most popular promenade routes. Its first official name was registered in 1869 (Via della Pescheria) and did not have any symbolic meaning. It referred to the main character-

istic of the street (the fish market), which was usual at that time. Following the next amendment of official nomenclature in 1886, the seafront got the name that would mark it for the next one-hundred years; precisely, until 1991 it would be named after the ruler, regardless of which type of regime. At first, it was the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph I (Corsia Francesco Giuseppe I, from 1916 Riva Imperatore Francesco Giuseppe I), during fascism Victor Emmanuel III, Italian king (Riva Vittorio Emanuele III), and in the end Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslav president (Obala Maršala Tita).

It can be observed that street names from the periods of Austrian rule and socialism were strongly marked with the ruler's title. Franz Joseph was the *imperatore*, and this is particularly accentuated in 1916 with the culmination of the First World War; while Tito had always been characterised with his military title of marshal. It could be argued that not putting the Italian king's title in the seafront name could be a sign that he was not appreciated as the real ruler of the country, but it could also have been just a result of different Italian customs. In 1991, the street was simply named by the Croatian term for seafront – Riva. It is true that it has finally been freed from ideologisation, but it has lost importance and specificity because of a name too simple. "In the end, the three thousand year old town at least has a reserve if a new big boss appears" (Ancelj, *Glas Istre*, 2003).

Case study

In a case study, I examined whether citizens can easily accept new street nomenclature or whether the collective memory of past times is stronger. The generation of 1992/1993 was chosen because the last change in street names was made at that time, so the teenagers have lived their whole life officially surrounded with new street names.

It can be concluded that old names have still been used more than new ones. The best part of the questionnaire was left blank or the answer was “I don’t know”. The number of unanswered questions varies from 23 to 63%. It seems that street names are irrelevant, but something else is used for communication in space; it is the facilities significant for some street, e.g. a McDonalds restaurant, high school buildings, the main city pharmacy, etc.

Conclusion

This paper tried to show the importance of sometimes imperceptible symbols like street names. They seem to be very important for every new authority because they include all the culture, the history and the ideology of the regime. The change of street names can be seen as an indicator of government pressure. In less turbulent periods, names were less ideologically and politically marked. As soon as troubles appeared or when authorities needed to reinforce their power, street names were changed. Whether a government was totalitarian or not, it tried to invent a new identity for the city and its inhabitants; but at the same time, citizens persisted to adapt to the new situation. Time will show whether the 21st century will bring political and cultural stability to the inhabitants of Pula.

Notes

¹ Franjo Horvat-Kiš: *Istarski puti* (Zagreb: 1996), 189; quoted after: Duda 2004, 167.

² The term architecture was introduced by Maoz Azaryahu. It refers to the totality of architecture as signified and to the text as signifier. See: Augštin Rihtman 2000, 51-52.

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Czechoslovakia and Poland – Conflicts in a Next-Door Relationship

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The end of the First World War significantly influenced the history of Central and Eastern Europe. The Habsburg monarchy collapsed and in its place, new countries strived to fill in the power vacuum. Their existence was to be guaranteed by the “Versailles system”, which was in the words of one of the most influential economists of the world, John Maynard Keynes, “a recipe for an economic catastrophe and future war” (Johnson 1991, 34). It was a system based on unilateral contracts between victorious, defeated, and newly created states regarding cooperation and the outlining of new borders. However, its function was jeopardised from the start, due to the United States of America not taking a significant part in its creation. The USA withdrew from the League of Nations (despite Woodrow Wilson being the original creator of the concept of collective security) and took the stand of isolationism towards Europe. Great Britain was also unhappy with the new order in Europe mainly due to the fact that Germany was severely weakened and its archrival France got considerably stronger. It was also frustrated with the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian kingdom and the “balkanisation” of Europe. If we keep in mind that Russia was not part of the League due to being in a bloody civil war and that Germany was defeated, France was the only country that guaranteed the proper functioning of the Versailles system.

Based on the proper functioning of this system was the continuing existence of new European states like Czechoslovakia and Poland. From a

certain point of view it might seem that both states were destined to work together rather than fight each other. However, already at the start of the Versailles negotiations the main problems popped up, which would outline the future conflicts of these two countries and were the cause of the failing cooperation during the interwar period. These problems were the consequence of the struggle of both these states to fulfil their power ambitions in Central Europe. After the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, the weakening of Germany, and the exhaustion of Russia due to the civil war, a power vacuum was created in Central Europe, which both Czechoslovakia and Poland were trying to fill. This struggle culminated at the Paris peace conference when conflict regarding the common borders of these states arose for the first time. Here the conception of both states differed radically, mainly concerning three border areas: Tešín/Cieszyn, Orava/Orawa, and Spiš/Spisz.

The ideas behind the conflict were similar in both countries. Economic interests played a big part. One of these was the traditional Polish-Hungarian trade. With the creation of Czechoslovakia and mainly due to the incorporation of Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia into the new republic, Poland lost its common border with Hungary. This endangered the export of Galician Oil into Hungary because of a tariff barrier. The Polish delegation at the peace conference protested against the incorporation of Ruthenia into Czechoslovakia and demanded its “return” to Hungary. Economic conflicts escalated further regarding the Tešín area due to rich coal reserves situated here. Tešín had been part of the Czech lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and therefore was supposed to be a part of Czechoslovakia in its old borders after the war as well. But the area also had a strong Polish minority, especially nearest to Poland (approximately

60 percent of the population), which openly advocated the integration of the whole of Tešín into Poland. The local self-governments of the Czechs and Poles concluded an interim agreement regarding the division of the area which was signed on November 5th, 1918 (Pelc 1928, 189-192). The division was based on ethnic composition. However, by 1919 the interim administrations were dissolved and the official governments in Prague and Warsaw stated that the division had been illegal. In particular, the crucial railway connecting the Czech lands with Slovakia (Bohumín-Košice railway) went through the region and access to the railway was vital (Žáček 2004, 314). The conflict escalated to the point where the Polish side wanted to hold elections in the whole area of Tešín, which however was not agreed upon in the interim division. The Czechoslovak government answered with sending their army and the Seven Day War started. Its outcome was that Czechoslovakia gained some of the Polish occupied territory, also due to the fact that Poland was preoccupied fighting with the West Ukrainian republic at that time. A further conflict was stopped by the Entente powers which promised to send a commission to determine the proper borders. The final border was set on the Olša River, which did not fully follow the ethnic borders in Tešín meaning that large communities of both the Czechs and Poles remained in the other. The relationship between Poland and Czechoslovakia remained strained. During the Polish-Russian war of 1920-1921, the Czechoslovak government refused to let trains pass through its borders that transported war materials from Hungary and France. Polish emigrants from other parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire were also presented with considerable obstacles when they had to travel through Czechoslovakia.

On the other hand, the Polish government supported Slovak irredentists

and proclaimed – although not openly – a common Polish and Hungarian border. The final borders between Poland and Czechoslovakia were established by an official commission in February 1924. This included the areas of Tešín, Northern Spiš and Orava. Northern Spiš and Orava, situated in the north of Slovakia, were by far not as economically important as Tešín with its population of approx. 400,000. There were no natural resources, nor was the population high in numbers (approx. 18,000) (Orlof 2000, 160); it was however a strategically important area in the High Tatras. Nevertheless, the Polish government actively proclaimed that these areas should be part of Poland. It based this assumption on the proclamation that the local population that called themselves “Goral” (in translation meaning something like “person living in mountains”) was of Polish descent. This population was living on the northern borders of old Austria-Hungary and was therefore influenced in language and habits by both the Slovaks and the Poles. The people living there were of mixed descent (Germans, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Poles), although the vast majority was Slovak as these lands had been a part of Austria-Hungary before the First World War and therefore part of Slovakia as well, if the former borders were to be taken as a guideline. After the commission decided the official borders, people living in Northern Spiš and Orava found themselves in Poland, numbering a total of twenty-five villages in Northern Orava and Spiš, with a total of 18,000 inhabitants. The local population presented their wishes by an open referendum where 86 percent of the population voted for joining the Czechoslovak republic; however their wishes were not fulfilled (Miškovič 1941, 62-64). Unfortunate as it was during that time, no official referendum was held in the contested lands, so that the will of the local population was not even considered. Everything was decided by foreign

commissions sent in from France, which only worsened the situation. Although the Polish community in Tešín was considerable and a different approach might have been better when deciding the proper ethnic borders there, in Spiš and Orava a great majority of people did not want to live in Poland.

With the official borders established, the question of integrating the population into the correspondent country arose. As we mentioned earlier the inhabitants of Spiš and Orava were influenced by both the Polish and Slovak language. Due to this fact they were not seen as a minority in Poland but rather as Poles who had partially lost their national identity. The first step of the Polish government regarding these areas was the elimination of Slovak schools and administration. This caused severe problems with the local population because this step was seen as an effort to root out its habits and unique language. Local schools with Slovak language classes were closed and the teachers were forced either to learn Polish or to emigrate into Czechoslovakia. Local parsons who had been preaching in the Slovak language for years were exchanged with Polish ones, and Polish was henceforth the only language allowed in churches (Ciagwa 1995, 12-13). This situation lasted until the outbreak of the Second World War. The situation of the Polish minority in Tešín was somewhat different. The official attitude of the Czechoslovak government towards minorities was softer, due to the fact that a great part of the inhabitants in the whole Czechoslovak Republic were of different origins. There were big communities of Germans, Hungarians, Poles, and Ukrainians. To keep a country with so many different nations together, it was necessary to establish language and social freedom for the minorities. This enabled the Polish minority in Tešín, numbering approximately 68,000 to keep their schools and

also the right to use the Polish language officially to at least some extent. However they were being assimilated into the Czech community as time passed on.

Up until the 1930s the relationship between Czechoslovakia and Poland calmed down a bit, however the new regime in Poland, established by veteran army general Józef Piłsudski in the mid-twenties, had hidden intentions in case the political situation in Europe would destabilise. This however was not the case until 1938.

Breaking the Borders, 1938-1939

With the rise of Nazism in Germany, the situation in Europe changed dramatically. Hitler openly advocated the revision of the boundaries created after the First World War mainly due to the fact that he wanted the German population of Europe to be part of a single state. In both Poland and Czechoslovakia there were considerable German minorities living at that time, and therefore Hitler's aim was to destabilise its neighbours so that he could annex the corresponding territories with German population. His first step was to put pressure on the Czechoslovak government to cede the areas in question to the Reich. These lands were called Sudetenland, and mostly encompassed the border areas with Germany. All in all approximately three million Germans were living in these areas. Poland also joined Germany in this struggle by putting pressure on the Czechoslovak government to cede the areas, hoping that its requests regarding Czech Tešín and further parts of Spiš and Orava would also be fulfilled (Baka 2006, 10).

On the September 29th, 1938, the Munich dictate was signed by four parties: Germany, Italy, France, and Great Britain. Representatives of the

Czechoslovak government were not even invited to this conference, and it was decided that the lands Hitler requested were to be ceded to Nazi Germany. France and Great Britain, the former allies of Czechoslovakia, with their politics of appeasement gave Hitler free hands. Czechoslovakia was now severely weakened and without its former allies, it was only a matter of time before the surrounding states would try to dissolve the state altogether. It was written down in one of the paragraphs of the Munich dictate that the territorial requests of Hungary and Poland would be dealt with within 3 months. On November 2nd, the Vienna arbitrary commission decided that a quarter of Slovakia in the south would be ceded to Hungary and that further parts of the areas of Spiš and Orava in the north would be ceded to Poland (Lacko 2008, 20-23). Czechoslovakia, which was now deprived of a great part of its traditional lands, was struggling for its continuing existence.

Hitler was actively trying to further weaken Czechoslovakia to finally break it up, and started supporting the Slovak irredentist movement represented by the priest Andrej Hlinka's Slovak Peoples Party. After the Munich dictate the representatives of this party asked for a more autonomous Slovakia to be created within Czechoslovakia, which was approved by the government in an attempt to keep the country together. This was not enough for Hitler, however, who took the decision to finally break up the country. On March 13th, 1939, Hitler invited the head of the Slovak autonomous government, Jozef Tiso, to Berlin and presented him his ideas regarding Czechoslovakia. He gave him two options: Slovakia was to become an "independent", meaning satellite country under the protection of Nazi Germany, or it would be divided up between Poland and Hungary. The first option was chosen and on March 14th, 1939, the Slovak State was

created (Lacko 2008, 29-32). The following day, the German army occupied the Czech lands and created the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. This meant the *de facto* collapse of Czechoslovakia. The Polish government realised that Hitler would now ask for territory from Poland, but it was too late as its only potential ally in Europe was no more. Hungary became an ally of Nazi Germany and therefore it had no intention towards supporting Poland in its struggle. As history shows, the resulting conflict escalated into the Second World War.

The Slovak State

With the creation of the Slovak state, Hitler finalised the fate of Czechoslovakia. The government of Slovakia was under control of Hlinka's Slovak Peoples Party which collaborated with the Nazis, and all other parties were dissolved. Paramilitary units were created by the ruling party, the so-called Hlinka Guards, which helped the ruling party to maintain control. Naturally, most people were opposed to this form of government as it was created by a dictate and not by the will of the population, and therefore a strong resistance movement was forming in secret. However, it was not until 1944 that the situation allowed the resistance to openly engage the army of Nazi Germany in the Slovak National Uprising. For the time being the official government assisted the Germans when it was asked to.

The first campaign of the Second World War was the attack against Poland in 1939. Although only a few hundred Slovak units took part in it, the Slovak government received the lands in Spiš and Orava, not only those parts that had been lost to Poland in 1938, but also the ones lost in 1920. For the Slovak population of these contested territories it was a certain relief (Móš, 1944, 18-19). For two decades it had been under severe pressure from the Polish government, and now this situation changed. Slovak

language was reintroduced to schools and the areas received considerable financial and material support from the government. Although the corresponding areas were only inhabited by 18,000 people, this was important to the Slovak government, also due to fact that a full quarter of Slovak territory (10,380 km²) in the south had become part of Hungary. The Slovak army also took part in the campaign against the Soviet Union, where two Slovak divisions fought up until 1943. After 1943 the corresponding divisions were moved away from the front as great numbers of Slovak soldiers were escaping and joining the ranks of Czechoslovak units on the Soviet side. In these five years, the people in the areas of Northern Spiš and Orava flourished considerably compared to the Poles living under Nazi occupation. At that time it was thought that the current situation and borders would last for some time, but as history showed the war ended in 1945, and territorial disputes continued.

History repeats itself, 1945-1948

After the war had ended, Czechoslovakia was restored to its former borders of 1920, except the territory of Carpathian Ruthenia which was ceded to the Soviet Union. Germany lost several of its eastern territories to Poland while Poland, on the other hand, lost several territories in the east to the Soviet Union, so that Poland as a whole moved westwards. Hungary was reinstated in its pre-war borders. Immediately after the war, the disputes between the Czechoslovak government and Poland regarding the areas of Tešín, Spiš, and Orava were taken up again. The Soviet army stationed in these territories was a guarantee that no armed conflict would arise and that the disputes would be solved peacefully. The Soviets organised a referendum in the areas of Northern Spiš and Orava by literally going from house to house and asking the people which country they would

like to belong to (Slovo ľudu... 1947, 29). The outcome was that 99 percent of the local population wanted to stay as a part of Czechoslovakia. Only 250 persons from a total number of 17,500 were identified as Poles. This was showing that unlike in Tešín, where there was a significant Polish population, here this was not the case (András 2009, 83.) Nevertheless, according to the post-war agreements, pre-Munich dictate borders were to be established regarding Czechoslovakia and therefore the referendum was not taken into consideration, leaving both the Poles living in Czech Tešín and Slovaks in Northern Orava and Spiš to their fates.

In July 1945, the Soviet army retreated from these areas that had become part of Poland again and the Polish government took formal responsibility for them. Nobody expected what would follow. Polish militia and army units immediately started to evict local parsons and former government officials. Slovak teachers were evicted from schools and Polish ones started to work in their place. This of course resulted in a wave of resistance from the local Slovak population. They presented forty official memos to the Czechoslovak, Polish, Soviet, American, and British governments in which they proclaimed that they wanted to belong to Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, almost nothing was done in this regard by the aforementioned powers. This resulted in armed clashes between the local population and the Polish militia and armed forces. On July 4th, 1945, one such clash resulted in several casualties on both sides. Such clashes continued throughout 1945-1947 (State Archive Poprad Reports... 79/1945). In total the records speak of seventeen dead Slovaks and several hundred wounded. 566 Slovaks were jailed for an extended period of time, 216 were tortured, among them old people, women and children. Several thousand were jailed for a short time or beaten. On the Polish side there were 5

casualties and several wounded militias and soldiers. The Polish officials continued to put pressure on the Slovak inhabitants in several ways. For example, they were deprived of the help coming from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) which was sending packages to people affected by the war. These packages were distributed by Polish officials and only to those who presented themselves as Poles. This was just one way to force the population to be polonised.

One further aspect which worsened the situation for the locals was the partisan group “Błyskawica” (Lightning) which was led by Józef Kuraś. Kuraś, also called “Ogień” (Fire), started to fight against the official communist regime in Poland. Unfortunately, the partisan group he formed was more a band of thieves than an army unit and the local population in northern Slovakia suffered greatly under the attacks of this band. Even the diary of “Ogień” himself speaks of senseless killing of locals and of stealing the provisions from these people. (Dereň 1995, 128-151).

Naturally, the local Slovak population could not resist such pressure for a long time. It started with the local families sending their children to the Slovak side of the border to visit Slovak schools. As the situation got worse, more and more people started to escape the contested areas and fled to Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak government helped these escapees by providing them food, housing, and work in other parts of Czechoslovakia. The Czech government also appealed to the Polish one to investigate the local situation. In total approximately 5,000 Slovaks escaped from Northern Orava and Spiš during 1945-1948, almost a third of the total population of almost 18,000. This number would probably have been higher, but in 1947 the situation changed again. In Poland the communists

took power almost immediately in 1945, but in Czechoslovakia this was not the case until 1948 although the communists had considerable power in the government of 1945-1948. As with all states in the Eastern Bloc, no political conflicts between them were allowed. The refugee waves coming from Poland gradually began to stop mainly due to the changed political situation in Czechoslovakia, but also because the Polish government ceased to be overly aggressive against the local Slovak population. Nevertheless, Slovak schools were closed bit by bit and polonisation continued in the upcoming decades.

Conclusion

The political relationship between Czechoslovakia and Poland was full of conflicts between 1918 and 1948. As the situation took for the worse with the rise of Nazism in Europe, Poland did not recognise the looming threat and assisted Hitler in weakening Czechoslovakia in 1938, only to become one of his victims a year later. The territorial disputes did not end after the Second World War and continued with high intensity up until 1948. The Czechoslovak government saw the areas of Northern Spiš and Orava as a sacrifice for the areas of Czech Tešín. From their point of view Tešín was far more valuable because of its resources and population (Kamiński 1980, 83-84). Therefore, it saw Northern Spiš and Orava as somewhat expendable. Unfortunate as it was, in Tešín a large Polish community existed, unlike in Northern Spiš and Orava. It is clear that both the Polish community in Tešín was being assimilated as well as the Slovak one in Spiš and Orava. Even today, many historians still do not fully understand what happened in the contested areas of Tešín, Spiš and Orava during those times. As such, these border disputes still divide historians in Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia.

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The Fatimid Failure against the Crusaders at the End of the First Crusade

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Introduction

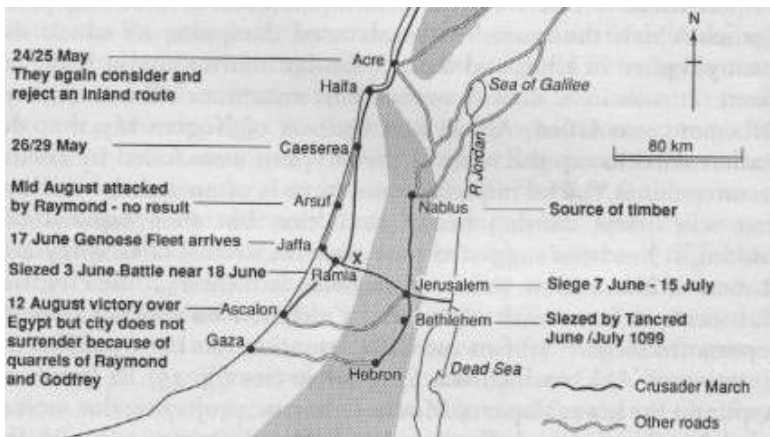
This paper was presented at the ISHA conference 2010 in Helsinki. The theme of the conference, integration throughout history, gave me the opportunity to look at some important events at the end of the First Crusade from another point of view and to discuss the results of this research within the workshop on globalisation and political integration. With this paper, I hope to show how an overconfident large-scale – one could say global – strategy of the Egyptian command together with the failure of the political integration of different ethnic groups in the Egyptian army, was one of the main causes for the Frankish victory at the end of the First Crusade.

*I see my people slow to raise the lance against the enemy, I see the Faith resting on feeble pillars. For fear of death the Muslims are evading the fire of battle, refusing to believe that death will surely strike them. Must the Arab champions then suffer with resignation, while the gallant Persians shut their eyes to their dishonour?*¹

Abul-Muzaffar al-Abiwardi (Iraqi poet, 11th-12th century)

The successful First Crusade came to an end with the Battle of Ascalon on 12 August 1099. While the crusaders besieged the Holy City, the Fatimid

wazir, al-Afdal (1094-1121), gathered a formidable army to relieve the garrison of the city. The unexpected quick victory of the crusaders held al-Afdal in the nearby coastal city of Ascalon where he was waiting for reinforcements and his fleet. The crusader armies gathered for the last time and risked a bold pre-emptive attack on the Fatimid camp where they were able to defeat al-Afdal's unprepared army.² It seems that there were two major reasons for the failure of the Fatimid relieve. First of all, al-Afdal seems to have been incapable of reaching Jerusalem in time, and secondly, the Fatimid armies were unable to defeat the outnumbered crusaders. This essay will attempt to explain these two reasons for this Fatimid failure from a military point of view. We will not discuss in detail the siege of Jerusalem, but will focus on the Fatimid goals and their Egyptian armies.



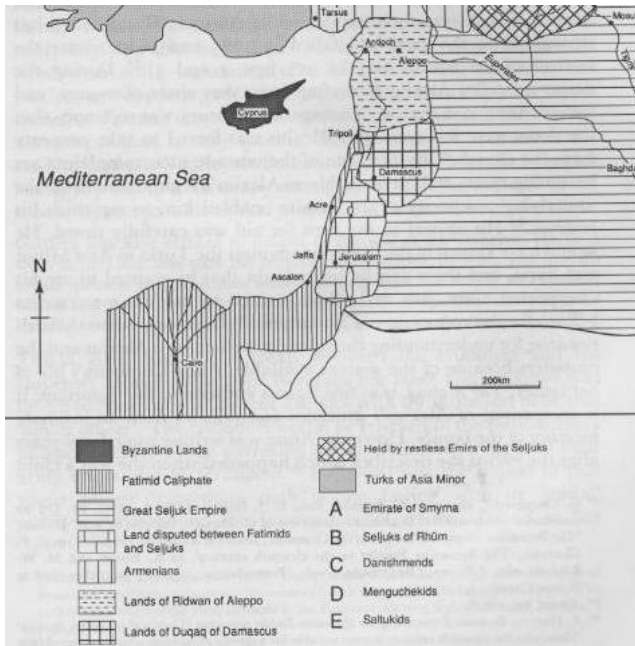
The march south of the crusaders (France 1994, 320)

For the events of the First Crusade and information on the Frankish armies, we can make use of the detailed accounts of the Latin chroniclers. As for the Muslim sources, we are confronted with a serious lack of

sources, especially for the Fatimid period at the end of the eleventh century.³ The most important source for the events in Fatimid Egypt during the First Crusade is the *Itti'az*, a chronicle by al-Maqrizi (1364-1442). It is remarkable that even as a Sunni historian of the Mamluk era, he shows a remarkable interest in the history of the Fatimids and quotes tenth and eleventh century historians as Ibn Zulaq, Musabbihi and Quda'i.⁴

Al-Afdals Campaign into Palestine

To have an understanding of the conflict between the Fatimids and the Crusaders, it is necessary to outline the geopolitical background of the events. In 1066, after a century of prosperity, civil war broke out in Egypt and at the same time the Seljuqs appeared in the Middle East and chose the Sunni side of the Abbasids. The Fatimids lost their territories east of the Sinai desert to these Turkish conquerors. In 1073, Badr al-Jamali, governor of Acre, and an Armenian convert from Christianity, was called to Egypt to restore the peace with his Christian Armenian forces. After ending the war, he put aside the caliph and enforced military rule as wazir, Badr was capable of recovering the ports of Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Jubayl in 1089. So he could again establish the Fatimid maritime influence on the Palestinian coast.⁵ It seems plausible that al-Afdal wanted to continue the attempts of his father in 1078-79 and 1085-86 to regain control over Syria and Damascus.⁶



*Geopolitical map of the Middle East at the beginning of the First Crusade
(France 1994, 109)*

During the eleventh century, Egypt lost most of its harbours along the eastern Mediterranean coast.⁷ Al-Afdal wanted to restore the situation and was able to resume control of Tyre and Sydon in 1097-98.⁸ Ascalon seems to have been the ideal base camp for a joint land and sea campaign.⁹ The city was used by the Egyptians to store large amounts of grain and had a considerable garrison.¹⁰ Hillenbrand states that “It seems remarkable that no Muslim leader until Saladin saw the need to make a priority of the ports rather than of the cities inland” and that there were no joint operations by sea and land.¹¹ However, al-Afdal’s campaign seems to have been a joint operation of a land and naval force and was possibly aimed at the ports of

Palestine and Syria. Lev argues that it is questionable that the Fatimid fleet carried supplies for the armies. He states that there is no evidence of joint operations with the land army and that they operated on their own.¹² But even though the navy operated apart from the land army, it could still be used to cut off the Frankish supplies and the influx of new pilgrims. Also, some of the Latin sources mention that al-Afdal was waiting for his fleet with supplies and reinforcements and that he used the fleet to escape after the battle.¹³

The situation for a land campaign into Syria was ideal since the region was divided between Ridwan of Aleppo and Duqaq of Damascus after the death of the great Malikshah,¹⁴ and both had suffered great losses outside Antioch in the previous year.¹⁵ The situation in Egypt was also perfect since al-Afdal succeeded to establish a stable military regime.¹⁶ This would explain why his army took so long to organise.¹⁷ He had to wait for larger reinforcements to undertake the campaign. A similar idea has been pointed out by Köhler who stated that the Fatimids wanted to keep the kingdom of Jerusalem as a buffer on the border with the Seljuqs.¹⁸ Köhler's argument contributes to the idea that al-Afdal's campaign might have been directed towards recapturing the Palestinian and Syrian coastal towns or establishing Fatimid rule again in them, and might not even have been aimed at Jerusalem at all.¹⁹

We still have to keep in mind that except for some idle promises of relieve that the sources mention,²⁰ al-Afdal's army never made any move towards attacking Jerusalem. The scouts of the Fatimid army were not seen between Jerusalem and Ascalon but on the road to Jaffa.²¹ It seems that al-Afdal was counting on an alliance with the crusaders until the last moment

before the battle of Ascalon, and that he was greatly disillusioned when they attacked and defeated him.²² The persistent attempts to negotiate with the crusaders show the wazir's determination to achieve an agreement.²³ According to Raymond d'Aguilers, it seems that the Fatimids were also negotiating with the Turks of Syria, but his statement that the Turks promised the Fatimids that they would become Shi'ites if they were to ally against the crusaders seems very unbelievable.²⁴

A logical question to pose next is in what way this campaign would have been practical on the matter of logistics. The route through the desert between Egypt and Palestine did not pose any serious logistical problems for the medieval armies. It seems there was plenty of water along the route and possibilities to purchase food from Bedouins. In 1168, the Franks crossed the Sinai from Ascalon to Bilbays²⁵ in merely two weeks.²⁶ Furthermore, the Fatimids had an efficient water transport system and highly mobile nomad auxiliaries.²⁷ It is also known that the Egyptians had communication lines of carrier pigeons from Cairo into Palestine.²⁸

Presumably, the Egyptian army began preparing for their campaign into Palestine in February-March 1099,²⁹ and needed two months to bring an army to Palestine.³⁰ We might assume that if they solely wanted to relieve Jerusalem, they could have made it on time with a smaller army. Therefore, it is possible that al-Afdal needed more time because he was preparing a much larger campaign. But he still must have been very surprised by the speed of the crusaders.³¹

Military Confrontation between the Crusaders and the Fatimid Armies

Characteristics of the Fatimid Army

After the military changes following the civil war,³² the Fatimid army was composed of various groups of different specialisation, ethnic origin and status.³³ Badr had neutralised the Turks and replaced them by Christian Armenians as the military elite. Their main assets were their archery and capability to serve both as cavalry and as infantry.³⁴ Even after their conflict with the Turks in the civil war, the black slaves, or *abid*, continued to play an important role as heavy infantry, armed with lances and swords, until 1171.³⁵ Black Nubian and Sudanese archers, the main light infantry, were famous all over the Muslim world.³⁶ Berber cavalry armed with lances and the so-called Masamida infantry, the remains of the tenth century *Kutama* or Berber army³⁷ from the Western Maghreb, were still mentioned in the sources until 1122, but had a marginal military function.³⁸ Furthermore, Arab Bedouin forces from Southern Palestine played an important role at the battle of Ascalon.³⁹ Important to notice is that this Arab cavalry, which played a significant role in the Fatimid armies, was also heavily armoured by the end of the tenth century.⁴⁰ Although Turkish cavalry probably still existed in the Fatimid armies, they were not numerous at Ascalon.⁴¹ It seems that the Fatimid troops were armed with swords, pikes, maces, javelins and crossbows, and therefore also a well-equipped and apparently well-armoured force. Each unit had its own tactical function and was organised in ranks with close packed heavy armoured pike infantry in the first ranks and missile troops behind them. As in the Latin armies, the cavalry had several tasks: scouting, raiding, assault and pursuit.

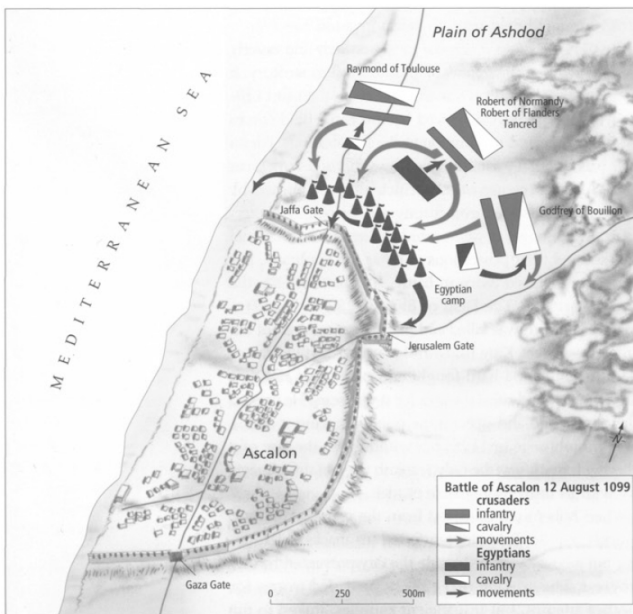


*A Turkish and an Arab or Berber soldier representing two of the sections
of the Fatimid army, ink drawing on paper, eleventh century, Egypt
(Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo)
(Hillenbrand 1999, 445 and Nicolle 2003, 45)*

It seems that the lack of cohesion, ethnic strife, bad leadership and insufficient finance and motivation among the troops, while confronted with the highly motivated crusaders, was the main reason for their failure on the battlefield.⁴² One must also keep in mind that both armies never before stood against each other on the battlefield and the Egyptians never before encountered crusader tactics.⁴³ These deficiencies were painfully revealed in the wars against the crusaders, where the cavalry deserted the infantry that was destroyed by the Frankish heavy cavalry. After the defeats of 1099 and the beginning of the twelfth century, it was only when Saladin came into the picture that the Egyptian armies got back on their feet.⁴⁴

Deployment and Tactics

On their way to Ascalon, the crusaders marched in three lines of three squadrons deep, cavalry together with infantry. This way they could counter attacks from any side.⁴⁵ Closer to the Fatimid camp, the crusader army drew up in battle array and formed three groups, within each group the archers and infantry in front of the knights.⁴⁶ The crusader army probably numbered 2,500 cavalry (including 1,200 knights) and 9,000 infantry,⁴⁷ while the Fatimid army might have numbered between 10,000 and 20,000 men.⁴⁸



Depiction of the Battle of Ascalon. (Hooper/ Bennett 1996, 91)

The famous story about the herds of animals around Ascalon being part of the Fatimid tactics to distract the crusaders, mentioned in almost all of the sources, seems a little bit overemphasised in the literature. The herds

probably simply belonged to local Bedouins who were providing the army with meat, and were there merely coincidentally.⁴⁹ An explanation for the surprised and unprepared Fatimid army is that they were used to the traditional Muslim warfare of the Abbasid Caliphate in the ninth and tenth centuries: Caution and elaborate preparations by an extensive military bureaucracy preceeded very static battles. The Egyptian forces were not used to being faced with an enemy that made such quick and bold decisions and was rapidly advancing.⁵⁰

Fulcher of Chartres wrote that the pagans approached their formations like a stag thrusting forward the branches of his horns.⁵¹ Albert of Aachen mentions that the Ethiopians shot a hail of arrows from a kneeled position and that they also had iron-tipped whips. He further mentions the use of lances, arrows, slings and every sort of weapon.⁵² The crusaders also opened the battle with hails of arrows, followed by the knights who charged into the infantry centre of the Fatimids.⁵³ Although the sources differ on the events during the battle, it seems that the Frankish charge was decisive for the outcome.⁵⁵

However, the horse charge should not be overestimated;⁵⁶ neither should the Fatimid army be underestimated. From the given outline of the characteristics of the Fatimid army it may be clear that the Egyptians were also a heavily armoured⁵⁷ and well-equipped force.⁵⁸ When looking at the confrontations between Franks and Fatimids in further years, it is clear that bad leadership and the lack of cohesion within the army and cooperation between cavalry and infantry, which reflected the social problem of ethnic strife between freeborns and slaves,⁵⁹ were the main factors that caused the Fatimid failure on the battlefield. Crusader armies, on the contrary, grew

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after three years of campaigning side by side into a cohesive force in which cavalry and infantry worked closely together. Good leadership can attribute to a cohesive force, while poor leadership only magnifies internal divisions.⁶⁰



Norman knights at the battle of Hastings (1066). Tapestry Museum, Bayeux, France.⁶¹



Siege, Fatimid drawing with added colour, twelfth century, Fustat, Egypt (The British Museum). Note the similarity between the armour of the Franks and the armour of the Fatimid warriors in this drawing. Hillenbrand 1999, colour drawing 13.

Conclusion

It seems clear that on a diplomatic level, al-Afdal misjudged the crusaders. Convinced of the possibility of an alliance with the Franks to recapture Palestine and Syria, he clearly underestimated the determination of the crusaders to reach Jerusalem and their speed and boldness in reaching that goal. While he seems to have been gathering a vast army at Ascalon to campaign along the Palestinian and Syrian coast, the crusaders reached and captured the Holy City far earlier than he expected them to. Still, this Frankish success seems not to have disturbed al-Afdal and he surely was not expecting the outnumbered crusaders to be so bold as to attack him in his own camp. In this battle it became clear that, even though both armies had the same level of technology, the lack of internal cohesion due to ethnic and social differences in the Egyptian army, together with bad leadership, caused the abrupt end of this Fatimid campaign. Also in similar battles in the following years, it becomes clear that the Egyptian armies had lost much of their old splendour and they were no longer capable of fighting Crusader or Seljuq armies successfully. The establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem put an end to all hope of a Fatimid recovery of Palestine and Syria from the Seljuqs.⁶³

Notes

¹ Also the Arab historian Ibn al-Athir blames the internal divisions among the Muslims for the success of the Franks in the First Crusade. See: Gabrieli 1957, 11f. It is remarkable that even in the times of internal war in the Muslim world, there are scholars who realise that both factions should work together against the Christian invaders. The same kind of appeal is presented in al-Sulami's *Kitab al-Jihad* (1105), in which he calls upon the whole Muslim world to start a holy war against the crusaders.

² However, the wazir was able to escape to Cairo and the garrison of As-

calon was able to withstand the crusaders. The city became the base for Fatimid raids into the Latin kingdoms for the next 53 years. For a general overview of these events at the end of the First Crusade from a military point of view, see: France 1994, 325-66.

³ The Egyptian Fatimid leaders were Shi'ite Muslims and their enemies, the Abbasids together with the Seljuqs, were Sunni Muslims. The most important consequence of this conflict for the research on the Fatimid influence in the First Crusade is the lack of objective sources since the Sunnis became the most important Muslim faction.

⁴ See: Walker 2002, 164. He also wrote a huge biographical dictionary, the *Muqaffa* that is still of great importance for Fatimid history. See also: Lev 1997, 116.

⁵ Brett 2004, 675-720. On the early history of the Fatimids, see: Brett 1996, 431-49. On the Fatimid tribal army see also: Lev 1991, 81-92.

⁶ Becker 1960, 869-70. It is ironical that on the other hand, also the Crusaders were thinking of first attacking Egypt to remove the Fatimid threat upon Jerusalem. They discussed this option when the army gathered at Ramlah (3-6 June 1099) just before the siege of Jerusalem, but they agreed that this was not realistic given the condition of their armies. See: Richard 1999, 65. Raymond of Aguilers, p. 115: "Delay the journey now and turn to Egypt and Babylon; if through God's grace we could conquer the kingdom of Egypt, we would not only acquire Jerusalem, but also Alexandria, Babylon, and many kingdoms. On the other hand, if we march to Jerusalem and abandon the siege because of a water shortage, we shall never succeed."

⁷ Hillenbrand 1999, 562-64.

⁸ France 1994, 358.

⁹ Hoch 1992, 120.

¹⁰ Lev 2006, 202: Lev does stress that the involvement of Fatimids in campaigns against the Franks was not related to the possession of Ascalon.

¹¹ Hillenbrand 1999, 562.

¹² Lev 2006, 202. On the movements of the Fatimid fleet during the events of 1099, see: Lev 1991, 104-10.

¹³ Albert of Aachen, 455: Al-Afdal was sailing to Ascalon with his entire army bringing weapons, food, herds and apparatus of war. Gertwagen mentions that the coastal route south from Antioch to Palestine was not used much by Crusader ships before the conquest of Tripoli in 1109 and Sidon and Beirut in 1110, and that Tyre remained a Fatimid naval base until it was conquered in 1124. Gertwagen 2006, 113. As a consequence the Fatimid navy would still be capable of supporting a land army without being in danger.

¹⁴ Seljuq sultan (1072-1092).

¹⁵ Also Brett agrees that the situation was ideal for al-Afdal, at the head of a reconstituted Fatimid state and army, to exploit the Seljuq divisions and aspire to the reconquest of Syria. Brett 2004, 707.

¹⁶ William of Tyre writes that al-Afdal was to march with the army to Syria, and also that he advanced into Syria and camped before Ascalon. Since William of Tyre was born in the Holy Land, he would have known the difference between the two regions. This would suggest he assumed that the Fatimids were campaigning into Syria. *A History of Deed Done beyond the Sea* by William Archbishop of Tyre, 393-97.

¹⁷ This would explain why he is waiting for the arrival of his fleet, since this would be a great logistical advantage when he wants to continue his campaign towards the north. Since some of these cities were already under Fatimid rule, al-Afdal had possibly two reasons for this campaign: If the coastal cities are loyal he could use them to have supplies and reinforcements through his fleet, if they are too autonomous, he could use his fleet and land army to get them back under Fatimid control.

¹⁸ He argues that the Fatimid attacks from 1099 onwards had the purpose of defending or recapturing their ports along the coast of Palestine, who were of great strategic importance to the Fatimid navy and as a shortcut to Syria instead of going through the Sinai. Köhler 1986, 228-39. Also Smail states that 'the Fatimids had the incentive to recover their losses', Smail 1956, 84.

¹⁹ If Jerusalem was so important to al-Afdal, he would have left behind a bigger force to protect the city against the crusaders. But Jerusalem was not that important to the Fatimids. Since they were still a naval power in the Eastern Mediterranean, they would consider coastal cities to be of more interest to them. Moreover, in the eleventh century, Ramleh was the Fatimid capital of Palestine and not the Holy City. Brett 2004, 702. Also,

it seems that the Fatimids did not make any preparations in Palestine to counter the crusader army. France 1994, 327.

²⁰ Albert of Aachen mentions that the crusaders during the siege intercepted messages from al-Afdal promising the garrison to relieve them within 15 days. France 1994, 334.

²¹ Battle of Jaffa: "Seven hundred Arabs, Turks and Saracens from the army of the amir", Raymond d'Aguilers, 88. Ralph of Caen mentions 'innumerable thousands of the enemy' roaming the land and the roads in the region. He refers to archers of Damascus, dogs of Arabia and spears of Ethiopia. Ralph of Caen, 137.

²² His father, Badr al-Jamali was an Armenian convert from Christianity, so al-Afdal had every reason to assume that an alliance was possible. The Armenian Christians also seem to have had quite some political influence. Lev 1997, 146. This would explain, together with the fact that the Fatimid military administration was largely carried out by Christian Coptic scribes – See: Nicolle 2003, 26 – the efforts of al-Afdal for an alliance with the Crusaders against the Seljuqs and the Abbasids. See also Raymond d'Aguilers, 41: 'In addition, they promised friendship and favorable treatment, and reported benevolent acts of their king to Egyptian Christians and our pilgrims.' Moreover, the Armenians had served for many centuries in the Byzantine army as cavalry and infantry. Lev 1991, 96. Lev also mentions that the presence of Christian Armenians in Badr al-Jamali's army is systematically suppressed by Arabic-Muslim sources. However, the sources mention that the Armenians were suspected of helping the enemy by spying for the Turkish garrison at the siege of Antioch. See: Smail 1956, 47. So even if the Armenians were considered to be a friendly force in the beginning of the first Crusade, they probably did not have a good reputation in the minds of the Crusaders by 1099 and the fact that they were the dominant fighting force in the Egyptian armies will not have made this better. The Fatimid wazir also underestimated the determination and black and white visions of the Crusaders who made few distinctions among Muslims. T. F. Madden 2005, 32.

²³ During the siege of Antioch, Egyptian envoys arrived at the Frankish camp and were treated as noblemen. At this point, it seems that al-Afdal thought the Crusaders to be a Byzantine army, with whom he had alliances before. He proposed that the Franks keep Syria if they do not proceed into Palestine. Even though this was unacceptable for the Christians, Frankish envoys came along with the Egyptians to Cairo. France mentions that ac-

according to the *Historia Belli Sacri*, the Frankish envoys spent Easter 1099 in the Holy Sepulchre on friendly terms with the Fatimids. See: France 1994, 325. On the 13th of May 1099, while Arqa (Akkar) is being sieged, a Fatimid delegation offered the Crusaders entrance in Jerusalem for small unarmed groups of pilgrims. See: William of Tyre, I, 325-26. This was unacceptable for the Franks and the Egyptian envoys returned to Cairo. See: Raymond d'Aguilers, 89-90.

²⁴ France 1994, 325-27 and Raymond d'Aguilers, 89.

²⁵ Via Faqus, Jurjir or al-Qantara, al-Farama, al-Baqqara, al-Warrada and al-Arish. See appendix II: map of the route between Palestine and Egypt.

²⁶ Lev 2006, 200-202.

²⁷ Beshir 1978, 50.

²⁸ Edgington 1996, 175.

²⁹ Lev 1991, 97.

³⁰ France 1994, 358. It seems they needed about the same time to gather an army to capture Jerusalem in the previous year. During the siege of Antioch, after receiving intelligence of the defeat of the armies of both Damascus and Aleppo in February 1098, al-Afdal captured Jerusalem from the Seljuqs in July and August with a strong *askar* (army), and afterwards returned to Egypt with his army. See: *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, 45. This taking of Jerusalem was possibly an attempt to have leverage in the negotiations with the crusaders.

³¹ See: Brett 2004, 707. Also France notes the remarkable speed of the Crusader army from Tripoli to Jerusalem in contrast with their slow advancing in Asia Minor. France 1994, 327.

³² See on this matter: 'A Century of Military Wazirs', in Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire*, pp. 65-76 and Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt*, pp. 48-56 and 65-78 ('The Ruling Circles').

³³ Lev 1997, 147. On the different groups in the Fatimid army, see also: Beshir 1978, 37-56.

³⁴ The sources mention them as mounted archers or infantry archers fighting from pitched positions, *Itti'az*, III, 161, 313.

³⁵ The Fatimids, like their predecessors in North-Africa, used the human

resources of sub-Saharan Africa as slave manpower for their army. See also: Pipes 1980, 87-94; Bacharach 1981, 471-95; Lev 2006, 186-93. Important to mention here is Lev's notice that black heavy infantry could not flee from the battlefield. When they were deserted by their cavalry, they had the best chance of survival when they maintained a close formation. See: Lev 1991, 99 (note 21).

³⁶ Lev 2006, 189f. See also: 'The Militarization of Fatimid Politics', in Lev 1991, 122-30 and Lev 1997, 146.

³⁷ Lev 1997, 142.

³⁸ Lev 1991, 81-92; Sanders 1998, 154-55 and Lev 1997, 145.

³⁹ Nicolle 2006, 25.

⁴⁰ Hillenbrand 1999, 511-512. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* seems to have been very impressed by the armoured horses of the Persian heavy cavalry, then still unknown in the West, of which the Fatimid army had similar units. *Gesta Francorum*, 49: 'The Agulani (...) fear neither spears nor arrows nor any other weapon, for they and their horses are covered all over with plates of iron.' See also: France 1997, 165f. See also: France 1994, 359.

⁴¹ In the one battle (Ramlah, 1105) for which the accounts mention the presence of a regiment of Turks, they helped defeating the Crusaders. Fulcher of Chartres, 413.

⁴² Another reason for internal problems was the fact that most of the soldiers were Sunni Muslims, while their Fatimid leaders were Shi'ite Muslims. Nicolle 2003, 25.

⁴³ Hillenbrand 1999, 512. See also: Lev 1997, 134, 121. On the civil war: Lev 1991, 43-46. On the negative consequences of military slavery in Medieval Islam, see: Crone 1980, 82-91.

⁴⁴ Only in 1171, when Saladin restructured the army and incorporated regiments of (Turkish) mounted archers and cavalry, the Egyptian armies regained their strike force. Saladin's cavalry armies were small but cohesive and under good leadership, and were successful in fighting the Crusader armies. Saladin destroyed or dispersed both the regiments of Black slaves and of Christian Armenians when he defeated the Fatimids. The new Egyptian army created by Saladin was mainly composed of Turks (including the 'black servants' or Mamluks) and Kurds and was an exclu-

sive cavalry force. Instead of quantity, as with the Fatimids, Saladin chose for quality with a small and expensive but very successful army. See Lev 1997, 149 and William of Tyre, II, 431. On the shift to cavalry armies in the 12th century, see also: Lev 2006, 197-207. Saladin used a new system of income to pay for his expensive cavalry armies, the so-called *iqta*, see also: Lev 1999, and Lev 2006, 197f., 207.

⁴⁵ William of Tyre, I, 393-397 and France 1994, 361.

⁴⁶ *Gesta Francorum*, 95; Fulcher of Chartres, 126; Albert of Aachen, 463-465 and France 1994, 126.

⁴⁷ Raymond d'Aguilers, 134; J. Riley-Smith 2002. We should bear in mind that since the crusaders started marching along the coast, they were able to gradually make up for the loss of horses in the first stages of the Crusade with the "gifts" they received from the coastal towns if they would leave them alone. There were also more possibilities for trade and although they suffered considerable losses again during the siege of Jerusalem, they were able to capture the horses of the garrison. See also: France 1994, 130f., 141, 356.

⁴⁸ Hillenbrand 1999, 444; Beshir 1978, 45. Although we might assume that al-Afdal gathered considerably more troops if he was planning to campaign along the coast. William of Tyre, I, 393-97: 'The numbers of the enemy were beyond counting and additional reinforcements were received daily.'

⁴⁹ Lev 2006, 200-202. There might however be a glimpse of truth in the accounts of the herds marching with the army and frightening the Egyptians.

⁵⁰ Nicolle 2003, 84 and Beshir 1978, 49-50. Also Beshir mentions the elaborate and efficient Fatimid logistics in the preparations for Djawhar's expedition to capture Egypt (969) and in the two Syrian campaigns of caliph al-Aziz (982-983) where supplies were patiently gathered for months.

⁵¹ Fulcher of Chartres, 126. This agrees with the writings on the *Jihad* of the Fatimid historian Qadi al-Nu'man who tells us that the army should be divided into a centre of archers and infantry with the commander, and two wings of cavalry. When the battle begins, the infantry should charge while the cavalry covers their flanks. Beshir, 'Fatimid military organization', 51-52. We have to bear in mind that the battle of Ascalon was fought more than a hundred years after the death of Qadi al-Nu'man (d. 974) and after the military changes of Badr al-Jamali.

⁵² Albert of Aachen, 465.

⁵³ Fulcher of Chartres, 126 and Albert of Aachen, 465-467.

⁵⁴ Oman gives a good outline of the deployment and the events during the battle, making use of the Latin sources: Oman 1998, 288-291.

⁵⁵ Smail 1956, 85-87. On the discussion on when the shock tactics with a couched lance came into use, see also: France 1997, 163-176, 166-168. See also: France 2000.

⁵⁶ France 2003, 159f.. France stresses the important role of the foot soldiers. However, he mainly looks at the confrontations with the Seljuqs, when the availability of horses was problematic.

⁵⁷ None of the sources mention the Egyptian heavy cavalry. Either they fled the battlefield when seeing the infantry being defeated or they did not have time to prepare themselves for battle.

⁵⁸ Witness of this is the account of Fulcher of Chartres who writes that the rear of the Franks was threatened by Arab cavalry and had to be rescued by Godfrey. Fulcher of Chartres, 126.

⁵⁹ Lev 2006, 190-192.

⁶⁰ Housley 2008, 125; France 2000, 60; Lev 2006, 204-05. On general crusader tactics in the early crusades, see also the old, but still very valuable work of Oman 1998, 270-95. The opponents of the Fatimids seem to have had a very low opinion of the military capabilities of the Fatimid army. William of Tyre mentions that in the 1160s Shirkuh described the people of Egypt as 'devoted to luxurious living and ignorant of the science of war'. See: William of Tyre, II, 313.

⁶¹ France 1997, 163-176, 168f.

⁶² Although the knights and some of the heavy infantry were probably armoured much like the warriors on the Bayeux Tapestry, we should bear in mind that most of the infantry lacked metal protection and that the quality of chain mail is under discussion. It seems that the equipment was of the same level on both sides, presumably even more advanced in the Fatimid armies, with heavy armoured infantry and cavalry together with light-armoured infantry and the similar use of weaponry. On the specific characteristics and use of armour and weapons, see: France 1997, 163-176; Nicolle 1976; Nicolle 1999; DeVries 1992.

⁶³ Brett 2001, 433.

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The Basaglia Act and the Integration of the "Mentally Ill" into Society

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In Italy, until the 1970s, the so-called "mentally ill" were always regarded as persons that were to be marginalised to the fringes of society and kept in institutions such as asylums. The walls of the asylums as closed space granted to them, all forms of exchange with the outside world were made impossible, regardless of the individual kind of disease.

The protest against all forms of institutionalisation, promoted by the social movements of 1968, and the contemporary work of the psychiatrist Franco Basaglia led to a major change in the conceptualisation of the patient. The act that was named after Franco Basaglia is the law 180 of 1978 on the closure of mental hospitals, which a few months later transformed into Law 883 of 1978, the formation of the "Italian National Health System".

This change had enormous impact on political choices, on health, on social and psychological studies as well as on language: in fact, in today's Italian we do not speak of the "schizophrenic" or "psychotic" or "neurotic", but of a person "with schizophrenia" or "with psychosis" or "with neurosis", to underline that every individual has got specific deficits, but also specific resources, which enable this person not only to be integrated into society but also to avoid being separated from it. Today, the ultimate goal of the treatment and cure mental illnesses is not to isolate the sick from society any more but to lead to a progressive re-integration into it.

This article will examine the following issues:

- The social movements of 1968, which constitute the historical context from which the journey for renewal and integration started;
- the condition of patients in the institutional asylums;
- the life and work of Franco Basaglia and of other authors who have inspired the Law 180 of 1978;
- the social changes that occurred after the passing of this law – the closure of mental hospitals and the opening of Mental Health Centres (CSM);
- the changes in the care of the sick and the advent of new therapeutic approaches that do not aim to isolate but to integrate the patient with company and with his proximal social spheres; as well as
- changes in the use of language that can be observed.

“Madness is a human condition. There is madness in us and it is as present as reason. The problem is that a so-called civil society should accept madness as much as reason, but instead it entrusted a science, psychiatry, to translate madness into sickness in order to eliminate it. Here lies the asylum’s *raison d’être*. ” (Basaglia 1968, own translation).

This discussion wants to give an account of the historical, cultural, and societal changes that occurred in the second half of the 20th century regarding the definition and the treatment of the mentally ill. One gradually arrived at integrating the patient into society, of which he or she used to be isolated through forms of containment such as the walls of the asylums. We will focus in particular on the Italian case, where the years of social disputes (1960-1970) and the Basaglia Act have induced radical change. In Italy, until 1968, the patients were seen only through their mental illnesses which defined them in their entirety. The only possible treatment,

regardless of the specific pathology (schizophrenia, neurosis, alcoholism, etc.), was the isolation from society, inside the walls of the psychiatric hospital, also called “asylum”. Exchanges between the inside and the outside of these structures were few or nonexistent.

In the asylum, there were gates, railings, doors and windows, locked at all times, chains, padlocks and locks everywhere. The most common therapies were segregation in cage beds, the straitjacket, the cold bath, the lobotomy and the electroshock (which is still used in some cases). Different methods of restraint as well as heavy and invasive medication were also applied. The patients were segregated from the outside by four walls. They could not get out, could not be among other people or their family, who were permitted to visit the patient only inside the asylum. Each patient was considered a dangerous and unnecessary person that must be isolated, regardless of the individual disease. This mentality originated in the Early Modern Period. For Foucault, it is from the disappearance of leprosy in Europe, even if on an unconscious level, that the experience of isolation and internment started to make its way into medieval mentality (Foucault 1961). In the Middle Ages the insane is seen as the possessor of a dark and forbidden knowledge, able to see supernatural reality, hiding mysterious secrets or religious revelation. It is with the advent of the Early Modern Age and with Descartes’ and Montaigne’s reflections that the medieval horizon of madness begins to restrict itself, and the authority of thought prevails over allegorical interpretations of madness. Madness began to drift away from community, and the cultural privileges and power of suggestion of the insane left space for the vision of them as a threat, or simply as unnecessary individuals, to be removed from social consciousness.

The structures that used to contain the lepers found new use in accepting a broad number of people rejected by the city, becoming both hospitals and jails for people of all types and all social backgrounds. The emblem of the new structures dedicated to isolation is the "General Hospital" of Paris, founded in 1656, which is defined by Foucault as "the third state of repression". Patients were treated without respect, and the whole organisation resembled a prison. It is from here that the real experience of internment comes, fated to be emblematic of the whole way of thinking and reacting to madness during the Early Modern Age. Correctional facilities begin to spread soon in France and Europe, and become instruments of power, which does not hesitate to resort to arbitrary measures of internment: one out of every one-hundred citizens of Paris became enclosed in these structures.

It is necessary at this point to take a look at the historical period in which the first changes in the treatment of patients were born. We are in 1968, a very famous year in Italy and in the world. In Italy, the protest was the result of a profound social malaise, accumulated in the 1960s, due to the fact that the economic development of the bourgeoisie (the so called economic boom) had not been accompanied by a commensurate increase of the social and economic level of the lower classes. The explosion of strikes by factory workers joined the student movement that challenged the contents of education and claimed the extension of the right to study also to those without extensive financial means; the first hints of what would become 1968 started to reveal itself in 1966.

The challenge was implemented with forms of protest unknown until then: schools and universities were occupied and demonstrations were organ-

ised, which, in many cases, resulted in clashes with the police. Among other things, the institutionalisations of the sick and of prisoners were challenged. It was demanded to break down the walls separating certain types of people from civil society. But this did not happen only in Italy.

In London, from July 15th to July 30th, 1967, the conference "Dialectics of Liberation"¹ took place, in which many psychiatrists and psychoanalysts participated. Here, they tried to find a common discourse between cultural criticism and revolutionary themes. They arrived to understand that psychiatry and psychoanalysis have only one possibility: reporting society's hidden violence (they create a link between social repression of and violence against the mentally ill). In few words, as Peserico (1986) wrote, 1968 shows itself in its most profound way as a cultural revolution which affected customs and societal attitudes much more than politics.

It was during this time and in this context that Franco Basaglia was taking action in the psychiatric hospital of Gorizia. Here, he started his work of changing the system which culminated in the Law 180/78 that was named after him. But before speaking about his work, we have to speak about the man himself.

Franco Basaglia was born in 1924 in Venice and died of brain cancer in 1980, two years after the approval of Law 180. He graduated in medicine in 1949. In 1953, he specialised in nervous and mental diseases. Basaglia was offered the opportunity to teach psychiatry in 1958. In 1961, because of his revolutionary, innovative, and political ideas, he decided to leave college and to accept the position of director of the psychiatric hospital of Gorizia from which he started his work to improve the conditions of the

sick, opening the hospital to the city, despite strong criticism. He wrote about the asylums in 1964:

“The patient enters a new dimension of emotional void ... ; he is introduced into a space that was originally created to disable him and simultaneously to nurse him; paradoxically, it is constructed as a practical place for the complete destruction of his individuality, as a place for his total objectification. If mental illness is, at its very roots, the loss of individuality and of freedom, then in the asylum the patient finds a place where he will be permanently lost and made the subject of the disease ...” (Basaglia 1968b, 28).

Basaglia was not the only one at that time who thought like this and who hoped for a political change. Before the reform of health care, mental illness was a remit of the provincial governments. This had made it possible for the province of Livorno to begin the deconstruction of segregating structures. The Director of the Clinic of Mental Diseases in the Province of Livorno of that time started a big campaign in order to improve awareness of the complex of themes concerning “asylums” and “special schools” together with the staff of Mental Health Counselling. Livorno was in part favoured because it had no psychiatric hospital on its territory; instead, together with Pisa it managed the Volterra hospital which had about 2,500 patients, among which mentally retarded persons, demented, people suffering from trisomy 21, a number of teenagers, and about 300 patients with severe mental illnesses. Many people were hospitalised for amoral behaviour (for example prostitutes) or for alcoholic problems. Patients could not decide for themselves.

In 1970, the tragedy of Antonietta Bernardini, who was burned alive on a bed of restraint in Pozzuoli, broke the curtain of silence which surrounded the criminal asylum. The accusations were grave and were being docu-

mented from inside: the poet Alfredo Bonazzi, in his book "Ergastolo Azzurro" (1970; "Blue Life Imprisonment") and then in "Squalificati A Vita" (1975; "Banned for Life"), described what happened in correctional facilities, prisons and criminal asylums. In Reggio Emilia, in an old building in Martiri Street, Bonazzi remained in bed for sixty consecutive days: he wrote "There were people with a muzzle, one of them had been with his ankles tied for eighteen years."

On May 13th, 1978, Law 180 "Verification and Voluntary and Compulsory Medical Treatment", better known as the Basaglia Act, was passed. It is a well-known and important law which imposed the closure of mental hospitals and adjusted obligatory medical treatment, establishing the Public Mental Health Services; it was subsequently merged into Law 833/78 of December 23rd, 1978, which established the National Health Service.

The intentions of Law 180 were to reduce drug therapies and physical containment by building relationships with the staff as well as with a renewed human society that fully recognised the rights and needs of the patients monitored and treated in the local clinics. Indeed, it was only after 1994, with the so-called "Target Project" and the rationalisation of the mental health care system as well as its transformation to the national level, that the actual closing of mental hospitals in Italy was completed.

At this point, patients' integration into society started, or rather the maintenance of a patient-society relationship, which is present in the current system. This cultural change began slowly, starting with language; today, we don't speak about patients with a reference only to the disease: we don't talk about "a" psychotic or neurotic "an" alcoholic, but instead about a

person “with” anorexia, “with” psychosis, etc. In this way, we emphasise the humanity of the person and begin to consider not only his or her deficits but also his or her present or potential resources.

Also, the type of treatment began to change due to the new legislation. Today, tying patients or enclosing them, for example, is considered a crime because “Law 180 included the insane in the social contract and made them citizens”.² There is a growing reliability of the system in which the patient is integrated, using the spheres of family and friends, of work, school, etc. as therapeutic means. New methods of assistance emerge: for example the “relational system model” in which the discomfort of the individual is seen as a discomfort of the whole group, or groups, of which he or she is a member. Now it is in a group where the treatment of the individual’s pathology starts. The medical staff’s working conditions have also been reorganised, forming multidisciplinary teams and developing different forms of diagnosis for psychic sufferings (Mazzoleni 2008, 3).

Not only is the individual taken care of, but also the family or group in which this individual lived. This is necessary because family can have a therapeutic effect through changing its behaviour and adapting it to the individual’s problems. This is also necessary in order to avoid the occurrence of other diseases among members the family; once can think, for example, of the stress that can occur in a family that has to deal with the problems of anorexia, or schizophrenia, etc. This stress does not promote integration of the individual and the family, but instead can cause new deficits for other household members, and impair the conditions of persons with diseases through inappropriate actions on part of their family members. The same argument can be extended to the classroom, to working

groups, or to other context-friendly groups: diagnosis is not only to be made for the individual patient if one wants to promote that integration which is the necessary base for the treatment and cure of the patient, a basis that may not be neglected any more.

A change of the structures which deal with the sick occurred as well, including attempts to avoid (forced) hospitalisation whenever possible. Dr. Mark A. Seltzer³ writes that hospitalisation is necessary when there is a clear difficulty in establishing a collaborative relationship that would allow treatment at home. Instead, intermediate structures between family and hospital are used, such as day-care centres or “mental hygiene centres”, now renamed Mental Health Centres.

Finally, a change towards contextualisation within the study of pathology took place: it is well understood now that what is perceived as a disease in a given society may in another be considered normal behaviour (see, for example, hallucinations in the West and in African countries; Scharfetter 2004, 9). This development is of course not a result of the Basaglia Act, but a general change which permeated the West from the 1970s until today. Just like in Italy, change was introduced to the concept of "health" in the West, for example by the World Health Organization (WHO) (Grano / Lucidi 2005, 10). Health is not seen as a simple "absence of disease" anymore, but as the degree to which an individual or a group is able to execute its needs and aspirations and to use its social, personal and physical resources in the changing contexts of its life.

We have seen that, within few decades, a progressive, although not yet fully completed, integration of mentally ill persons into society has devel-

oped. Gradually, one came to regard such persons as legitimate members of society that should not be marginalised, but rather welcomed and helped in a affectionate context of family and community.

Of course, forty years are not enough to modify four centuries of beliefs about the need to isolate the mentally ill. Even today, there is the common belief that a psychiatrist is only a doctor of the crazies, and that going to see him means to be categorised as a crazy, and not as a simple person in distress. Even today, there is a natural tendency to avoid a person with a mental illness, almost for the defence of personal well-being. Much work will be necessary to change these parts of "common sense". Beliefs like these often affect requests for help by those who suffer from a kind of psychological discomfort. As Benedetto Saraceno, Director of the Mental Health Department of WHO, indicated:

"Public health authorities say that stigmatisation and the discrimination are major obstacles that people with mental disorders have to face today. There are few families who did not encounter mental disorders, and yet shame and fear is almost universal, preventing people from seeking help." (Grano / Lucidi 2005, 12)

Still, a lot has to be done. In Italy, for this progressive integration we are strongly indebted to the social context of 1968 which attacked the institutions and institutionalisation, and we are also indebted to people like Franco Basaglia who were able to go beyond the disease, and to the humans themselves.

Notes

¹ The Italian magazine that followed the conference was "Quaderni Piacentini".

² These are the words of Peppe Dell'Acqua, the Director of the Department of Mental Health of Trieste, in an interview for the Italian Newspaper *La Stampa* by Anna Poma.

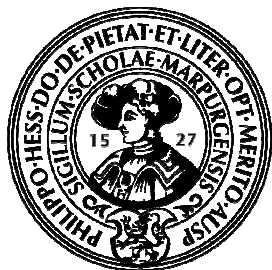
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Zygmunt Bauman's Concept of Social Engineering Reconsidered

The Early Swedish Welfare State and its Sterilisation Programme

Karen Bähr
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“The Holocaust was as much a product, as it was a failure, of modern civilization,” says Zygmunt Bauman in his work “Modernity and the Holocaust” (1989, 89). Sweden is a modern society which has developed an own societal model, the Swedish Welfare State. Sweden did of course not participate in what we call Holocaust today. Still, Bauman depicts certain preconditions of the Holocaust and conceptualises a system of characteristics of modern societies that can not only be used for analysing the Holocaust. He states that “if there was something in our social order which made the Holocaust possible in 1941, we cannot be sure that it has been eliminated since then” (Baumann 1989, 86). In this paper, I want to apply these factors and characterisations to the Sterilisation Programme of the Swedish Welfare State between 1935 and 1975.

The German sterilisation programme carried out between 1933 and 1945 is a part of the Holocaust and differs from the Swedish one. Unlike in Germany, in Sweden the legally competent could not be sterilised against their will, which is an important difference of the German and Swedish societies at that time. This was not the same for the legally incompetent. This group was not forced physically to be sterilised but set under pressure until they gave in. To understand why this sterilisation programme has been

implemented we have to take a closer look at the concept of Social Engineering. Bauman stresses the picture of a garden to explain the concept of Social Engineering in a modern society:

“Modern culture is a garden culture. It defines itself as the design for an ideal life and a perfect arrangement of human conditions. [...] Modern genocide, like modern culture in general, is a gardener’s job. [...] If garden design defines its weeds, there are weeds wherever there is a garden. And weeds are to be exterminated. Weeding out is a creative, not a destructive activity. It does not differ in kind from other activities which combine in the construction and sustenance of the perfect garden. All visions of society-as-a-garden define parts of the social habitat as human weeds. Like all other weeds, they must be segregated, contained, prevented from spreading, removed and kept outside the society boundaries; if all these means prove insufficient, they must be killed.” (p. 121).

The killing was not needed in the Swedish case; prevention from spreading formed the main goal. Who were the “weeds” that had to be cared about to achieve a “good society”? This group was formed by people suffering from “mental-illness, feeble-mindedness, or other mental defects”; people that were “incapable of caring for children” or people that could “transmit mental-illness or feeble-mindedness” (Broberg/Tydén 1996, 103).¹

But sterilisation was not the only tool of the gardeners: people suffering from mental-illness, mental retardation, or epilepsy were not allowed to marry according to a law dating from 1915. Parts of the group mentioned above were also kept out of society, just like in Bauman’s garden picture; sent to special schools, hospitals, or facilities for children and the disabled. But how did this development come into being and why was it not stopped by society? Bauman states that the system of checks and balances which modern states erected to defend the people from violence failed. The more

the population felt secure, the easier it became to kill or mistreat them: The only real power seems to be the gardener, the state that cares about the needs of the garden. As Bauman says, violence was redistributed throughout the process of civilisation, leading to a concentration of violence in the hand of the state. But plants do not talk, they cannot say what they want and we consider them to have no dignity or rights even though they are beings in their own right. People, however, can talk and they need more than water, sun and air. People are not and do not have to be objective because the state is there to provide the base for the fulfilment of their subjective needs.

In contrast, the Social Engineers of the early Swedish Welfare State tried to “create a society that is objectively better than the one ‘merely existing’ – that is, existing without conscious intervention” (Bauman 1989, p. 91). This objectiveness led to dehumanisation, a factor or circumstance that Bauman sees as necessary for organised mass murder like in the case of the Holocaust. Science provides an “objective measure instrument” for the quality of men to find out who the “inferior human beings” are (Befolingskommissionen 1936). The reduction of sick or inferior “genetic material” and the release of society from this “burden” were accepted as objective, reasonable aims in order to improve society because they were formulated by an educated elite and based on research and reports. The declaration of such aims started a bureaucratic process characterised by dissociation. “All division of labour [...] creates a distance between most of the contributors to the final outcome of collective activity, and the outcome itself,” writes Bauman (p. 98). The Swedish case, even if the system of hierarchy was different, possessed this shape of dissociation. In order to obtain permission for sterilisation, either the person, its parents, guardians,

or institutions like the Child Welfare Committee or medical institutions applied to the National Board of Health. The decision was therefore not made by the person or institution carrying out the actual operation. This bureaucratic act was also used in order to manipulate and “persuade” unwilling patients. An example from that period can be found in the Swedish Medicinalstyrelsen:

“Often, it appears, the knowledge that a decision had been taken by the National Board of Health will convince those who were previously reluctant to submit the operation. As a rule, the best way to treat those patients would seem to be to consider it more or less self-evident that the operation is to be performed once the board has given permission [...]”

Here we can see again that the feeling of security and the belief in the state and the authority of bureaucracy lead to the victim’s acceptance of this violation of its rights. “The replacement of shared rage with obedience to authority” affected the measure and its acceptance by both the victims and the perpetrators (Bauman 1989, 90). The “weed” came to accept its extraction for the beauty of the garden. The state’s monopoly of power came into play: “What we see is the blurred use of authoritarian measures and anonymous violence. The treatment of the mentally retarded and the socially maladjusted was removed from public view and carried out without interference.” (Broberg/Tydén 1996, 138).

Another facet of this bureaucratic aspect is the measure’s character of efficiency. Sterilisation made killing needless, because the “inferior human beings” could not reproduce and would, sooner or later, die out on their own. “Bureaucracy is programmed to seek the optimal solution,” says Bauman (1989, 104). It is a very modern method, excluding direct hatred or violence and modelling itself according to the law in order to achieve its

goals.

The last aspect which Bauman considers is this weakness of civil society, unable to prevent this violation of human rights from coming into being. In his view, the fear of degeneration and extermination lead to a civil society that called upon every part of it to fulfil their societal role instead of pursuing their personal happiness. “The design gives it [genocide] the legitimization; state bureaucracy gives it the vehicle; and the paralysis of society gives it the ‘road clear’ sign.” (Bauman 1989, 114).

The early Swedish Welfare State asked a price for its services. The redistribution of goods made everybody seem concerned with the decisions, behaviour and also the physical constitution of everybody else. Even if our morality today allows more respect for the individual, some questions remain: How to handle parents that are not capable to raise their children? How to bear the costs of redistributing wealth to the “non-profitable” beings within society?

Today, the happiness of the individual is not seen inferior anymore to the happiness of society as a whole, and no one is considered “inferior” by laws of the state anymore. This forms the base for the solution of the still existing problems and is the only answer our society can give.

Notes

1 Members of this first group were also target of sterilisation without consent if they were considered legally incompetent. These groups can be neither defined as national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups; therefore, under the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), it cannot be considered genocide.

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The First Among Peers

The Depiction of Augustus in Virgil's *Aeneid*

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Virgil's *Aeneid* is one of the most important antique Roman epic poems. Apart from telling the prehistory of the founding of Rome, it reflects aspects of Augustan Rome and tells us about Augustan propaganda. The *Aeneid* was written between 29 and 19 BC, Virgil died without having the opportunity to revise the final version. On his deathbed he wished for the unfinished poem to be burned (Vita Donati, 154-155), which was obviously not granted to him: Emperor Augustus had the *Aeneid* published.

As a character, Aeneas completely subordinates all personal interests to fulfill his duty and obeys the divine directives which guide the hero on his way to Italy and instruct him until the establishment of a settlement. Throughout the epos, deities give Aeneas and his men signs, talk to the hero in person or discuss the mortals' fate among each other. But prophecies and divinations are also very important in a different way, as they point beyond the mythological narrative and embed Augustan Rome at the time of Virgil in the epos.

In this text, I want to analyse the role of the Princeps (such was the title Augustus chose for himself, wisely avoiding "dictator"; princeps meaning "the first one (among peers)") in the divinations of the *Aeneid* using Jupiter's Prophecy (I, 257-296) as an example. After that I will take a closer look at the character of Aeneas himself as a prefiguration of the Emperor Augustus.

The *Aeneid* begins with a powerful, thrilling scene: After the invocation of the Muse we learn that the goddess Juno, wife of Jupiter, is angry and longs to destroy the Trojans who sailed out after the sacking of Troy. She persuades Aeolus, the god of winds, to evoke a storm to cause their fleet to crash. Thus, in the very beginning of the epic poem, the reader is already confronted with a threat to the heroes' lives. With twenty ships the Trojans head for "the Latian realm" (Vir. Aen. I,2), their promised new home land, unaware of its precise position, under the guidance of Aeneas, son of the goddess Venus. Although he is referred to in the very first verse ("Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris Italiam, fato profugus, Laviniaque venit litora..."; Vir. Aen. I,1-3) and his antagonist is named in the very beginning, the name of the poem's protagonist is not mentioned until verse 92. Here we finally get to know who he is and that he is chased by Juno because she received the prophecy that an offspring of the Trojans shall destroy her beloved Carthage (Vir. Aen. I,19-21). Although her assumption that the divination refers to Aeneas is wrong, the prophecy is an allusion to the Third Punic War in which the Romans indeed destroyed the city on the northern African coast. The proem (I, 1-33) also foreshadows the end of the story: according to the will of Jupiter, father of the gods, Aeneas is indeed to found the city of Rome. Now that the reader knows the back story and the outcome, the epic poem focuses on what happens in between.

Jupiter's Prophecy

After the storm struck the Trojans, Aeneas' mother, Venus, fears for her son's life and complains to Jupiter about his wife's efforts to kill Aeneas. Smiling, the king of gods comforts his daughter with the words "neque me

sententia vertit” or as John Dryden translates rather freely “The fates of thine are fix’d, and stand entire“ (Vir. Aen. I, 260). To convince Venus of his goodwill, Jupiter introduces his plans for her son, which do not only include the foundation of Lavinium, but even the fate of Aeneas’ descendants for several centuries after, until the reign of Augustus, the time Virgil actually wrote the epos by order of the Emperor himself. After the proem, Jupiter’s Prophecy is the second historical preview, and the first one of the four main divinations in the epos.

An Outlook on the Romans

Once they have arrived in Italy, as Jupiter tells his daughter, the Aeneads have to wage war, from which they emerge not only victorious, but also civilising. After three years of fighting, Ascanius, Aeneas’ son, “cui nunc cognomen Iulo” (Vir. Aen. I, 267), takes over control. We are not allowed to know what happens to Aeneas in the meantime, but considering the curse pronounced by Dido before her death (Vir. Aen. IV, 611-629), we can assume that he falls in battle. Ascanius/Iulus now founds the city of Alba Longa, where his family rules for the next 300 years, as intended by Jupiter. The father of the gods furthermore tells Venus about the twins Romulus and Remus, who are breastfed by a she-dog and the former of which finally seizes power over the people, whom he calls “Romans” after himself. Jupiter grants them an “imperium sine fine” (Vir. Aen. I, 279), which refers not only to a huge geographical territory, but also to power without a temporal limit. Even Juno supports the Romans at a later time, together with all the other Olympians who all mean well by them. The Romans are also destined to conquer the area of the Greeks, which can be seen as revenge for the destruction of Troy, the homeland of the Romans’

ancestors, by Menelaos and his allies. Finally, the power and glory of Caesar, “*nascetur pulchra Troianus origine*” (Vir. Aen. I, 286), is only restricted by the sea and the stars, as Jupiter says. The dictator himself is admitted into the society of the Olympian gods and worshipped by the mortals after his death for having brought peace to his people after the centuries-long war. Having ended his prophecy, Jupiter secures Aeneas’ near future by sending Mercury to Carthage, the next stop of the Trojans, to assure the queen’s hospitality.

The Peak of Destiny

According to Jupiter’s prophecy, the Romans are not only designated to rule over other peoples, but are even destined to do so by the father of the gods personally. They are to bring “*moresque viris et moenia*” (Vir. Aen. I, 264), that is men’s common decency and morality as well as the law and order of a civilised and fortified city. “Caesar” as the bringer of peace appears at the zenith of Roman history – but to whom does Virgil refer by that name? Gaius Julius Caesar (100-44 BC) adopted his great nephew Gaius Octavian Thurinus (63 BC-14 AD), who later became known as the first Roman Emperor under the name of Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus. “Caesar” is a title which was later adopted by all following Emperors as well and which eventually evolved into several other titles that were used throughout Europe for a long time after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, such as the German “Kaiser” or the Russian “tsar”. However, especially before he received the honorific “Augustus” (“the revered one”) by the Roman Senate in 27 BC, Octavian was often referred to as “Caesar” without any further affixes – as was his adoptive father, too. It is possible that Virgil intentionally uses this particular name as a possible reference to

both rulers in order to leave open who he is actually talking about. Nevertheless, I would argue that he is speaking of the adoptive son and not his great uncle for the following reason: Augustus is the one who is often described as the pacifier who ended the civil war having broken out after his predecessor's murder (cf. Gall 2006).

However, as Augustus was still alive at the time Virgil wrote his epos, it seems puzzling that he is said to have ascended to the Olympus and been worshipped as a god by his people. Yet by writing this, Virgil predicts Augustus' own divinisation that would supposedly occur – and actually did occur as we can tell with hindsight – after his death (cf. Kienast 2010), just as his adoptive father was worshipped posthumously. Virgil obviously does not have to explicitly say whom he means by “Caesar” as the contemporary reader would know who it was who brought peace and unity to their land. Furthermore, the current Emperor (and not his adoptive father) thus appears at the high point of the prophecy and therefore as the final fulfillment of Jupiter's plans. He is the one ending the conflict begun by Paris centuries earlier and directly resulting in the destruction of Troy by finally establishing the Roman Empire in continuance to the Trojan kingdom. Thus it appears that not Aeneas but Augustus is the final goal of the gods' concept and the former was only one of the means leading to the reign of the latter. As a descendant of Aeneas – Julius Caesar before him also liked to point to the goddess Venus as his family's ancestress – Augustus fulfills his half-divine (Aeneas' father was a human) family's destiny. For that matter, it obviously made no difference whether Augustus was the natural son of Julius Caesar or not: He could simply ignore the fact that he was adopted and refer to the same ancestress as if there actually was a biological relationship.

Following Homer

In Homer's *Iliad*, Poseidon says that Aeneas would eventually escape from Troy, found a new city and rule over the remaining Trojans for a long time (Hom. Il. XX, 300-308). That Rome must be the city mentioned in this prophecy was already pointed out by Greeks in the 5th century BC, and Virgil picks up this idea. However, he has to account for a gap of several hundred years – Troy was destroyed in the 12th or 13th century BC and Rome was founded in 753 BC. Moreover, the founding father of Rome according to Roman mythology is Romulus, who killed his twin brother Remus and named the new city after himself. Virgil resolves this problem by saying that firstly, Aeneas and his men were confronted with the problem of not knowing where exactly the land of their destination was located, so it took them a while until they found it. During that time, they visited Carthage, where Aeneas started another conflict that would eventually lead to the Punic Wars in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Secondly, Virgil integrates Romulus and Remus in his version of the founding myth by simply inserting them into the family history as Aeneas' descendants born in Alba Longa 300 years after its founding by his son (Vir. Aen. I, 267-277). Virgil thereby connects the status quo of his time to the mythical Roman prehistory as well as to the Emperor's family history and furthermore provides a link to the most legendary battle in classical mythology and thus to the renowned epos by Homer. Historically, the Romans conquered Greece in the 2nd century BC, thus – as descendants of the Trojans – avenging the legendary Trojan War that had been won by the Greeks a thousand years earlier.

Augustan Ideology

Augustus showed great interest in the *Aeneid* and supported its composition by supporting Virgil financially. The Emperor had the author come to him and read already completed passages of the epos (Strasburger 1983. 72-73), and he is even responsible for it being published after Virgil's death and against his wish to have it burned as expressed in his will (Avery 1957, 228 et. al.). The *Aeneid* was so important for the Princeps because it contained very subtle, artfully incorporated propaganda for the morality and value system established by Augustus as well as for the Emperor himself.

In Augustan Rome, an ideology based on tradition and piety was intentionally introduced by the Princeps, who very early in his reign recognised the importance of propaganda. Soon after his seizure of power, Augustus began to cultivate his image as the avenger of his father's murder (as mentioned above Caesar was not his biological father; Octavian nevertheless used to refer to him as such). Although he most notably seized the opportunity to eliminate his antagonists and rivals within the Empire, Augustus managed to present his acts of vengeance as deeds expressing his esteem of traditional, heroic values and his will to establish peace and justice within the Empire (Christ 2003, 168-169). The civil wars were interpreted as the gods' punishment for a preceding decline of respect and appreciation of religion (Christ 2003, 160; Gall 2006, 7) that had to now be revived again. The early Roman period was regarded as a Golden Age: a high time of morality and virtue that the Empire had to return to. Piety, decency, fidelity and hard work as the early peasant virtues, and the existential need to obey the will of the gods were emphasised during the Au-

gustan reign (cf. Christ 2003, 158). For the latter, the observation and interpretation of signs and divinations of any kind was crucial.

Virgil's *Aeneid* reflects the longing for peace and unification after the civil war as well as the Augustan way to search for a better life in the past, drawing attention to more conservative values and traditions. The epos provides historical background for the contemporary situation and thus an explanation for the preceding suffering: For centuries the Romans had to fight according to the will of gods until, finally, Augustus was to bring ultimate peace. Having seen that direct self-representation as a god and/or as a dictator eventually lead to the murder of his adoptive father, Augustus avoided public displays of hubris and provocations of the Senate. He observed traditions and religious practices, accumulated religious titles throughout his life (until he held all of them simultaneously) (Christ 2003, 160) and instrumentalised religion among other things for his personal propaganda.

Aeneas, the Perfect Ruler

Using arts and literature for political purposes in a very skillful way, the Princeps was well aware of the dangers of ostentatious display of pride. Not only did he not claim a right to godlike worship, but he even prohibited it by law and repeatedly pointed out that even the emperor was a mortal who could become godlike through his extraordinary achievements; however, he could not actually become a god during his lifetime (cf. Christ 2003, 166f.). After his death, a Roman emperor was likely to receive the *consecration*, namely a cultic adoration as a god if he was popular; if not, the *damnatio memoriae* was imposed on him (Peppel 2003,

78f.). In the latter case the emperor's name would be deleted from inscriptions, his portraiture removed and so forth in order to erase the memories of him – in contrast to the divinisation that would preserve the memory of the emperor forever. This would only happen if the emperor served his people well: The divinisation was seen as a reward for the emperor's dealing with his outstanding responsibility and awareness of his obligations towards his subjects in a proper manner.

Aeneas, being a dutiful ancestor of the ruling sovereign, is described as a responsible ruler in the sense pointed out above. One example of his extraordinary willingness to self-sacrifice is to be found in book IV of the *Aeneid*, where Virgil inserts the highly popular love story including Dido, the queen of Carthage. Apart from providing a romantic and tragic narrative, this episode primarily serves to demonstrate how Aeneas as a man subordinates his personal desires to his fate as commanded by the gods. Having fallen in love with the local queen Dido, the hero seems to be happy in Carthage, until Jupiter sends Mercury to him to remind him that his destiny is to go found a new city (Vir. Aen. IV,219-295). And Aeneas does so without considering his own or his beloved's feelings. He leaves Dido, who is passionately in love with him, to sail on and search for the promised land of Italy; the queen burns herself at the stake and curses Aeneas and his people with her last words. In this part of the story, Aeneas is perfectly acting out Augustan values and appears as a flawless forerunner of the emperor to come.

He is the child of Venus and a Trojan shepherd named Anchises (Hes. The. 1008-1010; Hom. Aph.; Hom Il. II, 819-822), thus he directly originates from a goddess, which suggests that his divinity is not only based on

personal qualities, but is also assured by genealogy. Virgil modeled the character of Aeneas in a way that he would not only share characteristics with Augustus, but was also likely to be identified with the emperor. Among other things, the mythic hero serves to establish Augustus' divinity without actually calling him a god. Besides, the Emperor's deceased adoptive father had already received the *consecration*, and that allowed Augustus (as his lawful son) to adopt the epithet *divi filius*, son of a god (Will / Rüpke 2010).

Whereas in the *Iliad* Aeneas is depicted as an esteemed man and a feared warrior; the fact that Vergil does not name his protagonist before the 92nd verse shows that it was not necessary to do so because his story was known in Italy from the sixth century on. (Hom. Il. V, 239-251, V, 377-378, V, 432-433, XI, 58, XVII, 513, XX, 79-82, XX, 158-339; Heckel 2010; Rieks 1981, 786; Suerbaum 1999, 204). As the myth was also adapted by several other authors, the reader would recognise the protagonist from the content. Virgil's *Aeneid* especially stresses the role of Aeneas as the ancestor of the *gens Iulia* (Heckel 2010) and focuses on the character as a prefiguration of Augustus himself. For this purpose, Virgil had to create an authentic hero, to point out his virtues and to establish similarities between Aeneas and the Princeps. To additionally dramatise the character, the poet merges several mythical heroes with Aeneas: he has to travel for a long time before arriving at his point of destination (Vir. Aen. III) like Odysseus, he leaves his beloved woman for socio-political considerations (Vir. Aen. IV, 219-583) like Jason, he defends his camp as Hector fights for his home city in the *Iliad* (Vir. Aen. IX-XII), and he kills Turnus in a duel as Achilles kills Hector to avenge the killing of his friend

(Vir. Aen. XII, 887-952). Through such parallels and associations, Aeneas is constantly moved closer to other well-known mythical heroes, and also to the Princeps himself: Although there is no consistent identification, we find Augustan virtues combined and acted out by Aeneas: He is often characterised as a religious person, which alludes to Augustus' role as a priest (although he did not become *pontifex maximus* before 12 BC, he already occupied several religious positions at the time the *Aeneid* was composed) (Christ 2003, 160). In IV, 143-150, Aeneas is compared to Apollo – Augustus liked to point to Apollo as his father (Suet. Aug. 94), to identify himself with this god, and he even lived together with him in a way, by having added a sanctuary for Apollo next to and connected to his own residence (Peppel 2003, 91). Horace describes the relationship between Augustus and the Roman people like the one between a mother and her son (Hor. Carm. IV, 5) – similarly, a familial relationship is established by Virgil, who refers to Aeneas as “pater Aeneas” (Vir. Aen. I, 699, II, 2, III, 343, III, 716, V, 348, V, 461, V, 545, V, 700, V, 770, V, 827, VIII, 28, XI, 184, XII, 440). Aeneas is also the father of the Romans, being not only their ancestor, but also the first one to rule and to protect the people.

Aeneas is also the one to communicate with the gods, to interpret (or have interpreted) their signs and to perform their wishes (Vir. Aen. I, 314-410; III, 99-117, VIII, 26-67, VIII, 520-536, VIII, 608-619, IV, 42-900). The rational and decent Aeneas is without doubt the one major character in the epos (in contrast to the *Iliad* where he is only one of many heroes mentioned), the raw and passionate Turnus his human antagonist (Juno being

the divine one) and both thus symbolising the fight between the civilised Romans and the Barbarians. Furthermore, Aeneas is fulfilling Jupiter's plans, thus appearing as a representative of the father of the gods on earth. Similarly, Suetonius renders Augustus as a ruler receiving his power by Jupiter who treats and trusts him like a son (Suet. Aug. 94).

Conclusion

Everything that happens does so according to the will of the gods, man is there to merely interpret the gods' signs and to act in correspondence to their plans. One of the *Aeneid*'s major issues is the conflict between the will of the gods, or fate, and personal interests. Aeneas is rendered as a man who is able to subject his own desires to the gods' requests. In contrast, Homer's *Iliad* deals with people's personal interests and the resulting conflicts: although fate is always underlying everything that happens, the men in Homer's epos do not realise they are determined to act in such and such ways by fate but regard their conflicts as personal discords with other individuals. Virgil tells us the story of an outstanding hero who serves a superhuman, divine plan and strives to achieve its realisation.

The epos takes place in the Roman-Italic early period which was idealised throughout the Augustan reign and whose virtues and morals we find represented by Aeneas as the forebear of the Romans. Functioning as an etiological narrative and as a depiction of the Augustan time (i.e. contemporary to the author and readers in antiquity), the *Aeneid* depicts the current ruler as the idealistic and relational successor of the glorious hero. Augustus is thus located within a long tradition of powerful rulers fighting for the same virtues and going back to a time before Rome even existed. Furthermore, the line of Augustus' ancestors is pointed out as a very ancient

one, being even represented in the most famous epos, Homer's *Iliad*, and originally deriving from a goddess.

The Princeps is also personally named in the *Aeneid* – he is referred to in prophecies and divinations and in a way, he is associated with and thus acts through the protagonist within the poem. He also appears to continue and complete Aeneas' deeds at the time of the epos being written, looking back and glorifying the early Roman-Italic period and reestablishing the virtues of this so called "Golden Age".

Virgil himself was dependent on Augustus, who supported the poet financially – in return, so it seems, the Princeps wanted to be honoured and praised within his client's works. While criticism can often be found within the seemingly Augustus-friendly literature (especially in the poets of Horace), the fate of Ovid shows that it was very dangerous to displease the Princeps by neglecting the virtues he posits. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to dismiss the *Aeneid* as mere propaganda of the author's sponsor. Even though Virgil certainly implemented Augustus' praise intentionally – whether all this was his personal opinion, we will never know – but apart from that, he created an elaborate Roman national epos without merely reproducing his Greek and Roman predecessor's works.

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Josip Broz Tito as a Factor of Political and Ideological Integration in Yugoslavia

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After World War II, Yugoslavia was a country of great differences, with many religions, nations, and views about what kind of government should be established. For example, in the village of Prnjavor in East Bosnia, there were people from 26 different nations. It is often mentioned that Yugoslavia was one of the most diverse countries in Europe. On the territory of Yugoslavia, there were three great religions: Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, as well as Islam, together with twenty smaller religions. The Yugoslav Federation comprised six republics (Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia) and two autonomous districts (Vojvodina and Kosovo), five larger nations and a number of smaller nations. There were two ways of writing in usage: the latin and cyrillic alphabets. In a way, Yugoslavia, with all those differences, looked like the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

From a cultural point of view, there was a huge gap between the north and south of the country. In Slovenia, back in 1918, only four percent of the population had been illiterate; in Kosovo, in 1989, there were 30 percent of illiterate people (Simić 2010, 63). Differences in mentality were quite obvious, and this could be seen in the financial records, as well – the northern countries always had a bigger income and a more developed economy than the southern ones (Simić 2010, 64).

Carnival XII (2010)

The myth about Josip Broz Tito started during WWII, when he was a partisan leader. He was an authority which nobody could deny. Nevertheless, he was an ordinary man who had his good and bad sides. He had done a lot of great things and many more mistakes. Some of them were crucial for the destruction of Yugoslavia at the end. In his early life, Tito was a dedicated communist, he was involved in forming the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and because of that, police were in constant lookout for him. Tito formed the partisan movement with its mission to overcome fascism in Yugoslavia.

Tito had the support of the Soviet Union, where he had spent some years for political education. But this support was only oral because Stalin calculated with his own military strength. When Hitler and Stalin concluded a non-aggression pact in august 1939, Tito had no military backup from Stalin and during 1941, when Hitler invaded Yugoslavia, Tito had to improvise. He had a choice; to be a good patriot and fight the Germans or be a good communist and do nothing. He stayed in good relationship with the Soviet Union, but also formed a small group of resistance forces. Tito's small army could not defeat the larger German forces; therefore, he used guerrilla tactics to fight back. During WWII, Tito's forces grew in strength and quantity, and started to be recognised by the Allies who were looking for forces strong enough to overcome the Germans. Stalin didn't approve Tito's actions against the German occupational forces because of the agreement, but when Hitler broke the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, Stalin gave full support to Tito's partisan movement.

However, Stalin's support was not extensive in terms of supplies or manpower because he had his own big war to fight. There was little help on

part of Red Army during the final year of WWII to assist in operations in the northeastern areas of Yugoslavia. In recently discovered documents, we can see that on few occasion, Tito tried to make a peace deal with Hitler (Despot 2009: 67). It shows that Tito was always in contact with the other side to achieve a better position for himself. Tito also had contact with Churchill because he needed British help for forming the new government after the war (Biber 1981, 98). Tito in return promised Churchill that post-war Yugoslavia would be a democratic republic and not a communist state. Churchill hoped to spread western influence further east and thereby to limit Stalin's communist reach.

By the year of 1945, Tito's partisans had liberated most of the occupied area in Yugoslavia, (Jurčević 2000, 142) and just a few months before Hitler's final defeat, the whole county was in Tito's hands. After winning the election in November 1945, in which the opposition refused to participate, Tito's authority had been strengthened and a totalitarian communist system modeled on the Soviet Union had been established. In most parts of Yugoslavia, there was a significant religious tradition. Tito attempted to establish relations with the Catholic Church, but they refused to participate in the government because the condition was that the Catholic Church in Croatia had to separate herself from the Vatican. As a response to this, Tito acted with repression and conducted trials against leading priests (Jurčević 2006, 205).

Although Tito encouraged a close alliance with the Soviet Union and the countries of "national democracy", particularly with Bulgaria and Albania, his autonomous actions and efforts regarding the equality of the socialist countries and communist parties in early 1948 caused Stalin's and the

Cominform's attack on the Yugoslav leadership on charges of ideological diversion and anti-soviet activities. Tito, in response, denied the existence of an ideological disagreement, but stressed the importance of the relationship between two states, thereby both defending his country's independence and the autonomy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and resisting Stalin's claims of hegemony. However, in Yugoslavia, he used the same methods as Stalin to control his people in key places. Tito wanted to create a strong independent economy, and devised his economic development plan independently from Moscow, which resulted in a diplomatic escalation followed by a bitter exchange of letters. Moreover, Tito initiated economic and political reforms which alleviated ideological and state repression, decentralised government, dissolved peasant cooperatives, introduced a commodities market and introduced significant change to social and political life (Ridley 2000, 208). Faced with an economic blockade and threats of a Soviet military intervention in Yugoslavia, Tito asked for the economic and military support of the West, which he promptly got. Balancing between East and West became Tito's philosophy for all 35 years that he ruled Yugoslavia.

There is still a big question surrounding Tito's involvement in war crimes of partisan units in a field near the town of Bleiburg in Austria and during the travel back to Yugoslavia. The defeated Ustaša army and some civilians tried to surrender to the British and American troops in Austria, but the latter refused to take them as prisoners and by that action put them straight in the enemy's hands. Only a very small part of the defeated army came home alive. In his speeches, Tito proclaimed safety for the prisoners of war and the civilian supporters of the defeated regime, but secretly he gave out orders to liquidate all enemies of the new government. The num-

ber of people killed between 1945 and 1946, victims of Tito's mass shootings, death marches and concentration camps, has been more than 250,000. (Jurčević, 2005, 36).

After WWII, Tito held the title of Prime Minister of Yugoslavia and from 1953, he was President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He also held the rank of Marshal of Yugoslavia, serving as the supreme commander of the Yugoslav military. Although he was born in Croatia, Tito called himself a Yugoslav, but when he visited states in Yugoslavia he occasionally changed his nationality to the state he visited, thereby giving support to the local community. He would allow some freedom in expression of national feelings, but would quickly react if it compromised the Yugoslav state unity. He would often use fret tactics involving outside enemies who supposedly threatened to invade Yugoslavia, so that all people had to be in constant fear of the invisible enemy. The events at home and abroad which took place in 1968, above all the student demonstrations and the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, awakened the old communist fears of counter-revolution. Implementing a fear of counter-revolution had the same motivation as with the fear of an outer enemy, an approach which played with the fears of the unknown and of change (Simčić 2007, 42). Every deviation from the path which the government had set – political or ideological – was marked as counter-revolution or even nationalism. The accused were vigorously punished. After the split with Stalin all those who were suspected to be pro-Soviet communists, members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia who were alleged Stalinists, and even regular citizens accused of exhibiting any sort of sympathy or leaning towards the Soviet Union, were sent to the prisons or in labour camps.

After the failure of Stalin's collectivisation, self-management was a middle way between the Soviet system and capitalism. Self-management was a type of independent socialism that experimented with profit sharing with the workers in state-run enterprises. By 1953, self-management had become the basis of the entire social and economical order in Yugoslavia. In that way, Yugoslavia was open for business for the West and for the East (Mandić 2005, 97).

In 1961, Tito co-founded the Non-Aligned Movement with Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt), Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Sukarno (Indonesia) and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), also known as The Initiative of Five, for establishing strong ties with third world countries. By this act Yugoslavia improved its diplomatic position. Tito also became the first Secretary General of the Non-Aligned Movement which had 25 member countries at that time. Twenty years later, there were 75 member countries and 24 countries observing. In essence, the purpose of this movement was to create a third block, neutral to the two hostile blocs in the Cold War. Tito had a reputation of a fighter for independence, peace and coexistence among those countries. Their first conference was held in Belgrade, the capitol of Yugoslavia. Opinions differ about the significance of the Non-Aligned Movement; some historians do not pay much attention to the it, but the majority of them recognises the important role of the Non-Aligned Movement in a world divided into two blocks, giving the opportunity for a third way, a peaceful one (Simčić 2007, 362). Its strengths lay in all those "small" countries who by joining the movement gained a more important role in dealing with the world's current events. Consequently, both of the opposite blocks tried to have better relations with the movement because of the constant battle for more influence in the world.

Always balancing between the two great powers, Tito's foreign policy maintained neutrality during the Cold War and in the meantime established close ties with many developing countries. While all the other communist countries imposed travelling restrictions, Yugoslavia had a liberal travel policy permitting foreigners to freely travel through the country and its citizens to travel worldwide. For the Eastern countries, merely Soviet satellites, Yugoslavia was a good example for how to live better in socialism, how to have open borders, and how to have a reputation in the rest of the world. Western media portrayed Tito as a great leader in spite of his communist background and the dictatorship in his own country – the West was looking for an ally so close to the border of the Soviet Union.

During the last years of Tito's rule, Yugoslavia saw herself in big financial problems. Yugoslav banks couldn't repay their debt to foreign banks due to the inefficient managing within Yugoslavia's state economy. There were no investments in new technologies which would have needed less manual work because the whole idea of economy in Yugoslavia meant the employment of all workers regardless of the profit that a company should make. Some companies were in constant loss, but they still operated because every worker must be employed. That kind of situation could not last for long, and in late 1970's, inflation rose by the day. In his speeches, Tito would always say that the situation was normal and that there would be no reasons to worry. By the last years of his rule and life, Tito became lonelier. Because of his old age he could not control the country any more. Neither his ideas, nor his authority and reputation could change the situation. He and his associates were expecting a miracle solution because they had not thought of alternatives for decades, and especially the self-

management system was not to be changed. After Tito's death, the desperate situation became more obvious (Škrbić: 2006, 74).

The death of Josip Broz Tito marked the end of one era in the history of the Balkans and soon after his death, Yugoslavia, the artificial country he had built, collapsed. His funeral was, at the time, the largest state funeral in history (Simić 2009, 124). Politicians and state delegations from 128 countries were present; among them four kings, six princes, thirty-one presidents, , twenty-two prime ministers and forty-seven ministers of foreign affairs, from both sides of the Cold War.

In the 35 years of his rule, Tito managed to integrate political and ideological elements both from the East and the West, thereby making Yugoslavia a significant factor both in Europe and the world. By avoiding to become just one more of Stalin's satellite states, or a pure capitalist state over-influenced by USA, Tito went on a third way, the Non-Aligned Movement, enjoying the benefits of a placement in the middle of the two great powers. The myth of Tito was the integration factor that joined six different nations in one state – the artificial country of Yugoslavia.

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Yugoslav Regime Rhetoric and Legitimation Strategies

The Response to the Cominform Resolution

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Causes and Interpretations of the 1948 Soviet-Yugoslav Split

Before 1948, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) was generally considered to be among the most loyal to both the Stalinist form of Marxism-Leninism and to the Soviet Union. However, some tensions among Soviet-Yugoslav relations existed back from the days of the Second World War, when the Soviet instructions to other Communist Parties emphasised the war's antifascist and liberation aspect, not the revolutionary and communist one, in order to maintain good relations with the Western Allies. Although this earliest conflict was not very prominent itself, it demonstrated an early tendency of both Tito and the CPY to follow a path somewhat independent of the official Soviet line.

Another important outcome of the war was the fact that the partisan movement, led by the CPY, managed to liberate and re-unite Yugoslavia (broken into a series of quisling regimes following the Nazi invasion in April 1941) mostly on its own. The Red Army only played a marginal role in the liberation of Yugoslavia and the revolution. This fact and the fact that Tito achieved extremely strong personal popularity during the war later enabled him, together with the leaders of the CPY, to rely on popular support during the conflict with the Soviets. The National Liberation Struggle, along with socialist ideology, became the most important ele-

ment of legitimation in post-war Yugoslavia. Since the communist partisans were the only ones during the war who united the two goals of liberation and ending ethnic conflicts, they achieved high levels of popular support independent of, or even despite, their communist ideology (Spehnjak 2002, 20-21).

In the period between 1945 and the Soviet-Yugoslav split, there were a few more factors of tension, but because they are not as important for an account of the Yugoslav legitimation strategies, I will offer just a basic outline. In the immediate post-war years, the Trieste question between Italy and Yugoslavia was a matter of tensions between East and West as well as between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Stalin did not want to provoke the western allies, at least not in the first years after the war, and therefore advised Tito to back down – Trieste and most of the surrounding area were to be Italian. Tito, on the other hand, led an aggressive anti-western policy on the Trieste question, which was interpreted as Stalin's initiative and the probing of western defences and determination. Current interpretations differ. Tito either didn't realise that his Trieste policy was thus perceived and caused tension between East and West or, as a passionate communist, he did not care.

Another and even more serious matter was the question of a Balkan Federation (i.e. the unification of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and possibly Albania into federal or confederal state). Stalin did not oppose a Balkan Federation as such, probably even suggested it, but strongly disapproved Tito's goals and methods. Tito wanted a Yugoslav-dominated federation, formed without direct involvement of the Soviet Union, an approach which was guaranteed to cause Soviet opposition. The Balkan Federation project did not

succeed, but caused additional tensions among the Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

Yugoslav assistance to the communist fraction in the Greek civil war was another hot issue. Stalin, as with the Trieste question, did not want to cause further tensions between the blocks, and did not want to break the wartime “percentages” agreement with Churchill. As Yugoslavia was considered loyal to the Soviet Union, any Yugoslav action was bound to be perceived as a Soviet one by the West. Tito was again blind to or ignored such considerations. Finally, the different causes of the 1948 split can be put into one question: Who will be the dictator of Yugoslavia, Tito or Stalin? (Rusinow 1978, 22-24).

The Soviet-Yugoslav conflict developed throughout 1948, but a key date is June 28th, 1948, when the Cominform Resolution was adopted at its Bucharest meeting. CPY was accused of departing from Marxism-Leninism, exhibiting an anti-Soviet attitude, meeting criticism with hostility and rejecting to discuss the situation at the Cominform meeting. Naturally, the CPY rejected all accusations as inaccurate and the results of defamation. The real surprise of the Yugoslav response was making the whole thing public, including the Yugoslav-Soviet correspondence leading up to the Resolution. The logic behind such a move was to let people see both points of view and decide for themselves which side was right, but it also illustrates the confidence that Tito and the CPY leadership had in their popular support. Still, “letting people decide for themselves” did not exclude repression of those who supported the views of the Resolution. However, it can also be seen as an early sign of a period of liberalisation between end-1949 and mid-1953, facilitated among other things by the

support demonstrated throughout Yugoslavia for the CPY and her brutal dealings with potential opposition during the first 18 months after the Cominform Resolution. Both are an important contribution to the confidence of the CPY in the strength of Yugoslav communism, which was a necessary precondition for liberalisation. It was in that period of liberalisation that the Yugoslav regime distanced itself from the Stalinist model, not only rhetorically but also ideologically and institutionally. Those changes facilitated the changes in political discourse and consequently of legitimisation strategies (Lilly 2001, 166-170).

Official Yugoslav Rhetoric before the Cominform Resolution

After the liberation of Belgrade on October 20th, 1944, the primary goal of the party's rhetoric was to maintain and reinforce its authority. Communism was not a prominent topic before the summer of 1947 because it had a strong potential to cause resentment and opposition, especially among the rural population, the power base of both the wartime partisan force and the immediate-post-war party (Goldstein 2008, 431). However, at that time some of the most important foundations of legitimisation were laid. Above all, that included the “National Liberation Struggle”, “Independence”, and “Brotherhood and Unity” (between the nations of Yugoslavia). The importance of class struggle was played down in official rhetoric. Class confrontation did take place, the “bourgeoisie” was accused of wartime collaboration, not of being class enemies. Yugoslav foreign policy, as it was proclaimed, was almost exclusively Soviet orientated, but this was not explained with an ideological connection, but was rather founded on 19th century pan-Slavism – this was convenient because it avoided the topic of communism. For example, in the instructions for the Mayday celebrations in 1947, issued by Agitprop (the CPY Bureau for

Agitation and Propaganda), all slogans and corresponding articles in newspapers put emphasis on Slavic unity, not communist ideology (Lilly 2001, 77-81).

The mass media played a crucial role in building up and maintaining popular support for the regime. In the immediate post-war period that meant almost exclusively to control the newspapers, including both their staff and the content that was or was not allowed to be covered. The first law to this effect dated from October 1945 and banned all wartime collaborators from publishing, as well as any content that might incite racial or national hatred. As has already been mentioned, in the first years of the communist regime, the importance of class struggle was played down. Hence the term *collaborator* was used to justify the nationalisation of many private enterprises and – more importantly for this essay – to exclude all potential political opposition from public life. That approach had the twofold advantage of maintaining public support for such measures and of discrediting the accused in the eyes of the people. As for the newspapers that remained, they were brought under close Agitprop supervision. Agitprop issued directives about news and topics in three categories: “can write about”, “just for internal information” and “cannot write about” (Radelić 2006, 155-158).

Communist Yugoslavia was a new state, based upon but distinct from the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia. That distinction was necessary because many sources of national hatred, ethnic conflicts, and economic inequalities had their origins in the former, largely Serb-dominated kingdom. The importance of the new Yugoslavia was strengthened by the introduction of new historical myths and prominent figures, representing past connections

between the South Slavs and where possible defiance to foreign powers, or socially advanced goals. An important part of this Yugoslavian “newness” were the state holidays which tended to be introduced at days without long historical traditions and were mostly based on the most important events of the National Liberation Struggle. The ones that had longer traditions were usually of international communist origin; the most prominent example for this latter group is Mayday, the International Workers’ Day (Radelić 2006, 16-169).

The “Stalinist” period of Yugoslav communism was primarily founded upon the rhetoric and official imagery of the regime. Economic and social politics, however, were consistent with other “people's democracies” of Eastern Europe. Yugoslavia was one of the fastest newly-socialist countries to nationalise its industries, but this was not proclaimed as nationalisation in the interest of building socialism but as confiscation of property which belonged to traitors and quislings from the times of war (Radelić 2006, 178-179). However, the fact that the Yugoslav communists came to power without Soviet aid reflected the strength of Yugoslav communism and reinforced the “Stalinist” image it had. The same fact, indigenous communist power, was in reality one of the root causes of the split with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, rhetorical Stalinism of that time was very prominent. Pictures of Stalin were displayed at public gatherings parallel with, or even dominating, Tito's own portraits. Praises of the Soviet Union as the motherland of communism and the first among socialist countries were common, and foreign policy news were almost exclusively covering the Soviet Union and its bloc. In general, before 1948 there were no signs of tensions between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in any of the Yugoslav publications or within the public regime rhetoric.

Yugoslav reactions to the Cominform Resolution: Changes in indoctrination, official rhetoric and legitimization strategies

The Cominform Resolution refers to the resolution proclaimed on June 28th, 1948 in Bucharest, condemning the CPY for departing from Marxism-Leninism, exhibiting an anti-Soviet attitude, meeting criticism with hostility and rejecting to discuss the situation at this Cominform meeting. Direct confrontation lasted in many aspects until the beginnings of Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement in 1955/56. As has already been mentioned, the most interesting and long-lasting changes in Yugoslavia took place between the beginning of 1950 and the middle of 1953; hence the bulk of this part of my essay will deal with that time period.

When talking about Yugoslav defence from Soviet accusations, it is important to remember that responses published in newspapers were produced primarily with the domestic audience in mind. The responses of the first eighteen months after the resolution were purely defensive. The CPY at first interpreted the resolution as an attempt to limit its independence and create a more obedient satellite. The accusations were rejected as untrue and result of slander and misinformation about Yugoslavia in Moscow (Lilly 2001, 21). There are two basic reasons for this standpoint, stemming from domestic considerations and foreign policy. On the foreign policy front it was still expected during these first eighteen months that the conflict would not last, in large part because it was difficult to imagine the stable existence of a communist regime isolated from the Soviet Union, to which no alternatives had been previously considered. Domestically, it was not possible to switch overnight from praises of the Soviet Union to criticism and rejection of its model of socialism. In a sense, the people of Yugoslavia had to un-learn their “love for Stalin” while keeping their love

for communism, the CPY, and Tito. On the 1949 Mayday parade slogans reflected those topics and rejected unspecified slander, clearly pointing at the Cominform Resolution, and combined this with a general wish for peace (Jakovina 2003, 392).

Interestingly, and seemingly paradoxically, those eighteen months following the resolution represented the height of the Yugoslav Stalinist policy in at least two important aspects. The first aspect is the brutal dealing with real or potential pro-Cominform opposition. In part that was the response to the Cominform's calls on Yugoslav communists to topple the current "reactionary" leadership, and in part the final move to secure the CPY's position in power in the now radically changed and insecure international situation. The second Stalinist aspect of this period was the rapid and coercive collectivisation of agriculture, a step previously avoided because the power base of the CPY that largely consisted of peasants. This move is often interpreted as a practical demonstration of ideological loyalty to orthodox communism, but it was also made possible by the new and powerful "tool" for dealing with opposition that now came in the guise of dealing with the "Cominformists" (Goldstein 2008, 463-465). Alternative explanations include the honest ideological thoughts of the CPY leadership which dictated the need for collective agriculture, and the pragmatic one, the effort to make Yugoslavia self-sufficient in the light of international isolation (Lilly 2001, 163-164).

The rhetoric of that time remained largely the same as before the resolution when dealing with the topics of ideology and the building of communism and of socialist society. New developments were limited to refutations of Soviet accusations. However, some trends are worth noticing even

in those eighteen months after the resolution. On the one hand, this is the role of the CPY and the communist partisans in the liberation of Yugoslavia and subsequent revolution. It had always been important as a legitimisation basis, but as soon as some of the Soviet accusations downplayed the relative importance of the partisans for the Yugoslav liberation, while putting emphasis on realistically relatively small role of the Red Army, it acquired new importance (Lilly 2001, 187). If the CPY had allowed reducing the role of the partisans in the liberation, one of its most powerful claims to power would have been removed. After all, it has to be remembered that the role of the CPY in liberation and unification was by far more popular than its communist ideology. Also, as the fighters of the National Liberation Struggle had enormous political power, and most of the party's cadre including its leadership at the very top had been in fact active partisan fighters, any government that would not recognise the full extent of their role in liberation would almost surely fall. Wartime disagreements between the CPY and the Soviet Union, until now almost never mentioned, also entered the sphere of public discourse. These included both the conflicts over the communist character of the struggle and incidents that had happened among partisans and Red Army soldiers in the liberated Belgrade.

Increased repression following the Cominform Resolution was by the end of 1949 replaced by the liberalisation of the Yugoslav regime. The Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPY (CC CPY), held in December 1949, can be considered as the beginning of this period of liberalisation. One aspect of liberalisation is the opening towards the West, politically, economically and culturally. In particular, the new cultural policy, open to influences from the West while remaining in the communist con-

text, played an important role in the forming of new ideological foundations for the Yugoslav regime. Cultural policy in this period was not concerning itself with the prevention of ideological mistakes. Instead, those mistakes were to be discussed and analysed, and in the end to result in correct conclusions, with more powerful persuasive quality because they were seen as not just forced from above (Lilly 2001, 161). However, even after repression was somewhat relaxed some worries about anticommunist or Cominformist enemies within Yugoslavia remained. For example, on December 16th, 1950, the top political body of Croatia, the Politbureau of the Communist Party of Croatia (CPC), expressed concerns that “activities of enemies are being connected, or even organised... vigilance against the Cominform is lacking. Hostile radio stations [Voice of America] are listened to openly” (Zapisnici Politbiroa, 562). It was a common concern after the Resolution that the Cominformists and the nationalistic opposition would act together, and that at least the latter if not both would gain support from the West. However, the example just quoted is quite anachronistic, as at that time – December 1950 – Yugoslavia already received financial aid from the USA. The threat of a Soviet military intervention was at that time also considered very unlikely, despite some concerns of a possible proxy-war like in Korea.

Since the conflict with the Soviets had a strong ideological component, the top ideologists of Yugoslav communism turned to re-reading the basics – Marx, Engels, and Lenin. This work had started soon after the resolution, but new interpretations of Marxist ideology were not published before 1950. The return to ideological basics was one of the sources of political and cultural liberalisation. Convinced again of the inevitable triumph of communism, the CPY leaders felt confident enough to grant greater liber-

ties for ideological discussions. The culmination of this liberalisation period is the Sixth Party Congress, held in November, 1952, and although its liberal conclusions were limited by the middle of 1953 it had a long-lasting effect on the shape of Yugoslav communism. The CPY had theoretically renounced its monopoly on political decision making during its sixth congress, and took on a role of ideological educator and carrier of true socialist spirit. Symbolically, that change was reflected in the renaming of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), reflecting the name of the first international Marxist organisation (Rusinow 1978, 76).

Self-management or worker managed socialism quickly became one of the most prominent features of Yugoslav socialism. It first became important as an ideological and rhetorical tool, both for legitimation within Yugoslavia and during the ideological conflict with the Soviet Union. Since the theory of self-management was first officially formulated late in 1949 and put into legislature in mid-1950, the most common interpretation is that the motivation behind it was primarily propagandist. Indeed, there was a rather long delay between developing the theory and legislature for self-management and its implementation on anything more substantial than the symbolic level. Nevertheless, it can be argued that this is in part the result of the new post-Stalinist ideology as well as the pragmatic need for an economic system that would allow Yugoslavia to exist as a communist country open to western economies. Market components that were planned and later implemented were also meant to improve overall efficiency. The delay between developing the idea of self-management and its real implementation can be interpreted as a careful and gradualist approach in reforming the regime. In any way, the first important mention of self-

management was a speech by Milovan Djilas at the Third Plenum of the CC CPY in December, 1949. Filled with phrases such as “socialist democracy”, “free exchange of opinions”, “ideological struggle” and of course “self-management”, the speech marks the real beginning of Yugoslav reforms in the early 1950s. Most of those phrases became important in official rhetoric in that period, but self-management stands among them. It became, along with “National Liberation Struggle” and “brotherhood and unity”, one of the most important pillars of Yugoslav self-identification and the regime's legitimation. As such it became an integral part of public discourse in Yugoslavia (Lilly 2001, 200-203). Law on worker's self-management was passed in July 1950, and from 1952 Yugoslavia can be considered a workers' self-management economy in reality (Rosser / Rosser 2004, 400). As one of the basic elements of legitimation and self-identification, self-management was one of the few postulates of the Yugoslav regime that could not be called into question even in the periods of liberalisation and relatively free speech. Tito himself explained the importance of self-management, connecting it with explicit criticism of the Soviet Union by condemning state ownership over the means of production as a first and lowest form of social ownership (Rusinow 1978, 59-61). In contrast, he called Yugoslav self-management a primary, important, and decisive step towards true communism and the dying-away of the state.

Cultural production was, in the context of socialist societies and the building of communism, considered primarily a tool for creating the new socialist people and society. It was among the main forms of communication between the socialist regime and the population. The control of culture also meant the control of most topics and themes within the public sphere. For that reason, there were three basic requirements for cultural produc-

tion. Firstly, it had to be ideologically correct, although from 1950 in Yugoslavia that requirement was reduced and the ideological role of art could be fulfilled even if a work could be interpreted in a broad Marxist framework only or be seen as corresponding to its worldview. Secondly, cultural production was expected to be of high aesthetic and artistic quality. In part, that requirement stemmed from an ideological background, the elimination of class struggle; with it, the distinction between high and popular culture should also disappear, ideally by raising the artistic level of popular culture. At the same time, the third requirement was that cultural production remained popular in order to reach a large number of people, also a prerequisite for its social role. The second and third requirements shaped not only the expectations of art and artists but also that of the audience. Because education was seen as one of the goals of building socialist society and eventually true communism, artistically high and also popular culture fitted well into that framework. However, those three requirements were often, if not always, contradicting each other (Lilly 2001, 92-94). For example, an ideologically correct work of art can be of high aesthetic quality or it can be popular, but rarely can it be both. Similarly, a popular work has to be entertaining and that limits the possibilities for ideological content and even more for high artistic value. Art for art's sake was discouraged because it could not fulfil the social role that was expected of it.

Social realism was adopted in Yugoslavia, although never as the exclusively allowed form of art. Even so, its official endorsement was short-lived; the speech by a most prominent writer, Miroslav Krleža, on the writer's congress in Ljubljana in October 1952 is a symbolic break with social realism and communist instrumentalisation of art (Radelić 2006,

161). The foundations of the socialist-realist approach were shaken even before the beginning of the reform period in 1950 and had been practically destroyed by the time of Krleža's speech. However, realism remained important in official Yugoslav evaluation of art because of the logic behind it that is similar to social realism: Realism does not mean photo-realism, but a realistic reflection of broader or more generalised reality (Lilly 2001, 93). Yugoslavian ideological art critique requested a similar kind of realism – not a representation of reality without interpretation, but a realistic grounding in social context. Realism was, in various reviews of domestic and even western cultural production, in fact a basic prerequisite for positive evaluation. The reason for that was the belief that a work of art not based on reality also cannot reflect or contemplate it, and as such of course can not fulfil its social and educational role. On a more basic level, the CPY's ideological expectations of art of the CPY is well-represented by Vladimir Bakarić's definition of literature's role in December 1949: "The role of writer was always to reveal the truth, to inspire the masses with it and give a new zest for further advancement" (Naprijed, 01/01/1950). Another explanation of literature's role, again presented in the official weekly of the Communist Party of Croatia (CPC), *Naprijed*, this time in January, 1951 by Branko Žutić, contrasted the literatures in socialist and capitalist societies. While in capitalism, Žutić claims, the book is a commercial good just like any other and the only goal of publishing is a monetary one, in socialism the book is a tool for building socialist conscience (Naprijed, 01/12/1951). These remarks concerning literature stand, in pretty much the same form, for all other cultural production.

Obviously, the fact that Yugoslavia was very open to western culture after 1950 does not mean that this culture was not criticised when it was

thought to fail any or all of its expected roles. However, positive reviews are just as common as negative ones. It seems that during the reform period between 1950 and mid-1953 the authors in official newspapers were eager to find at least some positive aspects or interpretations of imported works. Among the best examples are two articles on existentialism, one by Matetić and another by Barković, of 1952 (Naprijed, 01/01/1952 and 09/19/1952). The first one deals with Sartre and concludes that existentialism is on the whole incompatible with Marxism because “it extracts the person not only from its social but from its natural environment and postulates the person as only and absolute value”. Barković wrote from a very similar position, but expanded this according to his subject, Camus and absurdism, which in his view “speaks of utter absurdity of any action for the benefit of another person”. Of course, the critique of individualist philosophy is expected from the communist viewpoint. What is interesting is that both reviewers welcomed the translation and publication of works that they were criticising on a philosophical basis. Apart from the artistic quality that they praised, even works that were considered so far from what is essential to Marxism could be interpreted in an “ideological correct” way. In these cases the solution was that the authors in question with their works represented “the mirror of bourgeois society” and that critically interpreted they would offer an “overview of that society in its turmoil”. With this example the flexibility of cultural criteria in Yugoslavia can be clearly seen. Ideologically, those works cannot stand by themselves as positive in Marxist worldview, but interpreted as an expression of problems within capitalist society they fulfil the ideological role of culture. The ambivalence towards existentialists also stemmed from the stance of the existentialist circle surrounding the journal *Les Temps Modernes* that they

“cannot be anticommunist, but also cannot be communist”. Matetić explained the latter part of this statement purely as opposition to Soviet politics. Because of that he proudly cited the interest that *Les Temps Modernes* showed for Yugoslavia, and even expected their conversion to the Yugoslav ideological and philosophical interpretation of communism. Such pride and overstatement of the Yugoslav role in the world, and more importantly in the developing of Marxist tough, was common within Yugoslavia and served as an element of legitimation.

Testament to the openness towards western culture are many harsh critiques of various works of literature, music, movies etc. that, even though expressed in official CPY media, were not followed by bans. Movies provide the best example, as they were often intended purely as entertainment without ideological or social commentary and reached a wide audience. A good example is *Road to Utopia* by Norman Panama and Melvin Frank. Although the movie was nominated for an Oscar in 1946 and is considered a good and innovative comedy, judged by the standards of Yugoslavian critiques it represents the very bottom of film production. Realism, a key precondition for any positive review is absent, the movie contains scenes like talking fish or bears, a real Santa Clause and so on. Even worse, the movie does not aspire to offer any insight into contemporary society, nor does it assume any educational role. In short, the reviewer I. Vidan concluded that it is among the worst “shallow comedies” and demonstrates that this genre “lost its stock of true humour and therefore tries to keep the audience interested with ‘surprises’ outside the plot itself” (Naprijed, 08/04/1951). Some movie genres were considered bad as a whole, most notably musicals and westerns. However, both were constantly imported and attracted large audiences to the theatres. A number of movies, theatre

plays, and books received extremely bad reviews from official party newspapers, and even some questions were raised about the purpose of showing such works and who decided to import them in the first place. Even so, they were not removed from repertoires and were not banned.

There is one important exception, the movie *Asphalt Jungle* by John Hudson. Because of its “privileged” status in this time period, a close examination of what was not tolerated even in these liberalised and permissive times is in order. Ideologically, *Asphalt Jungle* was acceptable because, even though it was not indented as such, it could have been interpreted as an expression of failures, alienation and “internal contradictions” of capitalist society. Artistically of course, it is not without considerable merit and Yugoslav reviewers recognised it as such. What did get the movie removed from repertoires is best expressed through the words of one reviewer, Zora Dirinbach: “[The movie suggests] an anarchic attitude toward ethics and social morale [and as such] presents a serious obstacle to the normal upbringing and education of our youth” (Naprijed, 10/26/1951). This opinion was not formed because the movie shows criminal activities and violence, but rather because lawlessness and violence were not considered properly socially contextualised were not and condemned within the movie. Apparently, ideological transgressions and artistic failings were tolerated but criticised, while any perceived threat to the upbringing of the youth was not. It may seem paradoxical in the light of Marxist worldview and communist ideology, but in its Yugoslav interpretation in the early 1950s it was not. Ideology was of course important, but reviewers constantly if implicitly showed a proper belief in the eventual but inevitable triumph of communism. Even though that allowed for a passive approach, where the triumph of communism did not have to be

forced because it could not be hindered, any threat to the education or upbringing of children and youths was considered a most serious transgression.

The education of children and the young was considered of utmost importance, and as mentioned, the perceived threat in this area was the only reason to employ “administrative measures” and remove one western movie from the Yugoslav repertoire of the early 1950s. Even so, many books, comics, and movies that were considered bad examples for children were permitted. The CPY, it appears, chose to rely on the stated approach of allowing mistakes and correcting them through education and discussion. As a matter of official rhetoric it is worth examining some of those discussions and critiques of works considered inappropriate for children and youths. How seriously such works, categorised as “pulp” and “trash”, were considered can be illustrated with an opinion, again expressed in the official newspaper of CPC, about such works published in pre-war Yugoslavia. In *Naprijed*, “V. L.” states that pre-war youth magazines, motivated only by profit, published crime, adventure and shallow love novels, which were considered one of the sources of crime amongst the youth (*Naprijed*, 04/20/1951). The publication of Friedrich Norfolk's *Cesare Borgia* by the youth magazine *Horizont* in 1952 was considered much the same like this kind of pre-war literature by Zora Dirinbach, both in content and motivation (*Naprijed*, 05/16/1952), but still was not recalled or banned. Comic-books were also criticised very harshly but their potential as educational tool was recognised and encouraged. Ideology was played down in such considerations of children's literature, focussing on the communication of more general positive values. As such, it was possible to praise the icon of capitalist production, Walt Disney, who according to one reviewer “unites

the noble with the lovely and directs children's imagination to pleasant feelings". Disney is also praised as almost achieving the perfection in comics and a role model for Yugoslav authors (Naprijed, 04/20/1951).

All this does not mean that children and the young were excluded from the regime's effort to convey ideological content and develop a strong sense of Yugoslav patriotism, Tito's cult of personality, and loyalty to communism in its self-managed form. Culture and entertainment were recognised as necessary for the young, as was their need to rebel against older generations. Youthful rebellions were tolerated as long as they were expressed purely in culture and entertainment. In such a way counter-culture did not acquire political and anticommunist tones. Indoctrination with socialist principles was to be conducted through schools and other educational and political forums (Lilly 2001, 241). The Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia, more commonly known as Tito's Pioneers, was a network of organisations in which children were enrolled parallel with the first grade in elementary school. The transmission of ideology to pioneers, beginning at six or seven years of age, was of course problematic. "Socialism", "brotherhood and unity" and the later-included "self-management" were the most prominent ideological terms included in the pioneers' oath and obviously those terms and their meaning in Yugoslav-Marxist discourse were not really understandable at that age. More age-appropriate topics included in the oath were a promise to study and work hard, to respect parents and elders, honesty, and the value of freedom and peace, are on the other hand very general notions and not ideology-specific. In that light, the most important parts of the oath and the whole pioneers' organisation were loyalty and love for Yugoslavia and its personalisation in the paternalistic figurehead – Tito. On that foundation of Yugoslav patriotism and Tito's cult of per-

sonality ideological content was built later, through other youth organisations.

The People's Youth of Yugoslavia was the most important institutional base for political and ideological youth activism in line with the regime's doctrine. Education in the bases of Marxism-Leninism was of course an important part of the work of such organisations, but not necessarily the most important one in the 1950s. Those actively involved were, for the most part, already communists, and education was needed not to impart ideology on them but mostly to put already accepted ideology on sound foundations. In the immediate post-war years and during the early 1950s, the CPY leadership in fact often felt compelled to curb the radicalism of the communist youth (Lilly 2001, 91). Overly radical approaches would have alienated too many people throughout many delicate stages of establishing the firm bases of the Yugoslav regime. The drive for collectivisation in agriculture before 1950 and the anti-religious campaign in early 1950s are both examples of policy implementations where youthful idealism and radicalism was potentially damaging to the regime and its popularity. The CPY adopted a pragmatic approach in dealing with youth organisations and using the enthusiasm of the young, but what was thought practical changed over time, sometimes rapidly. Immediately after the war, reconstruction was a top priority, so volunteer youth work brigades were organised and participation strongly encouraged, sometimes even undermining the voluntaristic principle. Soon, there were complaints that while commendable, extensive participation of youths in such work brigades was interfering with their education, but reconstruction remained a top priority and the complaints were ignored. The achievements of the work brigades were highly publicised and praised. Most were concentrated

on infrastructure, transportation above all, and the completion of some railroads or highways became important topics of Yugoslav communist tradition. Among the most publicised actions of work brigades were the building of “Brotherhood and Unity Highway” between Belgrade and Zagreb and the Brčko-Banovići railroad (Lilly 2001, 121). The first change of this overall development came about in November 1947 as education was proclaimed most important. The work brigades were still commended, especially in the educational and ideological sense of connecting the young with the goals and ideas of the CPY, but participation had henceforth to be strictly voluntary and must not interfere with regular education. The Cominform Resolution of 1948 brought about another rapid change. In a drive for economic self-reliance, work was again considered more urgent. The long-term goal of educating a new socialist/communist people had to be postponed in order to ensure the short term survival of Yugoslavia. After that, in the early 1950s, a final rapid change occurred. Again, education as a goal triumphed because the economy had been stabilised. Throughout later decades, youth work brigades remained important as a tool for ideological education since the spirit of communism was to be reinforced by volunteer work in large groups. In the more developed economy, such work was even recognised as economically counterproductive because it often would have been cheaper to pay a smaller number of workers with proper skills and equipment to finish a job faster than to feed and house a large number of unskilled young volunteers (Lilly 2001, 128-130). However, the institution of youth work brigades was kept because it had a strong ideological and propagandist potential and helped to connect young people with the regime on a solid and real base.

Conclusion: long term consequences of the Tito-Stalin split and the liberalisation period in the early 1950s

The importance of the Cominform Resolution for the development of Yugoslav ideology, its political and economic system, and its self-image can hardly be overstated. To properly evaluate the resolution tensions between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union before 1948, the frequently negative experiences with the Stalinist model in Yugoslavia as well as the independent strength of the CPY have to be kept in mind. Those factors, especially the latter two, are the real origins of the reforms in the 1950s and gave them their shape. However, some tropes of Yugoslav communism and its self-image are more or less direct results of the resolution itself, most notably a sense of independence which led to the idea of a “Yugoslav mission”, especially after the forming of the Non-Alignment Movement. The results of the reforms between early 1950 and mid-1953 are symbolised and embodied in the name change of Communist Party of Yugoslavia to League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Mostly symbolic, as was self-management when first introduced, both were deeply grounded in the work of Yugoslavian theorists of Marxism and as such developed into real staples of the regime, both in the sense of rhetoric and legitimation and in a pragmatic, political, and economic sense.

The most obvious and immediate change in official rhetoric after the Cominform Resolution was the break-up of praising Stalin and the Soviet Union. This was however not followed by the abandonment of Stalinism as an approach to organising a socialist society. Objections to the Stalinist model and ideas about alternatives were not publicly pronounced. Some time was needed to construct a new, complete, and coherent interpretation of Marxism-Leninism that would both differentiate Yugoslavia from the

Soviet model and fit the specific needs of Yugoslavia. For this a return to the classics, early and later Marx, Engels, and even Lenin was needed and on their foundations a new kind of Marxist model that could be called Titoism was developed. The worker-managed economy was proclaimed to be the true culmination of Marx' historical dialectic. It was promoted as combining the best of capitalism, efficiency in production, and of socialism, the end of class struggle (Rosser / Rosser 2004, 72).

The liberalisation of the early 1950s was enabled by the resolution and by the consequent break with Stalinism and remains as a crucial period in which new ideas could be refined and implemented in Yugoslavia. The end of that liberalisation period came about mostly as a reaction on part of Tito and the top LCY leadership to prevent the perceived threat of reforms going too far and undermining communism itself. Still, even after the end of the liberalisation period, its legacy was kept almost until Yugoslavia itself fell apart. Testament to its endurance through many changing cycles of liberalisation and heightened repression that characterised communist Yugoslavia's history is a remark which Tito made in 1971, at the beginning of a more repressive period. Tito criticised many conclusions from the Sixth Congress in 1952, and most prominently the change of the LCY's role from ruling Leninist party to Marxist association of progressive communist. But even then no complete reversal to pre-1950s conditions took place; the criticism of the Sixth Congress in 1971 was in fact anachronistic, in reality aiming at another liberalisation period during the second half of the 1960s.

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The largest ship under the Croatian flag

***VIRIBUS UNITIS* and the last bastion defending the Croatian coast**

Dubravko Aladić
Osijek

When it comes to Croatia's coastline, most of us think of it as a tourist destination. But more than a hundred years ago, this coastline was guarded by one of the most powerful ships of that time. Even though some may think Austria-Hungary was a weak dual monarchy which vegetated until the end of World War I, they are not completely right. In fact it was a multinational and multicultural monarchy mostly having problems in dealing with the Croats and the Czechs. But at sea it is a different story, this monarchy having been one of the strongest in the world in that respect. The ship that commanded over 50 vessels right before WW1 was called *Viribus Unitis*, meaning «with united forces» which was a motto of emperor Franz Joseph I himself. In this exposition I will try and show that this, indeed, is an interesting topic for reading and discussion since the ship's history doubtlessly deserves to be discussed once again.

Battleships of the Tegethoff class

During the early 20th century Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy formed a mutual defence pact against their possible enemies, France, Great Britain and Russia, bound at this time in an alliance called Entente. In spite of this, Austria-Hungary and Italy were not ready to forget their rivalry on the Adriatic and the news published in the German naval review "Marine

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Rundschau", in 1908, that Italy would soon be laying the keel of its first "dreadnought" were causing a severe reaction in the A-H naval circles. During a meeting of delegations of both parliaments on February 20, 1908, Commander of the Naval Section at Vienna and C-IN-C of the A-H Navy, Admiral Count Rudolf Montecuccoli Polinago, announced the building of A-H Battleships with design displacement of 18.000 or 19.000 tons armed with all main guns of the same calibre. First designs, drawn by the Naval Technical Committee at Pola, were representing units armed with eight 305 mm guns in four twin turrets. Former Chief Designer of the A-H Navy, Engineer Popper, thought these projects were too weak. After his retirement he worked as a consultant for the well known STT shipyard, and soon he began to develop his own designs for new ships with a displacement of 20.000 or 25.000 tons, armed with eight, ten or twelve 305 mm guns and the secondary battery of 150 mm or 190 mm guns, all in twin turrets.

The characteristics of the <i>Tegetthoff</i> class ships	
Length	152.83 metres
Width	27.336 metres
Draught	8.741 metres
Displacement (full)	21, 595 tons
Top speed	20.3 knots
Range	4, 200 Nm at 10 knots
Complement	1, 097 (31 - 38 officers)

Service and fate of *Viribus Unitis*

Viribus Unitis was launched on July 24, 1911, in presence of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, who, for this occasion, was intentionally missing the crowning ceremony of the English king George V. This was due to the crisis that arised following Germany's sending the gunboat Panther to Agadir because of which another personality of lower rank was sent to Great Britain, Archduke Karl Franz Josef, who, by the whim of fate, later became the last Austro-Hungarian Emperor, Karl I.

In 1912, *Viribus Unitis* was the world's first completed battleship with triple turrets (despite the fact that the Italian *Dante Alighieri*'s keel was laid earlier), and from June 13 to July 18, 1913 she participated in the international blockade of the Bojana estuary, an answer to the Montenegrin occupation of Skodra or Scutari. The ship returned to Pola, but the blockade was renewed in autumn. Afterwards she was sent back via Gravosa, Spalato, Sebenico and Abbazia to arrive at Pola on September 7, 1913. The sister ship *Tegethoff* was commissioned in July 1913 and both units participated in the summer exercises. Together with the battleships Zrinyi and Radetzky they made the training cruise in the Mediterranean from March to June 1914, visiting Malta and several harbours on the Levante.

In the last days of June 1914 the Austro-Hungarian army was holding exercises in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the presence of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, who had come from Pola to Ploče with *Viribus Unitis*, in order to proceed to Metković aboard the steam yacht *Dalmat*. After the exercises the heir to the throne and his wife Sophia were killed at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914 by a Serbian assassin. Their bodies were returned to Ploče aboard

the *Dalmat*, and with the *Viribus Unitis* to Trieste, to be brought to the Castle of Arstetten by train afterwards, where the pair was buried. War against Serbia was proclaimed on July 28, 1914 and the Austro-Hungarian Navy Admiral Anton Haus raised his country's flag on *Viribus Unitis*. Soon state of war was proclaimed between most of the countries of the Entente and the Central Powers, but Italy remained neutral.

During the war, the new dreadnoughts mostly remained at the anchorage at Pola, because Admiral Haus was holding his ships back for the expected war against Italy that was finally proclaimed on May 23, 1915. In the same night the Austro-Hungarian fleet attacked Ancona, Senigallia, Rimini and Porto Corsini (Ravenna's outer harbour). Admiral Haus took his flag from *Viribus Unitis* to *Habsburg* and three ships of the *Tegethoff* class were shelling Ancona together with Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand.

Admiral Haus died aboard the *Viribus Unitis* on February 8, 1917 and was succeeded by the cautious Admiral Maximilian Njegovan. In February 1918 the ship's crew rebelled at the Bocche, or Bay of Kotor, where the sailors were getting sick of war and longing for peace at any cost, but the mutiny was soon quelled, many sailors were arrested, four ringleaders executed, and all older ships decommissioned. Many admirals retired, one of which was Maximilian Njegovan who was replaced by Rear-Admiral Miklós Horthy de Nágybanya. He decided to renew the fighting spirit of the crews and to attack the Otranto barrage in June 1918, an obstacle that was disturbing the passage of Austro-Hungarian and German submarines from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean and back. The action resulted in the sinking of the *Szent Istvan* near the island of Premuda by the prominent Italian Lieutenant Commander Luigi Rizzo. As a

consequence, a total of 89 crewmen died.

On October 29, 1918 the National Council proclaimed the founding of the State of SHS (Slovenes, Croatians, and Serbs) at the Croatian Parliament (Sabor) in Zagreb. One day later Emperor Karl ordered the delivery of all warships and installations of the Austro-Hungarian navy on the Adriatic to the State of SHS, and of the vessels of the Danube Flotilla to the Royal Hungarian Government. On October 31 the fleet units at Pola were transferred to the representatives of the National Council from Zagreb. All units raised the Croatian flag and sang the Croatian anthem Lijepa Naša. But the joy did not last for long because of two Italian divers called Raffaele Paolucci and Raffaele Rossetti who detonated the *Viribus Unitis*. Soon the whole coastal Istria was occupied by the Italians. The wreck of the *Viribus Unitis* was destroyed underwater by explosives and broken up *in situ* during the Italian occupation of Pola. One of her masts was lying on the shore near the Admiralty building for years.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that although being named in Latin, the *Viribus Unitis* was a command ship of the Austro-Hungarian navy most of the sailors of which were Croatians who proved to be loyal servants, but bad masters once more.

At the very end of World War I, Croatia was having a vast fleet on her hands to defend herself against the Italians but it lasted only for one day. On that single day after many years, the Croatians had the opportunity to resist the Italians and to protect themselves. But all good things only last for a short period, Italian officers sank the admiral ship and with that ship all hopes concerning Croatia's gaining independence were lost. Only 72

years later it was to be possible again, but never from that time have Croats commanded the largest ship in their long maritime history. This ship *Viribus Unitis* marked the end of Middle Europe Croatia and the beginning of a Croatia known for its Balkan "roots".

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A Roman's Habitus

A Reconstruction of the Narrator Umbricius' Mentality in Juvenal's Third Satire

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1. Umbricius – Juvenal's *Alter Ego*

„And home, I grant, to the afflicted soul seems pleasant.”

Ulysses (Hom. Od. II, 350)

In Juvenal's third satire his alter-ego Umbricius looks back upon Rome before leaving the city. In fact, this is a very euphemistic description. Umbricius is a poor guy, poor in every material meaning: He's economically, bodily and mentally exhausted from the city, which he, and this is being told in many satiric *facts*, is now going to leave. Why should he do such a thing? This question might be the first question for a reader to ask, and one of the first effects of Juvenal's satire: Umbricius' thoughts lead to reflection. He himself knows exactly why he wants to leave Rome. Juvenal/Umbricius knows already! And this is the motivation for this essay: to reconstruct the narrator's mentality to show the mind behind it: Juvenal. To show the mentality of a *living* Roman, to get an idea how a Roman's mentality reveals itself in time through his opus.

This reconstruction does not aim to give a psychological profile of Juvenal, but rather to paint a careful picture of his mentality, a Roman's mentality, by analysing the given/written facts about Rome as told by a Roman: Umbricius. If the satire is carefully analysed, the possibility is given to make careful conclusions and also to articulate three theses; conclusions

that lead to these theses about the, behind all satiric art, self-describing Roman mentality against the background of the satire – by creating a „picture of a Roman“.

Of course, the satire is overdrawn and filled with mockery and many stereotypes, but Juvenal wants to tell something, and he tells it through Umbricius: Why would he leave the city? Is Rome really only doing him harm? Is there no use to life, but decadence on one and poverty on the other hand? But I want to go a step further. This method allows to reconstruct the synthesis of Umbricius' mentality with the author's, Juvenal's, mentality, to show his habitus – a so carefully created Roman's habitus, by reconstructing a Roman's look, reflecting on his own time. In other words: I am trying to create a “light picture of a Ro-man“, which is, as I'd like to propose, the overall meaning of the totality's significant (the texts themselves), built by the third and the remaining satires.

This Roman habitus might be generally unknown. It does not know itself. It is a written performance of Juvenal's awareness, of analysis and reflection, to get to know and to explain the problems of his present time. I propose that Juvenal was aware of the habitus surrounding him, and that, as a reflecting historian and poet, he was aware of his own reflections – his own habitus. He could have surely answered the question: “Who am I?” – And he did: In his satires. And he is also questioning the reader: “Who are you?” – Here in Rome, in my, in Umbricius' time?

Now, this is my third proposal and thesis: By revealing the Roman habitus in his satires, Juvenal is aware of proving a bit of a general Roman habitus. And he also reveals his own, which can be found between the lines, in his humour, his satire. Mockery and irony are the shield that Juvenal uses

to camouflage his habitus – but it shows, nonetheless, who he is, and what he means. His – until then – secret is no longer there. But more importantly: He will always be the only one to whom this – his own – habitus is known between the mentality-fronts he is describing. My analysis can only show a small part of both: of Juvenal's and the Roman's habitus.

As one can now insist: All this sounds like an insinuation. But it is no insinuation, and even if it is, it is Juvenal himself who insists on his opinion between the lines, and another term for his habitus, one we can surely reveal is this: "Juvenal's insinuation". In other words: This habitus, this self-insinuation is what stands and sounds between the lines.

Finally: This investigation tries to explore and reveal a Roman's habitus without claiming completeness and without losing itself too deeply in the dusty depths of notional psychology. To show and to document this habitus, I will use Juvenal's third satire only. A more dense investigation might show if this way of reconstruction is a possibility – or not.

2. What I see, is...

„Here spoke Umbricius: "Since there is no room," quoth he, "for honest callings in this city, no reward for labour; since my means are less to-day than they were yesterday, and to-morrow will rub off something from the little that is left, I purpose to go to the place where Daedalus put off his weary wings while my white hairs are recent, while my old age is erect and fresh, while Lachesis has something left to spin, and I can support myself on my own feet without slipping a staff beneath my hand. Farewell my country!" (Juv. III, 19-30)

This reproachful but in principle unexcitingly sounding Wild Blow gives us a relatively complete look at the Roman's habitus. It shows what we can analyse as effects of transformation: **1:** The knowledge of departure **2:** Work, at which one can stay honest, is not required anymore. **3:** Effort is

no longer worth it, because a surplus doesn't show up – on the contrary: effort brings loss. **4:** The cost of living rises rapidly. **5.** All this accumulates in a coercion of facts: the reason to leave Rome “*while my old age is erect and fresh.*”

Concerning 1: The reference to Daedalus seems to be very important in more than one way. On the one hand, Umbricius condemns Roman culture and practice in verse 65f. as a farce of Greek culture and also condemns the Greeks and their culture in a very rude way; On the other hand, he himself uses Daedalus or better: the Greek-mythological model, for his subjective conclusion. Umbricius will leave his home, in this case Rome, like Daedalus left the labyrinth by his own virtue; like Daedalus he will go to exile, and a city such as Rome can easily be seen as a labyrinth. Daedalus died, according to the myth, after his escape from the labyrinth in Sicily to Cumae, where our Umbricius wants to go; Cumae, which lies in the northwest of Naples, in the Italian region of Campania. Cumae itself was founded by Greek colonists from Chalkis and Eretria during the 8th century BC (Caputo 1996). Whom is Umbricius really mocking, then? The Greeks and their culture? But isn't he on the way to depart to the origins of Greek culture, where he'll be more in touch with Greeks, than he is here, in Rome? Besides: The satire is a Greek invention! So, Umbricius is mocking “his” Romans, which try so hard to be Greek or to realise Greek culture. They don't see that they are getting themselves a living Greek farce (Juv. III, 55-125). The Romans and Roman culture are transforming themselves into a pseudo-Greek-culture; they are reconfiguring the cultural code of their cultural room – Rome and the Roman Empire. They have forgotten the difference between assimilating and/or integrating a culture like the Greek through a leading culture like their own; about which they

assimilate themselves into interpreted Greek culture and by this process of transformation and reconfiguration they get a segmentary component of Greek culture – a Roman culture without Roman culture – a farce.

This is the perfect paradox: by thinking of themselves as a leading culture, the Romans practically and theoretically mean to integrate Greek culture – but it happens exactly the other way around! The Romans' perception of the surrounding world cannot be forgotten either, as it is part of this process of transformation. The pseudo-Greek perspective is now the Romans' new point of view on the world, as Umbricius shows us. A look at political practice reveals permanent political unrest in the empire, besides some periodical exceptions running like a red string through Roman history – until the downfall of the (Western) Roman Empire in 476 AD. This downfall can inasmuch be seen as an effect of a *pseudo-graecisation*. This may sound a bit exaggerated, but as one has to see – there is a point, which I tried to explain above. A denial of this interpretation would be either exaggerated, and it would underestimate the interactions, the cultural reconfigurations and processes of transformation, which are an inescapable effect of cultural merge. It is easy to see that these complex processes of cultural merge demonstrably lead to a just as complex alteration of the Roman Empire on political, economic, social and cultural levels (cf. Leibold 2006, 70-74), leads to the alteration of the social codes and their practice – to a change of Roman habitus.

Umbricius is describing the level, crossing of the habitus: of the “standard Roman's” life in the capital city who is going to change into a Roman-Greek hermaphrodite. And the change is going much further: The Roman is changing into a culturally impotent hermaphrodite, composed partially

of the dispassionate und forgotten components of the original Roman habitus, but obviously mainly replaced by the pseudo-assimilated Greek habitus. In other words: this means the decline of Roman manners, following the Greek cultural pattern. It is this special kind of decline which Umbricius, looking into the future, criticises.

Concerning 2: Honest work is not required anymore. Which kind of work is, then? With respect to the overall situation in Rome, Umbricius points to another complex issue. Permanently self-transforming, Roman culture at his time is fundamentally based on, when we consider the necessity of living, imports; tax imports, imports of goods (which means food, but also art, technology, soldiers, literature, slaves etc.). And on war: war in the East with the Parthians, war in the North, as the Teutons are constantly upholding pressure.

The original Roman peasants have been transforming themselves into professional soldiers for centuries. But: The emperor is – as always – chosen out of the leading nobility. The aristocracy of Rome – the elite – isn't changing so easily. But both fractions – the former peasants, now soldiers, and the always young and old nobility – are getting less as the time is changing: The once many peasants and the once few mighty political and cultural leading families – they are no longer able to live independently, depending on their own culture, their roots and traditions. The peasants, senators, emperors, knights – the “Roman originals”, they vanish; they dissolve in the new cultural codex.

What I want to say by this excursion is: What kind of work can there be in such a capital city, in Rome? What kind of honest work does Juvenal mean? (Juv. III, 126-169). The only choice one has is to adapt the new

culture. To live under – through the eyes of Umbricius – immoral and unethical – “Greek” conditions – not in originally Roman conditions. Greek conditions mean: To speculate, to cheat, to copy, to gamble away living, to chatter, to show off with everything. There are two wars being fought within the Roman Empire: A small one, and a big one. The small and the big politics: Everything is in every way not originally Roman any longer. There is no longer room, not even the smallest, in which someone like Umbricius wants to stay, to live, to work. There’s nothing left to believe in. These Romans at his time are no longer Romans who perform work in the Roman way – for Romans, for the whole empire. This is Umbricius’ worst case scenario: *Pseudo-graecisation in reality*. It is a metonymic representative of the change in Rome and in the whole Roman Empire

Concerning 3 and 4: Effort is no longer worth it. The causes are manifold (Juv. III, 170f.) Plus the strong competition, the increasing non-wage incomes, the increasing costs for living, permanent inflation, etc. As we can read, these facts are given in Umbricius’ time in Rome, however, besides some periodical exceptions. These facts are not a novelty, they are everyday life. And these facts of everyday life, these circumstances Umbricius cannot take any longer. The sociocultural upheavals are serious. The poverty rises, is rampant. Who can pay for work in any way? The magnification points and projection surfaces are places like the suburb (Subura). The circumstances there, as in general but not so bad, of course, are, what Umbricius shows us as critical as well as basically unlivable. They are making people ill. Effort is no longer worth it – in manifold ways. Work brings no surplus, no satisfaction and not a bit of prestige can be earned by hard working hands. Each kind of work causes costs in advance. In Umbricius’ time, these costs are neither now nor retrospectively covered.

You cannot longer afford anything for a good living – you get ill. Illness causes costs. Add the strong competition, nepotism, fraud – everything I was explaining under point two.

Concerning 5: All this accumulates in a coercion of facts: The reason to leave Rome, “*while my old age is erect and fresh.*” But: The coercion to leave is none, because there is no one forcing Umbricius to leave. It’s his own conclusion. All the points given above are reason enough to make Umbricius feel forced. Would these causes or circumstances be a coercion of facts – just think of our own times! The poor, living in the Subura in Rome, get ill. The rich in their homes become perverted, greedy for power. This simplification serves the unscientific vividness of Umbricius’ principle: Ill, or perverted through adaption, by the loss of one’s own culture, the reorganisation or reconfiguration – the transformation of the complete sociocultural space, including politics – including all the missing complexity and interaction; besides strong subsidy from the dynamics of chance. The discussion is idle because the changes or the reconfiguration (the transformation) of all the cultural codes is no disadvantage; like no change at all is *per se* a disadvantage.

Conclusion:

Finally: Where is the hidden habitus? Where is the special Roman’s mentality – and Juvenal’s mentality? It is hiding and ingeniously camouflaging itself behind the character of Umbricius. It uses the satire as a device to blur itself, the exaggeration and the painful mockery, to be heard (and also read, of course). It seems to sleep, when it gets dragged back to reality in the end by his draught animals – but it never sleeps! It laughs lovingly in our faces. Lovingly due to several causes: It would never make such an

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effort to write such sharp and well describing satires, because of the selfishness or cynism, even if it sounds cynical or selfish. It works in a clever and smart way by describing social problems throughout a hard time of great cultural change. And it also shows solutions. It wouldn't do what it does if it would or could not love what it sees: If what it sees would not make him suffer. This suffering is but an effect of coercion; the effect of a technology of power and its use constituted in society. This suffering can change, when Umbricius leaves home. Leaving means new hope. He/It knows both sides of the coin: even the loss, even the benefit.

What do we hear, when we hear Umbricius wheeze? The wheeze of a tired martyr? Surely not! For that, he/it bites too hard – so that it is not only hurting, but even bleeding. The habitus won't be irritated, it wants to be understood. It searches and tries to find a sympathetic ear. It warns, pointing to tradition. Thereby it appeals to a utopia: The past. I'd like to call this habitus convalescent; recovered. Recovered from the past, it is carefully reading the reconfigurations and transformations of the present. It has no choice. There is no other world, besides this world, his world – on which he can recall and which therefore means everything to him. So sometimes this habitus also sounds lonesome.

When we know that Umbricius leaves at the end, it is a part of Juvenal's habitus that leaves Rome. The "carnal" part stays. May it sound – compared with our modern terms – xenophobic, misogynic, and conservative down to the bones – Juvenal couldn't make more of an effort than anyone of us, and than what he did. But perhaps this isn't right. Whoever reads his sixth satire about women, reads satiric vulgarities, but look deeper! There is no real or subtle transgression. Umbricius does, what most men do:

They complain about women's behaviour; the how, not the who, is what he criticises! He stops at subscribing the surface and giving hints about what *could* be below. This has nothing to do with misogyny.

Satire as a category of communication is one of the features which draw part of the habitus which, I propose, is Juvenal's. The question is, if we harm Juvenal by upsetting him with our modern point of view, our interpretation. Can this be the whole truth? At least part of it? Or does it just fit in our pattern of interpretation? A pattern which has grown historically or has been socialised – part of another process of transformation, our own process.

There must also be another part of Juvenal's habitus which may forever stay clouded; I was hoping to show my idea on how a Roman's habitus could be interpreted by reading Juvenal's satires. This is what we have, what Juvenal/Umbricius tells us: His sharp and complex satires. A poet, an artist tries to do the best he can, to show the best of what the motive he is looking at shows him in any way. Juvenal reveals abysses, but concurrent possibilities, even when it seems that they are gathering only *inside* of him, or better: in his habitus. Juvenal's – a Roman's – habitus materialises itself very effectively in a discursive, cultural centre; it is the critical focus and literary marketplace of the complexity of a reconfiguration, a transformation and a recoding: Of a world-city-empire in an overall change.

Notes

¹ I follow Bourdieu's (1997) definition of habitus. A habitus, in his words, is the way people "behave". Another possible explanation for habitus, which points in the same direction, is given by Norbert Elias (1987). The definition fits in both instances: a habitus is part of socialisation, or, as I try to show, part of the process of reconfiguring and transforming Roman

culture by the help of Greek culture. Bourdieu calls a habitus a “geronnene Lebensgeschichte” (“coagulated life story”; Bourdieu 1997, 57f.).

² For a definition of what transformation might be, I refer to the homepage of the „Sonderforschungsbereich 644“ at Humboldt University, Berlin (<http://www.sfb-antike.de/index.php?id=317&L=0> – last checked 05/15/2010): "Transformations can be understood as complex processes of change which take place between a reference area and an adoption area. As they proceed, transformations not only modify the adopting culture, but also reconstitute the reference culture. This close relation between modification and performative genesis is an essential characteristic of transformative processes, which can occur both synchronously and diachronously" [translated from the original German by Robert J. Hanna]. To make it short, transformation means the process of cultural exchange between Roman and Greek culture and their complex interdependences. Roman culture integrates parts of Greek culture and reintegrates Roman culture in the Greek one. The result is what Umbricius tries to describe as the new Roman habitus.

³ For example 71f.: „Quick of wit and of unbounded impudence, they are as ready of speech as Isaeus and more torrential.“

⁴ Very interesting also in comparison with Karl Marx' work “The 18th Brumaire” – there he looks at the first and the second French revolutions and comes to the conclusion that the second French Revolution (1848-1851) was a farce, after the first one had been a tragedy (MEW, 115).

⁵ Women may do this the other way around. See for example Berg 1998/9.

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A (Slovenian) Graduated Historian's Anabasis

Or Why You Don't Need a Ph.D. in History to Drive a Taxi.

Bogdan Šteh

Ljubljana

So, I've finished my bachelor's degree in history. Good, what can I do now? Does this sound familiar to you? If you've already graduated, this question probably came to your mind shortly afterwards, unless you're one of those lucky ones who knew where they were going to work even before they finished their studies. The majority of students should take this question into consideration before they even start studying. Most don't, but that's logical. Typically we study subjects we feel close to and in which we have some interest. The chances of getting a job don't play such a significant role at this stage. There's nothing wrong with thinking this way, since we will be highly motivated to study subjects in which we have natural talents and find interesting. Nevertheless, it's good to know what we can expect from our education after our student times are over. In theory we should find a job inside our academic field (in this case history). Although the slogan "you don't study to get a job, but to get the knowledge" is quite popular in academic circles, I'm sure nobody studies just to study. Or at least I hope so. So where can people with degrees in history get appropriate jobs? That was the question we wanted to answer at the ISHA

Weekend Seminar, held in Marburg from January 28th to 31st, 2010.¹

There's no way to describe a typical career path for graduating history students. Each person's search for a job after graduation is unique; however, there are some common themes that can be discussed.

Spaghetti Bolognese

It is not surprising that of all the discussions in Marburg, the one about study conditions was the most intense. The quality of study conditions can contribute a great deal to one's job chances after graduation. In the last decade, debate about universities and the study process began to revolve around the word 'Bologna,' commonly used either for the Bologna treaty or the process started after its signing. Opinions on the subject vary from strong approval to strong criticism. We experienced both from our guest speakers in Marburg, with one significant difference. The speaker who supported Bologna was critical about the first results of the process, acknowledging that not all its goals have been reached and some aspects still need to be handled better or differently. One could describe his presentation as a defence. The other speaker, a strong opponent of Bologna, chose a more offensive approach, describing the reform as a plan of "university managers supported by politicians." However she did not make any suggestions about what should be done in the future to make the process of studying better, as if the old system was generally good and maybe needed just some minor corrections. This kind of opinion is also very common in university and academic circles in Slovenia. They see the reform as something imposed upon them by politicians or the bureaucracy. Their argumentation against the Bologna reforms rests on the one hand on the 'university tradition,' on the other on protecting the university from the

laws of the free market. For one professor, Bologna is a process in which the political élite have almost destroyed something that had been built over more than eight hundred years and had proven to be one of civilisation's most successful ideas.² Another professor pointed out that the reformers want the modern university to exchange academic excellence with economic success, with only one goal: to give students knowledge that enables them to get the most profitable job.³ Good, of course the university should have other goals, such as the growth of intellectual skills and cultural development, beyond giving students knowledge for good future employment. But to see equipping students for a decent job as the last step on the university's descent to rock-bottom is a bit drastic. I don't think all those students at universities came to spend three, four, or five years studying *something* and then to end up starving or on social support. But this was one of those professors who don't seem to think about that. And why should they? They have good and relatively safe jobs. From their perspective Bologna is a nuisance, disturbing the system in which they have been working for the past twenty or more years and which suits them just fine (or is at least more comfortable than Bologna). Their criticism is very one-sided, because they don't tend to be critical of the system of which they are currently a part, not just with regard to debate about reforms of the university, but also of everyday things. To illustrate this attitude, let's examine one basic example: a student published a letter to the editor in the newspaper of the University of Ljubljana, complaining about professors in the Faculty of Arts not attending their office hours. After some time the dean of the faculty replied to him, not really addressing his concerns, but rather pointing out how this problem should be solved within the faculty system, saying the student should come out with con-

crete names, and telling him ‘to step out of sight of the public and come to meet him in his office to discuss the problems.’⁴ It seems the dean was mainly concerned about bad publicity in the media when the student went public with the problem. ‘Don’t you think it’s wrong to publicly insult the efforts of many who attend to their work on the faculty with great dedication and professionalism, just because of a few individuals? (I’ll admit there may be a group of them).’⁵ As we see, criticism is mainly directed towards the vicious student—the outsider—while the university staff—the insiders—are defended as dedicated workers, with the possible exception of a small problematic group.

Similarly, promoters of Bologna don’t seem to take criticism lightly either. Since a great deal of capital, both financial and especially political, was invested into the process, it *must* be a success story—or at least sold as such in media. At the conference about Bologna held in Vienna and Budapest in March, 2010, the EU commissioner for science and research Andrule Vasiliu spoke about a ‘success story that clearly shows how European cooperation can be useful.’ But if success is to be measured not by agreements on paper but by practical results, then it shows that only part of the plans came into practice and even these not in every country involved in Bologna.⁶ There are many reasons to agree with an opinion expressed by Dr. Rizman in an above-quoted article, that ‘he finds no good reasons to celebrate the 10th anniversary of Bologna.’⁷ Different interpretations of results, criticism that leaves very little space for compromise, and a lack of communication between all partners involved in the process (academics, students, politicians, representatives of the economy) are obstacles to a successful end to the process, despite intentions that are not

necessarily bad. The atmosphere in Vienna on the day of celebration was a good example of this lack of communication. It seems the promoters, due to the already-mentioned reasons, decided to give the public a positive image of the event at all costs. So the whole event ended up similar to a G-8 Summit. On one side were politicians and promoters of Bologna celebrating in Hofburg along with some student representatives, much like Bono and other celebrity 'Good Samaritans' at G-8 Summits, while students and activists were placed on the other side of a police barrier.⁸ I presume there were some suggestions worth listening to on both sides, but who's going to hear them if there's a SWAT team standing in between!

The group that feels the consequences of reform the most are the students. As such they are very motivated to be critical about university study conditions. It's in their interest to be so, since the knowledge they'll receive at the university will be one of the crucial factors in their further career. In Slovenia, it was the students who made the most articulated remarks about the Bologna process and were some of the first to point out some serious problems caused by changing academic programs, such as questions about the education levels of the old and new degrees. Another problem is that new 'Bologna degrees' are not actually new, but old programs cut from four years to three.⁹ From the point of view of a history student changing programs, this was an opportunity to bring some new courses into the programs, a change which could enlarge job opportunities for freshly-graduated students. This has not happened, as is the case in most other countries. Which brings us to a problem. History programs at universities are mostly composed as if every student will end up as a researcher. In fact, as pointed out by one of the attendees at the Marburg seminar, only

about one percent of students per generation will end up as professional scholars. While this small group will get all the benefits of being part of institutional science, others (a ten percent or more just as good as the 'chosen ones') will end up in the free market of the labour force, with no specific training to do anything else than be historical researchers. And the university doesn't seem to be bothered by that, concluded the speaker. The faces of the guest lecturers confirmed that he had a point. They are intelligent people, so they were probably well aware of what some of their colleagues from student years had to go through after they failed to become researchers. But they don't see this as a problem of the university system. Is there really nothing they could do to give their graduates better chances on the labour market?

Anabasis

Of course we can't expect the university to give us all the knowledge we need in life. The modern world forces us to learn new skills every day. This, however, doesn't mean you couldn't take lectures or courses from closely-related fields that could be useful in your further career while studying history. The idea of the Bologna process with its flexibility in choosing subjects was a good opportunity for students to think about the skills that could prove useful when graduating. And what opportunities does one have as a history student?

Being a researcher sounds enjoyable and interesting, but as already mentioned, such jobs are rare and reserved for those with outstanding grades and talent. For a Slovenian history graduate, more or less the only available job in the research community is as a junior researcher at a university

or one of the institutes. The institutions will advertise a junior research post, and candidates will apply for a vacancy with mentors who had been accepted by a government agency for research. Then the institution will choose one of the candidates—not necessarily the best one, but the most ‘suitable’ according to the regulations. In not-so-rare cases, the most suitable candidate is the one who can be financed by the agency for the longest possible time, since a junior researcher is not there just to work on his doctoral thesis, but also to help with various projects at the institution. On the one hand, this set-up is very good, since freshly-graduated students will be included in research projects early on. On the other, it means people who have just finished their studies, or are about to, can be in a better position than post-graduate students. The latter will only be financially supported for two years of their doctoral studies, while newly-graduated students will be financed for the whole four years (masters and Ph.D.). In this case the old saying ‘less is more’ really does have a point.

What about the others, the 99% of students? Eventually they will find some job for themselves; they can't stay unemployed for decades. Their way to this goal could prove to be very slow, with lots of painful downs before finally going a bit up. Not to mention all the delights of the employment agency and their arrogant staff. And at some point, maybe after their thirtieth or fortieth application has been denied, they'll start to ask themselves—as the author of this writing did—what can you actually do as an historian? Is the public interested in things from the past?

Relax. They really are. Everyday life is full of proof. Drop by the bookshop and you'll see how many history books covering various topics they

sell there. Or think of all the fictional novels based on historical backgrounds. Add to that *quasi*-historical fiction like Dan Brown's bestseller *The Da Vinci Code*, and all the Codes coming after it. Then think of all the movies inspired by historical events or personalities, some of them featuring Hollywood stars, filmed for enormous sums of money, and ending up with huge profits at the box office. No less money is spent on computer games with historical backgrounds, such as battlefield simulations. So history sells well, but that's not all. Some individuals and things from the past became trademarks for various products. People from the Russian and Soviet past like Stalin, Gorbatschow, and Yeltzin became vodka brand names, as did the famous rifle Khalashnikow. A wine with the name of former Yugoslavian leader Josip Broz Tito appeared on the market (although more as a souvenir), and lately his picture smiles at us from bottles of a local version of Jägermeister called 'Marshal.' Not only alcoholic drinks carry names of famous people. You can also smoke Churchill cigars or take a bite of Mozartkugel. You can look at some of these products as pure propaganda, but they do show us that the people who buy this stuff—and even though they're not cheap, they are sold in large quantities—have a certain attitude towards the historical figures who lent their names to the products. So things from the past can be merchandised.

History also plays a significant role in every school curriculum. The educational system is one of the largest employers in the public sector and school didactics is one of the rare non-academic subjects offered to students at the university (if they study to become teachers). The job of history teacher sets out a great deal of responsibility; besides having to work with pupils, freshly-graduated history teachers have to be careful about

how they'll pass knowledge on to children, not just giving them facts, but also showing them how to interpret these facts. There will be topics in which the interpretation of history event can be a crucial element, such as when talking about conflicts between nations—especially about conflicts with neighbours. In Southeast Europe such 'memory conflicts' are quite frequent; an event seen as favourable by one nation may be negative to another.¹⁰ Such examples can be found in every nation's history, partly due to the fact that curricula are usually divided into national and world history, the later being mostly history of the Western world. Because of this kind of history teaching, children learn about the French Revolution, Japan, or China, while they don't learn much about regional history apart from 'contacts' with neighbours, which were mostly conflicts.¹¹ However, not talking about conflicts from the past might prove just as bad as wrong interpretations of the event. No matter how appealing 'neutral history' without stereotypes about others may sound, textbooks which try to present history in such a way choose to be silent rather than present negative images. The result of this silence is poor knowledge and ignorance of others' history.¹² Of course this problem can't be solved by history teachers alone, but they should actively take part in a debate about curriculum with the government and academic circles. When working on new textbooks, teachers can contribute their experiences in everyday work with pupils to make the textbook more useful to both the teacher and the pupils.

Museums, those places where we keep what is left of past times, can also be seen as a part of the educational system. The widespread network of museums is a potential employer for young graduated historians coming from the university. Being a museum guide is not a bad start for someone

looking for his first employment. He will have to go through training to learn all about the specifics of museum work, since these were not part of his program at the university.¹³ And there's a lot to be learnt. There are different types of museum, each with its own special kind of presentation. Guiding a group (or individuals) through an object-centred museum takes a different approach than through a narrative museum. The first concentrates on the objects kept in the museum as the starting point of the exhibition. A narrative museum is concentrated on a story, which is the told using not just objects, but also new exhibition strategies, technology, and anything else that helps the visitor understand the story the museum is trying to present. Even more new approaches are piloted (and later used in other types of museums) in target-group museums, especially children's museums, where the audience has priority rather than content. Due to their focus on the visitor, they are sometimes accused of being more a playground than a museum, or called 'Disneyesque.'¹⁴ The role of a guide is much more important in a narrative museum, where he has to fill the gaps caused by the lack of objects which could tell the story, whereas in an object-centred museum the exhibition objects follow the line of narration. In the latter kind of museum a historian is much more necessary when the exhibition is in the planning and design phases. Good guides also need good interpersonal communication skills. Explanations must be on a level that visitors understand. Until recently it was common to presume visitors came to museum to learn something, but recent studies have shown that visiting a museum is also a social event (rarely do people come to a museum alone). Of course people want to learn something, but they also want to be entertained.¹⁵ Simplification of the facts doesn't mean dropping any important information, but just finding the right words for a group to un-

derstand the story we are trying to present. Although we are talking about making things simple for the audience, for the guide and the institution, this is anything but simple work.

While schools and most museums are non-profit, tourism is one of the most profitable branches of the economy. In recent years cultural tourism has become a booming market within the tourism industry. The World Tourism Organization estimates the yearly growth in culturally-motivated travel at 10 to 15%, while the overall average in the tourism industry is 4 to 5%.¹⁶ Visitors who tend to visit cultural sights, museums, etc., generally stay longer in one place and spend more money during their stay. As such they are very welcome guests, although for instance in Venice the large number of tourists has become such an annoyance to the local population that many inhabitants have deserted the old town, abandoning it to the tourists.¹⁷ Historical sites are a crucial part of cultural tourism; they are heavily promoted by tourist boards and local authorities. But it's the tour operators who make the profit in this business, using enormous amounts of heritage all over the world almost for free¹⁸ (although this is changing now). Unfortunately these tours often go through without tourists getting much understanding or explanation of the physical remains of the past they're looking at.¹⁹ Heritage professionals, which historians are for sure, should get involved in this industry and not look down on it as a nuisance. Instead they should see cultural tourism as a source of additional income and an opportunity to help the public develop a positive attitude towards the remains of the past. As in museum work, finding the right balance between academic content and understandable explanation is crucial. Historians, like other professionals, tend to forget that what is obvious to them

may not be clear to everyone else.²⁰ Guiding tours is not the only opportunity for historians to get involved in cultural tourism. Their roles are even more important when planning to attract tourists to their cities. It is they who determine what can be considered a potential tourism site and how it should be developed into a tourist attraction. In this kind of project²¹ the historian will participate in a team comprised of people from various professions. Inside the team he will have to make compromises, since people coming from different professional environments tend to look upon the same issue from perspectives specific for their profession. Still, as a historian he will have to stand up for the principals of his profession.

Taxi, taxi, taxi

When starting to write this paper, I only intended to summarise what was discussed at the seminar in Marburg. Eventually it became more than that—a re-thinking of the first steps a young graduated historian makes in his professional career. The first part of the paper deals with the educational system, while the second points out some opportunities for employment in which an historian's education can be useful. Both parts are connected to some degree. When writing about a few potential places for employment, I pointed out some special skills people need to be successful in their job. The Bologna process, with its (partly) flexible choice of subjects, was a good opportunity to introduce some of these skills to future historians, who could take these courses if they found it useful for their future careers. Also if they fail to become researchers, this additional knowledge would improve their position in the labour market compared to their situation today. Unfortunately the debate has gone in another direction, as de-

scribed above, which does not benefit future history graduates. We often hear how educated people are a *must* for the future of modern society. But when you see how many well-educated people are jobless, this slogan turns into a joke. How does a large percentage of highly educated people help if they can't use their knowledge anywhere?

We now turn back to the question from the subtitle of this article: Does someone need a Ph.D. in history to drive a taxi? Well, I'm sure we could find customers who would be very happy to have a taxi driver who could not just drive them to their destinations, but also give them tours around the city. But if we consider the perspective of the driver, the whole situation (no matter how bizarre it looks, it's totally possible) deserves a clear *no* as an answer. It is disrespectful towards someone with enough intellectual potential to finish a Ph.D. (or any other postgraduate program) to have him end up without a real opportunity for a job at his level of education. Can you imagine how a person with such skills feels being unemployed or stuck in a job he doesn't like, just to earn enough for basic life? Imagine how much money the person spent to come so far through the educational system. For what? It should also be of concern to a university whether and where its former students end up employed. But universities don't seem to be particularly interested in this. They do like to talk about excellence, to be regarded as elite institutions, to pick their students, and to charge large tutorial fees. But they seem to forget that the success of their former students after graduation is good advertising for them. Being like Oxford is not just a matter of money, but also of attitude. And, dear university managers, I don't think Oxford University would consider the news that a large percentage of their former students are jobless to be something that just

‘sometimes happens.’ More likely they would see it as very bad publicity. And you? . . . Do I hear something?

Opinions expressed in this article are not official views of ISHA, but represent only the views of the author, who also takes full responsibility for them. The author of this text wasn't paid for this writing by any institution, group of people, or individual. (He actually doesn't get paid for this at all, but is still happy to write it).

Notes

- 1 See *Being a Historian. Opportunities and Responsibilities in Past and Present*. CLIOHRES, Marburg 2010.
- 2 Rudi Rizman, *Vec »bolonje«, manj univerze*. Delo, 13.3.2010, p. 5.
- 3 Slavko Splichal, *Zaton univerze kot institucije javnosti*, Delo, 20.2.2010, p. 5. For readers outside of Slovenia I should point out that universities in our country are financed almost exclusively from governmental sources, and will continue to be so in future.
- 4 *Odgovor študentu Zormanu*, Dnevnik, 2.4.2010, p. 20.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 *Slovenija ima na bolonjskem jedilniku tudi kaj povsem neprebavljivega*, Delo/Sobotna priloga, p. 22 – 23.
- 7 Rizman, *Vec »bolonje«, manj univerze*, p. 5.
- 8 <http://www.demotix.com/news/273434/protests-against-bologna-ministerial-conference-vienna>
- 9 See *Slovenija ima na bolonjskem jedilniku tudi kaj povsem neprebavljivega*.
- 10 Mirela-Luminita Murgescu, Suggestions for the Teaching of a Non-Conflictual History, in: *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe* (ed.Christina Koulouri), Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, Thessaloniki 2001, p. 83.
- 11 Christina Koulouri, *The Tyranny of History*, in: *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, p. 17 – 18.
- 12 Koulouri, p.16 – 17.
- 13 In Slovenia history students will get a course in museology that lasts one semester (2 hours of lectures per week), in which they will only

- learn how museum work looks in theory. The practical part, in the form of a seminar, is only part of the program for art historians.
- 14 Elaine Heumann Gurian, *Choosing Among the Options. An Opinion about Museum Definitions*, in: *Civilizing the Museum*, Routledge, London 2006, p. 48 – 56.
 - 15 Frans Schouten, *Effective Communication with Visitors at Heritage Sites*, in: *Culture: A driving Force for Urban Tourism – Applications of experiences to Countries in Transition* (ed. Daniela Angelina Jelinčić), Institute for International Relations, Zagreb 2002, p.24.
 - 16 Antonio Paolo Russo, *Cultural Clusters and Tourism Development: The Challenge of Venice*, in: *Culture*, p. 27.
 - 17 Schouten, *Effective Communication*, p. 21.
 - 18 Ibid., p. 22.
 - 19 Ibid.
 - 20 Ibid., p. 24. For heritage interpretation, see <http://www.interpnet.com/>
 - 21 See for instance <http://www.resource-ce.eu/>.

“The World Around Us Tells a Story”

History, Language, and the Works of J.R.R. Tolkien Interview with Dr Allan Turner, Jena

Allan Turner is a philologist who specialises in the study of J.R.R. Tolkien’s works, the best-known of which undoubtedly is the epic trilogy *The Lord of the Rings*. Turner is currently a lecturer for English language at the University of Jena in Germany.



This interview discusses languages and their histories, the value of interdisciplinary thinking, and what students of history can learn from Tolkien’s life and works.

ISHA: Dr Turner, first of all, please introduce yourself and your academic interests to our readers.

TURNER: My primary interest is languages, or you could also say, the phenomenon of language. It all started off when I began learning French at the age of eleven, with the idea that in other languages you do things differently than in your own. Then, in my mid-teens, the historical component came into this, and this is largely a result of reading Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings*, especially the appendices at the back of the book which give you all the historical and linguistic background to the stories. In particular, they tell about the development of language.

Tolkien, of course, was a comparative philologist, with particular interest in the Germanic languages and their relationship to one another. Very early in his career, he invented two languages, which he developed, constructing a historical relationship between them. There is actually very little of this in the appendices to *The Lord of the Rings*, but it does give the reader an insight into language relationships. Now, this is what gave me the desire to study the history of languages. I was fortunate in that at school, I had a German teacher who was also very interested in this field. In my last year of school, this teacher gave me some private tuition in the history of the Germanic languages. We actually sat down together and read a part of the *Nibelungenlied*, the famous Middle High German epic. Hence, when I went to university to study German, I was already pretty well prepared for it.

The thing is – we’re talking about 1968 right now, of course a well-known year in the history of universities. Everything was much more peaceful in England than it was in Germany, France, and other parts of Europe. Demonstrations were small and mostly had to do with domestic matters like when were men allowed in women’s halls of residence and things like that. We did have sit-ins and things of the kind, but no overly big political issues. However, the idea that was going on at that time was that study has to be ‘relevant’, but the university that I had chosen for my B.A. – Reading – was particularly conservative, at least its German department. It had lots of philology, which is why I chose it. This was totally against the fashion, and I felt I was having to assert myself to say that I wanted all of the philological options. So, if you like, I was swimming against the tide right at the beginning of my studies. I think I’ve been doing that ever since. (*laughs*)

How did you continue your education, and when did history become a part of it?

I spent four years doing my B.A., and then I went on to do an M.Phil. in Medieval Studies. This was the brainchild of my tutor, F.P. Pickering, a very interesting man. He had persuaded the university to let him open a Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, based on a zero budget. But that was in the days before graduate centres were a common feature of the university scene. Pickering basically wanted to get all the medievalists cooperating together, teaching a masters programme in their spare time.

During my two years there I did all sorts of interesting things, and because the programme was designed for medievalists of all kinds, this was where I first came across historians and their ways of working. I met students of history and also went to seminars led by historians, and very quickly came to see different ways of looking at the same material. For example, when we were studying poems, the historians would talk for hours about the historical background to them, without once considering them as pieces of literature. Different people ask different questions about the same material.

At the end of that, I was looking for a job, but the bottom had more or less fallen out of the market, at least for the type of job I was looking for – a lectureship in German. In England, no one wanted to employ medievalists any more because studying German was seen as studying a modern foreign language, and everyone was starting to say that studying its history was of no relevance to anybody. Those universities who already had medievalists on their staff were waiting for them to retire and free up places for people who would get to do modern literature, language, and things of

that kind. So, I applied for different jobs, but didn't get anything.

To cut a long story short now, I jumped sideways, and went to Cambridge, a very interesting place, to do my M.Phil. in Linguistics. While I was in Cambridge, I met a German student who asked me to meet some linguists from his German university. They were visiting Cambridge on an excursion, and I first met them in a university guestroom. There were two professors, two assistants, and about nine students I think, sitting in a circle. One professor was handing around a bottle of whiskey, and I thought to myself that this seemed to be a good way of running an excursion. They invited me to go to a pub, and in the end I spent the next three days with them. Finally, one professor said "We've got a vacancy for a lector at our university – would you be interested in that? If so, please send me an application."

So this is how I ended up teaching English language, which I have been doing for the past thirty years. I have no qualifications whatsoever in English, but don't say that too loudly. (*laughs*)

You said that reading *The Lord of the Rings* sparked your interest in the history of languages. When did you begin to deal with Tolkien's work on an academic level?

I didn't do any academic work on Tolkien for a long time. Somehow, one got the feeling that this wasn't a respectable thing to do. Certainly British universities always had a very low opinion of Tolkien; that may be changing a little bit now, but only slowly. In my case, I started doing Tolkien research seriously when I got interested in the topic of translation. I had taught translation for a long time already, and went to a conference where

Christiane Nord presented a very interesting paper on problems of cultural difference in translation. I talked to her afterwards and ended up with some good ideas which a few years later, I decided to turn into a PhD.

I wrote my dissertation on the problems of translating the philological element in Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*. There is a lot in the text of *The Lord of the Rings* which has to do with the history of English language. The Rohirrim, or Riders of Rohan, are an obvious case in point. Tolkien depicts them as speaking what is essentially Old English. But also, Tolkien was fascinated by place names. Place names are something which has changed over time; if you like, they are an indication of the history of a particular locality. In England, one has to take into account the various stages of its history, in particular the settlement of the island by Germanic-speaking invaders in the fifth and sixth centuries, their expansion and interaction with the Celtic speakers who were there beforehand, and the effect this had on the change of place names. All this is in *The Lord of the Rings*, and I had to try solving the question of how does a translator deal with this? How does he or she transfer the complex history of place names from one very specific culture, namely English, to another one?

Tolkien had studied the histories of many languages before he invented corresponding histories for the languages of his own. Once could say that, as a philologist, he was a 'language historian'. But what is his contribution to historical science?

In terms of his academic publications – he didn't publish very much. Tolkien was a perfectionist and tended not to publish anything until he was absolutely satisfied with it. His legacy in the academic world seems to be very much the ideas that he gave to other people. So many other schol-

ars have said that it was Tolkien who suggested certain topics to them, or helped them developing their thoughts and results. Probably his most lasting academic achievement is the article he wrote on *Beowulf*, “The Monsters and the Critics”, in which he argued that far too much time had been spent regarding this fascinating Anglo-Saxon poem purely as a document, as a source for trying to form conclusions about the past. Very few scholars up to that point had looked upon it as literature, as a poem, as creative writing. I think he introduced a paradigm shift through that.

But his biggest contribution to Medieval Studies has been in making people want to go in for it. I have told you my background in this – it was reading *The Lord of the Rings* in my teens which made me want to study historical linguistics. I think if you ask people nowadays who are involved professionally in Medieval Studies, history of language, and so on, you will be surprised how many of them say that they got interested in this through reading Tolkien. It’s an easy introduction. Medieval Studies is going out of fashion nowadays, there are not many medievalists left, unfortunately. There are a huge number of people – not necessarily at universities! – who want to find out something about this period. However superficial their interest may be, it is genuine. It very often overlaps with being a Tolkien fan.

Tolkien’s type of comparative philology is full of little stories where very, very careful comparisons have shown large areas of historical change. The idea that the word ‘daughter’, or in German ‘Tochter’, is related to the Sanskrit word meaning ‘a little milker’ – so the girl who goes out to milk the cows is a daughter – in that, we have a complete picture of a long-gone social relationship. Tolkien’s greatest skill was the amount of detail in

which he was prepared to look at the forms of words. There are very few people who would have the same degree of patience. You could say he looked at things under a microscope, with a far greater deal of detail about them. I think this is very much a personal characteristic. He was interested, as I am, in the individual phenomena. There are some people who want to abstract as far as they can for whatever they see in front of them, whereas for others the individual instances are much more fascinating. Tolkien was perhaps extreme in his interest in the individual instance. In one of his letters he wrote at length about mutations of daisies that he had observed in his garden. But it's the others of course who get most of the praise usually. Their style is perceived as being more intellectual, yet it isn't necessarily more rewarding for the world at large.

Leaving aside his academic contributions – what more can history students learn from Tolkien?

I think if you are interested in history you have already picked up the most important thing that can be found in Tolkien. I'm not a historian, although I do perhaps have what you might call a historical outlook. And I think this is something that either you have or else you haven't. This is my little theory – Turner's Theory. There are some people who live in three dimensions, and there are some people who live in four dimensions. For certain people, the present is the most important thing. Anything that happened before a week last Thursday is of no interest.

On the other hand, there are certain people who can't help looking at the world around them in terms of change through time. When I'm out walking and I see a building, for example, I automatically analyse to myself – “Ah yes, I can see how that building was changed at one time and another,

that part of it was built on at a later stage, ...” This not so much an interest in archaeology as an interest in seeing the narrative of that particular artefact, that piece of the world around me. The world around us tells a story if you’re interested in seeing the story.

I think that some people develop that naturally, whereas others don’t. And it’s hopeless trying to tell a three-dimensional person to look at this building we just mentioned which has developed over the course of time. It won’t interest them, they are only interested in what it is – now; how it works – now. Obviously you have to practice working in four dimensions, just as small children have to learn to work in three dimensions, trying to recognise the shapes of their toys. I think that in exactly the same way, perhaps at a slightly later age, you can develop the techniques of looking at things in four dimensions, looking at things as a progression in time. But somehow, if that’s not part of your personality, it’s not going to happen, and you’re not going to do it.

I wish I knew why some people are interested in that and others aren’t, but obviously, if you are a historian already you are going to look at Tolkien from a historical perspective anyway. It’s people in other branches of the humanities, who perhaps resist this diachronic parameter, that might learn something more from Tolkien.

You mentioned earlier that, while still a student at Reading, you learned a lot about historians’ sometimes very different ways of looking at the same things. Your example was their purely historical approach towards pieces of literature. Poetry plays an important role within Tolkien’s works – is there something which non-philologists can learn in this respect?

The thing about Tolkien's poetry is that almost all of it comes as part of the narrative, and it's spoken by a particular character as a representative of a particular culture or something like that. And you feel as if you are getting the culture together with the poem. A poem like, for example, the one that we get from Gimli in the mines of Moria: "No harp is wrung, no hammer falls: / The darkness dwells in Durin's halls. / Now shadows lie upon his tomb / in Moria, in Khazad-Dûm." – the piece Sam likes so much. This gives you not just a poem, but a picture of a whole civilisation and its downfall. I think it's the narrative context which makes the poetry have more sense to the reader who wouldn't normally pick up a volume of poems.

Or, for example, the poetry of the Rohirrim: "We heard of the horns in the hills ringing". I am sure there are a lot of people who read that and are affected by it without realising that it is, in fact, written in the Old English alliterative meter. Tolkien is doing a piece of linguistic archaeology here. He is recreating a meter, a poetic form, which hadn't been used for 900 years. Last year, 2009, saw the publication of two poems in an Old Icelandic verse form which Tolkien had written back in the 1930s. They were a very strict re-creation of the mythical poems from the *Elder Edda*, the famous Norse collection of heroic stories.

I think what Tolkien does is give people an opportunity to experience a type of poetry that they haven't been familiar with, to experience a kind of living past. Okay – I know you can't have living past, all you can have is the present, and therefore it must to some extent be kind of a theme-park. But nevertheless, Tolkien brings elements of the past near enough to touch them. I think that is the thing. Post-structuralists of course would say that

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we never can actually come into contact with the past. We can never actually define meaning. But I would say even if we can't, we can work our way as close to it as we possibly can. It's rather like the graph of $y=1/x$ – the curve comes infinitely close to the axis, but never actually touches it. I think that's perhaps what we're working at in any kind of historical research: getting as close as we can. The fact that it will never actually reach the axis doesn't mean that we shouldn't try to get an approximation.

Further Reading

- Shippey, Tom (1982; revised edition 2004): *The Road to Middle-earth*. London: Allen & Unwin / HarperCollins.
- Id. (2000): *J.R.R. Tolkien: Author of the Century*. London: HarperCollins.
- Turner, Allan (2005): *Translating Tolkien*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

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