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# Student Journal

Journal



# Contents

# Editorial

**by Stephanie Williams**

Third issue in and, once again, the journal is representative of the WRoCAH organisation it hopes to serve. What does it represent? Variety. Or perhaps eclecticism would be a better word. Within the obvious criteria of belonging to the arts and humanities, the extent of different ideas and subjects that are covered by WRoCAH students is boundless. Before the eyebrows start rising in offence at this hint of hyperbole, I suggest you cast those sceptical eyes over the articles featured in this issue.

Starting with a tour of Saudi dialects, we discover how geographical location (and proximity to certain historical and religiously important sites) can change the perception that speakers might have on the way that they talk. Next, we look at how the 'ageing' of the Avant-Garde movement leads to a tense paradox where what was once considered a radical shift becomes accepted as art, the very forum it was designed to criticise. We are then invited to revisit the parable of Isaac's sacrifice and to join in with Kierkegaard to ponder how easily believers throughout the generations have accepted the morality of this story and what pragmatics this might have for religious faith. It reopens the debate over whether religious texts should be taken at face value or whether interpretations should be allowed to change as the society changes. For the more musically inclined, we dip next into Carl Nielsen's *Symphony No. 5*. The article delves deep into the technicalities of music to ask how it is possible that a composition which does not keep to a musical key can nevertheless sound as if it does. With an abrupt change of tone, we go buzzing off to South Korea to delve into the mind of cinematic *auteur* (Kim Ki-young). You may never look at a flight of stairs in quite the same way again.

Changing the theme to political theory, we are given the chance to readdress the different roles men and women had to promote and rebuild peace after the First World War in a report on the *Gendering Peace in Europe 1918-1946* conference. When you have finished with this, try following in the wake of the Phoenicians' ships in a debate over the origins of the Cretan port Kommos. An archaeologist's study on the artefacts left behind by the sailors on their progression to the West reveals how they might have built their trading stations as they went, thus solidifying their place in the Aegean Sea. To follow, a discussion about the origins of the Royal Society and its first forays into experimental philosophy opens a window onto an eclectic group of open minded and eager learners that puts into mind another network of academics. Finally, we find ourselves once more in the North of England (insert obligatory cheer here) on a theatrical tour in the first half of the 20th century. We take a look at how enterprising minds stole the show from London and put cities like Newcastle back on the map.

If these articles have anything in common, it is the tenacity and hard work of all the contributors, both those who authored an article and those who worked to edit and polish them to their current standard. We thank them not just for helping us to produce this issue but for proving once again what our consortium can achieve if we work together.

Journal

# A Perceptual Dialect Map of Western Saudi Arabia

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## 1. Introduction

Perceptual dialectology (PD) is a field of sociolinguistics, related to dialect geography.[1] One of the main aims of PD is to investigate how non-linguists perceive regional varieties of specific areas and to map their perceptions of the 'linguistic landscape.'[2] Perceptual dialectology is concerned with the geographical distribution of dialects as seen from the viewpoint of ordinary people (i.e. non-linguists). Typically, it allows non-linguists to draw dialect areas on a map. Hence, its significance lies in its attempt to contextualize perceived dialect areas on a given map. It is important to note that PD treats dialects as regional varieties. The main aim of PD is to ascertain the distribution of dialects and the extent to which they confirm dialectologists' previous definitions.[3]

Many researchers have conducted perceptual dialectology studies to investigate regional varieties (i.e. dialects) in different countries. Dutch scholars have been the pioneers in the field.[4] Following this, Japanese scholars began to show interest in the domain of perceptual dialectology.[5] Recently, many researchers have conducted perceptual dialectology studies, eliciting non-linguists' attitudes towards specific dialect regions.[6] Thus, the recent studies have incorporated both the perceptions and attitudes of people towards a given regional variety.

PD research has been conducted in a variety of locations. However, there is a significant gap in the literature with regard to Saudi dialects as none of the studies so far have focused on perceptions of Saudi dialects. Therefore, I have chosen the dialects in the western region of Saudi Arabia (i.e. the Hijaz region) to be the focus of my perceptual study. The Western SA dialects have been specifically chosen because (1) the western region of SA occupies a large portion of the country, leading to greater regional

1 Dennis R. Preston, *Perceptual Dialectology: Nonlinguists' Views of Areal Linguistics* (Vol. 7) (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1989).
2 Gabriele Iannàccaro and Vittorio Dell'Aquila, 'Mapping Languages from Inside: Notes on Perceptual Dialectology', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 2.3 (2001), 265.
3 Preston.
4 *See* Joe Daan, 'Dialekten [Dialetti]', in *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*, ed. by Dennis R. Preston (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1999), pp. 7-43; Ludger Kremer, 'The Netherland-German National Border as a Subjective Dialect Boundary', in *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (Vol. 1), ed. by Preston, pp. 31-38; Antonius. A. Weijnen, 'On the Value of Subjective Dialect Boundaries', in *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (Vol. 1), ed. by Preston, pp. 131-34.
5 *See* Antonie C. M. Goeman, 'Dialects and the Subjective Judgments of Speakers', in *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (Vol. 1), ed. by Preston, pp. 135-46; Kikuo Nomoto, 'Consciousness of Linguistic Boundaries and Actual Linguistic Boundaries', in *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (Vol. 1), ed. by Preston, pp. 63-70; Takesi Sibata, 'Consciousness of Dialect Boundaries', in *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (Vol. 1), ed. by Preston, pp. 39-62.
6 Fumio Inoue, 'Classification of Dialects by Image: English and Japanese', in *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (Vol. 1), ed. by Preston, pp. 147-60; Zoe Boughton, 'When Perception Isn't Reality: Accent Identification and Perceptual Dialectology in French', *Journal of French Language Studies*, 16.3 (2005), 277-304; Christopher Montgomery, 'Northern English Dialects: A Perceptual Approach' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2007) <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/1203/> [accessed 24 September 2014].

variation;[7] (2) two of the most sacred cities in the Islamic world (i.e. Mecca and Medina) are located in Hijaz. Mecca has the Holy Mosque, and Medina has the Prophet Muhammad's mosque and his tombs making them sacred places, meaning that millions of people visit them each year.[8] This study is focused on the perception of dialects. However, it is important to investigate whether such historical and religious issues affect people's perceptions towards their dialects. This study builds upon previous research, and furthers our knowledge by investigating a new context (i.e. the Saudi context) and taking more factors (both historical and religious) into consideration. The aim of this paper is to answer the following questions: Where do the Hijazi Saudi Arabs (residents of the western region) believe the dialect areas exist in Hijaz? Are there any religious or historical factors that affect people's perceptions?

## 2. The dialect situation in Saudi Arabia

### *2.1 The Hijaz Region*

Western Saudi Arabia, specifically the Hijaz region, is the context of my research. Mecca and Medina are the most significant cities in Hijaz. Geographically, Jeddah is another important city,[9] located on the shore of the Red Sea, which makes Jeddah an important port in Hijaz. Also, Jeddah is very close to Mecca; it is approximately 70 km away, which gives the city a sense of significance. Taif, Yanbu and Rabigh are other smaller towns in Hijaz. Figure 1 is a map of the Hijaz region, showing the location of Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, Taif and Yanbu. Not all small towns are marked on the map. The Hijaz region is characterized by its cosmopolitan nature: millions of Muslims from many countries travel to Hijaz every year. Therefore, there are many dialects that can be found in the following cities of Hijaz: Mecca, Medina, Jeddah and Taif.[10]

Fig. 1: A map of Saudi Arabia

7 *See* William Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840-1908* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 1984) <http://hdl.handle.net/1811/24661> [accessed 19 January 2015]; Madawi al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

8 Ochsenwald.

9 Ochsenwald.

10 Margaret K. Omar, 'Saudi Arabic, Urban Hijazi Dialect: Basic Course' (Washington, DC: Office for Education, 1975), <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED112665>, [accessed 20 December 2014].

Adapted from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saudi_Arabia_map.png#file (Norman Einstein, 2006)[11]

*2.2 Dialect research in SA*

There are many issues that have affected the way in which researchers have investigated the dialect situation in the Middle East. The most dominant issues relate to tribal matters, and urbanization. In the following sections, I will explore each factor separately.

2.2.1 Tribal matters

Tribalism is a notion that refers to the strong ethical and cultural loyalty that a person has towards his tribe.[12] Tribalism is rooted in the Arabian Peninsula, which is the core region for SA, since it is 'the home of all Arab tribes'.[13] Tribal issues have affected the way researchers investigate Arabic dialectology, for example many studies focus on the dialects of the widespread tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, such as the Harb, Dhafir, Mutair and Al-Mura tribes.[14]

2.2.2 Urbanization

In the last sixty years, the Middle East has witnessed rapid urbanization and massive social change.[15] One of the main effects of urbanization has been the shift from agriculture to industry in the employment sector. This has resulted in rural populations moving into the cities.[16] As a result, the concept of 'urban primacy' has been given much more importance, 'that is, one city, usually the capital city, it's much larger than its rivals.'[17]

Such rapid development in the Middle East in general, and the Arabian Gulf in particular, affected the dialect situation. In other words, 'new combinations of dialect features are forged, and bestow[ed] on them [is] a prestige such that they come to be regarded as national standard dialects.'[18] The urbanization factor led many researchers to focus their research on two main objectives: first, investigating reasons for language change,[19] and second, recording and documenting Arabic dialects before they disappear. Researchers were also keen to investigate the emergence of new dialect patterns.[20]

11 Einstein, Norman, *A Map of Saudi Arabia*, online map, Wikimedia Commons, 2006, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saudi_Arabia_map.png#file>,[accessed 10 July 2014].

12 Mohammed. A. E. Saleh, 'Tribalism, Genealogy and the Development of Al-Alkhalaf: A Traditional Settlement in Southwestern Saudi Arabia', *Habitat International*, 19.4 (1995), 547-70; Anh. N. Longva, 'Nationalism in Pre-modern Guise: The Discourse on Hadar and Badu in Kuwait', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 38.2 (2006), 171-87.

13 Ibid., p. 171.

14 *See*, Thomas. M. Johnstone, 'The Sound Change j > y in the Arabic Dialects of Peninsular Arabia', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 28.2 (1965), 233-41; Alyan. M. Al-Hazmy, 'A Critical and Comparative Study of the Spoken Dialect of the Narb Tribe in Saudi Arabia' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1975), <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/916/1/uk_bl_ethos_510015.pdf> [accessed 4 June 2014]; Bruce Ingham, 'Notes on the Dialect of the Ḍhafr of North-eastern Arabia', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 45.2 (1982), 245–59; Bruce Ingham, 'Notes on the Dialect of the Āl Murra of Eastern and Southern Arabia', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 49.2 (1986), 271-91.

15 Clive Holes, 'Community, Dialect and Urbanization in the Arabic-speaking Middle East', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 58.2 (1995), 270-87.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid, p. 271.

18 Ibid, p. 285.

19 Ibid.

20 *See* Bruce Ingham, 'Some Characteristics of Meccan Speech', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 34.2 (1971), 273-97; Theodore Prochazka, *Saudi Arabian Dialects* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988); Clive Holes, *Gulf Arabic* (New York:

Holes investigated the reasons behind the emergence of new dialect patterns in the Arabic-speaking Middle East.[21] He examined three case studies to uncover the dynamics of language change in the region. One of the most significant findings to emerge from this study is that city dialects are the most common and dominant since they represent urbanization, political importance and are spoken by a large proportion of the population. As Holes states, dialects which are only spoken by older generations are still spoken in certain parts of countries of the Middle East as a way of showing communal identity and harmony.[22] Following Holes, I intend to investigate whether or not the dialect of city dwellers is perceived as having the most prestige by non-linguists.

Significantly less work has been conducted on Saudi dialects in comparison to Western Dialectology. None of the aforementioned studies have investigated perceptual dialectology in Western Saudi Arabia. In this sense my research on perceptions of dialect in the Hijaz region will be filling a significant gap in the literature, furthering our knowledge of a dialect that has been of special interest throughout history. Importantly, much research has found that certain cities in Hijaz have religious significance which suggests the dialects of this region may also be considered significant.[23]

**3. Methods**

Preston argues that it is not enough to elicit people's attitudes and perceptions towards a certain variety in structured interviews and questionnaires; instead, such questions must be contextualised to achieve the best possible results.[24] One way of contextualising questions is to give informants a map of the area under investigation and then ask them to convey their perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs on the map. Therefore, PD involves the use of geographical maps; such contextualisation will expand the research on language attitudes. This research follows the perceptual dialectology framework. As such, I have taken the approach of using a draw-a-map task, originally developed by Preston, to elicit responses.[25] In this task, 'informants draw boundaries on a blank (or minimally detailed) map [i.e. base map] around areas where they perceive regional speech zones to exist.'[26] There has been debate regarding the type of base map that should be used: a base map type or a map that includes some details (i.e. including city names, rivers, borders).[27] However, I choose to use two types of base map; one is a blank map (i.e. a map with only state borders visible), and the other is a more detailed map (i.e. including city names). The aim of

Psychology Press, 1990); Munira A. Al-Azraqi, 1998. 'Aspects of the Syntax of the Dialect of Abha (South West Saudi Arabia)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 1998) <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.244379> [accessed 4 June 2014]; Mohammad. H. Bakalla, 'What is a Secret Language? A Case from a Saudi Arabian Dialect', in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by D. B. Parkinson and E. Benmamoun (Amsterdam: Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, 2002) Series 4, pp. 171–84.

21 Clive Holes, 'Community, Dialect and Urbanization in the Arabic-speaking Middle East', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 58.2 (1995), 270-87.

22 Ibid, p. 285.

23 Ibid.

24 Preston, p. 4.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Alfred Lameli, Christoph Purschke and Roland Kehrein, 'Stimulus und Kognition. Zur Aktivierung mentaler Raumbilder', *Linguistik Online*, 35.3 (2008), 55-86.

using two types of map is to determine whether the different types of base map can affect the students' recognition of dialects on the map.

Twenty-three female students between the ages of 18 and 24, who were born in Hijaz and still live in this region of SA, made up the participant sample for my research. This particular age group was selected because they were more accessible to me through universities. The students were exclusively female because the education system in SA is gender-segregated; therefore, female students were easier for me to recruit. All students were Bachelor level and from the same English language and linguistics department. Fieldwork was conducted in the summer of 2014. Data was collected from three cities in the Western region of SA: Mecca, Jeddah, and Rabigh. Mecca and Jeddah are big cities while Rabigh is a small town. The rationale for choosing these locations was that I wanted to compare the results obtained from big cities with the ones obtained from small towns, and I wanted to investigate the reasons behind any perceptual differences.

Building upon Preston's methods,[28] I used the draw-a-map task to collect data. Students were asked to draw lines on a map around the borders or boundaries in Hijaz where they perceived dialect areas to exist. Students were divided to two groups. In the first group, they were given a blank map of SA and were asked to draw boundaries around areas in Hijaz where they perceived people's Arabic to sound distinctive. The second group was given the same task, but with a slightly more detailed map of SA (i.e. including city names). Figure 2 presents an example of the base map (i.e. a map with only state borders), and Figure 3 presents an example of the more detailed map. The two groups were given different types of maps so I could determine whether the informants could draw lines around dialect areas and also label the areas, or whether they were only capable of labelling the areas without drawing the lines. The results from the draw-a-map task were processed using overhead transparency sheets, meaning that each data map was placed under the overhead transparency, and I copied lines onto the overhead transparencies.


Fig. 2: Example of the base map


Fig. 3: Example of the more detailed map

The project was reviewed by the University of Sheffield's ethics review panel and informed consent was gained from all participants.

28 Preston.

## 4. Data analysis

My results show that informants typically identified six different regional varieties in the Hijaz region. The exact number of lines drawn around each dialect region is presented in the following table. Table 1 shows the number of lines drawn around each dialect region and the percentage totals. The lines indicating each regional variety were transferred onto a separate overhead transparency. In the final analysis, a composite map of all of the drawn lines covering the whole Hijaz region will be presented.

| **Area label** | **Number of students** | **Number of lines drawn** | **Percentage** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mecca | 23 | 17 | 73% |
| Jeddah | 23 | 15 | 65% |
| Medina | 23 | 14 | 60% |
| Rabigh | 23 | 4 | 17% |
| Taif | 23 | 2 | 8% |
| Yanbu | 23 | 2 | 8% |

Table 1: Number of lines drawn by informants around different dialect areas.

### *4.1 Regional variety in Mecca*

Out of the 23 informants, 17 drew clear lines around Mecca, indicating that for these participants Mecca has a distinct regional variety. Therefore, we can say that 73% of the informants agreed that Mecca has a distinctive dialect. It is important to note that the dialect in Mecca was perceived as the most distinct in the Hijaz region among all informants. Mecca holds significant religious and historical value for all Muslims around the globe and among Saudis in particular. It could be argued that the ideological importance of Mecca affected people's perceptions of its dialect. Figure 4 indicates the number of lines drawn around Mecca.

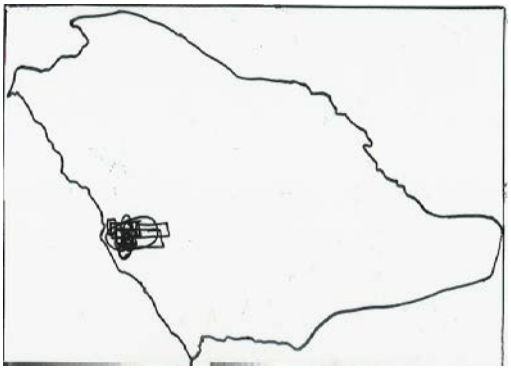

Fig. 4: The number of lines drawn around Mecca

*4.2 Regional variety in Jeddah*

Out of the 23 informants, 15 perceived that there was a regional variety in Jeddah. 65% regarded the dialect in Jeddah as distinct from neighbouring ones. Figure 5 shows the number of lines drawn by the informants to indicate the regional variety in Jeddah. Generally, the Jeddah dialect was perceived as the second most distinctive dialect in Hijaz. Its geographical location (considered as the main port in Hijaz) and its proximity to Mecca are possible factors that led people to perceive the Jeddah dialect as distinct. Figure 5 indicates the number of lines drawn around Jeddah.

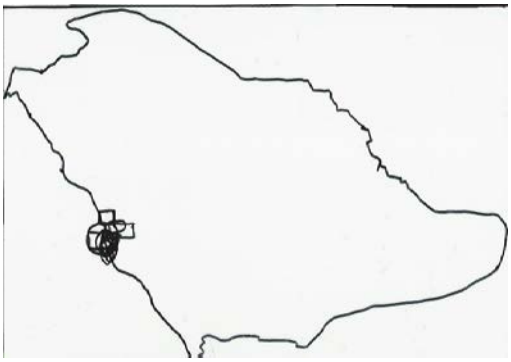

Fig. 5: The number of lines drawn around Jeddah

The most interesting result indicated that the informants from Mecca and Jeddah regarded themselves overwhelmingly as having distinct dialects from one another. However, one informant from Mecca stated that there was an overlap between the dialects of Mecca and Jeddah. Five out of eight (62%) informants from Rabigh indicated that both the regional varieties found in Mecca and Jeddah are the same, while three informants in Rabigh perceived there being a distinctive regional variety in Mecca. Figure 6 presents the overlap found between Mecca and Jeddah.

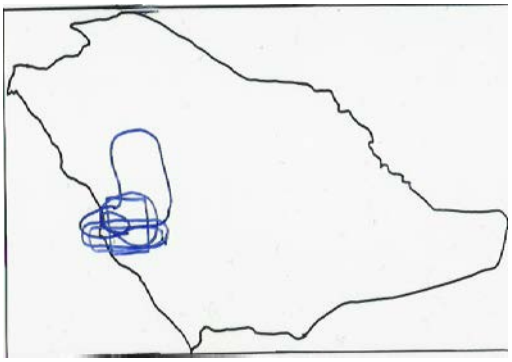

Fig. 6: The overlap found between Mecca and Jeddah

The data shows that informants from Mecca and Jeddah, which are geographically close, regarded themselves as having distinct dialects from one another. However, 50% of the informants from outside of these two cities, in this case Rabigh, perceived that the two cities share the same dialect. This local perception of difference is in keeping with findings of Cukor-Avila et al. in Texas, Evans in Washington State, and Bucholtz et al. in California, where the residents of each area they studied regarded themselves as having a distinctive dialect to neighbouring regions, while the outsiders regarded them as having the same regional variety.[29] I would argue that the proximity of Mecca and Jeddah means that informants from these two cities typically recognise each other's regional varieties rather than dialect areas further away. Similarly, as I have discussed earlier, Montgomery claims that '[t]he effect of bare proximity should see "near-to" or home dialect areas more readily recognised than other areas.'[30] Thus, he found that informants perceive regional varieties easily when they are near to informants' home areas.

*4.3 Regional variety in Medina*

14 out of 23 informants perceived a regional variety to exist in Medina. It should be noted that data were not collected from informants in Medina City. I would expect the number of perceptions to be higher if I had collected data from informants who live in Medina. As previously mentioned, Medina is the second most important spiritual city in the Islamic world. It may be the case that the religious value of this city means that its dialect is perceived distinctively by informants, as is the case in Mecca, although at a slightly lower level of perception than Mecca. However, further research is needed to confirm whether the religious nature of these cities actually affects people's perceptions of the Mecca and Medina dialects. It is important to note that it is not religion itself that makes the dialects distinct, but it might affect people perceptions. Figure 7 indicates the number of lines drawn around Medina.

29 *See* Patricia Cukor-Avila, Lisa Jeon, Patricia Rector, Chetoo Tiwari and Zat Shelton, Zat, '"Texas–It's Like a Whole Nuther Country": Mapping Texans' Perceptions of Dialect Variation in the Lone Star State', *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium About Language and Society* – Austin, Texas Linguistic Forum, 55 (2012), 10-19; Betsy E. Evans, 'Seattle to Spokane: Mapping perceptions of English in Washington State', *Journal of English Linguistics*, 41.3 (2013), 268-91; Mary Bucholtz, Nancy Bermudez, Victor Fung, Lisa Edwards and Rosalva Vargas, 'Hella Nor Cal or Totally So Cal? The Perceptual Dialectology of California', *Journal of English Linguistics*, 35.4 (2007), 325-52.

30 Christopher Montgomery, 'The Effect of Proximity in Perceptual Dialectology', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 16.5 (2012b), 647.

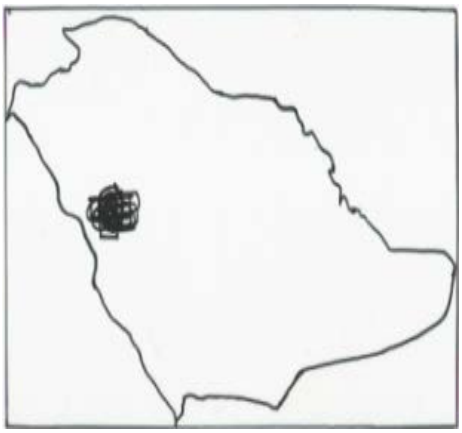

Fig. 7: The number of lines drawn around Medina

*4.4 Regional variety in Rabigh*

Unexpectedly, only 4 informants out of 23 perceived a regional variety to exist in Rabigh, while none of the other informants drew lines around this area. Such a low number of perceptions of the regional variety in Rabigh might be down to a number of factors: firstly, Rabigh was not marked on the map I adapted, because it is a small town. Secondly, it is the case that linguistically 'Jeddah and Mecca dominated the much smaller towns and villages in their areas.'[31] The dialect of smaller towns, such as Rabigh, is not perceived as frequently as the dialects of big cities such as Mecca, Jeddah and Medina. Figure 8 indicates the number of lines drawn around Rabigh.

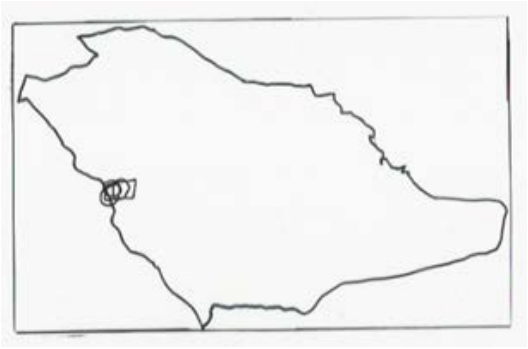

Fig. 8: The number of lines drawn around Rabigh

*4.5 Other regional varieties*

Only four informants perceived other dialect areas to exist in Hijaz such as Taif and Yanbu. This suggests that there are still varieties of dialects in Hijaz but they are not frequently perceived by informants compared to regional varieties in Mecca, Jeddah and Medina. This means that the dialects of small towns or regions are less frequently perceived than larger towns. My overall findings support the results obtained by Holes.[32] In Holes' study, dialects of urban cities seemed to be most commonly

31 Ochsenwald, p. 28.
32 Holes, 'Community, Dialect and Urbanization in the Arabic-speaking Middle East', section 2.2.2.

identified by participants. Equally, in the current study, urban dialects were perceived as the common ones, such as those spoken in Mecca, Jeddah and Medina, while dialects spoken in small towns and villages were less frequently identified compared to the city dialects. The results from this study suggest that urban dialects are identified more frequently than rural dialects. This result is similar to Evans' findings in Washington State.[33] The distinction in perceptions between urban/rural varieties was explicit: people from the western side of the state were described as educated, while people from the eastern side of the state were described as adopting rural and farming lifestyles and were labelled as 'countryside' people.[34]

*4.6 Misleading data*

As was noted above, the informants were divided into two groups: one group (11 informants) were given a base map of SA, and the other group (12 informants) were given a more detailed map. The results revealed that 5 informants out of 23 had a relatively low level of geographical competence because they placed cities incorrectly on the map base map of SA. These results indicate that a more detailed map provides more accurate results. Figure 9 presents an example of one student's map where the placement of both Mecca and Jeddah was incorrect.

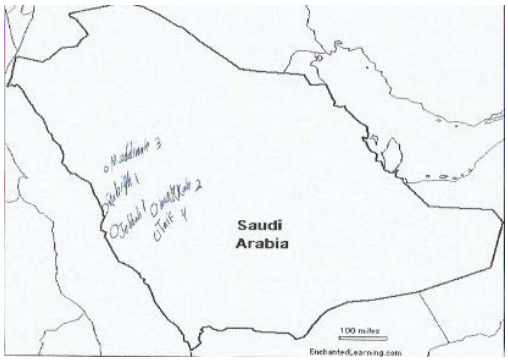


Fig. 9: Example of wrong dialect placement on the map

By comparing this map to Figure 2, it is evident that the student misplaced Rabigh, Jeddah and Mecca on the map. It would seem that the student perceives dialect differences, but her lack of geographical knowledge hindered her from accomplishing the task correctly.

*4.7 The validity of the research*

To validate the results, I have attempted to generate a composite map of all of the lines drawn in the western region and compared it with an actual dialect map (i.e. a dialect map compiled by linguists) of Western SA. If the comparison were to reveal that the two maps did not support each other, this would not necessarily be a huge problem because the study involves asking native speakers about their subjective

33 Evans.
34 Ibid, p. 286.

perceptions. Local speakers may have a better understanding of such perceptual considerations than dialectologists, especially in a country that has been slightly under-researched in terms of dialectology investigations. Figure 10 presents a composite map of all the data collected in the draw-a-map task. Figure 11 presents an actual dialect map of the region.

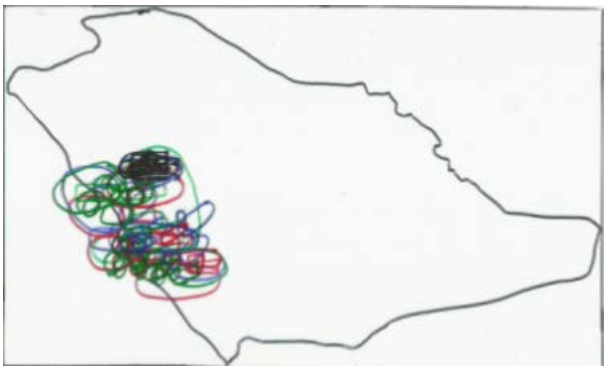

Fig. 10: A composite map of all data collected

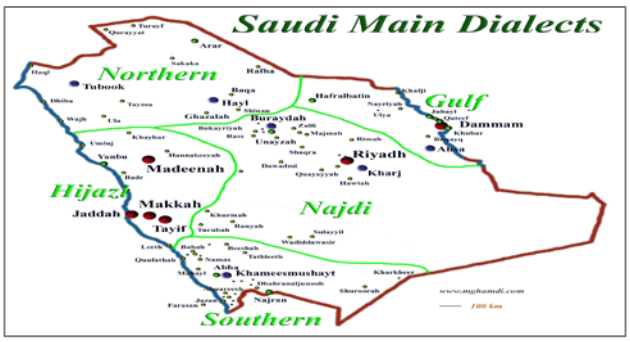


Fig. 11: Dialect map of SA

Adapted from http://www.mghamdi.com/SaudiD.jpg

When comparing the above two maps, it can be observed that the informants' perceptions were centred on the Hijazi dialect region, with the exclusion of any dialects from outside the Hijaz. Moreover, the actual dialect map denotes that nine dialects are spoken in Hijaz while the composite map signifies that there are six dialects in Hijaz. Thus, informants did not perceive all dialect areas in the region. There are a number of possible reasons for this: firstly, it may be the case that the dialects recorded by dialectologists were simply unimportant to local speakers. Secondly, time constraints, that is, not all locations were surveyed in the study. Thirdly, there was not a large number of informants, resulting in the perceptions to be limited to specific dialects.

*4.8 Research limitations*

A lack of geographical competence was an obstacle for some of the students who took part in the base map task. A few of them asked for help in indicating the location of the cities. They knew that people spoke differently in the Western region, but they failed to draw lines to indicate where that occurred because they did not have a competent level of geographical knowledge. Such deficiencies will be overcome in further research by providing the students with a map that includes the city names. Thus,

they would not spend too much time looking for exact locations on the map. The other limitation is related to the processing of the results with overhead transparencies. The students were asked to draw lines where they perceived dialect areas to exist. All of the lines drawn were transferred to a composite map using overhead transparencies. Two main points must be addressed here. First, when similar lines were transferred, it was found that too many lines drawn by the informants were the same in shape and location. Therefore, a number of the lines on the map overlap, and sometimes the result seems to be one thick line.

This limitation leads to another one, which is related to the fact that no statistics could be obtained from the overhead transparencies. Montgomery comments that overhead transparencies are low-tech, as no effective way could be found to digitise the results.[35] Therefore, in the final methodology, it is essential to process data with computerised software to obtain more accurate and statistically based results. GIS (geographic information system) is a type of software that 'enables a user to process, analyze, and visualize all kinds of models of the earth's surface.'[36] Furthermore, Montgomery notes that ArcGIS, which is a type of GIS software, possesses many advantages, one of which is that 'the visualization is zoomable, the percentage boundaries are more fine-grained and reflect more subtly in respect of informants' agreement over the placement of dialect areas.'[37] Moreover, ArcGIS has the ability to 'produce meaningful composite datasets and to show them alongside other datasets from other disciplines.'[38] Thus, such a system can combine the administrative maps, mountain and river maps, and rail network maps with the perceived dialect map.[39]

## 5. Conclusion

To conclude, I will address how this study reveals Western SA residents' (non-linguists) perceptions of the regional varieties spoken in the Western region of SA, and how religious or historical factors affect people's perceptions. The results revealed three major regional varieties in the Western region of SA: one in Mecca, one in Jeddah, and one in Medina. The dialect in Mecca was always perceived as the most distinctive of the three regional varieties. In addition, it is potentially the case that the religious and historical nature of Mecca has resulted in it being perceived as the most distinctive dialect, but more research would be required to confirm this. Further research will shed some light on the position of Mecca as a city with certain ideological implications.[40] My results also revealed that the urban-rural distinction was very clear with respect to dialect perception: urban varieties were more frequently identified than rural varieties. It is hoped that other researchers will conduct perceptual dialectology

35 Christopher Montgomery and Philipp Stoeckle, 'Geographic Information Systems and Perceptual Dialectology: A Method for Processing Draw-a-Map Data', *Journal of Linguistic Geography*, 1.1 (2013), 59.
36 Montgomery and Stoeckle, p. 59.
37 Christopher Montgomery, 'Mapping the Perceptions of Non-linguists in Northern England', *Dialectological and Folk Dialectological Concepts of Space: Current Methods and Perspectives in Sociolinguistic Research on Dialect Change*, 17 (2012a), 167.
38 Ibid, p. 176.
39 Ibid.
40 Laila Mobarak Alhazmi, 'Western Saudi Arabia Dialects: An Attitudinal Approach' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, forthcoming in 2018).

studies across SA in order to provide a complete picture of the distribution of dialects in the Saudi geographical landscape. Such research will help to assign the dialect zones in SA. Most importantly, it will help to enable an understanding of the impact of the ideological nature of certain regions in SA on peoples' perceptions towards the dialects of these regions.

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# Recuperation and the Ageing of the Avant-Garde

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The avant-garde itself has been and remains subject to interpretation, criticism, and renewal; the accusation of 'ageing', levelled by Theodor W. Adorno against a specific area of the avant-garde in his 1955 essay 'The Aging of the Avant-Garde', is just one of those criticisms. Adorno was the foremost philosopher and critical theorist of the 'Frankfurt School', whose writings cover broad subjects, from music to Auschwitz, from a historical-materialist perspective. Part of his considerations on art and the avant-garde, the piece argues that the latter, in its aged state, has lost the dangerous aspect it must possess: '[t]he aging of the New Music means nothing else than that [its] critical impulse is ebbing away. It is falling into contradiction with its own idea, the price of which is its own aesthetic substance and coherence.'[1]

Peter Bürger, a critical theorist specialising in aesthetics and following Adorno's lead, writes that '[t]he European avant-garde movements can be defined as an attack on the status of art in bourgeois society. What is negated is [...] art as an institution that is unassociated with the life praxis of men.'[2] He goes on to explain how, since these heady days of the early twentieth century, the avant-garde has itself become an institution, unable to maintain the same level of criticism and subversion it once had. He writes that '[s]ince now the protest of the historical avant-garde against art as an institution is accepted as art, the gesture of protest of the neo-avant-garde becomes inauthentic.' Properly speaking, then, this investigation will be concerned with events beginning in the early days of the avant-garde with movements like Dadaism, through to the present-day institutionalised avant-garde. It will explore how the ageing that has been ascribed directly by Adorno, and laterally by Bürger, has manifested, and will suggest what it is about the avant-garde which makes such a process unavoidable and what this means today.

## I

According to Bürger, the autonomy of art from the praxis of life (the structure and activities that make up day-to-day life, the separation of work from home, etc.) instituted by Aestheticism (exemplary of what might be called *bourgeois art* in terms of its absolute compliance with the institution) was the very thing which made the avant-garde possible, and the very thing which it set its sights on to attack.[3] In terms of

1 Theodor W. Adorno, 'The Aging of the New Music', trans. by Susan H. Gillespie, in *Essays on Music*, ed. by Richard Leppert (London: University of California Press, 2002), p. 181.
2 Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. by Michael Shaw (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. 49.
3 Ibid., p. 17.

the content of works and 'artistic means', the avant-garde is free to do what it likes, but is, as will be seen, limited in other ways.[4] The productive and distributive apparatus, which remains external and still exerts an influence on the avant-garde, is a harder obstacle to fight, despite its best efforts. It is for this reason that it requires examination, as a fundamental part of what causes the avant-garde to age. I will explore how it is this autonomy which itself predisposes the avant-garde to ageing. This idea is given credence by Bürger's conception of autonomy as being born out of the fact that art had become institutionalised in bourgeois society. He writes that:

> The avant-gardistes view [art's] dissociation from the praxis of life [i.e. its autonomy] as the dominant characteristic of art in bourgeois society. One of the reasons this dissociation was possible is that Aestheticism had made the element that defines art as an institution the essential content of works.[5]

This, however, is simply the moment of the division of art from the praxis of life, sealing its fate of autonomy. The institution of art *precedes* this bifurcation, being itself defined as 'the productive and distributive apparatus and also [...] the ideas about art that prevail at a given time and that determine the reception of works.'[6] Since the institution is defined in part by the productive and distributive apparatus, this apparatus must itself exist *externally* to art and have made art into an institution. The *internal* mediation at work is the artistic *response* to this in terms of the content of individual works, which, in taking up the institution as this content, adopts the autonomy that the material basis of the institution rendered possible. The 'ideas about art that prevail at a given time' are themselves the product of the nexus between the internal and external aspects of artistic production; the way in which these ideas govern reception by a *public* (whether the audience of 'popular' art, the avant-garde, it matters not), will be elucidated in the arguments to follow. In a world in which production and consumption is the standard model, reception will function as an aspect of the ageing of the avant-garde through gauging its 'compatibility' with dominant forms of consciousness.

**II**

I am going to undertake a brief case study of Dadaism with a view to demonstrating an example of the process of ageing. This is not the place to paint a picture of the entire history of Dada. Rather, what is most interesting in this instance is the lengths the Dadaists went to in order to *specifically attack* the institution of art and its productive and distributive apparatus, which is precisely the behaviour ascribed to the avant-garde by Bürger. Despite these efforts, I am left with the task of demonstrating how Dadaism too succumbed to ageing. During the nineteenth century,

4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 49.
6 Ibid., p. 22.

> revolutionary art was caught in contradictions. It could not or would not break free of the *forms* of bourgeois culture as a whole. Its content and method could become transformations of the world, but, while art remained imprisoned within the social spectacle, its transformations remained imaginary.[7]

The point here is that what constituted revolutionary or subversive art in the nineteenth century limited itself, or was limited, to utilising the forms of art prescribed by the capitalistic model of production and consumption. This resulted in subversive tendencies that were weakened by the bourgeois forms they adopted.[8] The avant-gardists attempted to subvert this mechanism. In its heyday, Tristan Tzara was one of the founders of Dada: '[t]he separation and hostility between the "world" of art and the "world" of everyday life finally exploded in Dada. "Life and art are One," proclaimed Tzara; "the modern artist does not paint, he creates directly.""[9] The Dadaists opposed the idea of art *works*, creating what they termed art manifestations instead. These were artistic productions of an ephemeral nature, attempting to escape the grasp of the object that can be turned into a work, or of the concert paired with a composition, or the text produced and reproduced. Perhaps the most famous of these are Duchamp's *Readymades*. Certainly, these *Readymades* are still *objects* (the famous *Fountain*, for instance), but they avoid fetishising the artist in the product of their labour. Duchamp's *Fountain* is not a product of his own artistic genius, rather:

> The signature, whose very purpose it is to mark what is individual in the work, that it owes its existence to this particular artist, is inscribed on an arbitrarily chosen mass product, because all claims to individual creativity are to be mocked. Duchamp's provocation not only unmasks the art market where the signature means more than the quality of the work; it radically questions the very principle of art in bourgeois society according to which the individual is considered the creator of the work of art.[10]

With Duchamp's *Readymades*, the very idea of the 'work' is subverted, and the realities of the bourgeois art institution are brought forward and themselves made the content of the manifestation. Yet, these forms are precisely what is considered art today in the contemporary avant-garde, where installations and total abstraction are rife: '[i]f an artist today signs a stove pipe and exhibits it, that artist certainly does not denounce the art market but adapts to it.'[11] This consideration of such manifestations as art (in the sense of belonging to the institution, i.e. of having aged) is not limited to new manifestations in the same vein, although these would certainly lack the critical perspective afforded by Duchamp et al. Today, Duchamp's *Fountain* itself is considered as an example of 'art', rather than of 'anti-art' as was its original purpose. This reveals another reason I elected to look at Dadaism as the exemplar of the phenomena

7 Timothy Clark, Christopher Gray, Donald Nicholson-Smith, and others, 'The Revolution of Modern Art and the Modern Art of Revolution', *libcom.org* (1967) <http://libcom.org/library/revolution-of-modern-art-and-modern-art-of-revolution-clark-gray-nicholson-smith-radcliffe-englishsSituationists> [accessed 4 January 2017] (para. 7 of 39).
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., para. 8 of 39.
10 Bürger, pp. 51–52.
11 Bürger, p. 52.

being discussed; it did all that it could to subvert and eschew the productive and distributive apparatus, and yet it has still succumbed to the process of ageing.

This is because art is treated as an object of consumption by virtue of the productive and distributive apparatus and it is seen as the domain of creative specialists by virtue of the autonomy it engenders as its content. Both are compatible with capital as a result of the division of labour so essential to it. The avant-gardists do not just have to break free from the material forces that restrict them but from an all-pervasive ideology of artistic production and reception that is engendered by an apparatus that actually functions according to that ideology: one of production and of consumption. While such an apparatus and such an institution is in place, Dadaism, though it undertook anti-bourgeois behaviours, was still susceptible to a culture industry that could adapt to phenomena that actually sought to undermine it *because art's institution and autonomy had made this possible*. As Debord writes,

> One of the contradictions of the bourgeoisie in its phase of liquidation is that while it respects the abstract principle of intellectual and artistic creation, it at first resists actual creations, then eventually exploits them.[12]

Art being a distinct yet restricted 'sphere' of bourgeois society, the culture industry need only broaden its horizons and accept its self-criticism into the institution.

It is because art had become fragmented behaviour (that is, physically dispersed like rubble throughout a world whose primary interest in it was in terms of profit; sparse colour amongst the dull greyness of daily life) usually limited to hypostatisation as 'works', and access to artistic means had become restricted to those within the institution. Thus it was nigh on impossible for a comparatively small avant-garde collective to do any lasting damage to the producer-consumer relationship. Furthermore,

> [The] upsurge of real, direct creativity [that characterised Dada] had its own contradictions. All the real creative possibilities of the time were dependent on the free use of its real productive forces, on the free use of its technology, from which the Dadaists, like everyone else, were excluded.[13]

The limitations enforced by the conditions I have described are perhaps best illustrated by a Dadaist manifestation that was perhaps one of the most successful in subverting the artistic institution. *Dada Night* involved a riotous display encouraging audience participation in artistic production, with Tzara's poem 'The Fever of the Male?' proclaiming that

> the tumult is unchained hurricane frenzy siren whistles bombardment song the battle starts out sharply, half the audience applaud the protestors hold the hall in the lungs of those present nerves

12 Debord, Guy, 'Report on the Construction of Situations and on the International Situationist Tendency's Conditions of Organization and Action', trans. by Ken Knabb, in *Situationist International Anthology*, ed. by Ken Knabb (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1995), pp. 17-25 (p. 17).

13 Clark and others, (para. 7 of 39).

> are liquefied muscles Serner makes mocking gestures, sticks the scandal in his buttonhole / ferocity that wrings the neck / Interruption..[14]

Indeed, it was a total negation of traditional art but only on a very limited frontier. This admittedly impressive tumult of anti-bourgeois behaviour and eschewing of social norms was, by virtue of the fact that it is inscribed with a label and confined to *art*, or even *anti-art*, still not on the level of the praxis of everyday life; the producer-consumer relationship remains in place. Moreover, it is an inherently fragmentary behaviour made intrinsically artificial by its constructed nature. This fragmentary nature is ensured by the division of labour, which secludes all such behaviours within the realm of art.

Nor was Dada immune to this internal combustion. Francis Picabia, an important figure in Dada in France and the United States, withdrew from the movement in 1921, stating that '[t]he Dada spirit really only existed between 1913 and 1918[.] […] In its desire to prolong its life, Dada has shut itself up within itself.'[15] As soon as artistic tendencies become ideology, that is, at a remove from the *necessity* of their critique, they lose that vital aspect: danger. Taken seriously as an art movement, Dada was dead.

**III**

One of the principle components of autonomous art, particularly in music, though applicable anywhere, is the notion of art as a *work*, which, as has been seen, the Dadaists tried and ultimately failed to completely subvert. The notion of the *work* is applicable to all forms of art in its dominant as well as its experimental forms. Lydia Goehr elucidates the notion of the work-concept in *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*. While Goehr is evidently writing about music and the various intricacies of music as art play a part in her conception of the work-concept, it does allow for the illustration of a certain element of what happens when art is treated as an object of consumption. She writes that

> Since 1800, works have been titled in such a way as to indicate their status as independent, self-sufficient works. Thus, some works have been given titles indicating their status as completed, individuated works, inextricably connected to their composers, and devoted to purely musical matters.[16]

The language Goehr uses in relation to the work-concept is telling: the words 'independent' and 'self-sufficient' are reminiscent of Marx's theory of commodity fetishism, which is an aspect of the alienation essential to a society based on commodity exchange.[17]

However, artworks as commodities are, I assert, a special kind of commodity that enact a form of reification unique to this kind of production. Bürger writes that artworks, '[b]eing arrested at the

14 Tristan Tzara, cited in Robert Motherwell (ed.), *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology* (San Francisco, CA: Wittenborn, 1981), p. 240.
15 Francis Picabia, cited in Motherwell, *The Dada Painters and Poets*, p. 183.
16 Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 228.
17 Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1*, trans. by Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin Books, 1986), p. 165.

handicraft stage of production within a society where the division of labor and the separation of the worker from his means of production becomes increasingly the norm would thus be the actual precondition for seeing art as something special.'[18] This is, I believe, what is referred to by Goehr's remark, referenced above: works are *inextricably linked to their composers*. The rise of art as a *work* being synonymous with the rise of commodity exchange is no accident; it is clear that art considered as a *work* in this closed, autonomous way is art considered as a *commodity*. More than that, this is a form of *reification*, wherein the *creative faculties* are reified and considered possessions of objects rather than of people. An element of free activity is, in accordance with the *division of labour* essential to capitalist society, reified and contained within objects and remains the purview of a certain privileged group of people.[19] These restrictions are both material and ideological.

Despite this, the artist remains, by virtue of their special kind of labour, attached to the product of that labour, through a kind of fetishisation which Duchamp attempted to avoid. Certainly, the contemplative attitude may still prevail as the artist stands before their work that has been shipped off into a world of its own; there is still an element of alienation that is occurring. However, the alienation that manifests in art is of a different kind to that of the typical commodity, which gains a life of its own separated from the hands of labour. The *work-commodity*, as I will refer to it, carries its 'labourer' with it as a fetish. This has a cataclysmic effect on the consumers, or *spectators*, of the *work-commodity*. Art is considered a 'special' kind of labour and its commodities more 'human' because it is in bourgeois society the locus of behaviours which may be seen to go against the grain to escape the mundane. This confers a special status on the producer of the work-commodity, who is carried with it, as the purveyor of *humanity* in the face of ceaseless rationalisation. However, as Adorno remarks, 'industry makes even this resistance an institution and changes it to coin. It cultivates art as a natural reserve for irrationalism, from which thought is to be excluded.'[20]

I argue that it is not the *artist* who finds their creative faculties objectified in art; it is obvious that their form of commodity production, while still involving an element of appropriation, does *not* possess the same level of alienated labour as that of the regular commodity producer. The alienation that manifests in the *work-commodity* is that of the *consumer* who, in standing before and contemplating the creative product, finds the creative faculties of the human confined to the object they see before them. They subsequently become alienated from their *own* creative faculties, for they do not, and cannot, take an active part in the spectacle they see before them. Therefore, because reification takes hold the hypostatisation and thus the ageing of certain modes, styles etc. can come about in changing attitudes which are not themselves predisposed to *creativity*, only *consumption*. This shows that the avant-garde, like art in general, is subject to the productive and distributive forces that give way to the institution of art and its resultant autonomy. This means that the division of labour, which is necessary to the commodity-structure and the phenomenon of reification, is allowed to exert its influence on the avant-garde. It is this

18 Bürger, p. 36.
19 Ibid., p. 32.
20 Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. by Robert Hullot-Kentor (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 426.

'cutting off', engendered by the division of labour, reification of creativity, and art's resultant autonomy, which I believe creates the conditions that seal the fate of the ageing of the avant-garde.

**IV**

In 'The Aging of the New Music', Adorno ascribes to New Music a sense of 'false satisfaction', which he regards with suspicion.[21] In avant-garde tendencies this could constitute, for instance, the feeling that an end goal had been reached, or that some technique has been perfected, resulting in the 'stabilization' or *freezing* of certain techniques, which would immediately make those techniques both insular and 'disinterested' in their reason for being. The autonomy of art, creating artistic 'spaces' cut off from everyday life, brings about artistic specialists who occupy this space. Afflicted thusly, the avant-garde itself was populated by specialists. This creates a kind of *echo-chamber* wherein practice, in spite of the best efforts of each tendency's ideologues, eventually becomes disconnected from what might be vulgarly termed *social reality*.[22] In the case of New Music, Adorno writes that '[w]hile they embrace New Music as if it were an unavoidable task, their own inculcated taste balks against it; their musical experience is not free from the element of the non-contemporaneous.'[23] This is an after-effect of specialisation; in *Aesthetic Theory*, Adorno would tout the need for a certain kind of naïveté in art, which would allow the individual artist not to be afflicted with the now useless methods and reasons of the past.[24] This, I argue, can *only* happen in a non-reified world, where art is not an object one contemplates, or a career one has but a vital fact of everyday life praxis.

The contemporary avant-garde, as the neo-avant-garde defined by Bürger, is comfortably at one with the institution of art in bourgeois society in that it is a wing of the culture industry and can no longer stake claim to attempting to attack the institution of art. Its claim to protest and the possession of revolutionary characteristics are fraudulent. This provides an insight into the other reactionary characteristics of the neo-avant-garde. Where Bürger claims that 'the claim to protest can no longer be maintained',[25] I assert that in its place has arisen a reactionary sphere of *recuperated activity*. We exist in a time when the *behaviours* of the avant-garde, if not their political motives, are an accepted and commodified aspect of the culture industry. This allows capital in providing the artistic 'space' for the neo-avant-garde to flourish without posing any danger to the productive and distributive apparatus that it has become comfortable with to recuperate, or co-opt, revolutionary tendencies within the artistic space. Art, as perhaps *the* place of 'play' within bourgeois society, is seen as the place where such desire for experimentation and subversion can be catered for. Free play, subversion, and experimentation become fundamental parts of a progressively nuanced culture industry, and so pose no threat.

21 Ibid., p. 181.
22 Alannah Marie Halay, 'Recognising Absurdity through Compositional Practice: Comparing an Avant-Garde Style with being avant garde' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2016).
23 Adorno, 'The Aging of the New Music', p. 184.
24 Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, p. 427.
25 Ibid., p. 53.

Martin Iddon characterises New Music in the present age as being a kind of subculture akin to Goth. He writes that

> Certainly, there is a competitive edge, and not only that expressed through the presence of actual competitions. In the context of those competitions within the subculture, though, it will be no surprise to hear them described as having "a distinct, if complex set of rules." This might relate to another overheard fragment of conversation, though I have heard similar comments at various new music events in various places: "Ah, so that's what you have to write to get played around here!"[26]

This behaviour is not, of course, restricted only to music. In my own experience as a writer of so- called avant-garde or experimental poetry, I have been told that the best thing to do is to write 'to' other authors/poets, in accordance with my point about the echo chamber. This formation of style is, I assert, one of the primary reasons for the *freezing* of artistic techniques within tendencies that are supposed to provide them with a higher sense of 'fluidity'.

The 'specialists' I have discussed are not simply the artists; rather, they make up each of the many subcultures (if one is to assent to Iddon's perception of the current state of things) by being the artists themselves; the audience or readership; the critics. Further, Iddon notes that in terms of music, the *record labels* fall into the 'specialists' category: '[a] brief look over my own CD shelves suggests to me that I have a vastly higher proportion of CDs from labels like Kairos, Mode, NMC, Metier, Montaigne, Naïve, Col Legno, Accord, and Hat Hut than I do from the majors'.[27] This falls in line with Adorno's identification of the functioning of the culture industry, when he writes that

> Marked differentiations such as those of A and B films, or of stories in magazines in different price ranges, depend not so much on subject matter as on classifying, organizing, and labeling consumers. Something is provided for all so that none may escape[.][28]

This, I believe, encompasses the state of the neo-avant-garde. A wing of the culture industry whose claim to protest is satiated and fallacious is made up of specialists whose function is either to produce or consume. The contemporary state of what remains of the avant-garde is fully complicit with the institution it once tried to subvert. It has its consumers and its producers, a relationship wholly compatible with the commodity structure of everyday life. It is, by virtue of the phenomena to which it is susceptible, easily subsumed by the culture industry. It ages and ends up on display; tired, rotting, useless. The institution neutralises subversion. Art existing as a collection of *works* in the first place allows it to do so.

26 Martin Iddon, 'What Becomes of the Avant-Guarded? New Music as Subculture', *Circuit*, 24.3 (2014), 51-68 (p. 66).
27 Ibid.
28 Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception', trans. by John Cumming, in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Verso Books, 1997), pp. 120–167 (p. 123).

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Journal

# Faith Beyond Reason: Søren Kierkegaard's Interpretation of the Biblical Patriarch Abraham

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The story of the binding of Isaac, also known as the *Aqedah*, exists as one of the most well-known and discussed parables from the Hebrew Bible.[1] It has had, and continues to have, great significance for all three Abrahamic faiths. One of the most famous expositions of the tale from within the Christian tradition belongs to a Danish philosopher-theologian Søren Kierkegaard. In 1847, he published the book *Fear and Trembling* in which he explored the biblical tale of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac on Mount Moriah in little more than 100 pages. It should be noted that references to Abraham are scattered throughout Kierkegaard's works, however the text of *Fear and Trembling* constitutes his most focused exposition of Abraham and the *Aqedah* narrative. This paper seeks to analyse Kierkegaard's interpretation of the biblical patriarch Abraham. It will include an assessment of Kierkegaard's understanding of faith, ethics and individuality that characterise his reading of Abraham within *Fear and Trembling*. This paper will also examine Kierkegaard's influences, the intellectual environment in which he was writing, and the ideas he was attempting to challenge with his interpretation of the biblical patriarch.

Upon first approaching the text of *Fear and Trembling*, the reader may notice that it has two authors: The first is Søren Kierkegaard; however, the title page credits a second name, Johannes De Silentio. Kierkegaard often published his works under pseudonyms. Whether or not these pseudonymous characters fully represent Kierkegaard's views is a highly contested issue within Kierkegaardian studies; nevertheless, we respect Kierkegaard's wishes to distance himself from the text. As Kierkegaard chose to express *Fear and Trembling* through the voice of Johannes De Silentio, within this paper the author shall be referred to as Kierkegaard, while the narrator of the text as Silentio. Kierkegaard frames the style of the text in a fashion that expects familiarity with the eighteen verse Genesis episode. Abraham is commanded by God to offer his son Isaac in sacrifice. However, Isaac is replaced by a ram at the last moment, once Abraham has proved he is willing to complete the task that has been requested of him. The text discusses the narrative with an audience who recognise the story. For Kierkegaard, this is a problem; readers are far too comfortable with a story that he believes, when properly understood, should cause horror and 'make a person sleepless'.[2]

There are a number of different characteristics of Abraham that Kierkegaard seeks to emphasise through his interpretation; one of the most evident is the fact that Abraham did not simply accept God's

1 The story of the *Aqedah* is found in Genesis 22.
2 Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling/Repetition*, ed. and trans. by Edna H. Hong and Howard V. Hong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 30.

command but was deeply troubled at the thought of sacrificing his son. Silentio claims 'only the one who was in anxiety finds rest'.[3] Silentio states this in the context of explaining his dissatisfaction with the intellectual climate in which he is situated, in which 'everything can be had at such a bargain price'[4] and 'everyone is unwilling to stop with faith'[5] as though faith is an easily obtained commodity that holds little worth. To reach faith, one must struggle. Abraham is considered the father of faith not because he simply completed the task God requested from him, but because of the anxiety and pain it caused him. Kierkegaard's Abraham accentuates the necessity for a spiritual struggle in order to attain 'true faith'. Kierkegaard appears despondent at how indifferent readers have become to the narrative. Silentio states, 'there were countless generations who knew the story of Abraham by heart, word for word, but how many did it render sleepless?'[6] He references a preacher emptily praising Abraham as the father of faith and a true believer who sacrificed what was most dear to him due to his conviction. However, Silentio contends, if a man approached the same preacher and claimed he had been ordered by God to partake in the same actions, he would subsequently be accused of madness for wanting to murder his own son.[7]

These concerns voiced through Silentio appear to correspond with Kierkegaard's anxieties regarding the complacency of Christians in Denmark in the 19th Century.[8] On this level, Kierkegaard's interpretation of Abraham has been described by Lippit as 'theological shock treatment'[9], in which Kierkegaard uses the story of Abraham to cajole a complacent Christian nation into addressing Abraham's passion for faith. Kierkegaard's Abraham attempts to provoke his contemporaries to reflect on the nature of faith, and on the arduous task of becoming a true believer. Akin to many of his Danish and German contemporaries, Kierkegaard was raised in a household in which a Lutheran form of Christianity was practiced.[10] Lutherans traditionally emphasised that faith was more of an inward, personal relationship to God, rather than a faith that was linked to external observances. However, by the 19th Century, Lutheranism had itself become the established Church of Denmark, and this no doubt caused huge discomfort for Kierkegaard. In the Kierkegaard's view, partaking in institutionalised religious rituals did not make one a true believer, nor did being born into a Christian nation. Silentio states that 'it was different in those ancient days. Faith was then a task for a whole lifetime, because it was assumed that proficiency in believing is not acquired in days or weeks'.[11]

Kierkegaard's Abraham works as a reminder that faith is not something easily obtained, but something that requires struggle and suffering. For Kierkegaard, Abraham is the epitome of suffering, a character that properly portrays what it means to have faith in the midst of anguish. Abraham does not lament God's decision, nor does he claim any injustice has taken place; rather, he shows the 'humble

3 Ibid., p. 27.
4 Ibid., p. 5.
5 Ibid., p. 7.
6 Ibid., p. 28.
7 Ibid., p. 29.
8 John Lippit, *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to: Kierkegaard and Fear and Trembling* (London: Routledge, 2003) p. 140.
9 Ibid.
10 Alastair Hannay and Gordon D. Marino, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Kierkegaard*, ed. by Alastair Hannay and Gordon D Marino (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.1-14 (p. 3).
11 Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, p. 7.

courage' of faith.[12] Furthermore, Kierkegaard's Abraham is characterised by the fact that he cannot be considered a rational actor, his actions cannot be understood. Silentio claims that a character who sacrifices someone they love to achieve a higher purpose, such as Agamemnon, Jephtha or Brutus can be considered tragic heroes. For example, when Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia to secure victory in the Trojan War, his actions remain within the ethical, they can be understood and have a purpose. Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, according to Silentio, has no purpose and therefore his act cannot be deemed ethical. He states,

> Abraham is at no time a tragic hero, but it something entirely different, either a murderer or a man of faith. Abraham does not have the middle term that saves the tragic hero. This is why I can understand the tragic hero, but cannot understand Abraham, even though in a certain demented sense, I admire him more than all the others.[13]

Abraham did not sacrifice Isaac to achieve a noble end; moreover, the sacrifice did not have a purpose except that God commanded it. Kierkegaard attempts to prove two things with this claim; firstly, he emphasises the importance of an individual relationship with God that can transcend all other relationships, duties and bonds. Secondly, he argues that in order to save Abraham's virtue, within the story there must be 'a teleological suspension of the ethical'.[14] That is, an acceptance that the ethical can be relegated and a realm can supersede it: the realm of faith. With this claim, Kierkegaard and Silentio leave readers with a terrifying decision; either faith can transform the killing of a child into a holy act, or the biblical patriarch should be considered a murderer.

Primarily, the ideas challenged by Kierkegaard's Abraham are those of Kantian ethics and Hegelian philosophy more generally.[15] It appears that Kierkegaard was familiar with both thinkers from time spent at the University of Copenhagen studying with Danish Hegelians such as Hans Martensen, Johan Heiberg and Rasmus Nielsen.[16] Within Kantian ethics, the religious must be confined to the parameters of the rational which ultimately dictate the ethical. Religious belief and practise are to be accepted so long as they exist within the parameters of reason. Both Kant and Hegel contend that true religious faith consists 'in fulfilling, to the best of one's ability, the ethical requirement of good life conduct'.[17] Particularly within Hegelian thought, the emphasis between the ethical and duty to the collective is stressed. However, for Kierkegaard, faith cannot be limited to the ethical sphere or by the collective group. A believer's relationship to God cannot be limited to the postulating and limited rational capacities of human beings. Silentio's references to those 'who are unwilling to stop with faith' appears to refer specifically to the Hegelian notion that faith was a relatively elementary stage of intellectual development that Hegelian philosophy could surpass.[18]

12 Ibid., p. 73.
13 Ibid., p. 57.
14 Ibid., p. 66.
15 Lippit, pp. 142-46.
16 Clare Carlisle, *Kierkegaard's Fear and Trembling: A Reader's Guide* (London: Continuum, 2010), p. 29.
17 Ibid., p. 17.
18 Lippit, p. 140.

The differences in approaches between the thinkers are emphasised more readily when assessing their interpretations of the *Aqedah* narrative. When Kant discusses Abraham, he argues that it could never be known for certain whether the command has been ordered by God, and therefore Abraham could never be justified in transgressing moral reason and sacrificing Isaac. In his *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone*, he states,

> After all, the revelation has reached the inquisitor only through men and has been interpreted by men, and even if it did appear to have come from God himself, like the command delivered to Abraham to slaughter his own son like a sheep, it is at least possible that in this instance a mistake has prevailed.[19]

For Kant, God would not order the unethical and Abraham should have considered that the source of the command was not divine. As expected, within Kant's framework, the religious cannot contradict the confines of the rational. Therefore, Kant's interpretation of Abraham seeks to bring the narrative in line with his ethical framework, and this renders his conception of Abraham as blameworthy for attempting to partake in the morally reprehensible. Hegel's interpretation of Abraham differs from Kant's reading; Hegel attempts to use Abraham to establish the supremacy of Christianity over Judaism. Hegel's Abraham is the 'true progenitor' of the Jews; he constitutes the Jewish 'unity and soul' and 'regulates the entire fate of his posterity'.[20] For Hegel's Abraham, the ultimate test of faith was his willingness to submit to the divine command to sacrifice his own son, a point that Kierkegaard would agree with. However, unlike Kierkegaard, Hegel interprets Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac as representative of the 'negative moment of alienation'[21] found in Judaism. This act does not represent true faith; moreover, it more readily represents the spirit of Mosaic Law which finds things of this world without worth and demands 'a consciousness of one's annihilation, or deeds in which man expresses his nullity, his passivity.'[22]

For Kierkegaard, Abraham represents the radical individuality through which all other relations are forsaken to attain true self-hood and faith. Whereas for Hegel, Abraham symbolises the collective spirit found within Judaism, acts such as Abraham's embody the fact that everything in this world must be sacrificed in order to attain the afterlife. Alienation from the world is ultimately reconciled through the appearance of Christian love, which Hegel regards as the completed manifestation of faith. It should be noted that Hegel's interpretation of Abraham should not be read in isolation of his general philosophical method of dialectics in which Christianity is the pinnacle of human progression. As Taylor notes,

19 Immanuel Kant, *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone*, trans. by Theodore Green and Hoyt Hudson, 2nd edn (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 175.
20 Georg. W. F. Hegel, *Early Theological Writings*, trans. by T. M. Knox and Richard Kroner (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), p. 182.
21 Mark C. Taylor, 'Journey to Moriah: Hegel vs. Kierkegaard', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 70 (1977), 305-326 (p. 311).
22 Hegel, *Early Theological Writings*, p. 207.

> Hegel's analysis of Abraham cannot be understood apart from the dialectical progression of the essay as a whole. Hegel insists that Abraham's faith and the Jewish people are moments in the unfolding of human spirit that prepare the more complete form of selfhood revealed in Christianity.[23]

Hegel's denigration of the 'Jewish Abraham' appeared to have currency within Kierkegaard's environment, as did Hegelian thought in general. Indeed, it appears that anti-Jewish sentiment was flourishing during this period and the story of Abraham and Isaac was interpreted in manners to further project anti-Semitic stereotypes. Dalrymple argues,

> Pseudo-scholarly works claimed that cannibalism and blood-drinking had been passed down from Abraham to modern Jews. Interpreting Abraham as egoistic, murderous and bloodthirsty permitted the denigration of Judaism and thus the curtailment of Jewish freedoms and powers…[24]

The fact that Kierkegaard's Abraham is not portrayed as particularly Jewish or Christian is noteworthy considering the environment in which Kierkegaard wrote. There are references to Abraham as the 'second father of the race'[25] which allude to his Jewish progeny, but importantly, these references to his Jewish lineage are not construed in a negative sense. Moreover, Kierkegaard draws parallels between Abraham's suffering and the suffering of Jesus Christ,[26] in an attempt perhaps to bridge the gap between Abraham and Christianity. Kierkegaard's interpretation of Abraham does not attempt to establish Christianity as superior to Judaism such as in the work of Hegel. In fact, as stated earlier, many read Kierkegaard's Abraham as a direct critique of the Christianity practiced in his time. Green claims that Kierkegaard's Abraham, although nuanced, ultimately purports a normative view of Christian faith. However, ostensibly, Kierkegaard's Abraham does not overtly promote Christianity in lieu of other traditions.[27] Green posits a convincing argument regarding the underlying message of *Fear and Trembling* constituting an appraisal of a Pauline-Lutheran understanding of faith and redemption, in which the story represents the human capacity to sin, and yet continually be forgiven due to God's grace. However, as Green himself notes, this does not necessarily represent the reception of Kierkegaard's Abraham and how he has been understood traditionally.

In fact, it may be due to the ostensible lack of Christian supremacy of *Fear and Trembling* that has caused Kierkegaard's Abraham to impact other religious traditions. This should not be misunderstood as to say that Kierkegaard's Abraham is any more palatable to Judaism or Islam than he is to Christianity. Moreover, within the classical Jewish tradition the *Aqedah* was read not as a suspension of the ethical, but

23 Taylor, 'Journey to Moriah: Hegel vs. Kierkegaard', pp. 305-326 (p. 312).
24 Timothy Dalrymple, 'Abraham: Framing Fear and Trembling', in *Kierkegaard and the Bible: The Old Testament*, ed. by Lee C. Barrett and Jon Stewart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 43-88 (p. 62).
25 Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, p. 23.
26 Ibid., p. 66.
27 Ronald M. Green, 'Enough is Enough! Fear and Trembling is Not about Ethics', *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, 21 (1993), 191-209.

'as a moment of supreme moral responsibility for both God and man'.[28] Rather, it is to argue that Kierkegaard's Abraham has in some cases caused scholars from other traditions to rethink their respective relationships with the narrative of the *Aqedah*.

For example, Kierkegaard's interpretation of Abraham appears to share some resemblances with those found within Hassidic Judaism. This can be seen through the works of Rabbi Abraham Kook also known as 'Rav Kook' who was the Chief Rabbi in Palestine in 1921.[29] It is not clear that Rav Kook himself was part of a Hassidic group, but it does appear that he was heavily influenced by Hassidic thought more generally. Though the interpretations of Abraham are not identical, Gellman claims 'there are affinities between Kierkegaard and Rav Kook in their respective treatment of the story of the binding of Isaac.'[30] This is highlighted through the focus on the passion of Abraham's faith, the spiritual struggle the patriarch faced highlighted by both thinkers, and the analysis of the attainment of true selfhood characterised by Abraham's sacrifice found within their respective works. Kook's Abraham, much like Kierkegaard's Abraham struggles with the decision to sacrifice Isaac. In comparison to more traditional conceptions of the *Aqedah* within Judaism, such as that of Rabbi Maimonides, Kierkegaard's influence becomes slightly clearer. Maimonides interprets the *Aqedah* as a story that proves prophetic revelation is infallible and that God's prophets are absolutely certain of the source of revelation. For Maimonides, had there been any ambiguity regarding the source of the divine command to sacrifice Isaac, Abraham would not have completed the task. Maimonides writes, '[Abraham's] soul would not have consented to perform an act of so great an importance if there had been a doubt about it.'[31] Therefore, Kierkegaard's Abraham has clearly had resonance within strands of Jewish thought as well as within the Christian tradition.

Having cited the influence of Kantian thought and Hegelianism and Kierkegaard's refutation of the concepts through his interpretation of Abraham, the other major trend that have impacted Kierkegaard was the rise of the historical-critical method. According to Grant and Tracy, the historical-critical approach was quickly becoming regarded as 'the only legitimate method to approach scripture'[32] in the academies of Europe during the 19th century. Kierkegaard was familiar with Strauss' famous work *Life of Jesus* in which the Abraham story receives explicit criticism; Abraham is reprimanded for his willingness to sacrifice Isaac, and source criticism compares concepts of child sacrifice within ancient traditions to the *Aqedah*.[33] The context in which Kierkegaard wrote clarifies the purpose of his interpretation more sharply. For Kierkegaard, the story of the *Aqedah* was not a puzzle needing to be pieced together by the source-critical method, nor was it representative of inhumane child-sacrifice rituals from a bygone era. It was not to be apologetically explained away in a bid to make Abraham's sacrifice

28 Ronald M. Green, 'Abraham, Isaac and the Jewish Tradition: An Ethical Reappraisal', *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, 10 (1982), 1-21 (p. 1).
29 Jerome I. Gellman, *The Fear, The Trembling and The Fire: Kierkegaard and the Hasidic Masters on the Binding of Isaac* (London: University Press of America, 1994), p. 99.
30 Ibid., p. 100.
31 Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. by Shlomo Pines (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1963) pp. 501-02.
32 Robert Grant and David Tracy, *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible* (London: SCM Press, 1985), p. 110.
33 Dalrymple, 'Abraham: Framing Fear and Trembling', pp. 43-88 (p. 61).

compatible with a rational framework and it certainly was not to be used to emphasise the alienation within Judaism and the supremacy of Christianity. For Kierkegaard, and for Silentio, Abraham is the father of faith for all.

However, due to Kierkegaard's interpretation of Abraham placing religion and faith above the realm of ethics, his reading of the narrative has been heavily criticised, with some commentators identifying his reading as particularly violent. The main contention cited claims that, as a consequence of Kierkegaard's reading, religion and faith enter a mystified realm that cannot be understood and through this conception of faith and religion ceases to abide by the ethical. As a result, religion justifies the unethical and repugnant simply through the means of faith. For example, the French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas argues,

> Kierkegaardian violence begins when existence, having moved beyond the aesthetic stage, is forced to abandon the ethical stage in order to embark on the religious stage, the domain of belief. But belief no longer sought external justification… That is the origin of the relegation of the ethical phenomena to secondary status and the contempt for the ethical foundation of being which has led, through Nietzsche, to the amoralism of recent philosophies.[34]

Levinas proposes an alternative reading of Abraham that does not relegate the ethical below the religious sphere. He contends that the most important point in the story comes to pass when Abraham is told not to sacrifice Isaac by God on Mount Moriah. This second voice represents the call to return to the ethical sphere and for Levinas, the second voice properly represents the spirit of the narrative.[35]

As well as the criticisms of projecting an unethical Abraham, another commonly cited critique surrounds the origin of the voice commanding Abraham, which Kierkegaard does not probe. This accusation charges Kierkegaard with taking for granted that the voice commanding Abraham originated from God. This argument attempts to safeguard God from ordering his Prophet to partake in the unethical, and contends that the voice may have indeed originated from the devil. Abraham's mistake in this case was accepting that God would order his servant to partake in the morally unacceptable. As stated earlier, this mode of interpretation was employed by Kant, but it has also been directly used to critique Kierkegaard's Abraham in the work of Martin Buber.[36] However, the criticisms put forth by both Buber and Levinas presuppose that the purpose of Kierkegaard's interpretation is to valorise Abraham for his willingness to kill Isaac. They do not consider that Kierkegaard simply seeks to clarify the consequences of referring to Abraham as exemplary and commendable. Indeed, Kierkegaard's Abraham does not serve to delineate what the correct understanding of the ethical should be; rather, he attempts to demonstrate the incoherence of particular philosophical conceptions of the ethical.

Along similar lines to Kant and Buber, the attempt to interpret the story of Abraham through a rational framework by questioning the origin of the voice is not limited to the Christian tradition. Within

34 Emmanuel Levinas, 'Existence and Ethics', in *Kierkegaard: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Jonathon Rée and Jane Chamberlain (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 26-38 (p. 31).
35 Ibid., p. 33.
36 Martin Buber, 'On the Suspension of the Ethical', in *Eclipse of God* (New York: Harper & Row, 1952), pp. 113-120.

the Islamic tradition, a prominent rationalist thinker named Ghulam Parwez similarly critiqued interpretations of the *Aqedah* narrative by claiming the voice commanding Abraham had not been from God, but indeed from the devil.[37] God had intervened, according to Parwez, to stop the sacrifice and Abraham's mistake was to accept that God would order the unethical. Whether Parwez had been directly influenced by the writings of Kant or Buber is not clear, however, the fact that his critique of the story replicates those from a differing tradition raises pertinent questions regarding interpretations, traditions and hermeneutical approaches.

A traditional approach, famously articulated in the work of Jon Levenson, contends that there are three Abrahams; the Jewish Avram, the Christian Abraham and the Muslim Ibrahim. [38] Levenson provides ample material to prove that there are clear differences between conceptualisations of the prophet within the three traditions, and ultimately argues that the term 'Abrahamic religions' is unsuitable due to the differing conceptions of the patriarch. However, readings such as Kierkegaard's are traditionally ambiguous in this regard, as they refuse to fit precisely into a specific tradition and have clearly influenced other traditions, as shown earlier with Rav Kook. Kook's Abraham has far more in common with Kierkegaard's interpretation than it does with Maimonides reading, though Maimonides and Kook share the same faith tradition. Furthermore, Parwez's Abraham would feel far more comfortable with Kant's and Buber's Abraham than he would within mainstream Muslim readings of the Ibrahim narrative. This is not to argue that bodies of literature that can be described as distinctly Christian, Jewish or Islamic do not exist, however, it is the acknowledgement that there also exist moments of inter-sectionality within interpretive discourse that transcend the frameworks of demarcated traditions. Rather than simply accepting Levenson's model of three different Abraham's belonging to three different traditions, it may be appropriate to take into consideration the various hermeneutical trends and approaches that influence various interpretations. This would not only account more accurately for the interpretative differences that are found within traditions, but also account for the similarities in interpretive practises across traditions.[39]

Focusing on hermeneutical methods would also begin to explain the plethora of difference within the interpretation of the *Aqedah* narrative. From Maimonides, to Kook, to Hegel, to Kierkegaard; to more contemporary interpretations from the likes of Derrida[40] or feminist readings such as that provided by Exum,[41] the meaning of the *Aqedah* has been transmuted and altered based on the differing interpretive practices, traditions and schools that interpreters have been affiliated with. By focusing on the hermeneutical tendencies of specific groups helps to account for why a single text has had any

37 Ghulam A.Parwez, *Exposition of the Holy Quran*, trans. by Habib-ur-Rehman Khan (Lahore: Tolu-e-Islam, 2010), p. 740.

38 Jon Levenson, *Inheriting Abraham: The Legacy of the Patriarch in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012). Especially Chapter 6: 'One Abraham or Three' pp. 173-214.

39 For examples of such dialogue, see the project set up by the Faculty of Divinity from the University of Cambridge in which Christians, Muslims and Jews meet and interpret sacred scriptures together, see: http://www.scripturalreasoning.org

40 For an in-depth analysis of Derrida's interpretation of the Aqedah, see: John D. Caputo, 'Instants, Secrets, and Singularities: Dealing Death in Kierkegaard and Derrida', in *Kierkegaard in Post/Modernity* ed. by Martin J. Matustik and Merold Westphal (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 216-238.

41 J. Cheyrl Exum, '"Mother in Israel": A Familiar Figure Reconsidered', in *Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. by Letty M. Russell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 73-85.

number of differing interpretations, and it may also suggest why specific interpretations have been deemed valid or incorrect within a certain contingency. Stanley Fish elucidates this point as he argues that the criteria that validate specific interpretations of text are constantly changing, and the rules governing how text should be read are not universal.[42] Indeed, the canons of acceptability are constantly altering regarding what might be considered a correct reading of a text. Kierkegaard's Abraham constitutes a vibrant illustration of Fish's argument in this regard. An interpretation that in his own time was 'consigned to oblivion' and was dismissed by a public that 'hoped never to hear his name again'[43] has resurfaced as one of the most widely accepted, popular and influential readings of the narrative that exists in the contemporary world.

Within the twentieth century, the themes and ideas developed by Kierkegaard's interpretation of Abraham influenced many thinkers. Philosophical heavyweights such as Camus, Sartre, Badiou, Heidegger and Derrida all incorporate themes and arguments from *Fear and Trembling*.[44] Additionally, 20th century theologians such as Paul Tillich and Rudolph Bultmann have also been influenced by Kierkegaard's work on Abraham.[45] The appreciation of Kierkegaard's reading of Abraham developed long after Kierkegaard's death and evidences the point regarding the changing notions of correctness within interpretive theory. Kierkegaard's Abraham reminds us that 'no reading, however outlandish it might appear, is inherently an impossible one.'[46] Though Kierkegaard's Abraham was initially rejected by his own community, the rules of interpretation shifted which allowed the popularity of Kierkegaard's Abraham to grow exponentially. Indeed, the fact that readings which once seemed ridiculous can become venerated demonstrates that canons of acceptability constantly change, and Kierkegaard's Abraham serves as a rich example of such.

To conclude, when Kierkegaard first wrote *Fear and Trembling*, he predicted,

> Once I am dead, *Fear and Trembling* will be enough for an imperishable name as an author. Then it will be read, translated into foreign languages as well. The reader will almost shrink from the frightful pathos in the book.[47]

Kierkegaard's prophecy proved correct; his reading of Abraham exists as one of the most established interpretations of the narrative and has been translated into numerous languages across the world. It has influenced and challenged philosophers and theologians, believers and non-believers alike, with many attempting to claim the legacy of the renowned Danish thinker for their own.

42 Stanley Fish, 'What Makes an Interpretation Acceptable?', in *Is there a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (London: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 338-355.
43 Roger Poole, 'The Unknown Kierkegaard: Twentieth-Century Receptions', in *Cambridge Companion*, ed. by Alastair Hannay and Gordon D. Marino, pp. 48-75 (p. 49).
44 Carlisle, p. 174.
45 Ibid.
46 Fish, p. 347.
47 Lippit, p. 1.

Kierkegaard's interpretation of Abraham responded to different intellectual currents that were emerging in Denmark during the 19th Century. The rise of rationalism and the historical-critical approach to the biblical text certainly informed Kierkegaard's work, but also more directly the philosophies of Kant and Hegel hugely influenced Kierkegaard in so far as his Abraham served as a direct critique to Kantian ethics and Hegel's philosophical method. Kierkegaard's depiction of Abraham was not negative as many other interpretations were; he was not portrayed as an alienated Jew, nor was he a remnant of a mythical narrative that represents ancient practices of child sacrifice. Kierkegaard's Abraham was, and is, the father of faith. He represents the trial and tribulations that faith demands, the fear and anxiety that one must experience to reach bliss, and ultimately, for Kierkegaard, Abraham is the constant reminder of the sacrifice that faith entails.

Kierkegaard's Abraham also works as a reminder that classifications and taxonomies are not absolute and timeless, and ideas and interpretations that may be a given in a specific period, may not remain so. Kierkegaard's Abraham has found much acclaim in the postmodern intellectual environment due to his prophetic foresight that claimed objectivity and rationality would not lead to universal truth. In sum, Kierkegaard's Abraham, much like Kierkegaard, stresses the importance of standing out from the crowd and having the *humble courage* to be an individual.

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# Beyond Tonal Centricity: Residual Diatonicism in Carl Nielsen's Fifth Symphony

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In 1922 the Danish composer Carl Nielsen (1865-1931) composed his *Symphony No. 5*. This work contains a number of passages that are not in one clear musical key, that is to say such sections are apparently not tonal. However, such passages still sound *diatonic*, meaning in simple terms that the music still bears some relation to music that is tonal or modal, where there is some kind of musical scale. This initial sense of ambiguous quasi-tonality is one of the most characteristic and intriguing features of Nielsen's fifth symphony.

This article will firstly introduce the problem of understanding the complex diatonic processes in the fifth symphony, on those occasions where the music has no perceptible tonal or modal centre. Secondly, the article will present a reasonable set of characteristics of *diatonicism*. These criteria will form the basis of case studies, using certain significant passages from the first movement of Nielsen's fifth symphony, to ascertain which of these diatonic characteristics are used or omitted. Then, Nielsen's diatonic processes will be compared with those of contemporaneous composers, in order to assess his originality with regard to this aspect of melodic and harmonic practice. Finally, the diatonic approach in the second movement, and its relationship with the first movement, will be discussed.

That there is a range of analytical interpretations of the opening of Nielsen's fifth symphony can be explained by the work's tonal ambiguity, i.e. there is no one candidate for the opening key. Moreover, the lack of one clear tonality is part of the deliberate ambiguity of the opening section from bars 1-43. Both Robert Simpson and David Fanning discuss the symphony's opening from the perspective of keys. Simpson, in describing the whole first movement as being centred on three tonal 'plains' – F, C, and G – chooses to perceive the opening section through the prism of F major, and describes its harmonic ambiguity within the context of this key.[1] David Fanning also highlights the lack of tonal commitment, stating that A minor, C major/minor, and D minor are 'opened-up' as possibilities.[2] Robert Rival's approach identifies 'implied' diatonic collections during this passage, almost on a bar-to-bar basis.[3] In identifying 'implied' keys or modes, Rival suggests that the opening moves freely and frequently between pitch centres. These momentary 'implied' collections are not easily perceptible, however, as there is no 'tonic' between bars 1-43.

1 Robert Simpson, *Carl Nielsen: Symphonist, 1865-1931* (Virginia: Kahn & Averill, 1952), p. 95.
2 David Fanning, *Nielsen: Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 19.
3 Robert Rival, 'Flatwards bound: Defining harmonic flavour in late Nielsen', in *Carl Nielsen Studies: Volume V,* ed. by Niels Krabbe (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 2012), pp. 258-79.

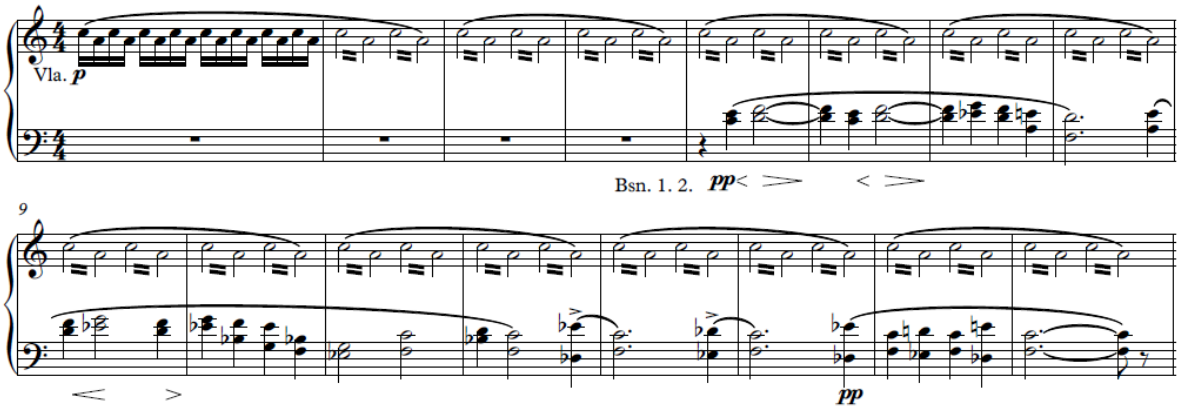
While these interpretations offer useful perspectives for tracking harmonic progress in the music, the lack of 'key' at many points in the fifth symphony indicates that a different analytical standpoint – one that moves away from single tonalities as a starting point – could yield further useful insights into the melodic and harmonic processes in the music. Despite the tonal ambiguity in the opening of *Symphony No. 5*, the melody played by the bassoons (bars 1-16) is still audibly diatonic. But, to address the question of how this is so and how *diatonicism* can, in this case, exist in a context where there is no tonal centre, it is necessary to list those characteristics that occur consistently in diatonic music. Assembling a clear, concise, and rigorous definition of *diatonicism* is difficult and arguably pointless. Rather, this article lists those properties that are most commonly associated with this term. While such a list cannot be exhaustive, it comprises a reasonable set of criteria that most analysts and theoreticians would require.

**Characteristics of *diatonicism* and 'residual diatonicism'**

This article identifies five 'requirements' that can be classed as consistent and essential to diatonic music. Firstly, with any diatonic passage, there is a discernible key centre – one note towards which the melody and harmony gravitate. A second characteristic would be the use of primarily step-wise linear movement involving tones and semitones. This leads onto the third requirement, that semitones be used sparingly, often maximally separated. Fourthly, it could be said that diatonic music works within the framework of a seven-note scale. Finally, diatonic music emphasises certain intervals over others. Strongly diatonic intervals would be the major and minor third – these intervals determine whether a chord is major or minor. Other important diatonic intervals include the perfect fifth and fourth, the major and minor sixth, and the octave. These intervals are diatonically expressive melodically and harmonically. The interval of a semitone can, in certain contexts, express *diatonicism* in melody as it can be used to create a tension or pull towards a tonic note at the base of a musical scale. This is the case with the major and harmonic minor scales, for example.

Having identified five characteristics that frequently occur in diatonic music, it is necessary to return to the opening of Nielsen's fifth symphony – in particular the bassoons' melody from bars 1-16 (see Ex. 1) – to assess which of these elements of *diatonicism* are present, and which are not. Firstly, the majority of the melodic movement is stepwise, with most of the linear intervals in the top bassoon line consisting of whole tones and semitones. Semitones seem to enhance a leaning towards a certain note; the tension in the pull upwards to E flat in bar seven would be a case in point. A third, defining diatonic characteristic that is retained in this passage is the consistent use of diatonic vertical intervals between the two bassoon lines. Only on five occasions (bb. 12, 13, 14 and 15) are the intervals not a third, sixth, perfect fourth or perfect fifth. Even in these five cases, four of the intervals can still be found within a diatonic scale i.e. the major ninth (bb. 12 and 14); the minor seventh, appearing in the natural minor scale, for example (b. 13), and the major seventh (b. 15). It is the emphasis given to parallel vertical motion in thirds between the bassoon lines, however, that suggests a diatonic purpose so strongly (see Ex. 1, bb. 5-8).

These, then, are the aspects of *diatonicism* listed in the previous section that are still present in the fifth symphony's problematic opening. So what has been taken away? The obvious aspect lacking in Ex. 1 is a clear tonal centre. Of course, the A-C viola pedal is partly responsible, due to its forming a constant underpinning from bars 1-43, while the melody above does not yield a harmonic centre. Despite this, with the exception of the first phrase, all of the phrases end on the open fifth, F-C. But this fifth is not established as a key centre in any diatonic fashion – there are too many altered notes in the melody, and consequently no feeling of belonging within one key over another. This leads on to another factor not present – a seven note scale spanning an octave.




Ex.1: Opening of *Symphony No. 5*, first movement, bb. 1-16.[4] [5]

This passage has much in common with music that would be described as diatonic. A choice to adopt certain elements of *diatonicism* over others would therefore explain why this opening passage *sounds* diatonic. It is not tonal, but it is certainly not atonal either. Such is the apparent process behind this passage, but the question of how it advances the current understanding remains. All this has established so far is that it is not completely diatonic. But, this is exactly why it is necessary to alter the current perspective. From what has been found out above, it seems that this section should be viewed on a broader basis, one capable of explaining the processes behind the construction of this freer diatonic exploration. In this discussion, this process will be termed *residual diatonicism*. This term seems to describe most accurately the process behind what is going on. The effect of removing some aspects of *diatonicism*, whilst others remain, is that the music retains qualities that are clearly borne out of historic tonal practice whilst simultaneously offering a fresh approach to tonal-sounding melodies and harmonies. Being left with these remaining diatonic characteristics unleashes new, freer, diatonic potential.

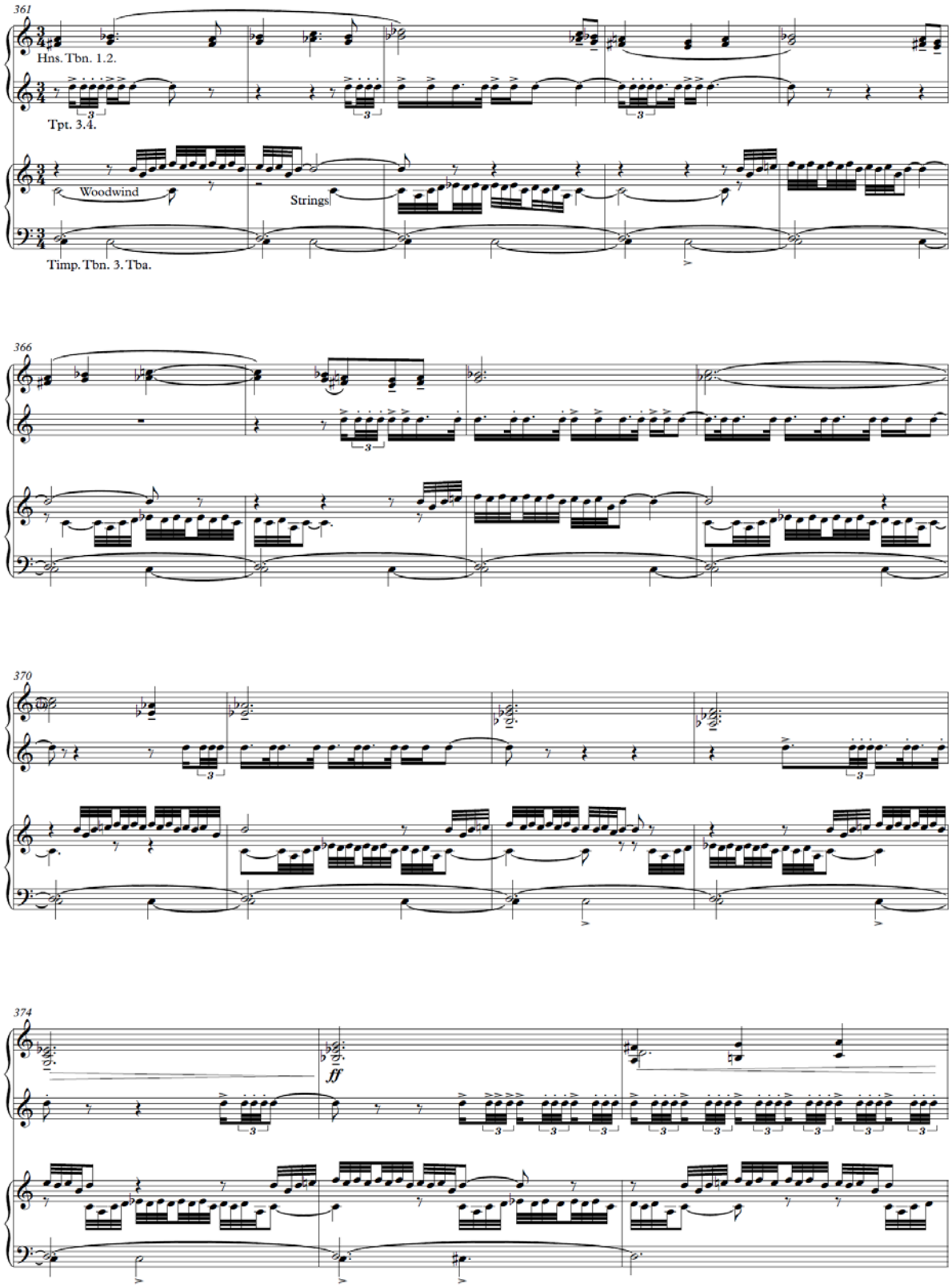
Such diatonic practice, bringing an enticing musical ambiguity to the beginning of the fifth symphony, seems to support the view of Dmitri Tymoczko who, in discussing expanded tonal practice in the 20th century, states that it is just as possible to write diatonic music in which no note is heard as a tonal centre as it is to write chromatic music with a very clear centre.[6] However, the same can be said for the musical concept of pandiatonicism – where a seven-note scale is used, but the melody does not centre

4 All musical examples given in this paper are original reductions by the author.
5 Musical examples are taken from Carl Nielsen, *Symphony No. 5*, FS 97, unless explicitly stated otherwise.
6 Dmitri Tymoczko, *A Geometry of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 16.

on the root note of that scale. But Nielsen goes a lot deeper than this. Tymoczko's idea that diatonic music need have no tonal centre is absolutely true, but it is taken to a new level and is more complex in the case of Nielsen's work. The freer use of whole tones and semitones (i.e. *residual diatonicism*) by Nielsen comprises a free *diatonicism* that leaves behind the safety of the seven-note scale.

Thus far, it has been argued that residual *diatonicism* is used at the beginning of Nielsen's fifth symphony, but this diatonic process is also put to structural use when it intensifies the build up to tonal resolution during the second half of the first movement, the Adagio section. There are a number of passages in the first movement of Nielsen's fifth symphony that strongly suggest the consistent use of *residual diatonicism;* however, due to limited space, this paper will address a particularly salient section of the Adagio section in the first movement. The Adagio section introduces a new theme, and Nielsen subjects this theme to four subsequent developed restatements or rotations as part of a teleological or goal-directed motion towards a properly established tonality of G major at bar 377 – a momentous musical event, as this is the first point in the symphony where tonality is truly established. The tension preceding this resolution is at its highest in the 16 bars before this resolution takes place, and this harmonic tension is intensified by the improvised snare-drum solo which reaches a peak of aggression just before the tonal resolution at bar 377. The melody from bar 361 in the horns and first and second trombones – a continuation of the theme introduced at the start of the Adagio section, but using an even more reduced *diatonicism* – works to establish a firm musical key or tonality against a harmonically static background. In Ex. 2, the melody achieves the same effect as the opening of the first movement (Ex. 1) in that it is diatonic, but does not establish any key centre.

Ex. 2 shows that the melody found in the horns and lower trombones uses stepwise motion almost exclusively, involving both tones and semitones. Whilst semitones are used frequently, particularly between bars 361 and 369, this passage cannot simply be labelled as chromatic. Whole tones are also used in the two melodic lines, achieving the recognisable diatonic effect of moving up and down a stepwise scale, only, again, the melody does not gravitate towards a tonic; nor is it confined to any scale structure. But the effect here is that the melody is *working* towards a key, thus intensifying the musical drama of the pre-resolution.




Ex. 2: Melody in horns and trombones, first movement, bb. 361-376.

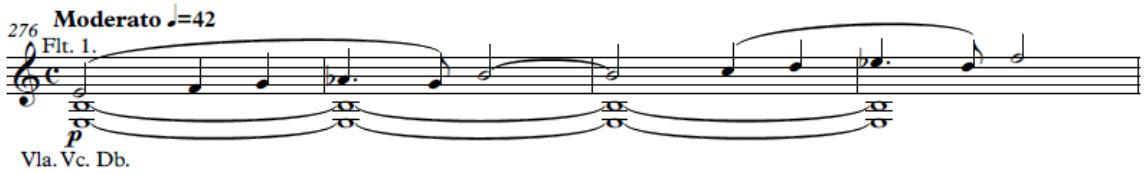
As Fanning observes, where the music ends up in the fifth symphony is more important than where the end comes from,[7] and the melodic exploration shown in Ex. 2 thus forms a significant component in the first movement's prolonged, large-scale transition from ambiguity to clarity (or from chaos to order).

## Contextualising Nielsen's *residual diatonicism*

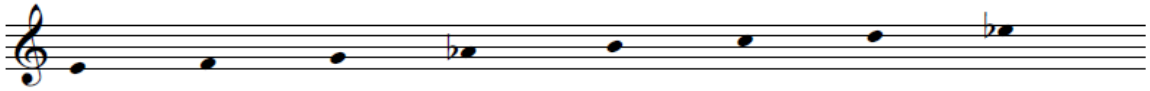
As Nielsen was not the only composer exploring means of moving away from tonal centricity while retaining *diatonicism*, it is necessary to assess the significance of Nielsen's diatonic practice in the fifth symphony through contextualisation with contemporaneous compositional practice. These comparisons will be based on pre-existing interpretations of diatonic processes by other composers. The first comparison to be made is with Sergei Prokofiev's *Piano Concerto No. 3*, completed in 1921. Nielsen's *residual diatonicism*, as introduced in this paper, resonates closely with the way Prokofiev, in the opening clarinet melody of his third piano concerto, uses the notes of a C major scale in a way that avoids a harmonic pull towards the root C major triad. Nielsen's diatonic approaches in Exs. 1 and 2, however, go beyond this freer diatonic framework by seemingly broadening his diatonic perspective to move still more freely between whole tones and semitones, rather than upholding a pre-determined scale structure.

As part of his discussion on the melodic practice of Russian composer Dmitri Shostakovich, Ellon D. Carpenter introduces categories of *diatonicism* developed by certain 20th-century Russian theorists.[8] A number of these theories align to some degree with the concept of *residual diatonicism*. Firstly, there is Yuriy Tyulin's concept of 'altered diatonicism', which allows for eight- and nine-note modes to fall under a certain type of *diatonicism*.[9] Similarly, Alexander Dolzhansky applies his theory of 'lowered modes' to Shostakovich's music, introducing such labels as 'double-lowered Phrygian' – an eight-note variation on the Phrygian mode where the fourth and eighth degrees are flattened, in addition to the second.[10] This produces two effects: firstly, it alters the diatonic character of the scale and, secondly, it expands the mode beyond the seven-note collection. As Inessa Bazayev argues, the end of the first movement of Shostakovich's *Symphony No. 5* (1937) contains a passage that uses this mode introduced by Dolzhansky (Ex. 3).[11] Ex. 3 (b) shows this mode in ascending order, while Ex. 3 (c) shows an unaltered Phrygian mode for comparison.

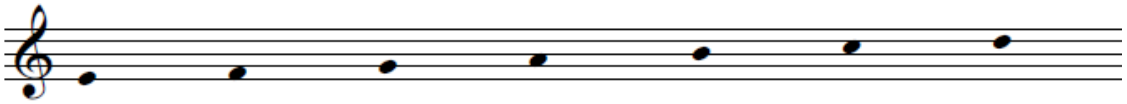
7 Fanning, p. 18.
8 Ellon D. Carpenter, 'Russian Theorists on Modality in Shostakovich's Music', in *Shostakovich Studies*, ed. by David Fanning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 76-112 (pp. 81-82).
9 Ibid., p. 83.
10 Ibid., p. 91.
11 Inessa Bazayev, 'The Expansion of the Concept of Mode in Twentieth-Century Russian Music Theory', *Music Theory Online*, 20 (2014) <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.14.20.3/mto.14.20.3.bazayev.html> [accessed 12 March 2017]




Ex. 3 (a): Dmitri Shostakovich, *Symphony No. 5*, Op. 47 (1937), flute solo, first movement, bb. 276-279.



Ex. 3 (b): Notes from flute solo melody in Ex. 3 (a) arranged in ascending order, outlining double-lowered Phrygian mode.



Ex. 3 (c): Example of an unaltered Phrygian mode.

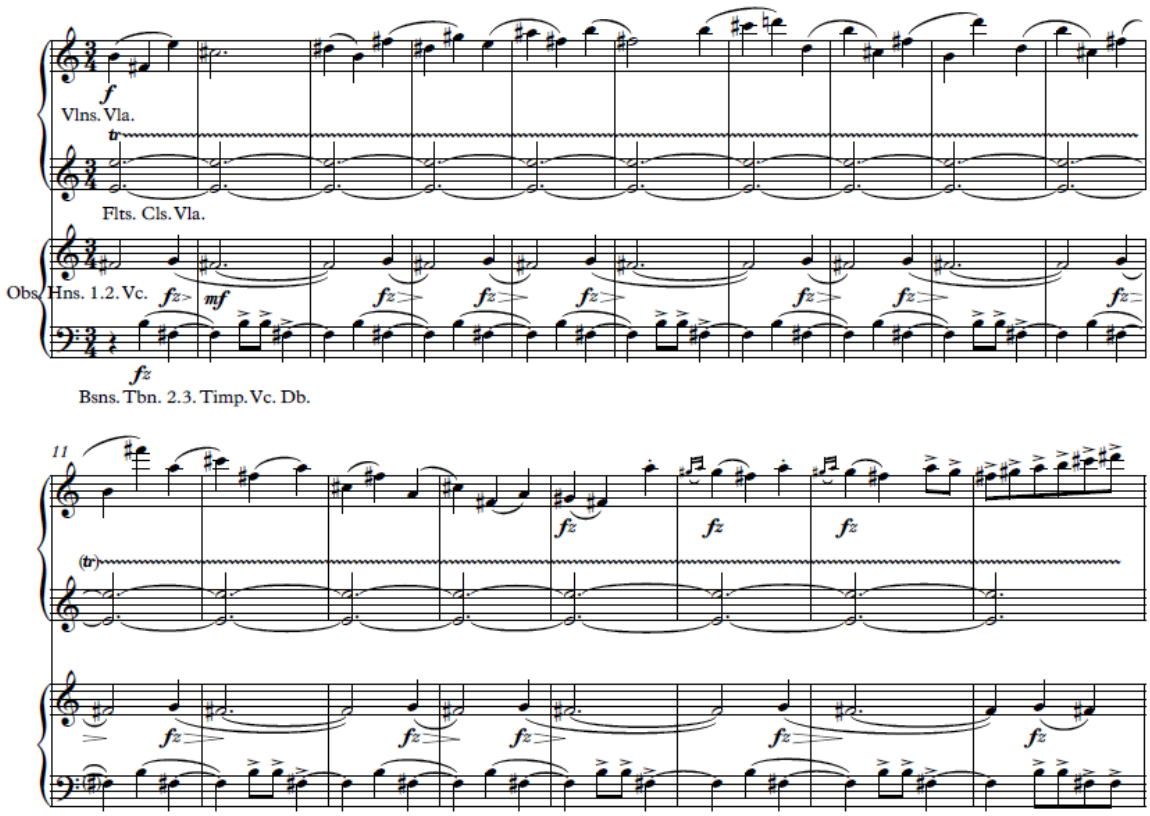
The theoretical model of the double-lowered Phrygian mode is based on the notion that Shostakovich's music avoids clear-cut tonality, but retains diatonic elements. This model holds water in the way it can explain the diatonic source in Ex. 3 (a). But how does Ex. 3 (a) relate to the 'requirements' of *diatonicism* outlined earlier? The expanded mode shown in Ex. 3 (b) does use step-wise motion combining whole tones and semitones. Two of the 'requirements' are not present: viz. the need to have a seven-note scale, and the practice of semitones being used sparingly. However, the lowered Phrygian mode theory assumes that there is a modal centre and that each note has a diatonic function in relation to this harmonic 'root'. This differs fundamentally from Nielsen's approach, where there is the objective to avoid one scale construction with tonal or melodic centricity. However, the fact that, in Ex. 3, different defining features of *diatonicism* can be removed, whilst certain diatonic characteristics remain, indicates the potential to use residual *diatonicism* in conjunction with other theoretical standpoints, such as double-lowered Phrygian.

A final comparison can be made to the diatonic practice of Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), specifically the debate surrounding the relationship between the octatonic scale and *diatonicism*. Pieter C. van den Toorn, for example, has remarked on the interpenetration of diatonic and octatonic collections in Stravinsky's music, including both the *Firebird* (1910) and *Petrushka* (1911).[12] Again, this is a strategy that reveals a prominence of diatonicism, whilst exceeding tonal boundaries. But Nielsen demonstrates the possibility of writing diatonically outside of pre-determined scale structures.

12 Pieter C. van den Toorn, 'Some Characteristics of Stravinsky's Diatonic Music', *Perspectives of New Music*, 14 (1975), 104-138 (pp. 136-137).

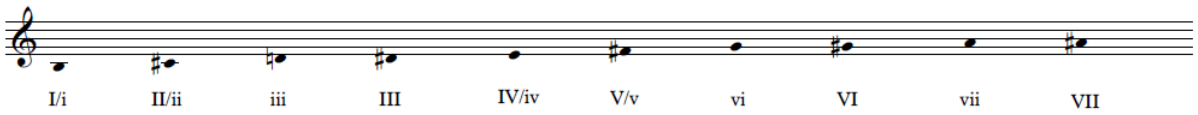
**Applicability to the second movement**

As *residual diatonicism* has been defined by the absence of certain diatonic characteristics and the retention of others, it is a model that can also explain those sections in Nielsen's fifth symphony, particularly in the second movement, that sound more tonal, whilst still demonstrating tonal ambiguity. The opening passage of the second movement, shown in Ex. 4, is in B major-minor – it uses all of the notes that are found within both the major and minor modes. However, this passage does not simply switch between the major and minor scales in any traditional way.




Ex. 4: Opening of second movement, bb. 1-18.

Considering the melody in Ex. 4 in isolation, the first six bars unambiguously express B major. Then, in bar seven, the C sharp steps up to the borrowed minor third (highlighted in Ex. 4) from the B minor mode, and continues in B minor until bar 14 – although, from bars 10 to 14 the third scale degree is not heard in either its major or minor forms, so B major-minor still represents a broadened diatonic field:




Ex. 5: Extended diatonic scale: notes used in the second movement opening, bb. 1-18.

At bar 15 in Ex. 4, the major sixth, G sharp, appears. Melodically, the G sharp seems to serve as a diatonic alternative for the sixth scale degree (G natural), as the A resolves onto it for the first beat of bar 15. When it comes to achieving melodic and harmonic variety in tonal music, this was hardly a new

practice, as Robert Gauldin observes.[13] And yet, there is a marked difference between Ex. 4 and what Gauldin refers to as 'modal exchange'.[14] In the cases dealt with by Gauldin, a short passage or phrase will close in either the major or minor key. To break this down further, if a major and minor scale each start on the same note, these two keys will have a chord in common – the dominant chord which pulls back towards the home, tonic, chord. Therefore, as Gauldin states, a phrase that begins in the minor could follow a phrase that ends in the major.[15] In other words, as the major and minor mode share the same dominant chord, access between the two is easy in a totally tonal context.

But in Nielsen's case, there is no dominant chord function. In fact, it could be said that there is no functional tonality, meaning there is no sense of a harmonic pull from the dominant chord to the home (tonic) chord. This was also the case in the first movement's opening. This is really a ten-note major-minor mode. The passage does not begin in B major and then modulate to B minor; instead, the two keys form one extended scale. Carpenter describes the major-minor mode as an example of 'expanded diatonicism', where 20th-century diatonic practice moves beyond the boundaries of the seven-note scale, stating that each constituent note still has a diatonic function.[16] This indicates that the opening of the second movement has a similar purpose to earlier musical examples, but has more diatonic features present. Instead of continuing Carpenter's use of the phrase 'expanded diatonicism', however, the analyst could, employing the more general concept of *residual diatonicism*, once again determine which diatonic aspects have been removed, and which remain.

The most obvious component missing in Ex. 4 is confinement to a seven-note scale. Also, step-wise movement between tones and semitones in the melody is significantly reduced. Three diatonic characteristics therefore remain: orientation towards a key centre, B; the consistent use of 'diatonic intervals' including descending perfect fourths, major/minor thirds, and major/minor sixths; and a sparing use of semitones which here achieve major and minor shifts. Ex. 4 therefore differs from the opening of the first movement, for example, as it is limited to a note-configuration spanning an octave which, by its nature, orientates around a 'tonic'. Each note, including the major-minor alternatives, therefore has a diatonic function. However, this passage still demonstrates the intent to avoid establishing a tonality, and this idea is supported by the fact that certain diatonic aspects have been removed. Consequently, Ex. 4 shows a different kind of ambiguity to that shown in previous examples.

There is, however, a similarity between the section shown in Ex. 4 and the residual diatonic approach discussed earlier from the opening of the first movement. In both cases, there is the weakening of the note B as a tonal centre, both harmonically and melodically. In terms of harmony, the use of repeated notes from outside of the tonic chord results in a static harmony and pandiatonic effects. This undermines the emphasis on the note B. The G natural heard underneath the B major melody indicates harmonically the use of the 10 note mode, B major-minor – belonging as it does to B minor. However, it

13 Robert Gauldin, *Harmonic Practice in Tonal Music* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), p. 391.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ellon D. Carpenter, 'Russian Theorists on Modality in Shostakovich's Music', *Shostakovich Studies*, ed. by David Fanning (85).

also has a pandiatonic purpose. Its static emphasis on the minor sixth scale degree undermines the tonal associations of B as a centre. Furthermore, there is a continuous trill on the note E in the flutes, clarinets and lower violas. This static note from outside either tonic chord (major or minor) produces an audible, exposed interval of a perfect fourth. Indeed, Robert Simpson observes how the persistent E note makes the key of B unstable.[17] In terms of how melody de-emphasises orientation towards the home note of B, greater emphasis is placed on intervallic variety during those few occasions of step-wise melodic movement. This is seen when stepwise tones change to stepwise semitones when repeated. During bars 2-3, for example, the melody steps from C sharp to D sharp, whereas in bar 7, the motion is from C sharp to D natural. Whilst such intervallic variety could be said to be a result of shifting between B major and B minor, the 10-note major-minor scale is really what gives access to this wider stepwise interval range.

This argument for tonal insecurity and diatonic expansion is supported by Nielsen's apparent uncertainty regarding the key signature for the second movement's opening. Early sketches reveal that he originally indicated a key signature of A major.[18] This initial choice is interesting, given the apparent, albeit weakened, harmonic emphasis on B major-minor. The early choice of A major may, firstly, have been a matter of convenience – having three sharps in the key signature would have produced the smallest number of written-in accidentals. Secondly, it suggests that, from Nielsen's point of view, the opening of the second movement was never about establishing B as a clear, long-term home note. The reason for Nielsen's eventual decision to settle on no key signature will probably never be known, but it may indicate the long-term transition from tonal ambiguity to tonal clarity in this second movement. The same tonal scheme exists in the first movement – another reason to compare the tonal ambiguity of Ex. 4 with examples discussed earlier. In the openings of both the first and second movements, nothing is revealed of the keys that they eventually end up in (G major and E flat major, respectively). Even with the so-called 'progressive' tonality in the first movement of Gustav Mahler's Symphony No. 7 (1904-05), where the overall tonal trajectory moves from B minor to E major, there is a journey from one key to another;[19] but in Nielsen's case, the journey in each of the two movements is choosing to establish a key in the first place.

**Conclusions**

This article has introduced the concept of *residual diatonicism* as a new and useful analytical perspective on Nielsen's fifth symphony which offers additional insights alongside those pre-existing analyses of this work. This theoretical model has revealed, first of all, a sense of tonal freedom which has been embraced by the composer. It is also clear that this approach to controlled and limited *diatonicism* is a reasonably consistent feature of Nielsen's melodic and harmonic approach in the fifth symphony – there is not just one isolated incident. Furthermore, this perspective reveals Nielsen's extraordinary control over diatonic

17 Simpson, p. 102.
18 Fanning, pp. 46-47.
19 Dika Newlin, *Bruckner, Mahler, Schoenberg* (New York: Newlin Press, 1947), p.186.

and harmonic construction, with large-scale symphonic significance. Indeed, the way in which this concept enhances our understanding of the fifth symphony's large-scale struggle to establish a tonal centre endorses Robert Simpson's general observation that Nielsen found new ways to express tonal language when others believed it to be a spent force.[20] Nielsen balances when to use tonal clarity and when to open up the *diatonicism* to exceed tonal boundaries. Consequently, this reveals a possible process behind the long-term tension in this piece between ambiguity and clarity. Moreover, this balance lends flexibility, as tonal centricity can exist on a spectrum of sorts, depending on which and how many characteristic diatonic aspects are removed. A tonal centre could therefore be sustained indefinitely, or avoided altogether. Based on this evidence – that Nielsen is able to systematically avoid tonal centricity and scale structures whilst retaining a freer diatonic process – it is clear that *Symphony No. 5* is a leading example of progressive diatonic and tonal practice at a time when increasingly chromatic music was being developed elsewhere. Nielsen demonstrates an independent mind-set in the context of the 20th-century symphony, advancing compositional techniques by building upon previous tonal principles, and thereby contributing to a highly individual musical style.

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20 Simpson, p. 20.

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# Passing Through the Pane: Genre, Art and Meta-textuality in Kim Ki-young's *The Housemaid*

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Within his 1979 article 'The Art Cinema as a Mode of Film Practice' David Bordwell attempts to define and categorise art cinema as a 'logically coherent mode of cinematic discourse'.[1] Here he notes that specifically European films of the 1950s and 60s define themselves 'against the classical narrative mode', refuting traditional 'cause and effect chain[s]' that employ devices of 'generic appropriateness' to grant 'compositional unity' and 'verisimilitude'.[2] This categorisation is anchored within a Eurocentric discourse dichotomous to that of Hollywood. Perhaps, most importantly, Bordwell conceptualises art cinema as having three constituting factors: realism, authorship, and ambiguity.[3] The confluence of these three principles creates a narrative form conceptualised by a singular guiding hand whereby anything that does not assimilate into the audiences' theorisations is deemed the artistic work of the auteur.

Similarly, Steve Neale, within 'Art Cinema as an Institution', theorises a specifically Eurocentric modality of art cinema practice, focusing solely on France, Germany, and Italy, defining it by its opposition to Hollywood and genre film. Here Neale adds an overlaying dimension to Bordwell's work, asserting that art cinema has been 'constantly marked by a combination of commodity-based structure […] and the culturally reactionary discourses of high art'.[4] For Neale, art cinema not only negatively articulates itself against Hollywood, but also implicitly defines a mode of national cinema during that process. Whilst both of these articles prove useful in beginning to theorise a modality of film practice defined by its ambiguity, each critic, through focusing upon European filmmakers such as François Truffaut and Alain Resnais, begins to reduce the spectrum of art cinema. This essay utilises both critics' work not as a continually critical reference but as a starting point to theorise a global multiplicity of art cinema of the period, recognising the diverse artistry of filmmaking that is gestured to, but inevitably ignored, within both articles.

One such filmmaker that is ignored within multiple theorisations of art cinema is South Korean Kim Ki-young (KIM). 'Mister Monster' made numerous generic works throughout his career – only being assimilated into the critical art cinema economy during a retrospective at the 1997 Pusan International Film Festival.[5] He intertwines expressionism and surrealism with the popular genre of melodrama. This

1 David Bordwell, 'The Art Cinema as a Mode of Film Practice', *Film Criticism*, 1/4 (1979), pp. 56-62 (p. 57).
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Steve Neale, 'Art Cinema as Institution', *Screen* 1/22 (1981), pp. 11-39 (p. 39).
5 Chris Berry, 'Introducing "Mister Monster": Kim Ki-young and the Critical Economy of the Globalized Art-house Cinema', in *Kim Ki-young*, ed. by Kim Hong-joon (Seoul: Seoul Selection, 2006), pp. 41-57.

generic mixing occurs most prominently within his film *The Housemaid/Hanyo* (1960). Here melodrama intertwines with horror to produce a fluid generic boundary that explores the converging of influences from such art film directors as Luis Buñuel, Fritz Lang, and Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. As an *auteur*, Kim Ki-young destabilises the boundaries of genre in order to express a meta-textual signification of construction. This is most prevalent within his depiction of *mise-en-scène*. Here KIM assumes the role of the *metteur-en-scène*, a term here referring to Sarris' notions of *mise-en-scène* as the primary domain of artistic expression for the *auteur*.[6] KIM's 'socio-sexual division of domestic space' intertwines the traditionally female melodrama with the Freudian conceptions of expressionism and early horror, resulting in a shifting filmic composite of innately patriarchal control.[7] By crafting the pro-filmic event to contain both generic forces, KIM destabilises the iconographical connotations of each.

This essay utilises *auteur theory* as a base in theorising the use of *mise-en-scène*, i.e. the arrangement of scenery, objects and lighting on a film set, within *The Housemaid*. Although notions of the *auteur* (the critical thought that the director is the author of the work) are complex within the present discourses of film studies and far from Sarris' compiling of American directors to present a cohesive 'American Cinema,' the theory still provides a irrevocably useful tool in understanding specific artists and works. In approaching such a text as specifically authored one is able to identify the minutia of its stylistic presentation and assimilate such artistry within the specific socio-political grounding of the piece's construction. This essay aligns the figure of the *auteur* as a *metteur-en-scène*, meaning the artist expresses themselves, in André Bazin's words, 'aesthetically in terms of space, in forms, in the structure of the *mise-en-scène'* (original emphasis).[8] The very physicality of the *diegesis* (i.e. the plot/narrative) is the site of the *auteur* then. The *auteur theory* creates lines of enquiry within a text that highlight the revolutionary aspects of its conception.

Firstly this essay dissects the expressionistic influences upon the *mise-en-scène*. Both the stairs and the diegetic music of the piano become attenuated doppelgangers of their prior melodramatic signification. Here one sees the direct influence of KIM's authorial hand implementing devices of the art cinema paradigm (to use a Bordwellian phrase). This essay will then proceed to theorise the use of symbolic secondary lenses within *The Housemaid* (specifically the use of filming through glass doors), resulting in an act of *cinematic cosmomorphism*.[9] This term refers to a perfect symbiosis within the *diegesis*: characters become innately ingrained within the *mise-en-scène* with which they interact. Here the reflections of characters in *mise-en-scène* such as the piano and the patio doors provide a direct acknowledgment of authorial influence as KIM provides a horrific physical manifestation of his double on screen, becoming internalised within the physicality of the *mise-en-scène*. Lacanian theory highlights this notion of the auteur as placed within his work, demonstrating the nature of the meta-textually constructed, infinitely displaced, filmic composite. Lastly this essay theorises space in a more conceptual sense, elucidating the perpetually

6 Andrew Sarris, *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions 1929-1968* (New York: Octagon Books, 1982), p. 252.
7 Kim Kyung-Hyun, 'Lethal Work: Domestic Space and Gender Troubles in Happy End and The Housemaid', in *South Korean Golden Age Melodrama*, pp. 201-218 (p. 202).
8 André Bazin, *What is Cinema, Volume 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 63.
9 Christian Metz, *Psychoanalysis and Cinema: The Imaginary Signifier* (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), p. 47.

reformulating topologies of *mise-en-scène* that mirror the work's generic and artistic constitution. Here, through an utilisation of Travis Workman's assertions of 'topos', 'screen', and 'cosmos', this essay theorises that the film produces a 'new kind of mirror'; one that reflects a perpetually shifting filmic fabric of reality and art.[10]

Far from the 'lack of avant-garde' that Kelly Y. Jeong prescribes then, this essay demonstrates KIM to be a highly self-reflective auteur, capable of combining genres, European artistic influence, and meta-textual signification.[11] Through an analysis of *mise-en-scène* this essay expands the boundaries of art cinema demonstrating *The Housemaid*'s filmic meta-textuality as it perpetually refers to its own fluid construction as genre, art, and film.

Firstly, one must contextualise *The Housemaid* to identify the kinds of socio-political pressures Korean filmmakers such as Kim Ki-young experienced in order to broaden both Bordwell's and Neale's categorisations. The April Revolution of 1960, or *4-1-9*, overthrew the First Autocratic Republic of South Korea.[12] Here for the first time freedom of expression came to Korean cinematic practices as the authority for film censorship shifted from the government to civil organisations, namely the *Film Ethics Committee.*[13] This freedom, both democratic and artistic, was short-lived, however, due to a military *coup d'état* on the 6th of May 1961.[14] The approximate year from the revolution to the new military regime provides a temporal window of artistic cinematic practice and *haebang* (liberation).[15] From 1960 to 1961, Korean auteurs such as Yu Hyun-mok and Lee Man-hui, together with Kim Ki-young, made films that addressed 'dark social realities' such as *Aimless Bullet/ Oboltan* (Yu Hyung-mok, 1961) and *Kaleidoscope/ Jumadeung* (Lee Man-hui, 1961) (along with many more).[16] The socio-political grounding of this cinematic work helps to craft a specifically nationalised cinema extending beyond Neale's 'commodity-based structures' as it demonstrates a collective 'self-articulation within a global context' and innately political medium.[17]

As Nancy Ablemann and Kathleen McHugh state, *4-1-9* was 'a moment at the temporal heart of Golden Age cinema'.[18] This 'temporal heart' is implicit within *The Housemaid.*[19] Kim Ki-young's experimentation between genres and European artistic influences encapsulates the innate conflict of both the freedom and instability of the time. It is the twisting of the Hollywood conventions of melodrama that encapsulates the innate postcolonial framing of the medium, manipulating the filmic paradigms of the coloniser to explore the socio-political and psychological realities of the period. In fact, for

10 Travis Workman, 'Other Scenes: Space and Counterpoint in Cold War Korean Melodrama', *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema*, 1/7 (2015), pp. 28-40 (p. 29); Christian Metz, *Psychoanalysis and Cinema: The Imaginary Signifier*, p. 45.
11 Kelly Y. Jeong, 'Two Golden Ages of Korean Cinema', *Cross Currents: East Asian History and Cultural Review*, 14 (2015), pp. 241-251 (p. 244).
12 Nancy Ablemann and Kathleen McHugh, 'Introduction', in *South Korean Golden Age Melodrama: Gender, Genre, and National Cinema*, ed. by Nancy Ablemann and Kathleen McHugh (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), pp. 1-13 (p. 5).
13 Hyangjin Lee, *Contemporary Korean Cinema: Identity, Culture and Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 49.
14 Ibid.
15 Ablemann and McHugh, p. 7.
16 Hyangjin Lee, *Contemporary Korean Cinema: Identity, Culture and Politics*, p. 59.
17 Neale, p. 39; Kathleen McHugh, 'South Korean Film Melodrama and the Question of National Cinema', *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 1/18 (2001), pp. 1-14 (p. 4).
18 Ablemann and McHugh, p. 5.
19 Ibid.

Ablemann and McHugh, melodrama becomes the 'most efficacious mode of realism' of this time, blurring the already porous line between reality and *diegesis*.[20] *The Housemaid* becomes an intertwining of not only genre and art cinema, but an encapsulation of 'melodrama, operating in an ever-changing realm,' acting meta-textually to signify its own socio-political constitution and mimetic porousness.[21]

KIM's work innately contradicts both Bordwell's and Neale's assertions of art cinema being antithetical to conventionalised narrative as genre becomes integral to the production of filmic 'realism,' 'authorship,' and 'ambiguity.' Through Yecies' theorisations of a 'localised understanding of the auteur,' one is able to consider the textual significance of works beyond Bordwell's, Neale's, or the *Cahiers* writers' comprehensions creating a diverse nexus of globalised art cinema.[22] As by locating the auteur within a specific socio-political and geographical climate one may localise the drives of their artistic creation, isolating their unique properties and refuting the generalisation of Neale and Bordwell's assertions. What follows is an analysis of KIM's use of *mise-en-scène* to highlight the artistic, generic, and meta-textual formulations of *The Housemaid* in order to contribute to this broadening comprehension of the mode.

Within *The Housemaid* the most prominent generic destabilisation occurs within the use and design of the house's staircase. Firstly it operates in a symbolic manner traditional for that of melodrama. It represents a 'desire for class mobility' as we see Myung-Sook (the housemaid) ascend the stairs to her room on numerous occasions, traversing the newly emerging middle class residence in order to progress further up its spatial workings.[23] The act is symbolically charged as the one-time factory worker seeks to progress further into the operations of Korea's rapidly accelerating modernity. As Kim Kyung-Hyun states, 'this staircase […] effectively spatializes the film's central themes: the fetishistic desire for an unobtainable object, the struggle to succeed against the odds, and the cruelty and humiliation one must face before, and after the climb.'[24] This centrality of 'the climb' directly articulates the core principles of melodrama 'as a particular form of dramatic *mise-en-scène.*'[25] Characters traverse KIM's artistically constructed pro-filmic space in order to relate 'to the given historical and social context.'[26]

This potent symbol of melodramatic convention becomes distorted, however, during the final scenes of the film in which Mr. Kim (the father) returns to his wife after drinking rat poison with Myung-Sook. Here the stairs cast attenuated shadows as single-source expressionistic lighting projects the repeated geometry of the banister onto the far wall. This introduction of expressionistic techniques highlights the deep psychological turmoil of Mr. Kim in a moment intertextually rooted in Murnau's *Nosferatu* (1922). The inclusion of the heavily distorted shadows suggests the filmic manifestation of their Id-ish doppelgangers as their spectral corporality remoulds and shifts, mirroring only their difference to their material counterparts. The stairs become a vehicle through which the duplicity of the human psyche may manifest within the *diegesis*, weaving both self and the position of being an object into the overlaying

20 Ibid, p. 4.
21 Agustin Zarzosa, 'Melodrama and The Modes of the World', *Discourse*, 2/32 (2010), pp. 236-55 (p. 247).
22 Brian Yecies, *The Changing Face of Korean Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 44.
23 Kyung-Hyun, p. 213.
24 Ibid, p. 214.
25 Thomas Elsaesser, 'Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama', in *Home is Where the Heart is: Studies in Melodrama and Other Woman's Film*, ed. by Christine Glendhill (London: British Film Institute, 1987), pp. 43-69 (p. 51).
26 Ibid, p. 47.

filmic fabric. The position is that of a person as they appear to someone else from the outside. Through *mise-en-scène* KIM directly combines the paradigms of melodrama, art cinema, and horror, and the iconographical connotations of the stairs thus shift as well. Whilst they still embody the sociologically relevant 'climb,' they also come to manifest the Id-ish duplicity of the patriarchal subject fighting against the 'monstrous' form of femininity that desires modernisation.[27] The stairs come to represent the 'empirical world [that] has become spiritualised' within this ontological duplicity; they shift between the material connotations of class and gender relations to the metaphysical manifestations of the self.[28] Here, KIM's *auteurist* influence on *mise-en-scène* creates a porous filmic composite capable of extending beyond melodrama's material, and horror's psychological, reality, creating art that signifies both its construction and its past. The staircase is, indeed, central to the film, but it acts beyond its physical and topological designation; it provides a centrality that demonstrates its own filmic constitution.[29]

Similarly the *diegetic* music of the piano comes to intertwine both melodrama and horror. Within *The Housemaid* the piano becomes 'iconographically fixed by the claustrophobic atmosphere of the bourgeoisie'; it signifies the centrality of the middle-class, Confucian ideals of the family.[30] Mr. Kim's profession as a music teacher reinforces this sentiment as the piano operates to economically support the family's progress into the upper middle-class. There is, however, a stylistic clashing within the tonality of the music the piano plays. When Mr. Kim plays, the music resembles that of western classicism – reminiscent of Debussy and wider impressionism. This highlights the reinforcement of melodrama's dominant 'musical vocabulary'; one which aesthetically refers to an ordered, tonal atmosphere of tradition and, therefore, patriarchal rule.[31]

Once again, however, this conventional melodramatic signification is contrasted with a darker expressionistic influence. This occurs most prominently during a scene in which Myung-Sook wakes Mr. Kim in the middle of the night by playing the piano. Here the repeated dissonance of the chromaticism (jarring notes that do not belong to the key of the piece) intertwines with the expressionistic lighting as Mr. Kim ascends the stairs, producing an expressionistic mosaic of attenuated forms both sonically and visually. This atonal counterpoint to that of Mr. Kim's ordered patriarchal western classicism reworks melodramatic convention, revealing the horrific underbelly of the 'fetishized topography' of the bourgeoisie.[32] As Workman asserts, there are 'two different kinds of parallelism, one harmonically supporting the dominant melody, which is the essential moral contrast between good and evil, and the other subtly working against or counterpointing this melody.'[33] Much like the music, Kim Ki-young is altering the timbre of both the piano's signification and genre by juxtaposing the two characters' playing styles. The counterpoint to the dominant melody operates in the same fashion as the attenuated shadows; it becomes a distorted doppelganger of its past self, signifying only its difference. This expressionistic

27 Kyung-Hyun, p. 214.
28 Zarzosa, p. 246.
29 Kyung-Hyun, p. 214.
30 Elsaesser, p. 62.
31 Ibid, p. 60.
32 Workman, p. 10.
33 Ibid, p. 30.

influence immediately begins to articulate filmic meta-textuality as the subversive *counterpoint* of genre becomes more and more apparent. The expressionistic music works against the melodramatic binary to signify the fallacy of each techniques' generic construction. This *diegetically* resonant musical trope, much like the stairs, comes to signify beyond its apparent presence through this generic intermingling. It becomes a meta-textual representation of filmic construction, combining and juxtaposing the tensions of genre and filmic art forms.

It is not, however, just the tonality of the piano that signifies this generic and artistic confluence. The piano, and the parlour as a whole, physically represent the melodramatic desire to 'fix former domestic property relations as a mode of social life.'[34] These fetishistic prosthetics of the middle class aesthetically mould the *mise-en-scène* to encapsulate the tensions of Korea's rapidly increasing modernity. Melodramatic 'domestic property relations' grant a thematic centrality to the *objecthood* of the piano; it stands as both the signifier and producer of the family's social grounding. Once again, KIM attenuates this potent symbol of melodramatic tension. This occurs most prominently during a scene in which Mr. Kim sees his reflection in the piano's varnished wood. His reflection looks back, distorted through the layers of economic potency this fetishized double lens contains. Here the *objecthood* of the piano becomes infinitely remoulded as the distorted form of Mr. Kim's face comes to resemble its expressionistic double. The piano is no longer solely commodity but a codified mirror, reshaping the patriarchal self-image in a moment of 'horrific self-awareness'.[35]

This self-awareness operates duplicitously. Firstly it highlights the distortion of the melodramatic iconography and remoulds it into the established, meta-textual generic hybrid. Secondly it directly presents a filmic manifestation of KIM's authorship as Mr. Kim gazes into a secondary lens and screen to see, not his melodramatic archetype, but his meta-textually signifying, expressionistic self. The mirroring of both the *auteur's* and the main character's names should also not go unnoticed. This displacement of generic convention creates such authorial self-recognition as the *auteur's* signature tropes physically create his self-image on-screen. The artist exists meta-textually within his work, reflecting the mimetic binary of reality and art through the intermingling of genre. Here one sees what Linda Badley asserts as 'the auteur (theory)… [being] a horror (story).'[36] For Badley the notion of the auteur is implicit within the horror genre as every constitutional level of the film comes to represent their unconscious impulses. Whilst Badley's assertion proves useful in conceptualising horror broadly, within this specific context KIM's meta-textual manifestation combines genres. Thus his 'horrific self-awareness' becomes meta-textually representative of an experimental milieu as opposed to a distorted, grotesque version of filmic reading. The *auteur* exists both within and beyond the bounds of genre. The *mise-en-scène* not only mixes genres then, but provides a secondary, self-reflective lens; one which asserts an authorial *cinematic cosmomorphism*, placing genre, art, and artist into one physical symbol.[37]

34 Elsaesser, p. 61.
35 Linda Badley, 'The Darker Side of Genius: The (Horror) Auteur Meets Freud's Theory', in *Horror Film and Psychoanalysis: Freud's Worst Nightmare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 222-240 (p. 223).
36 Ibid, p. 225.
37 Metz, p. 47.

It is the direct representation of the auteur within the reflections of the *diegesis* that portray this perpetual meta-textuality. The *cinematic cosmomorphism* (the act of being in complete symbiosis with the narrative world) engulfs KIM's spectral presence eliding artist and art work into one continually altering generic fabric.[38] This becomes most prevalent through the use of the house's patio doors. Here KIM utilises the dissected glass frames to provide a secondary lens through which to view the film. As characters move between rooms the frame is often repeatedly dissected and distorted by vertical lines creating a staggered *kineticism* within the sequence. This secondary lens meta-textually signifies the film's construction as the geography and physicality of the house directly manipulates characters' corporeality, placing them within their own internal frames. It is this overlaying, dissecting epidermis that provides the multitude of reflections and doubles within the film as Mr. Kim faces the glass to confront his own, and prosthetic *auteurist*, self-image. Here, much like in the case of the piano, Mr. Kim's self-reflection directly positions Kim Ki-young within his work as the position of the patriarchal South Korean male is reflected through the symbolic lens of the camera. One is aware as KIM stands on either side of the lens.

This is the prosthesis of KIM's placement within the film as Mr. Kim becomes reminiscent of a phantom limb, spectrally reaching into the *diegesis* to be at one with, and alter, the *mise-en-scène*. This occurs most prominently during a scene in which Mr. Kim is seduced after the death of a co-worker. Here Mr. Kim and Myung-Sook stand before the patio doors as the housemaid attempts to lead him to her room. The doors operate as a threshold to the fetishized patriarchal desire of the 'unobtainable object' (the object of desire that is always out of reach) which the housemaid symbolises.[39] They also, however, reflect only the figure of Mr. Kim. This reflection acts, like the expressionistic shadows, to simultaneously mirror and distort his form. Mr. Kim exists twice as both a *diegetically* physical presence and as a meta-textually spectral other immersed within the secondary lens of the glass. Here, much like in the case of the piano, there is a direct situating of an authorial doppelganger as the reflection exists to signify the artifice of the film, replicating the depiction of *diegesis* within an on-screen screen.

It is this introduction of a confused *diegetic* and mimetic topology that Lorens Holms refers to in elucidating Lacan's theorisations of the similarities of the topology of architecture and the psyche. Holms states, 'as soon as the subject is introduced, the architectural terms inside/outside become conflated.'[40] Here one sees a direct physical acknowledgement of this notion as Myung-Sook leads Mr. Kim through the symbolically charged pro-filmic layer. This Lacanian ideal can be applied further, however, as the 'architectural terms' come to represent the structures of the medium itself; reality/*diegesis* and inside/outside.[41] The *conflation* that occurs within the reflection of Mr. Kim as the auteur Kim Ki-young works to re-designate the boundaries of the medium, presenting its verisimilitude as something that is infinitely displaced. The very ontology of the image is remoulded as not only a confluence of genre, but as an investment of reality within the filmic layering. Kim Ki-young's diegetic manifestation reworks the

38 Ibid.
39 Kyung-Hyun, p. 213.
40 Lorens Holms, *Brunelleschi, Lacan, Le Corbusier: Architecture, Space and the Construction of Subjectivity* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 151.
41 Ibid.

polarities of art and reality demonstrating that this *cinematic cosmomorphism* exists in a meta-textual, ultimately unstable, filmic composite.[42]

The patio doors as a secondary lens accentuate the already shifting dynamics of *The Housemaid*'s composition. The characters, however, are able to meta-textually step beyond these internal frames, and translucent epidermis, on to the balcony – a seemingly liminal space that connects the Id-ish (that of the unconscious sexual drive) desire of the patriarch (emblemised in Myung-Sook's room) to the socio-political commodity-space of the parlour. Here Workman's assertions of spatial designation help to elucidate the balcony's topological grounding. Workman dissects the film into three categories: topos which refers to the 'diegetic and fictional space […] the place of the unconscious, the *other scene* for both the film and the spectator', the screen which is 'the site of the visualisation of symptoms' and 'primary and secondary identification', and cosmos which is 'the allegorical universe [of melodrama] constructed discursively, narratively and spatially'.[43] Eliding these categories with Lacan's 'tripartite schema of the Real, the Imaginary and the Symbolic', Workman compartmentalises the film as a specifically 'post-psychoanalytic', melodramatic work.[44]

This separation consists of the various layers of how reality is constructed. Workman's theory therefore, similarly, splits the narrative world into three corresponding categories. Broadly speaking, these categories correspond to the levels of the psyche: the unconscious (the topos), the conscious (the screen) and the Lacanian Real (everything beyond language, the cosmos). His theorisation can be extended, however, to include the generic interplay and meta-textuality so prevalent within the rest of the film. Characters directly traverse both topos and screen in their movement beyond the secondary frame and lens. This shift combines the *other scene* of the horrific unconscious and the 'site of visualisation', directly amalgamating the expressionistic impulses of the auteur with the generic formulation of melodrama's need for 'identification'.[45] In their symbolic movement the characters combine not only genre, but the psycho-topological designations of the film. They innately displace the connotations of cosmos that Workman prescribes, as the 'allegorical universe' of melodrama is intertwined with the horror of the topos and the meta-textuality of the filmic manifestation of the screen.[46]

The topological formulation and situating of the balcony operates to, once again, displace the compositional layers of the film as this peripheral space allows characters to extend beyond their diegetic manifestations, combining 'the Real, the Imaginary and the Symbolic'.[47] Christian Metz theorises this quality, stating that the 'unique position of the cinema lies in this dual character of its signifier […] stamped with unreality to an unusual degree.'[48] KIM accentuates the duplicity of the medium in order to highlight not only the shifting nature of his film's generic constitution, but to self-reflectively elucidate his own presence. This demonstrates the 'unreality' of *The Housemaid* and, by extension, the medium itself.

42 Metz, p. 47.
43 Workman, p. 33-35, p.29.
44 Ibid, p. 32.
45 Ibid, p. 33-34.
46 Ibid, p. 35.
47 Ibid, p. 32.
48 Metz, p. 45.

The meta-textual interrogation of the verisimilitude of film creates 'a new kind of mirror'; one which reflects and projects *diegetic* presence, genre, art, and *auteur*.[49]

This 'new kind of mirror' is even present within the credits at the beginning of the film.[50] Here the filmic topology of 'topos', 'screen' and 'cosmos' is, once again, destabilised, manifesting the authorial influence within its meta-textual constitution.[51] During the beginning of the film, as the credits role, the camera tracks in to show Kim Chang-soon and Kim Ae-soon (the children of the family) playing 'cat's cradle' with a piece of string. Here each time a shape is created the opposing child unpicks a length of string and restructures its geometry into a new formulation. The seemingly childish game becomes symbolic of the wider generic destabilisation of the film. Its perpetually shifting and twisting nature reformulates the topological assertions of space, depicting the pro-filmic event as an entity of infinite malleability. Kim Ki-young, as a *metteur-en-scène*, is establishing the constitutional displacement of the film, creating the twisting filmic fabric of genre and art.[52] Lee Yeon-ho (LEE), in reference to this infinitely destabilised filmic composite, states that 'KIM takes the method of granting different conceptions of time, then revealing them through the use of space.'[53] Here, for LEE, the perpetually altering use of space is indicative of a reformulation of the film's temporal logic as the shapes of the string become reminiscent of the circularity of the film's structure.

This reading must be altered, however, in conceptualising the film's spatiality as a whole as the different conceptions of time merge with the spatial reformulation. Here, once again, the porous boundaries of the filmic layering are highlighted as the *topos* (the diegetic and fictional space) and *screen* (the site of the visualisation of symptoms) conjoin in the overlaying of credits (*identification*) upon the perpetually shifting *other scene* of the film.[54] The credits, that reference reality, are intertwined with diegetic reformulation. This intertwining destabilises the melodramatic allegorical universe as there is a meta-textual acknowledgement of the film's continual reconstitution. It is this perpetual reformulation that conjoins Lee Yeon-ho's assertions of temporality and Workman's spatiality, as the interplay of *topos* and *screen* innately refers to a temporality beyond the *diegesis*; that of the viewer.[55] Once again KIM highlights the porousness of art and reality as both the psycho-topological and temporal structures are remoulded in order to demonstrate the meta-textual presence of the film. The 'unreality' of the medium is highlighted as KIM's spatial and temporal manipulation, once again, bleeds the polarities of 'inside/outside' to produce an infinitely displaced composition.[56] This 'new kind of mirror' then is one that continually, and duplicitously, signifies both its own presence and construction as art, genre, and film.[57]

49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Workman, p.32.
52 Andrew Sarris, p.252.
53 Lee Yeon-ho, 'Introduction', in *Kim Ki-young*, pp.1-22, p.12.
54 Workman, p. 32-34.
55 Ibid, p. 32.
56 Metz, p .45; Holms, p. 151.
57 Ibid, Metz.

KIM's work is one of continual reformulation as space and *mise-en-scène* operate beyond their designation to signify their presence as part of the shifting filmic composite. It is this self-reflective nature that situates *The Housemaid* beyond the bounds of the categorisation of the 'genre film'. In using a 'localised understanding' of the *auteur theory* one is able to interrogate these labels, demonstrating such film makers as part of the wider global nexus of artistic cinematic practice.[58] For Bordwell genre cinema must not question its own verisimilitude and yet within KIM's work one sees the continual probing of filmic textuality, displacing not only genre, but the notion of 'art cinema' and, indeed, art itself.[59] The compositional qualities of 'realism', 'ambiguity' and 'authorship' permeate and remould one another, blurring the boundaries of both Bordwell's and Neale's seemingly defining categories. In approaching the text as specifically authored this essay has been 'able to draw on discourses […] particular perhaps of each theory, each position.'[60] Thus, much like *The Housemaid* itself, this essay has intertwined the diverse influences of philosophy, psychology, genre and art film studies under the figure of the auteur in order to further elucidate the film's meta-textual construction.

In this approach the intermingling of genre becomes a key starting point in redefining art. As such, in the first section, this essay demonstrated that the iconographical intertwining of both melodrama and horror, within the piano and the stairs, created a significance entirely new from each genre. Here the socio-political and feminist connotations of melodrama merged with the expressionistic, Freudian, psychology of the patriarch, creating a *mise-en-scène* that signifies its own construction as a 'central,' combinational duplicity.[61] This duplicity extends to include the manifestation of Kim Ki-young within the work. Here, through the use of expressionistic reflections and a secondary lens this essay theorised an act of *cinematic cosmomorphism* in which reality, *diegesis, auteur* and art become intertwined.[62] As a result, the work signifies its own construction as a piece of art, as it not only highlights the porousness of the generic boundary, but that of mimetic constitution and significance. This porousness is extrapolated as Workman's assertions of *topos, screen,* and *cosmos* restructure the work's textually spatialized composition.[63] Here KIM intertwines categories, demonstrating that simply through the act of moving across a threshold or playing a game one is able to perpetually restructure the ontological layering of a text. The meta-textual significance of such acts remoulds the notions of both genre and art situating *The Housemaid* in the infinitely displaced centrality of the combination of the terms and expanding notions of what art cinema can be. Far from this text resembling Chris Berry's 'bizarre [...] helter-skelter' of genre, this twisting topology resembles that of the double helix; it is the constitutional minutiae of the perpetually reformulating, meta-textually signifying, filmic composite.[64]

58 Yecies, p. 44.
59 Bordwell, p. 57.
60 Robin Wood, 'Ideology, Genre, Auteur' [1977], in *Auteurs and Authorship: a Film Reader*, ed. by Barry Keith Grant (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), pp. 84-92 (p. 84-85).
61 Kyung-Hyun, p. 213.
62 Metz, p. 47.
63 Workman, p. 32.
64 Kim So-young and Chris Berry, 'Suri Suri Masuri: The Magic of Korean Horror Film: A Conversation', *Postcolonial Studies*, 3.1 (2000), pp. 53-60 (p. 54).

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Journal

# Gendering Peace in Europe, c.1918-1946: Humanities Research Institute, University of Sheffield, 20-21 January, 2017 Conference Report[1]

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During and after the First World War, men and women across Europe responded to the cataclysm of war by envisioning and struggling for peace. *Gendering Peace in Europe, c.1918-1946* brought together some sixty scholars from a range of disciplines and from across the globe to consider the ways in which men and women peacemakers were afforded different roles, allowed different emotions, and ascribed different degrees of agency in their efforts achieve peace. Poignantly, for an event acknowledging women's peace activism in the aftermath of the First World War, the conference unfolded across two days which saw the inauguration of a new and controversial President of the United States and, in response, a wave of well-attended women's marches across the world. The conference proceedings were disseminated live on Twitter with the hashtag #GenderingPeaceShef; this had the effect of opening the conference up beyond those immediately present. This review will showcase the latest contributions to the field of peace studies with a chronological summary of the papers given.

This international conference took place at the University of Sheffield's Humanities Research Institute, hosted by the University's Centre for Peace History, and organised by JULIE GOTTLIEB. It was generously funded by the Max Batley Legacy to the University of Sheffield and the *Journal of Contemporary History* Conference Award. The scope and quality of the papers presented on both days of the conference highlighted the sheer size, in terms of geographical spread and the range of topics, and vibrancy of the field of peace studies.

The first day of the conference consisted of a number of plenary sessions. In her opening address to the conference, JULIE GOTTLIEB noted the importance of testing and contesting the construction of women as peacemakers. Gottlieb remarked that in gendering peace, we destabilise and complicate the picture, disentangling peace studies from the sometimes hagiographic left-liberal histories of brave conscientious objectors or war resisters. The first session opened with a paper by INGRID SHARP on how love was used as an argument for international solidarity and peace by female and, though not without controversy, male pacifists. Next, DAGMAR WERNITZNIG gave an overview of

1 This conference report has been published with H/Soz/Kult (H-Net) on 09.03.2017, who kindly allowed us to publish it here as well. See Tagungsbericht: Gendering Peace in Europe, c.1918-1946 – An International Conference, 20.01.2017 – 21.01.2017 Sheffield, in: H-Soz-Kult, 09.03.2017, <www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7040>.

the life one of the most influential European feminist pacifist internationalists, Rosika Schwimmer, on whom Wernitznig is currently preparing a biography.

The second session opened with a paper by ÁKOS FARKAS that examined how, during the Great War and into the 1920s, Hungarian women writers struggled against the confines of the (mostly) masculine discourse that established patriotism and pacifism as mutually exclusive. This was followed by a paper by SENIA PASETA on the struggles of Irish women who, disappointed by the aftermath of partition and independence, tried to reconnect with the international feminist peace movement.

In the third session, SONJA TIERNAN delivered a fascinating paper on women's involvement in campaigns against the violence of the state, in the form of the death penalty, in interwar Britain. Tiernan showed that it was the high profile campaigns against the capital punishment of women as *women*, with all the attendant gender stereotypes, that most roused public support. In her plenary contribution, CAITRÍONA BEAUMONT investigated the role of four previously overlooked women's organisations (the Mother's Union, the National Council of Women of Great Britain, the Women's Institute and the Young Woman's Christian Association) that were, in fact, involved in the popular peace movement of the interwar period such as the League of Nations Union and the Peace Ballot.

MARIE-MICHÈLE DOUCET *opened the fourth session with a paper examining the concerns of French women about the international political situation after the Great War. Some, Doucet demonstrated, wanted security through peace, arguing for disarmament and other such initiatives while others believed peace could only be achieved through security.* LAURA BEERS' talk looked at another divide in the peace movement, between socialist and so-called 'bourgeois' women in the international feminist peace movement of the interwar period. Beers questioned the significance of this divide, arguing that groups like the WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) displayed a strong, left-leaning social (if not explicitly *socialist*) conscience in their activism and goals.

LUCY NOAKES investigated the gender dimensions of remembrance in her paper on Armistice Day in 1930s Britain in session six. JULIE GOTTLIEB's paper, on the female members of the British Union of Fascists who campaigned for peace on the basis of an anti-Semitic, militarised authoritarian ideology in the late thirties, introduced a new element into the day's discussion. Her contribution underlined the point that the definition of peace is more complex and varied than the mere absence of war.

Considering peace from the legitimate Right, rather than the fascist margins, MATTHEW STIBBE presented a paper on the peace activism of Conservative women in the Anglo-German Fellowship, with specific reference to the visit to Britain of the Nazi women's leader Gertrud Scholtz-Klink in 1939. In the final paper of the day, International historian GAYNOR JOHNSON argued for a prosopographical approach to gendering peace through a study of the male-gendered British Foreign Office and diplomatic service in the first half of the twentieth century.

The first day of the conference ended appropriately with a screening chaired by director CHARLOTTE BILL and the WILPF's HELEN KAY, of *These Dangerous Women*, a film about the British delegation to the Women's Peace Conference at The Hague, Holland in 1915. The second day of the

conference consisted of parallel sessions split across two rooms. In first set of papers in Session A collected under the heading 'Women's Feminist Pacifist Lives', REBECCA GILL & KATE LAW gave a presentation on the peace ideas and activism of controversial English Liberal reformer, internationalist and pacifist Emily Hobhouse. AVI KLEIN's showed how the First World War splintered British feminism into a pacifist, socialist wing and a nationalist, militarist wing. SIÂN ROBERTS finished off the first session with a paper on the religious-motivated peace and humanitarian activism of Quaker women.

Speakers in Session One B, 'Gendering National Security and Peace Discourses outside Pacifist Movements' considered a range issues. JASMINE CALVER introduced her important research on the understudied Women's World Committee against War and Fascism, and SABINE GRIMSHAW explored the problem of male identity among conscientious objectors during the First World War in Britain. MARY VINCENT emphasized the need to modify our periodization to accommodate Spain, and offered an illuminating gender analysis of Franco's construction of an 'ordered peace'.

IDA OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK began the next collection of papers in Session A on 'Women's Transnationalist and Pan-Europeanist Modes of Peace Making between the Wars', with a paper that demonstrated how the feminist pacifist concerns of the women of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were overshadowed by concerns about national integration. VERONIKA HELFERT's paper similarly dealt with socialist women divided between revolutionary militancy and a more pacifist-inclined social democracy. REBECCA SHRIVER discussed the men and women of the New Europe Group who employed stereotypes about traditional gender roles and behaviours to argue that women, with their caring and maternal nature, were essential to the struggle for peace. BENJAMIN THORPE closed the session with his presentation on Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European movement and how, despite being led by men, it used women as the symbols and foot soldiers of peace.

Session Two B, 'Gendering Men's Pacifism and Anti-Militarism', offered a range of examples of men dealing with the wounds of war and the potential emasculation of taking a pacifist position. UGO PAVAN DALLA TORRE discussed the case of disabled ex-servicemen in post-War Italy, while ASHLEY GARBER considered how the British Legion responded to the end of the peace and the nature of veterans support or opposition to the Second World War. LINSEY ROBB drew from her important research on the Non-Combatant Corps in Britain, 1940-1945, drawing on personal testimonies. WENDY UGOLINI considered the collision of national minority identity—Welsh living in England—and anti-war positions in the Second World War, also drawing on powerful personal testimonies.

The next of the Session A papers were collected under the heading "Virile' Anti-War Campaigns in Fascist Movements in Britain and France'. These papers examined uses of gender in war and peace that differed from the 'conventional' use of masculinity as warlike and femininity as peaceful. ANDREW MCINTOSH began the session with a paper on how women were used by the British press both during and after Great War, not as symbols of peace or peacemakers, but as heroines of militant nationalism. CAMILLE CLERET followed with a paper on the recasting of French far-right intellectual of Action Française, Charles Maurras, as a virile martyr of peace using newspapers and Maurras' personal

correspondence. ANTOINE GODET gave related paper on the 'virile pacifism' of Jacques Doriot's martial movement, Parti Populaire Français. In a similar vein, LIAM J LIBURD's paper explored how the British Union of Fascists constructed and fought for a masculine fascist peace.

Session Three B came to the study of gender and peace from interdisciplinary perspectives. In this panel on 'Women's Life Writing and Fiction in Peace and War', DINA GUSEJNOVA told the story of her grandmother's experience of working for the Allied Control Council in Post-war Vienna, grappling with the issues of approaching this as both historian and granddaughter. SILVIA PELLICIER-ORTÍN offered a close textual analysis of Libby Cone's *War on the Margins* (2008), a novel set in the occupied Channel Islands, using liminality as a key category for looking at the in-between states in the novel, in terms of setting, war and peace, and gender roles. Fellow scholar of Holocaust literature SUE VICE examined representations of war and peace in Kindertransport narratives. CHARLOTTE RILEY analysed the novels of British Labour politician Mary Agnes Hamilton, especially how the author conveyed her feminist pacifism through her writing.

The final collection of Session A papers examined the contribution of woman peace activists outside of what is usually regarded as the remit of the internationalist feminist peace movement. DANIEL HUCKER began with his paper which considered the presence and activity of women in the mainstream (or 'malestream') peace organisations such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the International Peace Bureau, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. MARC-WILLIAM PALEN looked at the women's peace movement in terms of economic policy in his paper, noting that free trade was regarded by feminist pacifists as the cornerstone of any peace. JAN CHARLES STÖCKMANN ended with a paper on the long history of female (and feminist) involvement in the academic study of international relations, tracing its origins and using it to put into context the activism of other feminist internationalists and pacifists. The role and representation of mothers and mothering united the papers in the last session B on 'Pacifism, Maternalism and Feminist Internationalism'. BURCIN CAKIR offered a close study of the 12th Congress of the IAW and the institutionalisation of transnational feminism and peace initiatives. SARAH HELLAWELL focused on the maternalist peace activism of the British Women's Co-operative Guild, while ERIKA HUCKSTEIN explored the place of maternalism and motherhood in feminist anti-fascist mobilization in the 1930s.

The many contributions made over the two days demonstrated that by looking at peace movements through the lens of gender history, we can more readily perceive what peace actually *meant* for the women and men fighting for it. Hoping to develop this illuminating approach to peace studies and mirroring so many of the women's meetings, marches and conferences that were being studied and scrutinized, delegates agreed to reconvene and join in a number of collaborative projects in the near future.

**Conference Overview:**

Day 1 – Friday 20 January

Dr Ingrid Sharp (University of Leeds), 'Love as Moral Imperative and Gendered Anti-war Strategy in the International Women's Movement 1914-1924'

Dagmar Wernitznig (Independent researcher), 'Feminism, Fascism, and Visions of Peace for the Short Twentieth Century: Rosika Schwimmer (1877–1948), her Campaign for World Government, and Gendered Politics'

Akos Farkas (ELTE University, Budapest), 'Caught in a Double Bind: Hungary's Women Writers Before and after 1920'

Professor Senia Paseta (Oxford University), 'Peace and Protest in Ireland, 1918-1937'

Dr Sonja Tiernan (Liverpool Hope University), "There can be nothing right in a country where such a thing is possible': Women's campaigns to abolish capital punishment in interwar Britain'

Dr Caitríona Beaumont (London South Bank University), "Why we women must campaign for peace': voluntary women's organisations, citizenship rights and the gendering of the peace movement in England, 1918-1939'

Dr Laura Beers (University of Birmingham), 'Socialist and feminist collaboration in the women's peace movement'

Dr Marie-Michèle Doucet (Royal Military College of Canada), 'Gendering Security: Women's Position on National Security in France after the Great War'

Dr Lucy Noakes (University of Brighton), "Couldn't Have Been A Nicer Morning For It': Gendering Armistice Day in late 1930s Britain'

Dr Julie Gottlieb (University of Sheffield), 'Gendering Fascist 'Pacifism'/ Anti-War Policy: The British Union's Women's Peace Campaign, 1938-1940'

Professor Matthew Stibbe (Sheffield Hallam University), 'Peace at any Price? Conservative Women in Britain in the late 1930s and the Anglo-German Fellowship'

Professor Gaynor Johnson (University of Kent), 'Gendering Diplomacy, 1900-1945'

Film Screening – Charlotte Bill (filmmaker) with Helen Kay, 'These Dangerous Women: Film Screening and Discussion'

Day 2 - Saturday 21 January

*Session 1A: Women's Feminist Pacifist Lives*

Dr Rebecca Gill (*University of Huddersfield*) & Kate Law (University of Chichester), 'South Africa as 'test case': Emily Hobhouse, Pacifism and International Peace Networks c.1902-1923'

Avi Klein (University of Haifa), 'The State of Feminist Pacifism in 1918'

Dr Siân Roberts (University of Birmingham), 'An 'intimate sharing of life': Quaker women, humanitarian relief and the witness for peace in Europe'

*Session 1B: Gendering National Security and Peace Discourses outside Pacifist Movements*

Jasmine Calver (Northumbria University), 'The Campaigns of the *Comité mondial des femmes contre la guerre et le fascisme* and the International Struggle against Fascism in the 1930s'

Professor Mary Vincent (University of Sheffield), 'The Peace of Franco: Gender and hierarchy in an 'ordered' peace'

Sabine Grimshaw (University of Leeds), "You are now entering the sanctuary of conscience': British conscientious objectors and masculinity, 1916-18'

*Session 2A: Women's Transnationalist and Pan-Europeanist Modes of Peace Making between the Wars*

Ida Ograjšek Gorenjak (University of Zagreb), "What will bring happiness to the word?' How did women of The Kingdom of Yugoslavia conceptualize the brave new world?'

Veronika Helfert (University of Vienna), "No more weapons!'. Women socialists between Militancy and Pacifism in the First Austrian Republic (1918–1933/34)'

Rebecca Shriver (Florida State University), 'Unifying and 'Turning Earth into a Paradise Worth Living In': The Role of Women in the New Europe Group's Plans for a European Federation, 1931-1939'

Benjamin Thorpe (University of Nottingham), 'Visions of Johanna: Gender and Pan-Europeanism'

*Session 2B: Gendering Men's Pacifism and Anti-Militarism*

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# The Role of Kommos in Phoenician Routes

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## 1. Introduction

'Any Phoenicians sailing to the western Mediterranean would have been foolish to avoid the Aegean' and especially the island of Crete [Fig. 1.1].[1] Even though trade between Crete and other Mediterranean regions had already been established before the tenth century BC, it was throughout this century that maritime traffic from Phoenicia to the west intensified due to the tribute demand from Assyria following its growth in the eighth century BC.[2] Cypro-Levantine objects started to appear in many places, such as Sardinia and Italy, north-west Africa and southern Spain, as well as the Aegean. Even though many Levantine exports are not of Phoenician origin, it is thought that they were likely carried by Phoenician sailors.[3] Cultural encounters, social interactions and negotiations between Phoenicians and locals from the areas mentioned took place in a so-called middle ground, where a phenomenon of glocalisation (the adoption of foreign practices in local communities) occurred, beliefs were transmitted and practices were shared and imitated.[4]

Strategic trading and stopping points started to develop across the Mediterranean, in which Near Eastern cultural and religious values were transferred due to trading contacts, for instance the port-town of Kition in Cyprus or Kommos and Knossos in Crete.[5] Phoenician contacts with Crete could have been an end in themselves, although they probably happened as they were going to the west.[6] The main east-west routes that the Phoenician merchants followed were through the Cyclades to Euboea and Attica, crossing the isthmus of Corinth, or through the south of Crete, where Phoenician installations were

1 Nicolas Coldstream, 'Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean', in *Phönizier im Westen: die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum' in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979. Madrider Beiträge 8,* ed. By H.G. Niemeyer, (Mainz: Zabern, 1982), p. 261.

2 Andrew Sherratt and Susan Sherratt, 'The Growth of the Mediterranean Economy in the Early First Milennium BC', *World Archaeology,* 4 (1993), 361-378, (pp. 365-66).

3 Nicolas Coldstream, 'Exchanges Between Phoenicians and Early Greeks', *National Museum News, Beirut*, 11 (2000), 15-32, (p. 16).

4 Kostas Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 226-277 (p. 235); Antonios Kotsonas, '"Creto-Cypriot" and "Cypro-Phoenician" Complexities in the Archaeology of Interaction between Crete and Cyprus', in *Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age: The Legacy of Nicholas Coldstream*, ed. by M. Iacovou,, (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2012), pp. 153-79 (p. 155).

5 Sherratt and Sherratt, pp. 365-66.

6 Nicolas Coldstream, 'Phoenicians in Crete, North and South: A Contrast', in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale e di Studi Fenici e Punioi*, ed. by R. de Simone, (Universitá di Palermo, Palermo, 2005) pp. 181-84, (p. 181).

supplied.[7] Therefore, the site of Kommos appears to have played an important role in east-west Phoenician routes and this article will analyse whether Kommos was a Phoenician installation.

## 2. The site

Kommos [Fig. 2.1 and 2.2] is a port site in the south of Crete. According to the *Odyssey,* describing the place of Menelaos' shipwreck, Kommos is identified as the ancient harbour of Phaistos, even though other sources identify Phaistos with Matala.[8] Kommos is thought to have been, together with Kition (Cyprus), a Phoenician trading installation, as will be discussed later, and its temple should be compared to religious centres like those of Delos, Delphi and Olympia, places from which the Greeks absorbed oriental elements and beliefs, as confirmed by the archaeological record from the second to the first millennium BC.[9] The focus of this article however, will be on the finds from the first millennium BC. By the end of the eleventh century BC a rectangular construction identified as a small temple was built upon the ruins of Minoan civic structures. The building, called Temple A, was replaced by a larger one, Temple B [Fig. 2.3], during the ninth century BC, which was in turn replaced by another one, Temple C, towards the end of the fourth century BC.[10] Temple B, as explained below, has an oriental structure and it is associated with the Phoenician merchants who came to Kommos on their route to the west.[11] Near Eastern objects, including Phoenician pottery such as *amphorae* and drinking vessels, were found in this structure as well as in surrounding buildings.[12]

These observations have led to speculation about the nature of the Phoenician presence at Kommos.[13] Negbi argues that Phoenician traders were permanently living at the site, as they had a permanent religious building, whilst Aubet claims they lived there only semi-permanently in order to trade.[14] Kourou also mentions that craftsmen, as well as traders, were inhabiting the site.[15] The use of Temple B is also questioned by Aubet, who defends its economic role, whereas other scholars such as Papalardo support its religious function.[16]

7 Sherratt and Sherratt, p. 367.
8 Homer, *Odyssey* 3.293-96; Milena Melfi, 'The lithos and the sea: some observations on the cult of the Greek sanctuary at Kommos', in *Kreta in der Geometrischen und Archaischen Zeit,* ed.by *W.D.* Niemeyer, O. Pilz,and Y. Kaiser (München: Hirmer Verlag, 2013), pp. 355-365, (p. 355).
9 Sherratt and Sherratt, p. 167.
10 Joseph W. Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete: an Aegean Barometer for East-West Interconnections', in *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th centuries B.C,* ed. by V. .Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis, (Athens: The University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1998), pp. 13-27, (pp. 15-16).
11 Maria Eugenia Aubet, *Tiro y las colonias fenicias de Occidente*, (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2009), p. 66.
12 Patricia Bikai, 'Phoenician Ceramics from the Greek Sanctuary', in *Kommos IV: The Greek Sanctuary, Part 1,* ed. by J. W. Shaw and M. Shaw, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 302-12.
13 Sarah Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 154-55.
14 Ora Negbi, 'Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reapprisal', *American Journal of Archaeology,* 96, (1992), 599-615, (p. 609); Maria Eugenia Aubet, 'El barrio comercial fenicio como estrategia colonial', *Rivista di studi fenici*, 40, (2012), 221-236, (p. 230).
15 Nota Kourou, 'Phoenicia, Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age: J.N. Coldstream's contribution and the current state of research', in *Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age: The Legacy of Nicholas Coldstream,* ed. by M. Iacovou,, (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2012), pp. 33-42, (p. 41).
16 Aubet, 'El barrio commercial', p. 230; Eleonora Pappalardo, 'Il Tripillar Shrine di Kommos: Alcune considerazioni', *Creta Antica,* 3 (2002), 263-274.

### 3. Temple B

The coastal sanctuary at Kommos has three successive phases: Temple A (c. 1020-800 BC), Temple B (c. 800-600 BC) and, after a period of partial desertion, Temple C (c. 375-160 BC).[17] The sanctuary grew with the addition of structures in a gradual manner and all the temples show signs of feasting, ritual animal sacrifice (as the animal remains by the altar suggest) and the offering of statuettes.[18] In order to understand the nature of Temple B and, eventually, of Kommos, we must first examine Temple A. Most of the materials found in the sanctuary are Cretan. Nonetheless, some sherds of Phoenician storage jars and one of a jug were discovered in a dump.[19] According to Shaw, these closed-shaped storage jars were brought from Cyprus or Phoenicia as exchange items when their carriers, presumably Phoenicians, stopped in Crete during their voyages to the western Mediterranean.[20] After this first period of sporadic connections, Temple B was built over the previous sanctuary. The temple had three different phases, detailed below.

During the first phase of Temple B (c. 800-760 BC), the structure was built upon Temple A, overlapping in the northeast corner. This rectangular temple was open to the east and it had a pillar at the centre of the opening, presumably supporting a flat roof. Attached to the northern wall there was a platform used as a bench and possibly another one on the southern wall, where celebrants would sit or leave offerings.[21] A circular hearth was set in the interior of the temple, where some fragments of terracotta animals were found. Behind it, a reused Minoan triangular block was used as a base for the three stone pillars with cut bottoms and uneven surfaces, which suggests that they were not used to support any structure and therefore they were not used as a table, but as a shrine.[22] The so-called Tripillar Shrine, hence, became the centre of dedication. It is thought that they may have been worshipped, as representation of divinities in the shape of a column was common in antiquity.[23] Behind the shrine there was a charred wooden bowl, maybe used as a lamp. Other relevant finds of this period are fragments of Phoenician transport *amphorae*, also found in Temple A and in Building Z (another building used during the Iron Age), cups, *skyphoi,* a lid and a mug that suggest drinking and eating, and a bronze arrowhead, terracotta figurines and a scaraboid bead.[24]

During the second phase (c. 760-650 BC), the hearth was rebuilt. Many objects from this time were excavated, such as a bronze shield, terracotta figures, iron objects, a bronze fishhook, Geometric and oriental cups, *amphorae* and *aryballoi*, which were used as unguent containers. During this period, some figurines of an Egyptian type were placed between the pillars of the shrine, which will be discussed later.

17 Joseph W. Shaw, 'The Architecture of Temples and Other Buildings', in *Kommos IV: The Greek Sanctuary, Part 1*, ed. by J. W.Shawand M. Shaw, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 1-100, (p. 2).
18 Joseph W. Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', A*merican Journal of Archaeology*, 93, (1989) 165-83, (p. 165).
19 Bikai, p.303.
20 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', pp. 18-19.
21 James B. Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 136.
22 Shaw, 'The Architecture of Temples', pp. 14-20.
23 Nikolaos Yalouris, 'Problems Relating to the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai' in *Greece and Italy in the Classical World: Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London 3-9 September 197*8, ed. by J. M. Coldstream and M. A. R. College (London: National Organizing Committee, XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, 1979), pp. 100-01.
24 Shaw, 'The Architecture of Temples', p. 21.

During the third phase (c. 650-600 BC), the bench was at the floor level. A rectangular hearth was rebuilt where the circular one had been, and another hearth was set west of the former. Presumably, the fires were lit in front of the shrine and there were therefore changes in the nature of cult. However, the cups and *aryballoi* found show the tradition of ritual meals continued throughout each period. Other finds include finger rings, a scarab and terracotta animals.[25]

### *3.1 The Tripillar Shrine and its architectural resemblances and significance*

The Tripillar Shrine resembles other structures. For instance, Shaw connected it to the Middle Bronze Age terracotta pillar shrine at Knossos, a structure with three columns on which three birds are resting and to other much later pillars in mainland Greece.[26] Some similar structures are found in the Near East and, specifically, Phoenicia. Shaw links the pillar worship to Egyptian obelisks and states that the Stele of Nora in Sardinia [Fig. 2.4] depicts a shrine of a similar structure as the one at Kommos. [27] This transmission of beliefs is plausible, as by the time Temple B was built, Egypt and Phoenicia were closely connected by trade. It is also noteworthy that some of the figurines found between those pillars are Egyptian or of an Egyptian type, which makes an Egyptian connection more probable.

Some sanctuaries in the Near East that resemble Temple B in terms of structure are in Byblos, Hazor and Lachish.[28] Their common feature is the presence of benches along the walls, a very common characteristic of Near Eastern temples. However, according to Shaw, the most similar shrine is the Shrine of Tanit-Ashtart at Sarepta [Fig. 2.5], as it has benches in the walls and a pillar in the centre.[29] Nonetheless, their similarities are limited, as the shrine at Sarepta probably had two entrances and a central table, which Temple B at Kommos does not have.[30] Other resemblances can be found in Cyprus, which was closely related to Phoenicia in the tenth and ninth centuries BC. The temple of Enkomi, where there were benches and freestanding pillars, and the Temple of Astarte in Kition, where more pillars were worshipped, are the two structures that bear similarities to Temple B at Kommos.[31] Hence, there is enough evidence to link the temple at Kommos with Phoenician religious beliefs and practices that come from Egypt and other Near Eastern areas and arrive in Crete through the Levantine coast and Cyprus.

The existence of reliefs of tripillar shrines in Sardinia (at Motya and probably at Segesta and Selinous) as well as pillars in Malta also reflect this expansion of iconography, practices and presumably beliefs to the west.[32] Therefore, the idea of a Tripillar Shrine was of foreign origin, as it bears resemblance to the mentioned temples and depictions. It was almost certainly inspired by Phoenicians,

25 Shaw, 'The Architecture of Temples', p. 24.
26 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', pp. 173-4; Hoffman, p. 175.
27 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', p. 176; Shaw, 'The Architecture of Temples', p. 21.
28 Pritchard, pp. 135-36; Shaw, 'Phoenicians in southern Crete', p. 21.
29 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', p. 22.
30 Pritchard, pp. 131-38.
31 Ibid., p.136; Shaw, 'Phoenicians in southern Crete', p. 177.
32 Ibid., p. 12.

and may have even been of Phoenician construction after they came to Kommos for trade on their route to the west.[33]

*3.2 Figurines*

Having established the probable Near Eastern origin of the Tripillar Shrine, we will now focus on the second phase figurines found between the pillars which are of Near Eastern origin or inspiration. An Egyptian faience figure of a standing feline-headed female was found on a figurine of a horse of Greek style between two pillars [Fig. 2.6.].[34] Shaw associates it with Sekhmet, the Egyptian goddess of war.[35] Nonetheless, other Egyptian divinities were also represented with a feline head and a standing position, such as Bastet, so the figurine does not necessarily represent Sekhmet.[36] A male figurine found between two other pillars is associated with Nefertum [Fig. 2.7], son of Sekhmet, and therefore the theory that the first figure represents Sekhmet is plausible.[37] The figure of Nefertum is widely represented in Crete, as other figurines have been excavated, such as one from Knossos North Cemetery. Accepting the assumption that the divinities represented are Sekhmet and Nefertum, these two divinities together with Ptah are the members of the Memphite triad, but no figure representing Ptah has been found in Kommos.

Therefore, the foreign images of divinities discussed here were likely worshipped by foreigners in Cretan territory. Of course, we do not know whether the figurines bore the same meaning as they did in Egypt or whether they were simply offerings of some value in the temple. Judging by the shrine, however, it looks like the figures were worshipped with their Egyptian meanings and associations, and each divinity may have even been associated with a pillar. It is therefore logical to assume that these foreigners, whose Phoenician origin and trade purpose we have tried to demonstrate, collaborated with local Cretans and used Temple B as a meeting place.[38] Hence, Cretans could have worshipped their gods there as well. Some scholars relate the triad of Sekhmet, Nefertum and Ptah to the Cretan trinity of Apollo, Artemis and Leto. We have to bear in mind, though, that the Memphic Triad is composed of two males and a female (a couple and their son) whilst the Cretan one is made up of two females and a male (two siblings and their mother). Thus, the two trinities do not match properly making their correspondence debateable.[39] Nonetheless, the locals could have associated the similar appearance to their own triad without knowing in detail the differences.

With reference to the use of these figures, Maria Shaw links them to the protection of procreation and offspring, by using the analogy of the faience Nefertum found in a child's tomb in

33 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in southern Crete', pp. 178-83.
34 Ibid., p. 174.
35 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 18.
36 Jürg Eggler and Eric Gubel, 'Bastet/Sekhmet (Levant, Phoenician colonies)', *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East* (2010) <http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_baal.pdf> [accessed 1 September 2015].
37 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 18; Maria Shaw, 'The Sculpture from the Sanctuary,' in *Kommos IV: The Greek Sanctuary, Part 1*, ed. by J. W. Shawand M. Shaw, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 135-209, (pp. 168-69).
38 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 19.
39 Maria Shaw, pp. 167-68.

Knossos.[40] However, as mentioned before, the attribution of Sekhmet to the feline-headed figurine found in Kommos must be questioned; if the figurines in Temple B were used for maternal protection, the feline-headed figurine should represent Bastet, who had well known connotations of a mother goddess.[41] The origin of these figurines is also debatable. It was once thought that most faience objects in Crete came from Egypt.[42] However, they could have also been made as imitations in Phoenicia. Hence, whilst Shaw claims that the feline-headed figurine was made in Egypt the possibility of it being a Levantine imitation should not be discarded. The rest of votive figurines found in Temple B are representations of animals. The most remarkable ones are bulls, horses and a snake, which can be linked to the cult of Apollo and therefore support the hypothesis of a Cretan triad parallel to the eastern one.[43]

## 4. Pottery

### *4.1 Temples A and B*

The majority of the pottery finds in Temple B are of local origin, even though imported ceramics are also present in important amounts.[44] These imported pots are Aegean (mainly from Lesbos, Chios, Samos and Miletus), as well as Near Eastern.[45] Some soft fabric pots from the Phoenician coast were found, as well as soft fabrics with red ferrous (iron) inclusions and a harder fabric called crisp ware [Fig. 2.8].[46] Of the 339 sherds that appeared (mostly rims and handles), 91% belong to storage jars and transport *amphorae* that probably contained wine and oil.[47] These pots might have been imported from the east and they suggest mass production, according to the surface treatments, such as the use of red-slip techniques, painted concentric circles and self-slipped and burnished vessels. Fragments of red-slipped pots were also found in Huelva (Spain), dating from c. 800 BC.[48] Moreover, the first Levantine transport *amphorae* in Temple A coincide in type and date (c. 900 BC) with the earliest ones found in the recent sounding at Huelva.[49] It suggests that someone was moving Phoenician pottery from the eastern Mediterranean towards the west and dropping some at places like Kommos, which could be an indicator of Phoenician expansion towards the west and exchange between the east and the west.

If we assume that these pots were mass-produced and imported to Crete, even though some of them were big to move, this opens up questions about the reasons for this import. Did they export the vessels for their own value or for their contents? Shaw proposes that foreign pottery with closed shapes,

40 Maria Shaw, p. 169.
41 Eggler and Gubel.
42 Gail L. Hoffman, *Imports and Immigrants: Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 138.
43 Maria Shaw, pp. 165-74.
44 Peter J. Callaghan and Allan W. Johnson, 'The Pottery from the Greek Temples at Kommos', in *Kommos IV: The Greek Sanctuary, Part 1,* ed. by J. W Shaw and M. Shaw(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 210-301, (p. 298).
45 C. A. de Domingo and Allan W. Johnston. 'Trade Between Kommos, Crete and East Greece: a Petrographic Study of Archaic Transport Amphorae', in *Archaeological Sciences. Proceedings of a Conference of scientific techniques to the study of Archaeology: Liverpool, July 1995,* ed. by Anthony Sinclair, Elizabeth Salter and John Gowlett, (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997), pp. 62-68.
46 Bikai, p. 302.
47 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 21.
48 Bikai, pp. 306-11.
49 Fernando Gonzales de Canales, Leonardo Serrano and Jorge Llompart, 'The Pre-Colonial Phoenician Emporium of Huelva ca 900-770 BC'. *BABesch,* 81 (2006), 13-29 (p. 17).

such as jars, *amphorae*, or *pithoi*, are imported for their contents, whereas wares with open shapes are imported for their own beauty or their household use. Since the imported vessels found in Temple B had closed shapes, it is plausible that they were imported for their contents.[50] The ownership of ceramic vessels is also under discussion. Hoffman claims we cannot equate pots to people and therefore think that these local pots belonged to local individuals: in this context of exchange maybe Phoenician merchants sold eastern wares to locals and got local wares in exchange.[51] Most of the pots have local characteristics, and it is possible that some of them belonged to Phoenicians and some others belonged to the locals. The same could have happened with the Phoenician pots. Finding both kinds of wares in the same context suggests, hence, contact and interaction of both groups: foreign seafarers and local population, who would have presumably sat and eaten together in Temple B, using both kinds of pots.

### *4.2 Other buildings*

Not only in Temple B were there ceramic finds of interest, but also in Building Z, Altar U, Building V and Building Q. In Gallery 3 of Building Z, contemporary with Temple B and located to its south, pottery for domestic use was found. The finds included local drinking vessels and cooking pots, *kraters*, *amphorae*, cups, *skyphoi* and fragments of a Phoenician jar, which suggests activity out of the temple, as well as the use of local pottery for domestic purposes, whereas the imported Phoenician pottery was used, in this case, to store or transport its contents. Other *aryballoi*, cups, and *skyphoi* were found in the Altar (c. eighth century BC) and in Building V (c. seventh century BC), to the east of the temple.[52] In Building Q (late seventh century BC), to the south of Temple B, some fragments of *amphorae* from outside Crete were excavated. The sherds, which present ferrous inclusions and seem to be of Phoenician origin, were very common at Kommos in the early phase of Temple B as well as Temple A, and were popular at other sites in the Mediterranean.[53] These suggest commercial interrelations in the oil and wine trading routes. Shaw claims the liquids were imported from abroad, emphasising the position of Cyrenaica, in modern day Libya. Nonetheless, some locally-produced wares were also discovered, such as inscribed cups.[54]

Hoffman questions whether Phoenicians were carrying out most of the trade in the Mediterranean during the first centuries of the first millennium BC which cannot be determined through pots.[55] Pots cannot tell us about the ethnic origin of the potter, but about the skills and experience of the potter and the place of manufacture of the pot after analysis, as well as the taste of the owner of the pot, if it is used for its intrinsic value, not for its contents. Hence, to know if Phoenicians were present in Kommos during the early first millennium we have to focus on other indices, such as objects (which indicate contacts with imports and artistic influences), burials (that attest immigrant presence but not

50 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', pp. 15-18.
51 Hoffman, p. 176.
52 Shaw, 'The Architecture of Temples', pp. 25-29.
53 Bikai, p. 330.
54 Shaw, 'The Architecture of Temples', pp. 33-34.
55 Hoffman, p. 176.

interaction) and architecture (that also proves foreign presence).[56] In the case of Kommos, we can certainly confirm Phoenician presence and culture by looking at the oriental structure of Temple B and its finds.

**5. Uses of the Temple**

Understanding the uses of Temple B is important for understanding the role of Kommos with regard to Phoenician presence and interactions with local population. The building and its finds present evidence for differentiated use, such as for religious practices, food consumption and economic transactions.

Firstly, the religious use is the most commonly accepted. Ritual is evidenced by the figurines of gods, which also indicate the presence of immigrants from the Near East.[57] As mentioned before, the pillars were worshipped and hence some scholars propose divine triads to which the three pillars could have been devoted.[58] Shaw proposes the triad of Baal, Ashera and Astarte or of Tanit, Ashera and Astarte.[59] Melfi suggests a cult to Apollo during the seventh century BC, as some cups have the name of Apollo inscribed.[60] Moreover, there may be a connection between Apollo and the ancient name of Kommos, possibly Amyklaion, which may have derived from a Greek transliteration of a Phoenician title.[61] Therefore, it could be plausible that the triads mentioned came from Egypt and maybe Phoenicia to Crete and the Peloponnese during the first half of the first millennium BC.[62] It is possible that these triads could have suffered some transformations as a result of contact with indigenous groups, which is why some icons that firstly represented eastern divinities, such as the Tripillar Shrine, became dedicated to other gods like Apollo. Hence, the Tripillar Shrine was a symbolic and iconic representation of a divine triad, possibly Phoenician. This Temple of Kommos, where peoples of diverse origins interacted, is understood as a multi ethnic religious installation where both oriental and local spiritual beliefs and objects coexisted.[63]

Secondly, the temple was used as a place to eat and drink, as local pottery and some figurines indicate.[64] This use may be intrinsically related to the religious function of the temple (ritual meals) or simply to the need for travellers to find a place to rest and eat. The fragments of transport *amphorae* indicate that travellers by sea could have used the site as a stopping point for trips to the Western Mediterranean or to the interior of the island, possibly the Idaean Cave, where there are many Eastern finds. Before going inland, eastern seafarers may have stopped at the temple and had a meal there. After Phoenician material stopped being represented in the archaeological record, worship and banqueting

56 Hoffman, p. 185.
57 Nicholas Stampolidis and Antonios Kotsonas, 'Phoenicians in Crete', in *Ancient Greece from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, ed. by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos,, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 337-60, (p. 353).
58 Yalouris, pp. 100-01.
59 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 18.
60 Melfi, pp. 358-9.
61 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', p. 175; Melfi, p. 358.
62 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', p. 175.
63 Pappalardo, pp. 200-01.
64 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 20.

continued in Temple B, suggested by an unbroken sequence of local ceramics.[65] It is not known whether Phoenicians kept visiting the site without leaving archaeological trace or if they stopped going to the temple for good.

Thirdly, since the temple was a place of cultural interaction, it could have been used as a market place.[66] According to Aubet, the establishment of a temple as place of both cult and market was a practice of exterior trade characteristic of Tyre[67], a Phoenician city located in current Lebanon, as well as other sites like Samaria, current Israel.[68] Hence, this building of connections and encounters was the place where seafarers and locals exchanged not only beliefs and customs but also objects. Temples and sanctuaries in many places became meeting points between different economic systems: Phoenician traders and local groups that carried out commercial activities.[69] As a result, this temple may have acted as an entry door for Near Eastern practices into Crete. It absorbed oriental cults by receiving people who traded cultic objects from Egypt and provided explanations about their benefits (such as, presumably, the faience figurines of Egyptian deities) and other exotic materials.[70]

**6. Type of settlement**

Considering the idea that one of the roles of the temple was economic, I suggest that the site of Kommos was a Phoenician commercial district. Phoenicia had big commercial settlements in many places throughout the Mediterranean, such as Carthage and Kition, considered to be colonies, a term referring to places where groups of foreign people far from their place of origin socioeconomically dominate or even exploit the local inhabitants.[71] According to Aubet, commercial districts are permanent installations of commercial interest abroad and they generally have a temple (which is a sign of the political authority of the metropolis).[72] These districts are located next to existent indigenous centres and their objective is not the total control of exchange but the distribution of resources by taking advantage of local demand and already operative infrastructures. This is the case of Kommos, presumably having the indigenous centre at Phaistos or Agia Triada. The *amphorae* and jars found in Temple B suggest storage as well as the frequent stopping of foreign ships at the port. Therefore, there would have been groups of immigrant shipmen who had need of a permanent place of cult and exchange.

This phenomenon is also seen in other commercial establishments such as Samaria, a settlement with a temple possibly used the same way as Temple B by a Phoenician community formed by artisans, merchants and priests. Also in the south of Spain there were two possible commercial districts (Cádiz and Huelva), both located next to existent indigenous communities.[73] Hence, the case of Kommos looks

65 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in southern Crete', p. 183.
66 Aubet, 'Tiro' Sherratt and Sherratt.
67 Aubet, 'Tiro', pp. 66.
68 Aubet, 'El Barrio Comercial', p. 223
69 Sherratt and Sherratt, p. 375.
70 Maria Shaw, pp. 170-71.
71 Peter Van Domelen, 'Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean', *World Archaeology*, 28:3. (2010), 305.
72 Aubet, 'El Barrio Comercial', pp. 221-30.
73 Aubet, 'El Barrio Comercial', pp. 226-31.

similar to Samaria and Huelva. Temple B, a building used as a place of cult by oriental immigrants, suggests permanent or at least very regular presence of these immigrants[74]. Other scholars like Shaw propose architecture implies more than intermittent presence,[75] and the presence of a religious building would suit the need of Phoenician permanent population. However, this is not necessarily the case. I agree with Aubet, who suggests semi-permanent Phoenician presences, as we have suggested that Kommos is a commercial settlement with economical purposes.[76] Phoenician immigrants may have come to the site very often to trade with the indigenous populations, even staying for some nights before weighing anchor to sail on elsewhere.

I support my theory with the fact that there is limited material evidence for Phoenicians – or other individuals – living in Kommos. Only some Phoenician wares were found in Building Z which may indicate, according to Shaw, temporary residence.[77] Nonetheless, the presence of some sherds of Phoenician pots is not enough evidence to claim Phoenician residence. Thus, so far we can only say Phoenicians traded in the site and that, therefore, Kommos was a commercial district rather than a colony of permanent Phoenician residence.

**7. Observations and conclusions**

Having concluded that Kommos was a trading district, we will now focus on who traded and the directionality of this trade. Of course, Phoenicians were involved in commercial exchanges but other populations may also have participated. Were the Egyptian figurines carried by Egyptians, by Cretan merchants or by Phoenicians? According to ancient winds, the journey from Egypt to Crete was hard and therefore ships would go around the Lebanese coast. This makes it harder to decide who transported what, as many different populations were involved in trade. Hence, many foreign groups would have arrived at Kommos, some of which would have left no trace.[78] Among these, the Phoenicians may have been the ones that stayed longer, stopping en route to the west.

Although most objects came by sea, some could have also come by means of trans-shipment from the north of the island as Lambrou-Phillipson proposes with reference to the Egyptian figurines.[79] Shaw also suggests that those figurines may have moved in the opposite direction, from Kommos to Knossos, in the north of Crete.[80] Inland routes are evident, for instance between Kommos and Mount Ida in the centre of the island, as there are lots of eastern-influenced objects in the Idaean Cave as well as

74 Negbi, pp. 608-09.
75 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', p. 182; Hoffman, p. 174.
76 Aubet, 'El Barrio Comercial', p. 230.
77 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 22.
78 Ibid., p. 16.
79Connie Lambrou-Phillipson, 'Seafaring, in the Bronze Age Mediterranean: The Parameters involved in Maritime Travel', in *Thalassa, l'Égée préhistorique et la mer, Actes de la troisième rencontre égéerzne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Aegaeum 7,* ed. by R. .Laffineur L. Basch (Liège: Université de Liège, 1991), pp. 11-20, (pp. 11-19).
80 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 16.

Eleutherna, an inland site located 25km from the northern coast[81]. Hence, inland communications and commerce were commonplace within Crete.

Regarding long-distance trade routes, Kommos was probably one of the most frequently used stopping points of Phoenician routes towards the western Mediterranean (assuming the two main routes were through the north of Crete towards Corinth, and presumably stopping near Knossos, or through the south of Crete, stopping at Kommos and continuing to towards Sicily).[82] Consequently, Phoenicians interested in trading in the west were likely to have chosen the southern route as it was probably faster, whereas those who preferred to do economic transactions in the Aegean or within Crete would have chosen the northern route,[83] as it was best connected to Attica and Euboea and to Cretan inland routes. What we know so far is that Kommos was a port frequented by the Phoenicians between the tenth or ninth centuries BC and the seventh century BC and Temple B was used for economic as well as religious purposes.[84] Although most of the imported ceramic sherds found in Temple B belonged to storage jars and, therefore, indicate the economic use of the building,[85] some others, like local pottery, belonged to vessels used for eating and drinking.[86] Hence, Temple B may have had multiple functions. We should also point out the non-permanent character of the Phoenician population trading in Kommos and hence the role of the settlement as a commercial district,[87] rather than a permanent colony.

Assuming that the Tripillar Shrine was a Phoenician construction, it was accepted by the locals (as local pottery and other local artefacts were found), with whom the Phoenicians shared the mentioned meals. Csapo illustrates this phenomenon of cultural contact explaining that this port was the place where Cretans, Greeks and Phoenicians 'lied to each other over wine and limpets at the seaside Shrine and left their cups, possibly for reuse on the return journey.'[88] All in all, the island of Crete was a place of contact between Phoenicians and Cretans, where not only materials were exchanged but also stories, techniques, religious practices and beliefs. I hope these conclusions will throw new light on the debate about Phoenician trade towards the west and about the role of temples in economic interactions.

81 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', p. 182.
82 Sherratt and Sherratt, p. 367.
83 Coldstream, 'Phoenicians in Crete', p. 181.
84 Shaw, 'Phoenicians in southern Crete', p. 165; Nota Kourou, 'Phoenician presence in Early Iron Age Crete reconsidered', in *Actas del IV Congresso International de Estudios Fenicios y Punicos*, III, (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2000), pp. 1072-80, (p. 1068); Aubet, 'El Barrio Comercial', p. 221.
85 Bikai, p. 302.
86 Shaw, 'Kommos in Southern Crete', p. 20.
87 Aubet, 'El Barrio Comercial', p. 221.
88 Eric Csapo, 'An International Community of Traders in Late 8th-7th c. BC. Kommos in Southern Crete', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik,* 88, (1991), 211-16, (p. 215).

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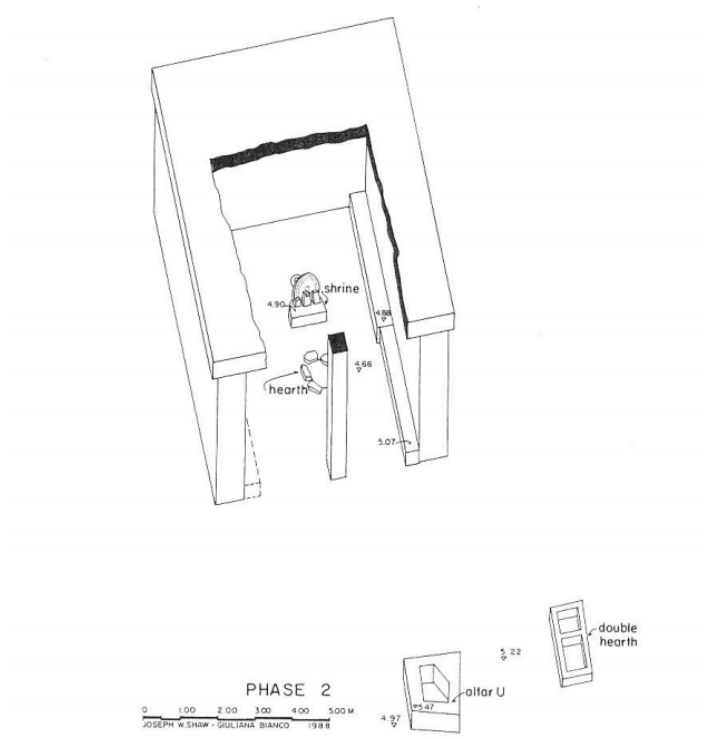
Figure 2.2. Kommos, general site plan (Shaw 2000. Figure 1.5).

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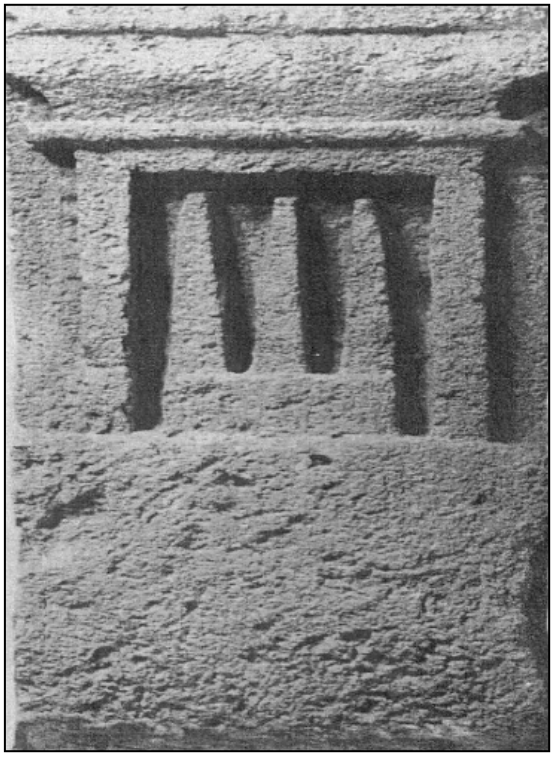

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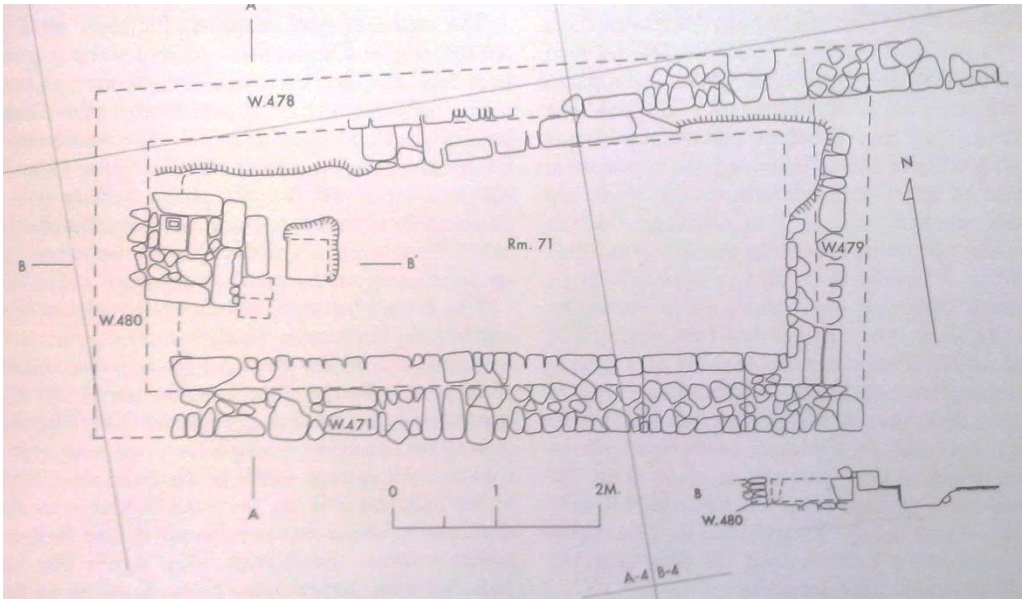


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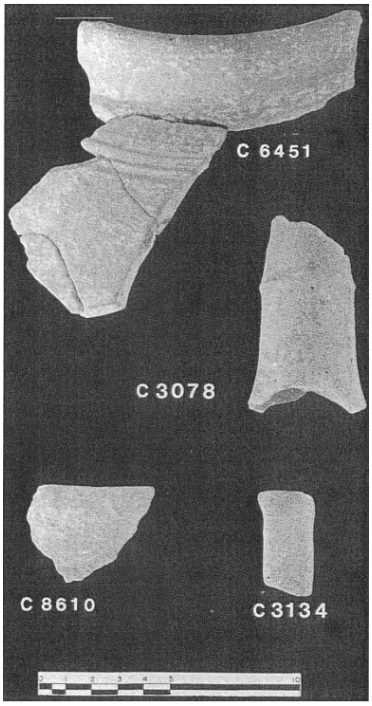


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# Forays Into a New Field: Experimental Science and the First Four Years of the Royal Society

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## Introduction

The Royal Society and its role in seventeenth and eighteenth century experimental philosophy has been the subject of intense scholarly debate since the early twentieth century. Questions over the date of its foundation, over who was a member of the Society and what they achieved or contributed to early modern science, have been the source of countless essays and studies. This should not be surprising, as it was, in the words of Martha Ornstein, the 'first among the pioneer reforming bodies of the century'.[1] This paper examines the first four decades of the Royal Society's life, and through an examination of the existing and contemporary literature makes three arguments: first, the Royal was a body comprised of an eclectic band of men, most becoming fellows through connection rather than achievement. Second, it argues that the Royal Society comprised more an 'open network' rather than a closed circle of elites. Third, it argues that the experimental activities of the Society demonstrate the interests of individual members (notably Robert Hooke) steered the work of the Society, rather than the reverse.

## Origins and Membership

Histories of the Royal Society (since Thomas Sprat's first written history of the organisation in 1667) state that it was founded in November 1660. As Michael Cooper suggests, it is possible to chart the origins of the Royal Society back to 1645, when a group of professors with similar interests in the natural world began meeting informally at Oxford to discuss their research, experimentation and studies. Little is known about these early sporadic gatherings, but on 28 November 1660 these meetings suddenly became formalised regular events when the Royal Society at Gresham College in London was formed and where weekly recorded meetings began on Wednesdays at three o'clock.[2] Charles II became aware of the group's interests and quickly supported its foundation, the name Royal Society can be seen in use from 1661, although the issuance of a first Royal Charter did not take place until 1662.[3] In her 1960s book on

1 Martha Ornstein, *The Role of Scientific Societies in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 138.
2 Michael Cooper, 'Hooke's Career,' in *London's Leonardo: The Life and Work of Robert Hooke*, eds. Jim Bennett, Michael Hunter, Michael Cooper, Lisa Jardine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 8.
3 'History', *The Royal Society*, 2016, https://royalsociety.org/about-us/history/, accessed 22.10.2016.

the history of the Society, Margaret Purver laments the 'general state of confusion' over the question of when the Royal Society was formed. Her work dwells on the inconsistencies between the work of the Oxford-based groups in the 1640s and 1650s which included future Society members such as Robert Hooke, Robert Boyle and Samuel Hartlib and his associates, compared to the purposes for the foundation of the Society in 1660.[4] Purver may have a point that the tendency to look before 1660 has been over-emphasised in some works. However, it is necessary to point out that many in the network of the 1660 Society were meeting for some years previously – the foundation of the Society should therefore be seen as a formalised consolidation.

Who were the men that formed the group at Gresham College in the year of the Restoration and what was the commonality between them? Despite holding a Royal Charter Michael Hunter points out that the Royal Society was, as an institution, 'an almost entirely amateur body' whose members came from a variety of backgrounds and occupations'.[5] Its members included the Viscount Brouncker (who would become its first president, Boyle having been the titular head for 1660-1662), Sir Christopher Wren, Henry Oldenburg, Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke to list some of the more eminent names; membership following the second royal charter in 1663 had reached one hundred and thirty one, a moderate growth in numbers.[6]

Hunter's analysis of the membership of the Society in its early decade demonstrates that, despite its wide network of correspondents from across the country, it was representative of London's society in the seventeenth century rather than England's.[7] Furthermore, there were notable omissions from its membership that historians may assume were natural candidates for membership, the instrument-maker Samuel Morland was never a member despite his well-documented connections to Hooke and others and his work in horological instruments.[8] Defining those who were members along dangerously loaded social or 'class' distinctions can prove difficult and misleading, and Hunter instead looks at the occupations or livelihoods of the fellows and members as a means to examining the overall composition of the group. Analysing the total membership lists between 1660-1685, he concludes that fifteen percent were courtiers, politicians and diplomats, fourteen percent were those whose income came from independent means (such as lawyers, who comprised four percent) and thirteen percent came from the aristocracy[9].

At first glance, this seems a varied and broad spectrum of members, but Hunter considers the number of aristocrats, courtiers and politicians overall to be 'especially [...] high'.[10] Further analysis in the 1980s by Lotte and Glenn Mulligan sought to determine if any patterns on the makeup of the members at different times is observable; they categorised the membership into five periods, each an affectation of

4,Margaret Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (Oxford: Routledge, 2009): p.22.
5 Michael Hunter, "The Social Basis and Changing Fortunes of an Early Scientific Institution: An Analysis of the Membership of the Royal Society, 1660-1685", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 31, no. 1 (1976), pp. 9-114.
6 Hunter, p.13.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Hunter, pp. 34-35.
10 Ibid.

the incumbent secretary's own agenda and approach to admitting new members.[11] It is worth considering their conclusions in conjunction with Hunter's broader, meta-analysis of professions. Mulligan and Mulligan examine the following five periods: The Original Fellows (1660-1663), Oldenburg's secretaryship (1663-1677), Hooke's secretaryship (1677-1682), The 'Eighties' and Sloane's secretaryship (from 1692)[12].

They argue the 'Original Fellows' were men of distinction in society rather than experts in natural philosophy and 'scientific' areas. The Oldenburg years were characterised by a declining membership and a move towards being more of a 'gentleman's club' with members selected more for their social rank. Hooke's years as Secretary saw more members of a lower social standing than previously joining and a renewed focus on utilitarian experimentation, whilst the 'Eighties' saw younger, more amateurish gentlemen of social standing joining, and Sloane's years, they conclude, led to a 'decline in the Society's reputation' as he focused on medical science.[13] What stands out here is the fact that Hooke, of lower distinction, changed the social makeup of the Society during his time, whilst Hans Sloane (of higher social background) did the same during his tenure.

A 1998 article by David Lux and Harold Cook examines the subtle differences of so-called 'scientific networks' across Europe during the period, and categorises them as either 'closed' or 'open'. 'Closed circles' were elite, and they cite the Royal Society and universities as prime examples, whereas 'open networks' were much broader, less elite and more likely to be distant, correspondence-based relationships.[14] At first glance, the Society was a closed circle in the sense that membership was not universal, and it was certainly not open to everyone who applied. However, as Mulligan and Mulligan's work shows, it was open to those of different social standing at different times, although this does not necessarily mean it should be considered as 'open'. Its correspondence network, however, regulated by Henry Oldenburg and centred around its publication the *Philosophical Transactions,* is a good example of the Lux-Cook definition of an 'open network' and one which they miss. Hence, a dilemma arises: do the Society's activities make it a closed circle, or an open network? To answer this, an understanding of the Royal Society's intellectual purpose, and subsequently an overview of its activities, is necessary at this point.

**Intellectual Purpose**

As a starting point, Michael Cooper is correct in that the major difficulty for identifying the Society's mission or purpose is that it supposedly had two, potentially complementary but more likely to be conflicting, outward aims: to at once be a 'learned society' and also a 'research institute' at the same

11 Lotte Mulligan and Glenn Mulligan, "Reconstructing Restoration Science: Styles of Leadership and Social Composition of the Early Royal Society", *Social Studies of Science*, 3, no. 3 (1981), pp. 327-364.
12 Mulligan & Mulligan, pp. 329-330.
13 Mulligan & Mulligan, p. 352.
14 David Lux and Harold Cook, 'Closed Circles or Open Networks?: Communicating at a Distance During the Scientific Revolution', *History of Science* 35 (1998), pp. 179-211.

time.[15] As Adamson says in a 1978 essay on the intellectual foundations of the organisation: 'The debate upon the intellectual origins of the Royal Society has caused several historians to glance fleetingly at Gresham College [for answers]'.[16] The two were founded at different times and for different reasons; the college at Gresham was opened in 1597 through the bequest of the deceased Thomas Gresham, who stipulated that seven professors were to be paid for and whose duties would be to deliver daily lectures to the 'unlettered people' on 'divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, physics and rhetoric'.[17] Adamson traces the convenient, practical solutions to the internal problems of both groups that being housed together solved: 'they lived together for fifty years. They were thrown together partly by accident but stayed together for so long mainly through self-interest.'[18] But whilst the College's purpose was to deliver lectures on the classic subjects listed above, using ancient texts as the authority, the Society's purpose was altogether part of a much newer approach.

To this day, the Royal Society's motto remains the first means of understanding its mission: '*Nullius in verba*' which roughly translates from Latin as 'take nobody's word for it'.[19] It was suggested as a motto by John Evelyn and adopted at a meeting of the Society in 1662.[20] Evelyn's choice of phrase gives an excellent and succinct insight into the rather complex intellectual purpose that led to the setup of the Society. In the seventeenth century, a number of thinkers (including Descartes and Francis Bacon to name two examples) began to theorise what the standard of authority in obtaining knowledge of the natural world should be. For scholars during the High Middle Ages, and the Humanists especially, this had been the ancient texts, perhaps most notably Aristotle and Cicero. These 'authoritative texts' were the gold standards of intellectual thought and understanding, that laid down the 'accepted framework of discourse and interpretation'.[21] One of the issues advanced during the course of seventeenth century discourse was what interpretative framework should replace the Aristotelian dogma at a time when new 'discoveries' were being made, as thinkers moved to a more empirical mode of learning.

No longer was an ancient text of wisdom the standard-bearer of intellectual jurisdiction, in the seventeenth century this authority transferred to those directly involved in the pursuit of knowledge of the natural world. Peter Dear summarises how the purpose of the Royal Society reflected how fundamentally different the outlook of its members was, compared to previous generations, such as the lecturers Gresham would have had in mind:

> When a fellow of the Royal Society made a contribution to knowledge, he did so by reporting an experience. That experience differed in important respects from the definition informing

15 Cooper, p. 11.
16 Ian Adamson, 'The Royal Society and Gresham College 1660-1711', Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London 33, no. 1 (1978), p. 1.
17 Ornstein, p. 100.
18 Adamson, p. 14.
19 'History', *The Royal Society*, https://royalsociety.org/about-us/history/, accessed 22.10.2016.
20 Peter Dear, 'Totius in Verbus: Rhetoric and Authority in the Early Royal Society', *Isis* 76, no. 2 (1995), pp. 144-161.
21 Ibid., p. 149.

> scholastic practice; rather than being a generalised statement about how some aspect of the world *behaves*, it was instead a report of how, in one instance, the world had *behaved.*[22]

In other words, it was the actual event that a natural philosopher had himself personally observed or experienced rather than a general occurrence or theoretical understanding of the natural world; the latter being exactly what the classical texts laid down. This was an important distinction and the implication of this shift in thought was a greater change in the emphasis of natural philosophy generally: the move towards experimentation, and the repetition of experimentation for verification, as the medium to channel observation and understanding natural phenomena. With experimentation, the authority was no longer bound to the wisdom imparted by a fifteen hundred year old text, but instead 'rooted in the authority of the individual reporter as the actor in a well-defined, particular experience'.[23] In short, this was the early Royal Society's common intellectual purpose: the style, rather than substance, of the 'science' that its fellows performed.[24] That style was to not rely on another's word (such as Aristotle), as Evelyn's motto confirms, but to experiment, observe and record.

Purver also argues that the group's original '*raison d'être*' has been clouded by the emphasis given to Thomas Sprat's 1667 *History of the Royal Society* and the consequent misreading of the place and views of Francis Bacon within his *History* that have, in her view, led historians down the wrong path since the nineteenth century.[25] Much has been written by historians about the role and influence of Francis Bacon's ideas on the state of nature and man's understanding of the natural world and it is possible to see his earlier ideas taking effect in the Society's work. It was Bacon, argues Barbara Shapiro, who was the 'central agent' in the 'transformation' of what was understood as a 'fact', from being one borne out of general Aristotelian consensus, to one that was particular, unique and derived from experiment.[26] Ornstein declares that the Royal Society was a 'pioneer' body in leading this experimental approach, but the intellectual origins, in England at least, lie with the influence of Bacon.[27]

**Activities**

The work of the Society fell into two categories: experimentation and publication. Experimentation reinforced the authority of the witness or experimenter; the personal credit of a single experiment witnessed by one was worth far less than a series of experiments each producing the same output and witnessed by dozens.[28] Robert Hooke's work for Robert Boyle on the air pump was well known and in 1663 he was appointed as 'Curator of Experiments' for the Society as a result of their work on this. The weekly demands that the Society placed on Hooke for demonstrations of experiments to observe natural

22 Ibid., p. 152.
23 Ibid., p. 157.
24 Ibid., p. 159.
25 Purver, p. 22.
26 Barbara Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England 1550-1720* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 107.
27 Ornstein, p. 138.
28 Simon Schaffer, 'Glass Works: Newton's Prisms and the Uses of Experiment' in *The Uses of Experiment: Studies in the Natural Sciences*, eds. David Gooding, Trevor Pinch, Simon Schaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 67.

phenomena, as well as those with a practical and applicable end, meant that the early Society came to rely on him for a substantive part of its work.[29] Experiments and demonstrations required instruments and Hooke's expertise in this area was another factor that led to his appointment. As Lisa Jardine argues, technical instruments from the mid-seventeenth century onwards became 'catalysts' for advances in natural philosophy: microscopes, telescopes, pendulum clocks, balance spring watches, the air pump, are those she lists as particularly noteworthy.[30] Partly due to the wide-ranging nature of Hooke's role, these instruments are also ones in which he was closely involved with during his decades with the Royal Society.

An extensive analysis of all of Hooke's instruments and experiments is unnecessary at this point. It is important to emphasise that the race to improve these instruments by Hooke and many of those around him was a result of the newly assigned criticality of experimentation that Bacon had first encapsulated in his discourses. Jim Bennett argues that there are three facets to the role of scientific instruments in Hooke's work for the Royal Society: first, that instruments 'enlarge[d] the senses and [made] them more precise and reliable'; second, that instruments were conceived as 'useful device[s] […] [with] a practical end'; third that experimentation with instruments led to the 'conceptualisation of a problem or the explanation of a phenomenon'.[31] Bennett sees the first two as consistent with Baconian thinking, whilst the last is an addition typical to Hooke and the outlook of the Society that was generally 'not entirely original, but most prolific'.[32] Nonetheless, it ties in with the intellectual origins previously discussed and the consequent use of instrumentation that was the hallmark of the group's work, with Hooke as curator at its centre.

Another revealing indicator of the growth in importance of instruments occurred at the time of a well-documented dispute between Hooke and a young Isaac Newton in the 1670s; Newton was invited informally to address the Fellows. When he presented a paper to the Society in 1672 stating that light was a composite of all colour, the instruments that Newton purported to have used to conclude this became a crucial part of the rather bitter and personal dispute over his findings between the two. Newton believed in what he referred to as the *experimentum crucis*; the implication that his critics, including Hooke, drew from this was that the replication of the trial of an experiment for verification was to Newton unnecessary, and therefore, without any successful replication, Newton's conclusions could not be verified.[33]

Central to the argument between Hooke and Newton on his theory of light and colour was that others struggled to replicate Newton's experiment based on his account; crucially however, Newton's supporters defended his work by claiming those that failed to reproduce the experiment must have used

29 Jim Bennett, 'Robert Hooke as Mechanic and Natural Philosopher', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 35, no. 1 (1980), pp. 33-48.
30 Lisa Jardine, *Ingenious Pursuits: Building the Scientific Revolution* (London: Abacus, 1999), p. 9.
31 Bennett, p. 44.
32 Ibid.
33 Schaffer, p. 85.

defective *instruments*.[34] This reveals two things: first, the importance the society gave to Hooke in the realm of experimentation (unlike Newton, he was not a scholar); this was the Society's purpose and Newton's subsequent work is characterised by an emphasis on mathematical proof rather than experimentation. Second, for Newton and his supporters it was the supremacy of the instruments (if they failed) that was the most important part of the experiment. This was at the heart of the conflict: for Hooke and many of those in the Society, the authority in any experiment came not from the integrity of the instruments alone, but by the successful replication of an experiment and its observation by witnesses who had experienced it and the credit and authority that they gave. The argument between the two men and their supporters culminated in Newton's resignation from the Society in 1673, although he would return as the head of the organisation at the turn of the eighteenth century (in 1704 he published *Opticks*, demonstrating with proof his theories on light so savaged by Hooke).

The second element of activity that characterised the output of the early decades was the publication of the *Philosophical Transactions* (first in 1665), that was edited by Royal Society secretary Henry Oldenburg until his death in 1677. It is a commonly held view that the *Transactions* was Oldenburg's 'own project' and was essentially the publication of his correspondence with those with an interest in mechanical experimentation from across the country.[35] As he drew no wage as Secretary (the first four decades of the Royal Society were characterised by persistent financial woes; a key reason for its residence at Gresham) but the *Transactions* became increasingly profitable from the late 1660s with the emergence of advertisements from instrument makers especially.[36] Oldenburg had overall control over the content of the publication. Whilst the demonstrations of experiments restricted to the fellows of the Society was a sign of the 'closed circle' theorised by Cook and Lux as detailed earlier, the *Transactions* represents more of a grey area as earlier implied: in their essay, Cook and Lux describe correspondence based relationships as 'open networks'. At first this seems to indicate something of a conflict, but the role of the *Transactions* also fulfilled a function that perhaps actually reinforced the Society's 'closed circle' nature.

At the start of this essay, Ornstein's referral to the *Cimento* in Florence and the *Académie* in Paris as comparable but less pioneering organisations was alluded to. Mario Biagioli argues that the importance of the *Transactions* in the functioning of the Society came from a characteristic that was common to the *Cimento* and *Académie*, but was absent to the Royal Society: the role of princely patronage.[37] The organisations in France and Florence were established by their rulers (Louis XIV in 1666 and Leopold de Medici in 1657) and as such its members worked, and were paid, on behalf of their respective rulers at their behest. This has been a long-established point of divergence between the English and continental institutions, for whilst Charles II issued Royal Warrants indicating his approval, and in 1662 ordered that patents should not be issued unless the instruments were offered to the Royal Society for use first, the

34 Ibid., p. 92.
35 Jeffrey Wigelsworth, *Selling Science in the Age of Newton: Advertising and the Commoditization of Knowledge* (London: Ashgate, 2010), p. 21.
36 Wigelsworth, p. 31.
37 Mario Biagioli, 'Etiquette, Interdependence, and Sociability in Seventeenth-Century Science', *Critical Inquiry* 22, no. 2. (1996), pp. 193-238.

relationship was more of informal support and not what should be considered as princely patronage.[38] Biagioli argues that, 'paradoxically', despite being 'prince-independent' it was the Royal Society out of the three institutions that in fact 'constituted its authority in the republic of letters most like a king within his court' and it achieved this through the publication of the *Philosophical Transactions*.[39]

This idea is linked to credit and Biagioli says that although the Society was not 'naturally endowed' with power, its authority was allowed to grow and its reputation sustained through the activity of granting credit to its correspondents, whom he equates to 'subjects' through publication of their letters in the *Transactions*; this editorial power was then reflected back onto its readers as credibility and authority.[40] Critically, his theory on the authority of the *Philosophical Transactions* as a self-sustaining mechanism that reciprocally gave credit to others whilst simultaneously increasing its own, revises the application of the Lux and Cook hypothesis to the Royal Society. Whilst normal correspondence networks were open, Oldenburg's was not: it was a tool through which the Society could remain closed, elite and consolidate their authority in natural philosophical and mechanical affairs. Oldenburg decided (and by default through him therefore the Society decided) what was worthy of publication and in doing so, positioned themselves as the arbiters of what was considered acceptable experimental practice.

**Conclusions**

This essay has given an overview of some of the complexities that the literature on early modern 'science', society and the Royal Society leads to when studying the early decades of the organisation. It has sought to explain the origins of the Royal Society, describe its early work, its intellectual origins and its purpose. There are many divisions amongst historians in almost all aspects of the Society (from its foundation to its theoretical inspiration) and this essay has argued that whilst the Society was founded as a corporation in 1660, the previous fifteen years of informal meeting amongst many of the network involved in the early decades should not discounted as irrelevant, as some have tried to. It was during this time that the networks that became a closed circle were first forged. Finally, that it was a closed circle with membership more often decided on social connection than on 'scientific' achievement; a body that was able to design for itself, through its association with the King and its selective membership and through the *Philosophical Transactions,* a reputation as the power base for standards and advance in the English context of late seventeenth century natural philosophy.

38 Ornstein, p. 121.
39 Biagioli, p. 208.
40 Biagioli, p. 209.

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# 'Gesticulating Peanuts': the introduction of theatre-in-the-round to 1950s British Theatre

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Stephen Joseph was a pioneer of theatre-in-the-round and was instrumental in progressing and democratising theatre in the UK; his name remains largely unknown, however, despite his wide-ranging influence on theatre architecture, playwriting and directing. In this article, I will explore Joseph's philosophy and how he furthered his aims of reigniting a passion for theatre in Britain by making it relevant and accessible to all people. I will consider why he had such a strong belief in the potential of theatre-in-the-round; how he influenced the early career of regional director, Peter Cheeseman, and how together they battled to create a radical theatrical space in an unlikely industrial city. This article forms part of a larger study on the history of the Victoria Theatre, in Stoke-on-Trent, and its relationship to the community it served.

Whilst London theatres had managed to sustain impressive audience figures throughout the Second World War, many key figures felt less optimistic about the future of theatre in post-war Britain. Harold Hobson, for example, argued that audiences would need more than the traditional West End offerings of farces and comedy revues if theatres were to remain popular.[1] Further North in Salford, Ewan MacColl and Joan Littlewood were beginning their collaboration as Theatre Workshop; they believed that theatre needed to 'face up to contemporary problems' in order to 'play an effective part in the life of the community.'[2] Whilst Joseph shared both of these concerns, for him it was the playhouses themselves that lay at the root of the problem. Having returned from a recent trip to America to examine the variety of spaces available to theatre companies, Joseph believed that the one way of 'reviving' the theatrical tradition in England was to introduce new spaces altogether.

In his 1964 text, *Actor and Architect*, Joseph championed his long-held view:

> It is my belief that the single most serious ailment of the live theatre, in our country, is the fact that unless you can pay very heavily for the best seats, you just don't see enough of the actors […] we just don't want any longer to look at miniscule peanuts gesticulating in a big theatre. We want to get close and see what is going on.[3]

1 Dominic Shellard, *British Theatre Since the War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 3.
2 Robert Leach, *Theatre Workshop* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006), p. 49.
3 Stephen Joseph, *Actor and Architect* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964), p. 47.

Joseph believed passionately that, with the advent of television, theatre had to appeal more directly to a wider cross-section of society and highlight its advantages of live action by allowing every audience member the chance to be fully immersed in it. Here, Joseph's ideals came to the fore; he was unwavering in his belief that theatre-in-the-round was the best way of engaging a cross-section of people in the action and, therefore, engaging them in theatre:

> If we can sort out the tangle of words and ideas, we may find through our new buildings a way of establishing the live theatre, with its ever new dramatists, as a valid activity in our own society; if not, it seems likely that the drama, with new waves of writers or without, will do no better than remain a cliquish activity for relatively few people.[4]

He was anxious to affirm the excitement of live theatre, a pastime that should not be reserved for an 'educated' few but a pursuit that would engage and entertain everyone, particularly because of one's proximity to the action. In a 1959 article for *Theatre World*, Joseph manifested his enthusiasm:

> So to hell with the scenery that the films can do so much better! To hell with the frame that protects the cathode ray tube! Let's have the actors in the same room as the audience, let's have four front rows, let's get really excited about this acting business![5]

It was to this end that Joseph formed the experimental Studio Theatre Company, to impart his enthusiasm for theatre to a previously deprived public and to produce new plays. The group began as a Sunday night fixture at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall in London but failing to attract audiences, Joseph moved his company base to the Library Theatre in Scarborough, a basic room above the library which the company transformed into theatre-in-the-round with Joseph's specially designed seating built on portable rostra. Curiously in this rudimentary setting, new plays regularly drew in audiences more successfully than in London. Perhaps this could be explained by the fact that the regions had not been able to access the same productions that were being billed for the London stage and when they were, the productions were often poor imitations of the original. Therefore, when quality drama was presented, regional audiences were not preoccupied with the 'star turn' and were often more open to new writing and 'serious drama' than had been anticipated. Peter Cotes, a director and producer who recounted his struggles to create a group theatre company in his book *No Star Nonsense*, recalled his tour to Wales in 1947:

> My tour of the coalfields in the autumn of 1947, when I took a company of players, sponsored by the Arts Council and the Miners' Welfare Commission, to the South Wales mining valleys, proved a revelation[…] There was no blind hero-worship and stupid fan hysteria as far as the cast was concerned. People came to see 'the drama' as they called it.[6]

4 Ibid., p. xi.
5 Stephen Joseph, article for *Theatre World*, 1959, pp. 46-50, quoted in Paul Elsam, *Stephen Joseph: Theatre Pioneer and Provocateur* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014) p. 25.
6 Peter Cotes, *No Star Nonsense* (London: Rockliff, 1949), p. 3.

In pursuit of these open-minded audiences, Joseph established regular touring venues in theatreless towns across the UK, including Hemel Hempstead, Totnes and Newcastle-under-Lyme. Arts Council Great Britain, which referenced the progress of Joseph's company each year in its Annual Report, noted in particular that Studio Theatre Ltd was 'still trying to find a permanent home'.[7] This preoccupation with finding a venue for the company was a nod perhaps to the changes of emphasis in the Arts Council's focus. Its early focus had appeared to centre on bringing productions to the 'theatreless towns' of the UK (continuing the wartime aims of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts) and almost as an aside, 'to make London a great artistic metropolis;'[8] however by 1955, in reaction to public frustration, their tone had become more defensive when addressing the amount of money allocated to London:

> To this criticism the first answer is that a capital city is also the metropolis of the nation's art […] The Arts Council did not decide to give half of its money to London; it decided to act as patron to certain institutions already established, and of these the most meritorious and representative were situated in London.[9]

This arguably circular claim certainly carried a different emphasis to the founding comments in the 1945 statement. Elsewhere in the report, those who argued for fairer funding distributions were referred to as 'dissidents' and this rhetoric continued in the reports that followed with a negative view of regional culture clearly espoused in the Arts Council's Twelfth Annual Report of 1956-57:

> Many theatres have lately been shut down or demolished and, despite the abolition of Entertainment Duty, the process is bound to continue. Some of the towns which have lost their only theatre had long since demonstrated the fact that they were unable or unwilling to provide a regular and dependable audience for professional drama. In other places the local theatre had long since declined into the status of a common lodging-house for the less reputable kind of Variety Show.[10]

There is a suggestion here that the regions were somehow at fault for not attending the performances that the Arts Council had deemed suitable and appropriate; that it was the fault of the community for the closure of so many regional institutions, rather than a funding or quality issue. The Council's response, as Nadine Holdsworth argues, was to 'redraw parameters by maintaining established value systems and conventional notions of artistic practice'[11]; their insistence on maintaining the 'quality institutions' in the Capital seems evidence enough. Joseph almost certainly did not fit neatly into the 'conventional notions' of the Council members, which may explain why the company's grant remained so small (£250 in 1956/7,

7 Arts Council Great Britain, *Twelfth Annual Report* (1956-7), p. 36.
8 Ibid., p. 23.
9 Arts Council of Great Britain, *Eleventh Annual Report* (1955-56), p. 23.
10 Arts Council of Great Britain, *Twelfth Annual Report* (1956-57), p. 11.
11 Nadine Holdsworth, 'They'd Have Pissed on My Grave': The Arts Council and Theatre Workshop', *New Theatre Quarterly* 15 (February 1999), p. 4.

compared with £7,000 to the English Stage Company and £12,000 to the Old Vic). Years later, in *New Theatre Forms*, Joseph claimed that subsidy was being used to 'ensure that what happens on stage can never be more than a nostalgic, harmless, and indulgent ceremony to attract the middle-class, middle-aged and middle-brow sector of a sleepy society.'[12] Elsam describes how the lack of state subsidy forced Joseph to search elsewhere for financial support. In this he was successful, securing donations from Independent Television and the Pilgrim Trust, which supplemented his own personal payments.[13]

With these limited funds to hand, Joseph and his company found spaces that were well-disposed to an in-the-round conversion: a large room above the library in Scarborough, and the Municipal Hall in Newcastle-under-Lyme, for example. For five years Studio Theatre toured these regional venues, carrying everything including the 'theatre' itself – raked rostra providing in-the-round seating for up to 250.[14] Presumably, Joseph was attracted to Newcastle-under-Lyme not only because it fitted neatly into his notion of a community in need of a theatre but importantly, because it had a receptive Council. The council treasurer, Charles Lister, was particularly enthusiastic about the idea of a civic theatre and watched the Studio Theatre Company's progress with interest.[15] At the time, the city of Stoke-on-Trent may not have seemed the most likely choice for such a radical venture. With 94% of pottery workers in the country in 1958 being based in North Staffordshire and 70,184 people employed in the pottery industry, Stoke-on-Trent was the worldwide centre for pottery production.[16]

Peggy Burns, in her book, *Memories of Stoke-on-Trent*, remembers how 'the fields around Etruria were the playground of many local children, and playing with the biscuit ware dumped on the Horse Fields was one of their favourite pastimes.'[17] The air was heavy with smoke from the bottle ovens and the skyline was dominated by chimneys from the local iron and steelworks, Shelton Bar. By 1962, the prefabs built during the 1920s and 30s as a rapid solution to the housing crises still dominated the crowded housing estates of Cobridge and Trent Vale where between forty and fifty homes could be found per acre.[18] This heavily industrialised area was (and still is) fiercely proud of its label as 'the Potteries' (despite the increasing redundancies that were taking place as many of the larger companies underwent a process of rationalisation), and consequently their available leisure time and interest in theatre was assumed to be limited, despite the presence of a strong amateur scene. Indeed, for a city that boasted seven thriving amateur groups, the lack of a professional theatre was anomalous.[19] Jim Lagden, founder of the Stoke-on-Trent festival, commented:

> Just over ten years ago Mecca took over the Theatre Royal in Hanley, an excellently-equipped theatre of the variety hall type. A series of unimpressive variety shows failed to draw audiences,

12 Stephen Joseph, *New Theatre Forms*, (NY: Theatre Arts Books, 1968), p. 124.
13 Paul Elsam, *Stephen Joseph: Theatre Pioneer and Provocateur* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 26.
14 *Council of Repertory Theatres* publication (1971), p. 29 (located at Victoria Theatre Archive).
15 Terry Lane, *The Full Round: The several lives and theatrical legacy of Stephen Joseph* (Italy: Duca della Corgna, 2006), pp. 162-63.
16 Steven Birks, www.thepotteries.org, [accessed 26 February 2017].
17 Peggy Burns, *Memories of Stoke-on-Trent*, (Halifax: True North Books, 1998), p. 22.
18 Ibid., p. 21.
19 *The Stage Year Book* (Carson and Comerford Ltd, 1952), p. 310.

> perhaps predictably, and the conclusion was reached that it was 'obvious that there was no economic demand for live theatre.' The Theatre Royal became a bingo hall.[20]

The local press, too, seemed frustrated by the 'cultural decline', fearing that the closure of the theatre 'has passed virtually unnoticed. It is almost incredible that an area with a population exceeding 300,000 allowed this to happen with little more than a few growls of protest.'[21] Joseph and his company were not deterred by this apparent indifference however, and perhaps encouraged by the success of amateur groups, the company included the city as a regular stop on their circuit of the UK from 1955 and slowly built a reputation for themselves there with the local press acknowledging that 'audiences have continued to increase, with – which is unusual for a provincial theatre company – a high proportion of young people;' [22] indeed, Studio Theatre began to welcome 'a coterie of faithful supporters for their productions.'[23] By their third season of plays at the Municipal Hall, Joseph had seemingly proved that there was in fact an audience in this 'cultural desert'[24]; in 1961 Newcastle Council voted in favour of building a new, purpose-built theatre-in-the-round, which could be erected at a tenth of the cost of a conventional building.[25]

To carry out the task of establishing a purpose-built home for Studio Theatre Company, Joseph recruited Peter Cheeseman, a young director at Derby Playhouse who had become disillusioned with the state of regional theatre. In a later interview for *Plays and Players*, Cheeseman bemoaned the presence of what he labeled 'Cake Mix theatre (powdered scripts from London, add water)' and the 'set of values which infect every area of our profession from the airy reaches of the Treasury and the cigar smoke of Shaftesbury Avenue to the slogging resignation of the summer season repertory company.'[26] Having encountered Joseph at a Council of Repertory Theatres conference, Cheeseman undoubtedly found inspiration in Joseph's vision and tenacity. The relationship was to prove instrumental in shaping both the progression of Studio Theatre Company and the future of Cheeseman in the theatrical life of Stoke-on-Trent. However, despite apparent local council support, Cheeseman and Joseph had an arduous mission ahead of them; not everyone in the local community was united behind the cause. The letter pages of the local paper, the *Evening Sentinel*, were filled nightly with hotly contested arguments over the idea of theatre-in-the-round being established in Staffordshire and, indeed, whether taxpayers' money ought to be spent on theatre at all. A typical correspondence read:

> Mr. Stephen Joseph lives in a cultural world. No doubt the majority of the people he meets at Newcastle have had the educational and social opportunities of appreciating the interesting and

20 Jim Lagden, 'Professionals, Amateurs and Students', *Theatre Quarterly* 1/1 (1971), p. 69 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
21 'The fight for "live" drama', *Evening Sentinel*, 22 August 1962 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
22 From our Special Correspondent, 'Enterprise at Newcastle-under-Lyme', *The Times*, 6 February 1961 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
23 'For and against "round" drama', *Evening Sentinel*, 9th July 1962 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
24 J.S.A, 'Vic on crest of success: capacity audiences prove it,' 26 November 1965 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
25 'Studio Theatre at Newcastle', *Financial Times*, 2 October 1961 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
26 Peter Cheeseman, 'The Director in Rep – No. 6 – Peter Cheeseman', *Plays and Players*, May 1968 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).

> stimulating brand of culture theatre-in-the-round offers […] To the ratepayers of these areas, which house the bulk of Newcastle's population, it seems that there are more urgent channels for money than to provide cultural entertainment for ex-grammar school pupils and their affluent parents […] The fact is that if this scheme goes through before more basic assets are in evidence a residue of bitter censure will be left from one end of the borough to the other.[27]

There is clearly a disconnect here between the people who were welcoming 'culture' to the area and those who felt the project would only serve to benefit an elite section of the population. There was a fear that the project was bound to be unsuccessful since both the Grand and the Theatre Royal had been forced to close due to lack of patronage, and ultimately that 'Mr. Joseph and his company would not suffer in the event of the failure of the project but, once again, the milking cows (ratepayers) would have to foot the bill.'[28] Many of the letters to the press do evidence a real resistance to this form of theatre. A sense that here was something radical, experimental and elitist that was not welcome in a working-class community. The success of the Studio Theatre's tours, however, gave the group confidence that there was an audience for their work, albeit perhaps a different audience to those that may have patronised the Grand or Theatre Royal previously. Joseph recognised that theatre-in-the-round 'tends to alienate many people who have had a long experience of the theatre'[29] but for him and Studio Theatre this was, in many ways, a positive attribute. Their theatre welcomed new and (significantly) young audiences to their productions and it was this enthusiastic and dynamic following that helped to pioneer theatre-in-the-round in the area. For Joseph, the encouragement of young people into the theatre was a crucial element of his philosophy:

> If we delay, I believe that we shall lose a great part of this potential audience – a whole generation, I suspect, who have been given a sample of theatre and now want the proper thing, or they will seek their entertainment in other forms altogether…

Theatre-in-the-round was a way of revitalising theatre, and for Joseph it was essential that the young felt included in the movement. He believed that if the temporary work of Studio Theatre was not continued in Stoke-on-Trent in the form of a permanent space, there was a danger that this new audience would disappear. By 1962, the outlook was promising; both the local authority and the Arts Council were seemingly behind the project. However, while *The Times* reported that 'plans have been drawn up, the money is available, and now all that is needed is planning permission'[30], the venture was far from agreed. As Terry Lane recalls: 'In an Arts Council memo of 1962, Linklater informed the Secretary General that the Town Clerk was stating that his council had never made an offer of £99,000, even though the sum had been made public and never denied.'[31] Money, however, was not the only limiting factor. After months of planning and discussions, Joseph also found it hard to accept the restrictions placed upon his

27 F.D. Wright, Letter to *Evening Sentinel*, 11 July 1961 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
28 H. G. Rowley, 'And more letters about theatre-in-the-round', *Evening Sentinel*, July 1962 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
29 S. Joseph, 'Stephen Joseph writes on his Theatre-in-the-round at Newcastle-under-Lyme', *Plays and Players*, March 1962, p. 26 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
30 From our Special Correspondent, *The Times*, 6 February 1961 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
31 Linklater to Secretary General ACGB 22 February 1962, quoted in Terry Lane, *The Full Round: The several lives and theatrical legacy of Stephen Joseph* (Italy: Duca della Corgna, 2006), p. 169.

designs by Newcastle Borough Council who were proposing a proscenium arch theatre to be built alongside a studio space:

> The confusion arises out of ignorance. It is common in this country to assume that any big space with a large number of seats is a proper theatre, provided they all face a hole in the wall got up to look like a proscenium arch. Sight-lines matter little, backstage equipment and working space even less.[32]

Joseph's clear frustration with the status quo is evident: his unyielding belief that in-the-round was able to offer opportunities over and above that of the proscenium arch; his preoccupations with 'sightlines' that enabled every audience member access to an immersive experience, rather than only those who had paid for premium seats; his determination that the technicians' needs in his theatre would be ranked alongside those of his actors and his audience. This last grievance may have been a direct attack on the recently built Belgrade theatre at Coventry which had been lauded nationally as 'one of the great decisions in the history of local government.'[33] Joseph criticised the design, describing the stage arrangements as rather old-fashioned[34] and later in 1970 Bentham too commented on the poor provision backstage, in his round-up of new theatres:

> It is strange now to look back to 1958 and the Coventry Belgrade. This represented a more spacious approach to the front of house with a restaurant and all the rest which was unusual for a theatre here, but at the same time horrified theatre people with its cramped facilities backstage – the money having run out. It looked as if audiences were going to be cosseted while actors and technicians had to make do. After all the public had many other things to do and had to be lured in, whereas the stage struck could consider themselves lucky to find a job at all.[35]

Whilst there was an emerging sense then, that theatre needed to be comfortable for audiences and to be the centre of a community. Joseph was keen to ensure that new theatres were able to cater adequately for everyone who worked there as well as the paying public. The loss of the combined backing of Newcastle Borough Council and the Arts Council meant that the new theatre was no longer a feasible venture. Since local public reaction was so mixed, Joseph felt the need to prove that theatre-in-the-round had a chance of success in Stoke-on-Trent on a more permanent basis than the Studio Theatre tour. He felt that the Council 'will only back a winner which has actually won the race.'[36] Joseph and Cheeseman set about locating a building that had potential for conversion into a theatre-in-the-round:

32 Joseph, *Adaptable Theatres* – conference notes from the third biennial congress of the *Association Internationale de Techniciens de Théâtre* (AITT), 25-30 June 1961, Published by ABTT February 1962, ed. S. Joseph, Quoted in Elsam, p. 129.
33 Kenneth Tynan, *The Observer,* 30 March, 1958, quoted in "A new image of the living theatre': the Genesis and Design of the Belgrade Theatre, Coventry, 1948-58, Alistair Fair', *Architectural History* 54 (2011), 347-382).
34 Stephen Joseph, 'Introduction', in *Actor and Architect*, ed. Stephen Joseph (Manchester, 1964), pp. 1-29.
35 Frederick Bentham, *New Theatres in Britain*, (London: Whitefriars Press Ltd, 1970), p. 3.
36 S. Joseph letter to J. Hodgkinson, 17 July 1962, quoted in Terry Lane, *The Full Round: The several lives and theatrical legacy of Stephen Joseph*, (Italy: Duca della Corgna, 2006), p. 170.

> We visited a number of depressing old chapels, cinema and even a crisp factory. Finally we settled on a suburban cinema turned into a variety club and empty after a police raid had discovered several hundred people merrily boozing long past the permitted hour – the old Victoria Cinema in Hartshill.[37]

For Joseph, whose dreams had been to create a custom-built space for theatre-in-the-round, the conversion of the old cinema and nightclub in Hartshill came as something of a disappointment. Cheeseman, though, still maintained that a base for the company was now necessary in whatever capacity that may be:

> The company's work, I believed, could only now effectively develop and mature in a permanent context: the days of touring and self-discovery must be left behind.[38]

Despite Joseph's disappointment, he was still keen to see the success of the venture since it was as close as he had come to achieving his long-held ambitions. He set about work with local architect, Peter Fisher, to design a space that would fill the void in the Potteries' theatrical landscape. Funding for the venture, however, had now all but disappeared. Through his frustration, Joseph had alienated a large section of the local authority and consequently he struggled to mobilise funding for the Vic conversion. In the end the whole conversion was completed in eight weeks for less than £5000, with no state funding whatsoever. Cheeseman recalled:

> We were given seats by Granada Television out of abandoned cinemas, and we fitted in 347 […] with the company finally sorting out the first load of second-hand cinema seats into three piles – the unacceptable (apparently vomited on), the dubious (possibly pissed on) and the acceptable (only stuck with chewing gum).[39]

The space, arguably, was already defining the company that would work in it: not anti-establishment but working in some way 'outside' of and facing a large degree of hostility from both the local and national arenas, the company of the Victoria Theatre (the Vic, as it became known locally) was inevitably drawn closer together during the theatre's opening. In keeping with his disappointment, though, and since he 'couldn't face more work in a converted situation for the moment,'[40] Joseph distanced himself from the company, taking up the role of Fellow of Drama at the University of Manchester whilst maintaining his role as Managing Director of the Victoria Theatre and therefore ultimately remaining in charge. It was in this challenging situation that Cheeseman had his first taste of running a theatre: in a working-class locality with seemingly little interest in theatre generally; in a theatre-in-the-round towards which many had voiced hostility; in the absence of his pioneering mentor and with a grant of just £490 from the Arts Council to cover both the company's dealings in Scarborough and in Stoke-on-Trent.

37 Peter Cheeseman, 'A Community Theatre-in-the-Round', *National Theatre Quarterly*, (Vol. 1, Issue 1, January-March 1971), p. 72 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
38 Ibid., p. 72.
39 Ibid., p. 73.
40 Ibid., p. 72.

Cheeseman understood from the outset that if the theatre were to have any chance of success, it was vital that their work was relevant to the immediate community. Discussing the choice of area ten years after the company's arrival, Cheeseman asserted that, 'the precariousness of the industry in past times has kept the community busy and poor, and has also successfully prevented it from being culturally or socially tyrannized by a strong and coherent middle-class section in the community.'[9] Indeed Cheeseman seemed particularly drawn to the area because of the absence of a middle-class; he commented that:

> The district is quite coherent, separate, distinct […] it is the character of the people of North Staffordshire that really makes our situation an enviable one. It is wrong to generalize about what is only the sum of so many particulars, but I can only describe how I feel about the community that has become my home. The people of North Staffordshire are exceptionally friendly, naturally sanguine, and more absent of concern for social distinction than any community in the United Kingdom.[41]

Whether Cheeseman saw this group of people as a 'challenge' or whether he simply felt they would be less self-conscious in their theatre choices is not clear; perhaps it was a combination. Nevertheless, Cheeseman's attraction to the 'naturally sanguine' population of Stoke-on-Trent was unquestionable. In the first announcement by Studio Theatre Company at the Victoria Theatre, Cheeseman stated:

> We believe that this theatre will enrich the life and vitality of the Potteries, that it will provide good entertainment and stimulating ideas, and that it will fill a long felt demand, in an area where there is so much good amateur drama, for a permanent professional company with high standards.[42]

It was essential for Cheeseman that the theatre was firmly connected with the wider life of the community; for him a permanent company allowed the artists to reside in the same community as their audiences and as Cheeseman's ideas developed, plays were written specifically for the community too in the form of the local documentaries. Ticket prices remained 'low enough to compete with cinema prices'[43] with a student seat costing just 3/-, equivalent to around £2 in today's money. It is also interesting to note how careful Cheeseman is to cite the 'high standards' of amateur drama in the area. This was an important and shrewd strategy and one that followed in Joseph's touring traditions. Joseph had a strong belief in the partnership of amateur and professional theatre; on his arrival in Scarborough in the mid-1950s, Joseph had formed an essential partnership with Ken and Margaret Boden, founding members of the Scarborough Theatre Guild which began as an amateur dramatic society but later became intrinsically linked with Studio Theatre in Scarborough. The Guild had a central role in securing funding,

41 Ibid., p.72.
42 Peter Cheeseman, *Victoria Theatre Appeal first announcement*, Aug 1962 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
43 Peter Cheeseman, *First Three Rounds: a report from the Victoria Theatre, Stoke-on-Trent*, August 1965, p. 7 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).

props and staging for Joseph's company and in keeping the Library Theatre viable out of season.[44] In order to embed themselves in the Stoke community, it seems that Joseph was encouraging Cheeseman to adopt similar tactics:

> We are pursuing our audience with breathless vigour and arranging quite a number of talks over the next few weeks. We shall certainly follow up your idea of visiting amateur productions, however much suffering it costs us.[45]

Whilst it may not have been Cheeseman's first choice (indeed he recorded a visit to a local amateur group at Crewe as 'depressing' and 'atrocious')[46], he did adopt Joseph's strategy, presumably understanding the mutual benefits that it offered. By the following year, relations between the Vic and the New Era players had been extended:

> I am sure you will be pleased to hear that I have come to an arrangement with the New Era Players for them to present their next production (which is to be Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*) in the round here during the week beginning 27 January […] They are very excited about it and it has the advantage of bringing to the theatre their enormous audience, the bulk of whom I don't think have been here before.[47]

This association was evidently fruitful for all participants; the amateurs having guidance from professionals and opportunity to perform in an innovative space and the Victoria Theatre Company attracting 'enormous' new audiences who may return to a future production. Cheeseman went on to support the 'New Era players' in their own quest for a new theatrical space in Stoke-on-Trent and continued to retain a link with the company through to the New Victoria Theatre's opening in 1986. Certainly, in terms of the theatre's policy, Cheeseman and Joseph appeared to share at least one coherent vision: theatre was for all. Before plans for the new project had collapsed, Joseph had stated his philosophy in an early edition of *Plays and Players*:

> As soon as we have premises of our own, the company hopes to encourage other social activities in the theatre, including dances and discussions, as well as meetings of outside groups […] and practical courses related to the theatre itself for adults and for school children. […] The theatre belongs to everyone – and one looks forward to the time when everyone realises it and enjoys it.[48]

Joseph was not alone in seeking to revitalise the theatre; Wesker, for example, in 1960 was fundraising for a permanent home at the Roundhouse for his Centre 42, where 'the original intention was to create a

44 Simon Murgatroyd, http://theatre-in-the-round.co.uk/page7/styled-66/styled-108/index.html [accessed 19 February 2017].
45 Letter from Peter Cheeseman to Stephen Joseph, 12th Nov, 1962 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
46 Letter from Peter Cheeseman to Stephen Joseph, 18th Nov, 1962 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
47 Letter from Peter Cheeseman to Stephen Joseph, 25th Nov, 1963 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).
48 Stephen Joseph, 'Stephen Joseph writes on his Theatre-in-the-round at Newcastle-under-Lyme', *Plays and Players*, March 1962, pp. 26 and 38 (located at Victoria Theatre archive).

'gymnasium of the arts'. It was to be based in a converted theatre and offer activities such as a youth club, jazz groups, exhibitions, concerts, films, plays, revues and lunchtime concerts.'[49] Littlewood too was gradually moving in a similar direction with her plans for a Fun Palace published in *The New Scientist* in May 1964. Her aim was to create a 'university of the streets' in which people were encouraged to partake in a wide range of leisure activities and the 'essence of the place will be informality – nothing obligatory – anything goes.'[50] Reacting to these democratic movements, the relatively new Labour government presented a policy for the Arts in 1965, which emphasised its importance:

> [I]n any civilised community the arts and associated amenities, serious or comic, light or demanding, must occupy a central place. Their enjoyment should not be regarded as something remote from everyday life.[51]

The idea of a theatre being a centre for a wide range of arts and activities was something that Joseph continued to develop until his premature death from cancer in 1967, when he had begun plans for a radical new form of 'fish and chip' theatre in which the audience was encouraged to eat their 'solid, familiar fare' whilst watching the play. David Campton, a playwright who had been discovered by Joseph on one of his playwriting courses and who subsequently became the first resident writer for the company, recounts the origin of Joseph's plans:

> The germ of this idea began to incubate in the first years of the Scarborough company, when plays were taken for matinees to a local holiday camp. The audience was almost totally unused to the conventions of theatre, so an in-the-round production did not worry them at all (they had been expecting performing seals anyway). They talked in low tones to start with, but growing louder until the actors were straining to be heard above the noise – until a really interesting scene was reached, when silence fell: not a murmur was heard until the play began to lose its grip again, when the conversation level rose once more. It was a useful experience for a beginning playwright: decibels alone demonstrated where rewriting was called for.[52]

Whilst a 'fish and chip theatre' might at first glance be discounted as an outlandish scheme, Campton's background demonstrates that it is rooted in good sense and upholds a coherent set of values that Joseph maintained throughout his career: to engage a broad cross-section of society in a stimulating theatrical experience. He asserted in *Actor and Architect*:

49 Steve Nicholson, *Modern British Playwriting: the 1960s* (London: Methuen, 2012), p. 32.
50 Joan Littlewood, *Joan's Book* (London: Methuen, 1994), p. 704.
51 'A Policy for the Arts: The First Step', Presented to Parliament by the Prime Minister, Feb 1965.
52 David Campton, 'Stephen Joseph…And After', http://www.stephen-joseph.org.uk/styled/styled-72/styled-75/index.html, [accessed 4 March, 2017].

> It is not a matter of 'educating' people so that they can join the privileged ranks of, for instance, theatre-goers. The theatre can speak, if we allow it, to all people; we have only to take it out of its fetters.[53]

Despite his untimely death in 1967, Joseph's vision continued to influence the theatrical landscape of Stoke-on-Trent with Cheeseman remaining as one of the longest-serving regional theatre directors and using Joseph's teachings to establish the New Victoria Theatre (the first purpose-built theatre-in-the-round in Europe) in Stoke-on-Trent in 1986. Arguably, Joseph's commitment to revitalising theatre went further too, with Elsam charting his influence across the north of England with the establishment of a 'wide band of open stage theatres'[54] all of which ultimately share Joseph's common goals: to promote new writing; to experiment with new theatre forms; and to provide quality theatrical performances for all.

53 Stephen Joseph, *Actor and Architect*, ed. Stephen Joseph (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964), pp. 28-29.
54 Elsam, p. 167.

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